



BUCKLEY
INSTITUTE

ANNUAL REPORT

2022 | 2023

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

Dear Friend,

Yale has seen its share of challenges to free speech. Yale began its 2022-2023 academic year reeling from the shout down of a free speech panel the previous spring. Our national student survey found a record share of undergraduates are afraid to speak their minds on campus. Yale ranked 198th out of 203 universities for free speech and 14 federal judges announced a boycott of Yale Law clerks over Yale's poor free speech record.

Through all this, the Buckley Institute never wavered in its commitment to bringing true diversity of thought to campus.

The Buckley Institute surged out of the gate, putting copies of the Woodward Report into the hands of Yale's incoming freshman class — nearly 1,600 in all.

We welcomed former ACLU President Nadine Strossen who argued that more speech is the best answer to hate speech. Federal Judges James Ho and Elizabeth Branch explained their boycott to an overflow crowd. 70th Secretary of State Mike Pompeo regaled a packed auditorium with stories from his time as the nation's top diplomat and independent journalist Matt Taibbi warned 150 people about the growing censorship-industrial complex.

Overall, the Buckley Institute continued to provide the stellar programming it is known for:

- 69 events and 86 speakers
- 157 hours of programming
- 2,322 students, alumni, faculty, and guests in attendance

Looking to the next academic year, we are excited for our upcoming Disinvitation Dinner in New York. If you have not already reserved your ticket or sponsored the event, we hope you'll do so now.

At the beginning of 2023, we launched the new Lux et Veritas Leadership Program, providing a select group of students with the skills and knowledge they'll need to succeed in the boardroom, the courtroom, and the halls of government.

And, of course, The William F. Buckley, Jr. Program officially became the Buckley Institute, acknowledging our growth from a humble speaker series organized by a few undergraduates into the vibrant organization we are today.

As a result of our strong programming, the Buckley Institute's ranks continue to swell. We began the year with a record 501 Buckley Fellows and hit an astounding 623 in April, representing almost 10% of Yale's undergraduate population.

Thanks to your support, we are confident that we can continue to withstand cancel culture at Yale. We appreciate everything you have done to make the Buckley Institute an indispensable part of campus life and look forward to seeing what we can accomplish together in the future.

Sincerely,



Lauren Noble '11
Founder and Executive Director



Message from the Student President, Ryan Gapski '24

The Buckley Institute now has over 600 student fellows, a fact that often comes up when people ask me what it is like to be conservative on Yale's campus. It demonstrates that nearly ten percent of the student body explicitly aligns with the Institute's mission of promoting intellectual diversity and freedom of speech at Yale.

Buckley has strived to foster an environment on Yale's campus that nurtures critical thought and encourages meaningful discourse. Despite the various ways the University may silence unorthodox perspectives, the Buckley Institute endeavors to give those ideas the same level of consideration as those that are regularly represented on campus.

As President, my friends like to tease me about the amount of time I dedicate to Buckley. However, campus life provides perfect examples from time to time that remind both them and myself of the necessity of the Institute's work. Just this April, an opinion column titled "Abort the Conversation" was published in the *Yale Daily News* not only implying that open discussion about abortion is dangerous but also claiming that logical debate itself is pointless. Perhaps the most concerning part is that there were many Yalies who agree with this illiberal sentiment. While abortion is still fiercely debated across America, only on Yale's campus is it deemed beyond the pale of discussion. It is instances like these that demonstrate to me and my friends why the time I dedicate to Buckley is always worth it.

It is regrettable that Yale falls short of upholding its own motto, "Lux et Veritas." More often than not, the University hinders the pursuit of truth. However, the Buckley Institute serves as a beacon that enables it. I can attest to this transformative power, which I have personally experienced over the past few years. Through its programming and its impact on the campus climate, the Buckley Institute has shaped my Yale education into what I always hoped it would be.

Thanks to the Buckley Institute, I not only have the privilege of engaging in conversations that some Yale students want to shut down, but I have also had the opportunity to study



Plato as a Lux et Veritas Leadership Fellow and enjoy regular Chick-fil-A study breaks with like-minded students. The other Buckley Fellows and I get to dine with federal judges, recognize inspiring professors like Dr. Mordechai Levy-Eichel through the Lux et Veritas Faculty Prize, and meet with U.S. senators, cabinet-level secretaries, a Supreme Court justice, and countless other distinguished faculty members.

**"... the Buckley Institute
has shaped my Yale
education into
what I always
hoped
it would be."**

I know I am not the only one who feels this way. Each of the 600-plus Buckley Fellows has benefited immensely from your generosity. Of course, there are those students on campus who spread falsehoods, but the majority, the students who actively engage with the Buckley Institute, cannot envision their time at Yale without the Institute's sterling model of constructive inquiry and political discourse.

I extend my deepest gratitude to all the supporters of the Buckley Institute. Your unwavering support has allowed our bright college years to retain their luster.

BUCKLEY BY THE NUMBERS

The Buckley Institute reached some newsworthy milestones this academic year!

1,600

copies of the
Woodward Report
distributed to
students

658

copies total of
26 book titles
distributed

1,287

signatures
gathered in
support of free
speech at Yale

99%

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



157

hours of
programming

12.8million
lifetime views on our
YouTube Channel





623
student
fellows



2,322
event
attendees

98%
increase in
Facebook profile
visits over the
previous year



2,196
YouTube
subscribers added
in the last year

69
events

86
speakers

REBRANDING

Over the past decade, The William F. Buckley, Jr. Program at Yale has developed into a national model for promoting intellectual diversity and freedom of speech. Throughout, we stayed true to the ideals that first inspired our small speaker series all those years ago: providing a home for conservative thought and standing up for light and truth over groupthink and conformity on Yale's campus. We couldn't be prouder of the work we have done, and your support is what has made our success possible. Thank you very much.

Along the way, it became clear that the many programs we offer, the wide variety of initiatives we undertake, and the increasing number of students we serve extend well beyond the bounds of a simple program. This reality came into sharper focus as we drafted our strategic plan in 2021. It was time for a name that truly reflects the scope of our work, the Buckley Institute.

The new name encapsulates the breadth of our efforts – the speaker series that started it all, our annual conference and national college student survey, our fellowship trip to Washington, D.C., Fight for Yale's Future, the new Lux et Veritas Leadership Program,

our initiatives to advance free speech on campus, and everything else we do to make Yale and the nation better. The name also highlights our growing impact and reach. We now have more than 620 student fellows, almost 10% of Yale's undergraduate population.

Even as we make this transition, the student organization will retain The William F. Buckley, Jr. Program name and continue to be the Buckley Institute's flagship effort. After all, while we look to shape the intellectual climate at Yale, our attention is focused on educating and empowering the future leaders who walk through its classrooms and courtyards every year.

You may have noticed a few changes to our look and feel. Along with our new name, we launched a new website with up-to-date design and functionality. We also gave our iconic logo a makeover of sorts while still honoring the Buckley Institute's eponym.

Becoming the Buckley Institute was a long overdue step for our organization. It is at one time an acknowledgment of continuity with our past accomplishments and the planting of our flag for an even brighter future. Thank you for standing with us and joining us on our journey.



NYC LAUNCH PARTY



Becoming the Buckley Institute was definitely an occasion worth commemorating. On March 2nd, the Buckley Institute joined alumni, supporters, and some of our promising Buckley Fellows to launch our rebranding effort at the Yale Club in New York City.

With the beautiful city skyline in the background, we showed how far the Buckley Institute has come and recommitted to fighting for free speech and intellectual diversity on campus, the ideals that spawned the Buckley Institute in the first place.

We were honored to be joined by former Director of the National Economic Council and current Fox Business host Larry Kudlow. Kudlow spoke fondly of his relationship with William F. Buckley, Jr. and recalled how Buckley had been a good friend of his even through difficult times. He gave insightful answers on the state of the economy and the path forward with regard to Ukraine.

It was a fantastic tribute to our founding purpose and our eponym, William F. Buckley, Jr., who inspires us to this day.



On campus, the perils of having common sense are legion, as Dr. Jordan Peterson knows well. In May 2019, Cambridge rescinded its offer of a visiting fellowship after student backlash. In April 2017, his scheduled talk at Linfield University in McMinnville, Oregon, was canceled over a Tweet.

Even his livelihood is at stake. Earlier this year, the College of Psychologists of Ontario threatened to pull Peterson's license to practice psychology in response to complaints about his Tweets.

Peterson refused to be cowed. He has continued to fill auditorium after auditorium with thousands of supportive fans to share his simple message. A basic call for responsibility to a time and place that need to hear it.

Perhaps that is why he is so controversial. So much of the movement to cancel him, and cancel culture in general, is dedicated to tearing down anything that sounds like received wisdom. In essence, what much of cancel culture wants to cancel is common sense itself.

The Buckley Institute understands the value that inherited wisdom can provide.

Will you join us for this year's dinner? Your support demonstrates that the ideas you grew up on, whether the basics of taking responsibility, the complexities of living a good life, or just the simple idea that speech is best when it's free are worth passing on to the next generation.

Tables and sponsorships are still available



Please visit www.buckleyinstitute.com/disinvitation2023
or contact Isabelle Hargrove
at (203) 745-0571 or Isabelle@buckleyinstitute.com

"When you have something to say,
silence is a lie."

- Dr. Jordan Peterson



The Buckley Institute invites you to
**The Seventh Annual
Disinvitation Dinner**

FEATURING DR. JORDAN PETERSON

September 27th, 2023
New York, New York

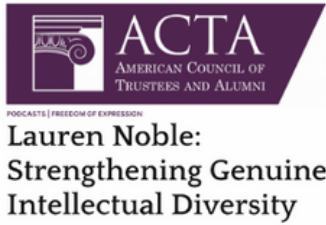


Buy Your Tickets Today:

www.buckleyinstitute.com/disinvitation2023

BUCKLEY IN THE NEWS

Buckley on the Air



8th Annual Survey Press

College Fix: 63% of U.S. college students felt 'intimidated' against sharing opinion in class: survey

FIRE: Survey shows majority of college students feel 'intimidated' to share opinion, unlikely to disagree with professor

Washington Examiner: College students turn more liberal, OK speech death penalty

Washington Examiner: College students are petty tyrants on a frightening scale, study shows

Washington Examiner: Survey of collegians casts serious doubt on America's future

Buckley Makes Headlines

Yale Daily News:
Georgia Secretary of
State Brad
Raffensperger visits
campus

Yale Daily News:
Course correction
underway at Yale Law,
boycotting judges say

Yale Daily News:
Buckley Program hosts
12th annual conference

ABA Journal: 2 federal
appeals judges
boycotting Yale Law
clerks see progress in
campus tolerance for
conservative views

Reuters: Trump-
appointed judges say
'course correction'
could halt Yale clerk
boycott

Bloomberg Law:
Judges 'Hope' Their
Planned Yale Clerk Ban
Can Be Avoided

Reuters: Trump-
appointed judges
behind Yale boycott to
speak at school next
week

Yale Daily News:
Buckley Program to
host judges boycotting
Yale Law School

*Washington Free
Beacon:* Judges at the
Center of Yale Law
Clerkship Boycott Will
Speak at Yale Next
Week

Daily Mail: 'You are the
embodiment of evil':
Protesters disrupt Mike
Pompeo's speech at
Yale University

Fox News: Pompeo
brushes off far-left
protesters who
interrupted speech:
'This could only happen
in the United States'

Yale Daily News: Mike
Pompeo talks foreign
policy, free speech at
Buckley event

WHAT THEY ARE SAYING

"Xi Jinping talks about American decline all the time... Vladimir Putin talks about the West as being decadent and in decline. Don't let that happen. I implore you. The Buckley Program knows what built this amazing nation."

- 70th Secretary of State Mike Pompeo



"When I was a Yale undergraduate (Saybrook 1975), I was altogether proud of my alma mater, and especially proud that my university issued the C. Vann Woodward Report of the Committee on Freedom of Expression. Then, Yale modeled excellence in every way. The Buckley Institute is our best hope for restoring the great values and principles we knew."

- Michael Poliakoff, Ph.D., President, American Council of Trustees and Alumni



"If you had told me even ten years ago that I would be speaking to the William F. Buckley Institute at Yale, I would have asked you for a hit of whatever you were smoking... I think in these very interesting times, there have been a lot of strange political bedfellows that have been made. And we have to take advantage of those relationships."

- Independent Journalist and Publisher of the Twitter Files Matt Taibbi



"So what Buckley is doing, which is training so many undergrads, formally and informally, to have the skillset, the ability to articulate views, the ability to stand up and to know, by the way, that you're not alone and there are hundreds of students who agree with you. This can really shift the culture."

- American Enterprise Institute Senior Fellow Samuel Abrams



NR At Yale, Buckley's Legacy Offers Intellectual Freedom

If we don't explain to students why compelled speech is problematic, it will only be a matter of time before they graduate and begin clamoring for even more oppressive speech codes than what we see today.

Lauren Noble
New Haven, Conn.
Appeared in the January 25, 2023, print edition as "What if the Students Want Speech to Be Compelled?"



Religious and conservative students worry about speaking up on campus — but so do progressives
By Lauren Noble | May 1

Washington Examiner
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Opinion
Yale Law School still refusing to correct its anti-free speech ways

By Lauren Noble | November 01, 2022 06:00 AM

Yale going out of its way to hide from accountability



Clear Education ✓

Yale Is Abandoning Its Own Free Speech Codes

By Lauren Noble
September 28, 2022

ACADEMIC YEAR EVENTS IN REVIEW

2022-2023

SEPTEMBER

The Intellectual Life of Edmund Burke: From the Sublime and Beautiful to American Independence
David Bromwich

The Current State of American National Security
Nadia Schadlow

Supreme Court Roundup: *Dobbs*, *Bruen*, and *West Virginia*
Ilya Shapiro, Robert Leider, and E. Donald Elliott

Combating Hate: Censorship or Free Speech?
Nadine Strossen

Lux et Veritas Faculty Prize Lecture
Mordechai Levy-Eichel

OCTOBER

Seeing the Future by Looking at History
Niall Ferguson

Lincoln and the Crisis of American Democracy
Peter Ahrens Dorf

Firing Line Debate: Increase the Birth Rate
Ramesh Ponnuru and Jill Filipovic

The Intersection of Medicine, Medical Science, and Politics
Jeffrey Flier



NOVEMBER

Talk Softly but Carry America with You: Inside Negotiations on the World Stage
70th Secretary of State Mike Pompeo
Sponsored by Young America's Foundation's Irving Brown Lecture Series

Free Speech in Law and Politics
Floyd Abrams

The Midterm Elections: Analyzing the Results
David Mayhew

Firing Line Debate: The Supreme Court Needs Term Limits
Akhil Reed Amar and Adam J. White

Is Free Speech Dead on Campus?
Judge James Ho, Judge Elizabeth Branch, and Akhil Reed Amar



DECEMBER

Twelfth Annual Conference on the 60th Anniversary of Milton Friedman's *Capitalism and Freedom*

What Are the Practical Limits of Police Reform?
Rafael Mangual

JANUARY

The Peril of Politicizing Science
Anna Krylov

FEBRUARY

Blueprint: The Evolutionary Origins of a Good Society
Nicholas Christakis

The Future of American Elections
Brad Raffensperger, Georgia Secretary of State

The Next American Economy: Nation, State, and Markets in an Uncertain World
Samuel Gregg



MARCH

G-Man: J. Edgar Hoover and the Making of the American Century
Beverly Gage

The Pros and Cons of Classical Liberalism in Hume's *Essays*
Thomas Merrill

People Love Dead Jews
Dara Horn

**"Buckley has provided
a seriously necessary
element of ideological
diversity to my
Yale education, and
without it I would still be
blind to many issues in the
educational system."
– Peter Bowman-Davis '25**

APRIL

Firing Line Debate: The U.S. Should Ban TikTok
Clare Morell and Elizabeth Nolan Brown

The Suicide of Social Liberalism
Ross Douthat

Conservatism and the Arts: A Bad Romance?
Mordechai Levy-Eichel

The Twitter Files: The Censorship-Industrial Complex
Matt Taibbi

American Pre-Eminence in Space
Jim Bridenstine



MAY

Getting About: Travel Writings of William F. Buckley, Jr.
Bill Meehan and Jack Fowler

JUNE

Faculty Political Diversity at Yale and Beyond
Samuel J. Abrams, Keith E. Whittington,
and Aron Ravin '24

SPEAKER SERIES

Every year, the Buckley Institute brings the top minds and most impactful voices to share ideas that won't be heard anywhere else on campus. Through our speaker series, we expose students to perspectives that most faculty are too afraid to discuss. Yale students hear from former cabinet secretaries, federal judges, major political figures, top legal minds, and opinion leaders in everything from chemistry and space to filmmaking. Our events fill auditoriums and spur campus debate about the perspectives that just aren't represented in the classroom.

**"The Buckley Program has allowed me to be intellectually challenged, and has offered incredible opportunities to hear from, meet, and be inspired by speakers who voice political opinions that all-too-often go unheard in other settings at Yale."
– Tasha Dambacher '25**



**"By embodying the deliberative spirit, Buckley Fellows and guests contribute to making Yale a more diverse, grounded, and valuable institution of higher education in the United States."
– Trevor MacKay '25**



Talk Softly but Carry America with You: Inside Negotiations on the World Stage

70th Secretary of State Mike Pompeo

Last November, the Buckley Institute was honored to welcome 70th Secretary of State Mike Pompeo as our premier event for the fall semester. We filled Sheffield-Sterling-Strathcona Hall with more than 400 attendees and turned away more than one hundred at the door.

Pompeo regaled the audience with stories from his time as the country's foremost diplomat. He began by laying out the greatest foreign threats to our country including China and Russia. He highlighted his unprecedented meetings with North Korean officials.

Pompeo was clear that "there is no alternative [to America] as a force for good in the world." America First, he explained, meant that America needed to be strong at home to be strong abroad.

Moving to domestic policy, Pompeo pointed to American Federation of Teachers President Randi Weingarten as the greatest threat America faces: "If we don't teach our children the skills they need, then America abroad will be weaker too." He warned that schools teach "nonsense" instead of the basics. According to Pompeo, some schools would rather teach that America is fundamentally racist than creative writing or critical thinking.

Pompeo asserted that he doesn't think America is in decline. He implored those in the audience to stand up to the bad ideas circulating on campus. He hopes, he said, that the Yale students assembled "are inspired by the history of our founding." This country "is special," he concluded. "It should be cherished. And it is an America that is absolutely worth fighting for."

During questions and answers, Pompeo spoke about his religious values and why being an Evangelical Christian is an important part of who he is. As Secretary of State, he "devoted enormous resources to" defending religious freedom around the world. On China, he recalled that his interactions with the Chinese were the "nastiest, most difficult conversations." Pompeo said he had

little reason to believe he would be more successful at Middle East peace than his predecessors and instead, chose to double down on America's relationship with Israel, America's strategic ally. Standing up to Iran, he argued, set the stage for the Abraham Accords, the historic peace deals signed between Israel and four Arab countries.

Mid-speech, three non-Yale individuals interrupted the speech and yelled at Pompeo for his role in killing Iranian terror mastermind Qasem Soleimani. After a short time, a student in the crowd yelled back, "Let him answer," silencing the protesters long enough for Pompeo to rally the crowd once more. Pompeo commented, "You all should know how lucky you are to live in a country where that can happen." The three protesters were removed from the event.



The Twitter Files: The Censorship-Industrial Complex

Matt Taibbi

On April 25, independent journalist Matt Taibbi spoke to 150 current and prospective students, alumni, and guests about his investigation of the Twitter Files. Taibbi laid out for a rapt audience the extensive formal and informal networks that power what he terms “The Censorship-Industrial Complex.”

Taibbi explained that he and a few other independent journalists had been invited by Elon Musk, the new head of Twitter, to look at the company’s internal discussions regarding the censorship of the Hunter Biden laptop story on social media. Taibbi said his interest wasn’t that “he cared that much about Hunter Biden or his laptop,” but because he wanted to know if the FBI or other national security agencies had “been in touch with a company like Twitter.”

Taibbi pointed out that so much of media had become uniform – covering the same stories and targeting the same audience. Covering the Twitter Files, however, “had the feel of something forbidden.”

The first obstacle to uncovering the truth was Twitter’s deputy general counsel who had previously been the FBI’s general counsel and was responsible for reviewing all document releases. With him gone, Taibbi began seeing internal messages noting requests for content moderation from the FBI and DHS. Soon, Taibbi and his fellow journalists uncovered Twitter’s “unbelievably extensive toolbox” for shadow-banning (throttling up or hiding access to specific content on Twitter).

According to Taibbi, federal government agencies and Twitter officials were consistently in contact regarding censoring specific content on Twitter. If Twitter didn’t censor certain accounts fast enough, Taibbi explained, federal government agencies would send the lists of accounts they wanted suspended to news outlets, all but threatening Twitter with bad press unless they acted on their censorship requests.

What concerned Taibbi most was that “once liberalizing institutions” like the press and non-governmental organizations stopped “acting as checks against each other” and evolved into a “cartel-like whole.” News outlets no longer competed, but worked together, removing the incentives for them to remain honest. If they all reported the same inaccurate information, there would be no one to demand a retraction.



This, Taibbi explained, is the “Censorship-Industrial Complex.” Instead of the press and NGOs seeing themselves as a check on the government and on each other, they began to see themselves as on the same team. Government officials got jobs in the press. NGO employees end up in government and vice versa. Instead of focusing on truth, outside groups worked hand in hand to push a specific narrative. The major division this created isn’t political but between those in the tent who can access information and the increasingly large group of people kept outside of it.

In the question-and-answer section, Taibbi noted that though both Republicans and Democrats had censorship requests honored, the bigger issue in his mind was this “institutional structure” of government, private entities, and press/NGOs that demarcated the insiders and outsiders. After another audience member asked about any fallout from his congressional hearing, Taibbi said that Rep. Alexandria Ocasio-Cortez and her allies threatened him with jail time because he misread a Tweet during testimony. Additionally, on the day he was testifying before Congress, an IRS agent visited his home because a years-old tax return had been rejected over “identity theft” concerns.



Is Free Speech Dead on Campus?

Judge James Ho, Judge Elizabeth Branch, and Akhil Reed Amar

In September 2022, federal judge for the 5th Circuit Court of Appeals James Ho took what he felt was a major step in combating cancel culture and censorship on campus and announced a boycott of Yale Law clerks until the free speech environment for conservatives improved. In the subsequent weeks, 13 other federal judges, including federal judge for the 11th Circuit Court of Appeals Elizabeth Branch, joined the boycott.

Sharing the judges' concern about shout downs and an increasing culture of censorship at Yale, the Buckley Institute invited Judges Branch and Ho to explain their position in conversation with Yale Professor Akhil Reed Amar and outline what Yale could and should do to improve.

The judges told an overflow crowd that they hoped their boycott would never actually go into effect. It only applied to future students, they elaborated, and, if Yale Law School cleaned up its act quickly, no students would be impacted. They explained that the boycott was not something they wanted to do but something they did because they were not aware of a better means of effecting change. The “goal is to play a small part, at least, in restoring free speech to campus.”

The two judges argued that free speech is crucial, not just for Yale Law School, but for the success of the country.

Judge Ho argued that Yale's unwillingness to support free speech is a rejection of an idea that stretches back to the very beginning of our country. The Founders prioritized free speech because during the fierce debates over the Constitution, people argued, “listened, and admitted when they were wrong.” Ho concluded: “the textual guarantee of freedom of speech arose precisely

because of the actual practice of freedom of speech.”

And what happens on campus, Ho continued, doesn't stay on campus. A culture of cancellation has taken over law firms and corporations alike. “We don't talk, we tweet,” he concluded. “We don't disagree, we destroy.”



Judge Branch lamented the lost art of disagreeing, debating, and, at the end of the day, remaining friends. She quoted Supreme Court Justice Amy Coney Barrett who pointed out that it is really only the unpopular ideas that need free speech protections. Popular ideas will always have defenders. Perhaps, she continued, people shout down speech they don't like instead of just ignoring it because “they are afraid that the speech is not as unpopular as they would like.”

She encouraged those who consider self-censoring to “stand up for what you believe.” While caving to the mob might be the path of least resistance, she added, “you lose a little bit of your soul when you do.”

Students questioned the judges on the fairness of their boycott, pointing out that it hurt Yale Law students who oppose cancel culture as much as those who exacerbate it. One conservative student asked why it was worth speaking up: “When my future is at stake, sometimes it's better for me to just sit back, bite my tongue, and then in four years I'll be able to say what I want.”

The incredible turnout and the sharp questions from the students left a good impression on the guest speakers. Though she was worried about on-campus hostility, Judge Branch commented that she had “never been happier to be wrong. I walked away from campus far more hopeful than I expected.”



FIRING LINE DEBATE: The Supreme Court Needs Term Limits

Akhil Reed Amar and Adam J. White

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.

Staying relevant is an important focus for the Buckley Institute. With Supreme Court decisions driving calls for reform of the nation's highest court by those unhappy with the results, the Buckley Institute hosted a debate in November about adding term limits to the court.

For the debate, the Buckley Institute welcomed one of Yale's own, Sterling Professor of Law and Political Science Akhil Reed Amar, and Adam White, American Enterprise Institute Senior Fellow and Co-Director of the Antonin Scalia Law School's C. Boyden Gray Center for the Study of the Administrative State.

Amar began by outlining his proposal for 18 years of active service for Supreme Court justices followed by senior service, a position he laid out in a joint op-ed with Steven Calabresi, one of the founding members of the Federalist Society. Amar's plan would smooth out appointments across presidential terms, creating two openings on the court during every 4-year term of office. The vacancies, he explained, would come in years 1 and 3 of each term to minimize the extent to which they are a direct part of the election cycle. Amar walked through 18 points in support of his proposal, which he had also outlined in a recent podcast.

White began by discussing his service on the Biden Commission on the Supreme Court. When he began working on the commission, White admitted, he was a strong supporter of term limits. By the end of it, he joked, he had "talked himself out of it." He pointed out that term limits would leave Supreme Court justices concerned about their next jobs even as they make crucial policy decisions affecting



potential future employers. Additionally, scheduled vacancies would strengthen the presidency at the legislature's expense.

Amar countered that, especially in the early court, retiring for better jobs was common. As far as the Senate power issue was concerned, Amar said the Senate could still deliberate as long as they want on appointments, preserving for the legislature the power to determine who gets appointed and when.

The constitutionality of term limits was a significant point of debate. White argued term limits were unconstitutional because the only stated limit on judicial tenure is "during good behaviour." During questions and answers, Amar said term limits were constitutional, but admitted that the rotating chief justiceship, a feature of his plan, might be constitutionally challenging. He explained that in his plan justices still serve in senior status, so they're not really term-limited. In a worst-case scenario, justices could just sign a pledge to resign after 18 years, rather than being forced out by statute.

White argued that the best way to end the politically timed retirements is through republican virtue, or a set of virtues the Founders felt it necessary for political leaders to have in order for government to function effectively. Essentially, White felt pushing back on the culture around the court would be the best resolution to the controversy.

Both agreed that the confirmation process has gotten too politically nasty, though they disagreed over whether term limits would have any impact.



FIRING LINE DEBATE: The U.S. Should Ban TikTok

Clare Morell and Elizabeth Nolan Brown

One of the major points of discussion around the country over the past few months has been the bipartisan efforts to restrict access to the social media platform TikTok. To debate the issue, the Buckley Institute invited *Reason* Magazine's Elizabeth Nolan Brown and the Ethics and Public Policy Center's Clare Morell to campus.

In her opening remarks, Morell focused on the national security considerations. She argued that "TikTok is a tool of a hostile foreign power, Communist China, that is being used to surveil and manipulate Americans and harm America's children." Morell laid out the evidence demonstrating intimate ties between TikTok and the Chinese government and noted that, by Chinese law, the government can access TikTok data without even having to ask for it.

Morell argued that the app is a threat to America's children, using algorithms to push sex, drugs, and eating-disorder related



content. The Chinese version of the app, she explained, shows only productive content to kids and limits them to 40 minutes of use a day.

Nolan Brown argued that TikTok does in fact have benefits, as an outlet for creative expression for example, so a ban shouldn't be taken lightly. TikTok also provides much-needed competition for U.S. tech giants. Additionally, even if TikTok wasn't beneficial, she argued, that's not a reason to ban it. America is a free society after all. Nolan Brown noted that the U.S. version of TikTok is even banned in China because of the content critical of China. "Becoming like Communist China in order to counter it seems a



bit counterproductive," she commented.

Nolan Brown called security concerns a "classic moral panic." There's been no actual proof that the Chinese government can access TikTok data, she said, and pointed out that it's not clear how the information posted on TikTok could even impact national security.

The two disagreed over the constitutionality of a TikTok ban. Nolan Brown argued that banning TikTok would be equivalent to the government shutting down a newspaper and have significant First Amendment problems. Morell countered that because a ban targets a specific platform for national security rather than content-specific reasons it would be constitutional. Banning TikTok preserves freedom, Morell argued.

When asked about a broader social media ban for teenagers and children under a certain age, Nolan Brown pointed out that teenagers have free speech rights too. She admitted some content on social media is bad for kids but argued that parents can and should step in. Morell, on the other hand, pointed to data showing direct links between teenage social media use and mental health issues in urging for action to protect young Americans from the negative effects of social media. "Parents aren't enough," she argued, citing research showing a "network effect" if a teenager's social group uses social media even if that teenager doesn't.

Despite so many national security experts expressing concern about TikTok, Nolan Brown emphasized that they still haven't found proof of direct connections to the Chinese government. If the U.S. government is going to ban something, she argued, the burden of proof should be on the banners to prove there's a problem.

STUDENT FELLOWS PROGRAM

This year was a fantastic one for the Buckley Fellows program. Buckley started the year off with a record 501 student fellows. Yale students continued to flock to Buckley over the year notching a record 623 Buckley Fellows to close out the year, comprising nearly 1 in 10 Yale undergraduates.

Yale students know that the Buckley Institute is the go-to organization for open debate and discussion. Our speakers give students a chance to hear from and build connections with experts in their field, bringing the country's top minds to campus.

Year after year, Buckley events introduce Yale students to perspectives they won't hear in the classroom. Legal experts unpacked the most significant rulings of the Spring 2022 term of the Supreme Court. *National Review* editor Ramesh Ponnuru and journalist Jill Filipovic debated natalism. Former NASA Administrator Jim Bridenstine explored the possibilities in U.S. space policy. And Georgia Secretary of State Brad Raffensperger discussed his experiences administering the November 2020 elections.

After each of these events, fellows further explore the ideas they've heard over intimate meals with the speakers themselves.



The impact doesn't stop when the events end either. Students receive copies of the books that are driving the public conversation. They heard from historian Niall Ferguson and received signed copies of his new book, *Doom: The Politics of Catastrophe*. After Manhattan Institute Senior Fellow Rafael Mangual walked Yale students through the realities of crime and policing in America, fellows went home with his book, *Criminal (In)Justice*. And Buckley Fellows heard from Yale Professor Beverly Gage and received copies of her Pulitzer Prize-winning *G-Man: J. Edgar Hoover and the Making of the American Century* even before the prize was awarded



78% of student fellows agree a Buckley event has made them reconsider an idea they held or change their mind on a topic.

MULTI-DAY SEMINARS

Our multi-day seminars program allows students to have intensive and fruitful academic engagement with topics and thinkers often neglected in their Yale classrooms. These seminars are taught by experts in their field, brought in from prestigious universities and preeminent think tanks. Through these seminars, the Buckley Institute helps fill the gaps in the Yale curriculum and provides undergraduate and graduate students with important exposure to foundational ideas.

What Participants Say

94% report they would participate in a future seminar

89% likely to recommend these seminars to other students

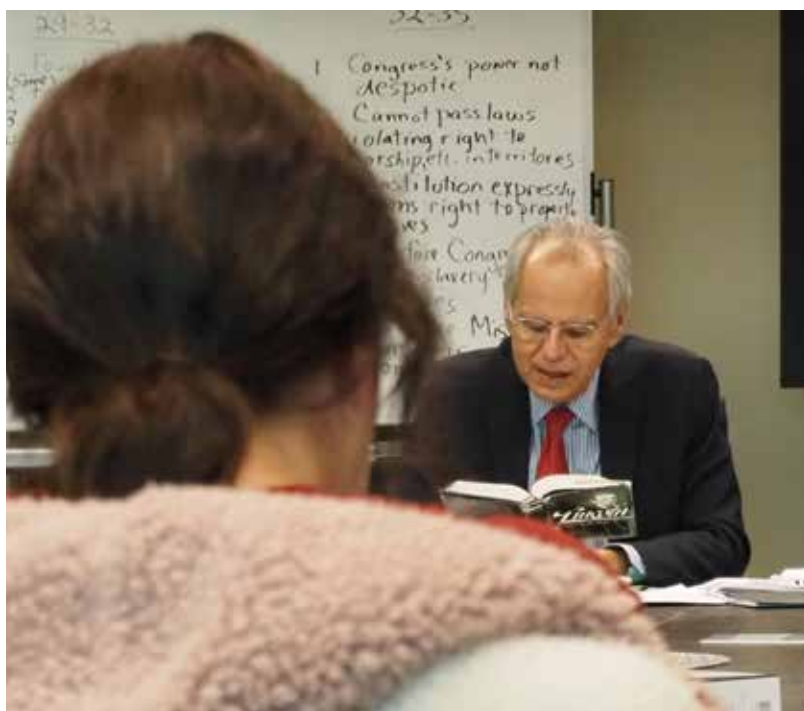
89% plan to use the material

“Buckley seminars allow engagement with topics outside of usual Yale courses to a degree as, or more, rigorous than university-level coursework.”

**– Cole Black '25,
Hume seminar participant**

“These seminars are important in allowing students to be exposed to, delve into, and discuss ideas which may challenge or bring to light new observations, teachings, or philosophies that are immeasurable in their benefit. Thank you for your support of the Buckley Institute”

**– Arjan Kohli '26,
Lincoln seminar participant**



Lincoln and the Crisis of American Democracy

Featuring Peter Ahrensdorf

Over Yale's fall break, the Buckley Institute welcomed Professor Peter Ahrensdorf of Davidson College to New Haven, where he joined a select group of Yale students to begin a three-day deep dive into the political thought of Abraham Lincoln.

Professor Ahrensdorf brought Lincoln's rhetoric to life and illuminated the 16th President's nuanced political and philosophical views. The students enjoyed the lively seminar format, asking probing questions of Professor Ahrensdorf and learning from each other's contributions.

Students engaged with the great speeches in Lincoln's corpus, including the Lyceum Address, Peoria Speech, the Second Inaugural, and many more. To deepen the examination, students also read texts by William Lloyd Garrison and Frederick Douglass. They compared the political approaches, moral arguments, and different emphases of these prominent anti-slavery politicians and thinkers.

The students appreciated this rare opportunity to take such a deep dive into this important subject matter. "I had only ever learned about Lincoln and the Civil War in high



school history classes," one student remarked. "I left the seminar with a richer understanding of both the Civil War's timeline and Lincoln's thinking and writing during that time. I hadn't thought about any of the topics we discussed before attending the seminar."

Reflecting on the experience, another student commented, "I thought that the professor made some really excellent points, the readings were fascinating and well-structured, and the program itself was conducive to building friendships. There was a consensus that listening to others and hearing them out was important which allowed us to have some great conversations."

"It's extremely valuable to teach American Civil War history in a modern context. It allows us to juxtapose past history with current affairs," explained another student, speaking to what he gained from participating in the seminar. "The Buckley Program creates a room, not only for teaching, but also for open discussion, which allows one, as a student, to draw more from the texts and historical figures than is otherwise possible."



The Pros and Cons of Classical Liberalism in Hume's *Essays*

Featuring Thomas Merrill

Over spring break this year, we welcomed an inquisitive and lively group of students to examine the political thought of Scottish Enlightenment philosopher David Hume under the tutelage of Thomas Merrill from American University. Professor Merrill guided the students through Hume's *Essays*, encouraging important discussion about the foundations of liberalism, the nature of different forms of government, and much more.

After three intense days of study and discussion, the students came away with much to think about. "I think that it is a program that encourages a lot of active thought and introspection, and the environment within the seminar is very open and friendly to different opinions and viewpoints," shared one student.

Another participant noted that he "gained a more nuanced understanding of democracy. Hume's thoughts about government showed me some of the flaws of democracy and painted a more complex picture of politics."

For many participants, the multi-day seminar experience is a marked departure from their regular classroom experience. "Against the liberal orthodoxy that often stifles robust intellectual discourse," one Hume seminar participant commented, "seminars offered by the Buckley Institute are a breath of fresh air. We engaged with Hume's *Essays* rigorously and from the perspective of 18th-century Europe, gaining a better understanding of Hume's worldview and how it informs our own view today. Instead of being bogged down by discussions of oppression and decolonizing the Western canon (important as those conversations may be), the conversation was centered around Hume's life and ideas and not our own."



One participant directed a message specifically to the Buckley Institute supporters who made the seminar possible: "Your support for the Buckley Institute enabled me to enrich my break with rich discussions about commerce, government, and principles which go beyond what is taught in Yale classrooms. Thank you."

THE LUX ET VERITAS LEADERSHIP PROGRAM

The Buckley Institute was founded on the premise that something was missing from the Yale education. A true well-rounded undergraduate experience would always be out of reach for Yale students as long as only ideas that fit with the campus orthodoxy were allowed in the classroom. And while our regular events go a long way toward filling that gap, we saw the need for a longer-term curriculum that would tie all of our campus efforts together.

This academic year, the Buckley Institute launched the Lux et Veritas Leadership Program. Thanks to the support of generous donors, the Buckley Institute created this year-long fellowship to equip a select group of Yale undergraduates with the tools necessary to defend the ideals that built this country. Beginning in January and meeting regularly throughout the year, the program aims to develop courageous, principled leaders who will have a positive impact long after they leave the halls of New Haven.



With 501 Buckley Fellows to start off the 2022-2023 academic year (623 at its end), we wanted to create more opportunities for fellows to engage in deep, meaningful conversations with their peers even as Buckley got bigger.

Plus, we wanted to provide Yale students with not only knowledge but persuasion skills as well. Leadership Fellows learn to deliver public speeches, debate, and write op-eds. They receive media training from seasoned experts so they will be camera-ready upon graduation.

Through seminars on political philosophy, the principles of the American founding, and free enterprise, Leadership Fellows explore in depth the ideas and values that make the United States the exceptional country it is.

After a year of communications skills training and in-depth study of the ideas that help Western Civilization thrive, graduates of the Lux et Veritas Leadership Program will be ready to lead, whether in the boardroom, the courtroom, or Congress.



The Lux et Veritas Leadership Program

Seminars

- Plato
- Aristotle
- Solzhenitsyn
- The Foundations of Free Enterprise
- The American Founding
- Leadership Lessons from the Ancients
- Conservatism Today and the Legacy of William F. Buckley, Jr.

Workshops

- Speech Writing
- Public Speaking
- Media Training
- Op-ed Writing and Publication
- Interview Skills
- The Art of Persuasion

And Much More!

Speakers

- Miami Mayor Francis Suarez
- American Enterprise Institute Senior Fellow Benjamin Storey
- Presidential Speechwriter Alec Torres
- Former Director of the State Department's Policy Planning Staff Peter Berkowitz
- *The Dispatch* Executive Editor Adam O'Neal
- Cornell University Professor Barry Strauss



"Thank you so much for your support. I sincerely find the program to be an intellectually-stimulating opportunity like no other on campus."
– Emilie Ma '25



"As a STEM major who also shares significant interests in law, politics, and justice, the program has already been an incredible source of moral education that has prompted me to reconsider my goals for the future."
– Anshul Guha '25



THE WASHINGTON FELLOWSHIP

The Buckley Institute returned to Washington, D.C. this past March with a new cohort of 16 Buckley Fellows. The annual trip provides an opportunity to meet the political leaders and movers and shakers who help the country work as it should.

The packed schedule began with a meeting with former Attorney General Bill Barr who shared war stories from his time in government and traced the intellectual history of modern political movements. After starting on such a high note, the students eventually met nearly a whole Cabinet, including former Labor Secretary Eugene Scalia and former Interior Secretary David Bernhardt. Also on the docket was FBI Director Christopher Wray who spoke about running one of the world's foremost intelligence agencies. These rare opportunities introduced the students to many of the career options in the federal government.



The cohort toured the Supreme Court where they met Justice Brett Kavanaugh. “There aren’t enough words to describe how great Justice Kavanaugh was,” Noah Riley ’24 said. “Extremely gracious, and a normal guy.” Another trip participant called the meeting “one of the most extraordinary experiences of my life.”

“This trip has helped prepare me better for my career than anything else at Yale.”
– Marcos Barrios ’23

The Buckley Fellows also got a look at the inner workings of Congress during meetings with Senator Mitt Romney and staff from the offices of Senators Josh Hawley and John Barrasso. “I was beyond grateful for the opportunity to meet [Senator Romney],” one student commented. “I think the first presidential election I was truly conscious of was the 2012 election... but to be sitting directly across a table from him eleven years later is truly astounding.”

A big part of the D.C. experience is giving the students insight into the many career paths that are available in the capital. Students learned about journalism during meetings with columnist George Will, Washington Free Beacon Editor-in-Chief Eliana Johnson, and *The Dispatch* Editor-in-Chief Jonah Goldberg. Keith Urbahn, president and founding partner of Javelin, talked to the fellows about the publishing industry, and former Chief Technology Officer of the United States Michael Kratsios covered AI and tech.

A trip to Washington, D.C. would not be complete without a tour of the city’s think tanks. The Buckley Fellows heard from AEI’s Yuval Levin, the Foundation for





Defense of Democracies' Aaron MacLean, and Hoover Institution's Michael Auslin, among others.

The Buckley Fellows capped off their week in Washington with a reception with Yale alumni and Buckley Institute supporters, then sat down for dinner with one of Buckley's earliest alumni and past Supreme Court clerk, Harry Graver.

The students who joined the Buckley Institute in Washington, D.C. truly enjoyed the experience. Everyone said they were "very satisfied" with the trip in a follow-up survey and 100% of those on

the trip said they are likely to recommend the D.C. fellowship to their friends or classmates in the future. Across the board, the D.C. fellows agreed that they were exposed to speakers and networking opportunities they couldn't have gotten anywhere else, with 100% feeling they were introduced to ideas they "would not have otherwise encountered in my courses." 93.75% believed they made valuable connections for the future. When all was said and done, a similar 93.75% left the nation's capital with "a better understanding of American government."

"The DC fellowship is a once-in-a-lifetime chance to experience Washington from the inside, talking to the people that make it run," commented Marcos Barrios '23. "This trip has helped prepare me better for my career than anything else at Yale."

Zeki Tan '25 concluded: "This trip will likely be my most memorable experience at Yale."



"If you have any interest in politics, you have to go on this trip. Even if you don't consider yourself a conservative, I can't think of another opportunity to meet this many people in such a wide variety of D.C. circles."
– Libby Snowden '24

WHAT STUDENTS ARE SAYING

- 100% of attendees were "very satisfied"
- 100% of participants agreed the trip exposed them to speakers and opportunities they could not have accessed otherwise
- 100% of participants agreed the trip exposed them to networking opportunities they could not have had elsewhere
- 100% said they are likely to recommend the trip to friends and classmates
- 100% agreed they were introduced to ideas they "would not have otherwise encountered in my courses"
- 93.75% left the nation's capital with "a better understanding of American government."
- 93.75% said they made "connections on this trip that will be valuable to me in the future"
- 93.75% rated the overall experience as excellent
- 87.5% of attendees rated the speakers as excellent, with the remainder, 12.5%, rating them as good

STUDENT FELLOW SEMINARS

Student fellow seminars give Buckley Fellows an opportunity to spend quality time with some of the most important voices in politics and academia. Over dinner or lunch, they learn, ask questions, and have thoughtful discussions about the most serious topics facing the country and campus.

The academic year 2022-2023 started off with Yale Professor David Bromwich, who focused on the philosophy of Edmund Burke. He analyzed the modern conservative appreciation for Burke and looked at how some of Burke's political positions and beliefs would be viewed in the modern world.



The following week, Buckley Fellows sat down with former Deputy National Security Advisor and author of the federal government's 2017 National Security Strategy Nadia Schadlow to discuss the current state of geopolitics and American foreign policy.

Famed historian and author Niall Ferguson discussed his new book, *Doom: The Politics Catastrophe*. He explained his theory that the best way to not only decide what to do in response to a crisis but even to predict what others will do is to find the correct historical analog.

At the end of October, former Dean of Harvard Medical School Jeffrey Flier talked about the encroachment of politics into medicine and answered questions from interested Buckley Fellows on the medical school application process.



In November, prominent attorney and occasional Yale Law guest lecturer Floyd Abrams LAW '59 related some of his experiences arguing free speech rights before the Supreme Court. Later that month, the students joined Yale Sterling Professor of Political Science Emeritus Professor David Mayhew for a discussion of the midterm election results and his theories about midterm election dynamics.



Starting off the spring semester, University of Southern California Chemistry Professor Anna Krylov warned Buckley Fellows about the increasing politicization of science.

The next week, Sterling Professor of Social and Natural Science Nicholas Christakis discussed his most recent book, *Blueprint: The Evolutionary Origins of a Good Society*. He explained that while evil and corruption are commonly studied, man's tendency toward good, and the evolutionary value of doing good, have been significantly underappreciated. Having had

his own brush with cancel culture at Yale, Christakis talked to the assembled Buckley Fellows about the worrying trend undermining free speech on campuses across the country.

American Institute for Economic Research Distinguished Fellow Samuel Gregg warned that the previous consensus in favor of free market economics was eroding on both the left and the right. He argued that defending capitalism in terms of the Founders' ideals could work better in the modern political climate.



Months before her book would earn a Pulitzer Prize, Buckley Fellows spoke to Yale University John Lewis Gaddis Professor of History Beverly Gage about her new biography of J. Edgar Hoover, *G-Man: J. Edgar Hoover and the Making of the American Century*.

Rounding off the semester's seminars, *New York Times* columnist Ross Douthat argued that the abandonment of meritocracy in America would bring about the "Suicide of Social Liberalism." And inaugural Lux et Veritas Faculty Prize winner Mordechai Levy-Eichel talked through the state of literary criticism in the conservative world.

THE TWELFTH ANNUAL CONFERENCE: The 60th Anniversary of Milton Friedman's *Capitalism and Freedom*

For most Yale students, the end of the semester means papers, tests, and cramming for finals. For Buckley Fellows, it means the annual conference. Last December, the Buckley Institute brought 235 students, alumni, and supporters together to recognize Milton Friedman's intellectual and philosophical contributions.

The full day of discussion and debate began with a panel on why Milton Friedman still matters featuring Harvard's Robert Barro, The Heritage Foundation's Diana Furchtgott-Roth, and former Yale School of Management Dean Edward Snyder. Next, the Manhattan Institute's James Copland, the Coolidge Foundation's Amity Shlaes, and *National Review's* Andrew Stuttaford talked about woke capital and the threat it poses to freedom in America. For the day's last panel, the Independent Women's Forum's Inez Stepman and the Cato Institute's Walter Olson laid out their different approaches to education in America. Each of these panels was deftly moderated by Buckley Institute student leaders.



To cap off the evening, New Hampshire Governor Chris Sununu spoke to a full room about the current state of the conservative movement. He expressed concern about the growth of cancel culture on campus and set responsibility for the poor free speech culture at the feet of Yale's administration. When asked what young leaders should do if they like conservative policies but dislike conservative politicians, Sununu reminded everyone that "politicians are temporary. Ideals are forever." He also addressed his potential presidential aspirations and messaging issues in politics, among other topics.

During dinner, the Buckley Institute announced the winners of the 2022 high school and undergraduate essay contests. Students at Yale and across the country were asked to contemplate Friedman's belief that "underlying most arguments against the free market is a lack of belief in freedom itself." Out of dozens of submissions, Alex Hu '23 was chosen as the undergraduate winner and Darien, Connecticut's Paloma Dudas was selected as the high school winner.

Alongside the conference panels, Yale students met representatives from The Fund for American Studies, The Heritage Foundation, the Cato Institute, and The Public Interest Fellowship at the career and internship fair.



SUMMER INTERNSHIPS

The Buckley Institute is dedicated to creating opportunities for growth on and off campus. Beyond providing Yale students with the well-rounded education they sought at Yale in the first place, Buckley strives to equip them with the tools necessary to succeed after Yale. To that end, the Buckley Institute sponsors qualified and deserving Yale undergraduates for summer internships every year with top public policy and media organizations.

In addition to connecting students with unique opportunities, we make it as easy as possible for Yale students to participate. Those interning through the Buckley Institute receive a \$5,000 stipend to cover the costs related to their summer experience.

For many of our interns, the summer internship is their first time truly living on their own and on their own dime. Many appreciate not only the valuable experiences in the office but the excitement of doing everything – from paying bills to shopping – themselves. Interns see the inside of some of the country's premier intellectual and media institutions and get a firsthand look at what a simple workday is like at one of those organizations. They build connections that can last well past their college careers and finish their summers better prepared to not only survive but to thrive after graduation.

This summer's interns are working at *National Review*, the Calvin Coolidge Presidential Foundation, and *The New Criterion*. In addition, the Buckley Institute is partially supporting another student internship at the American Council of Trustees and Alumni.

“I am tremendously thankful to have had this opportunity, and in particular would like to thank the William F. Buckley, Jr. Program’s donors, without whom none of this would have been possible. I can honestly say that this internship changed the trajectory of my life, and I am eternally grateful.”

– Joseph Webb ’23

“The William F. Buckley, Jr. Program at Yale stepped in and offered me a generous scholarship which helped me afford to live in D.C. It is solely because of the Buckley Program that I was able to do this internship.”

– Anonymous Student

**The New
Criterion**

“Because of this opportunity, I’m going into this year more confident in my belief in the value of free expression and my ability to talk about it. Thank you for providing me the resources for a fantastic summer experience!”

– Libby Snowden ’24



NATIONAL REVIEW

FREE SPEECH AT YALE

The Buckley Institute started out as a simple speaker series dedicated to bringing diverse perspectives to campus. It quickly became apparent that addressing the campus echo chamber would take more than just a few events a semester.

As the annual national survey data on the next page shows, more students than ever are afraid to share their perspectives, both because of their professors and their classmates. The fear impacts students regardless of political affiliation. With shout downs and even violence in response to political disagreement on the rise, it is no wonder that today's college students are more hesitant to speak up than ever before.

Nonetheless, the Buckley Institute is taking bold and innovative steps to make Yale a place where students can share their perspectives without fear. At the beginning of the 2022-2023 academic year, the Buckley Institute gave out around 1,600 copies of *Campus Speech in Crisis*, which includes the Woodward Report and the Chicago principles, to incoming freshmen. On day one, Buckley wanted to create a culture among Yale's incoming freshman class that respects "the right to think the unthinkable, discuss the unmentionable, and challenge the unchallengeable," as the Woodward Report calls for.

This spring, we brought together 300 hundred Yalies to discuss what free speech means to them over Chick-fil-A sandwiches. While some Yale students only support speech that doesn't cause "harm," most understand free speech as the opportunity to share a perspective without fear. One student wrote on the free speech response board that "[f]ree speech is important because there are countries, such as the one I was born in, that censor speech."

"You are single-handedly making the values of free speech and expression a felt presence on Yale's campus, and as a student, I could not be more appreciative."
– William Barbee '26

"The Buckley Program has been instrumental in my understanding of the value of free speech on campus and beyond."
– Libby Snowden '24

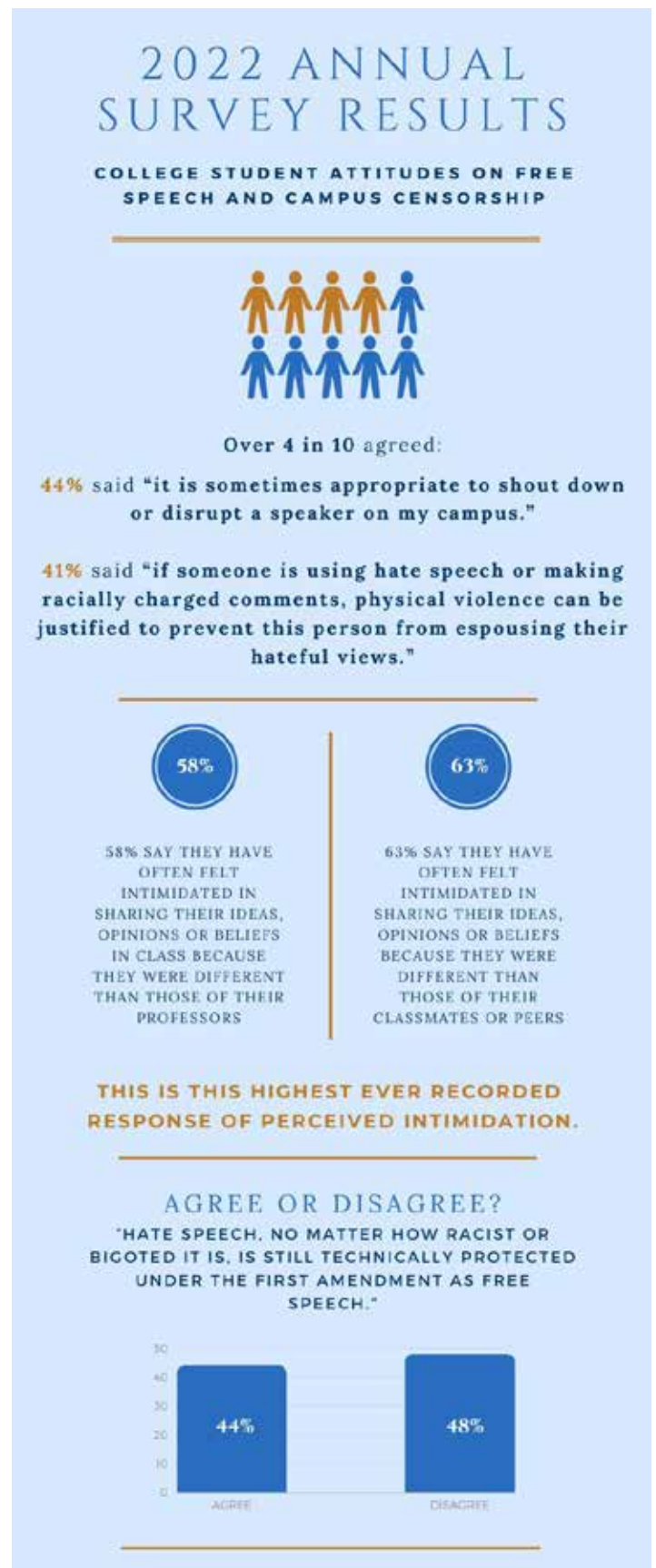


2022 NATIONAL SURVEY

For the eighth year in a row, the Buckley Institute commissioned a national survey of college students, polling their attitudes on free speech, cancel culture, and the most important issues of the day. McLaughlin & Associates conducted the survey:

- 58%, a record high, reported feeling intimidated in sharing an opinion that was different than a professor's, 8% higher than the previous year.
- 63% reported feeling intimidated in sharing opinions different than those of their peers, also a record high and a jump of 13% from the previous year.
- 44%, the highest percentage on record, believe it is okay to shout down speakers.
- 41%, also a record, believe it is justifiable to use violence to prevent someone from "using hate speech or making racially charged comments."
- For the first time in the survey's history, a plurality (48% vs. 44%) disagree that hate speech is protected by the First Amendment.
- 67% believe that their college or university should require all professors and administrators to make statements in favor of diversity, equity, and inclusion.
- When asked about cultures in which "some types of speech merit the death penalty" and whether they agreed or disagreed with the idea that "some speech can be so offensive that it merits such harsh punishment," 48% agreed.
- A greater percentage (33%) of students would prefer to live under a socialist system than a capitalist one (31%).
- 49% to 40%, college students believe it is not fair for transgender athletes to compete in a sports league different than their gender at birth.

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



THE LUX ET VERITAS FACULTY PRIZE

As Yale's free speech environment has spiraled, the Buckley Institute realized that countering it would require not just highlighting failure but also recognizing success.

To that end, the Buckley Institute launched the Lux et Veritas Faculty Prize in 2021. The award supports educators who foster classroom discussion that is truly welcoming to all perspectives and model for other faculty what a free speech environment can look like. Nominations are made by students, alumni, and even fellow faculty members.

Earlier this year, the Buckley Institute was proud to name John M. Duff, Jr. Professor of Law at Yale Law School Amy Chua as the second winner of the Lux et Veritas Faculty Prize. Chua has been a faculty member at Yale Law School for the past 22 years. She will receive \$10,000 and a commemorative plaque at a celebratory event on October 26, 2023.

One of Chua's student nominees wrote that Chua "doesn't just support ideological diversity in some abstract sense in the classroom, but goes out of her way to help the students who hold those views feel less alienated." Another said she "makes sure that ideological minorities feel comfortable and gives a lot of support behind the scenes." A third student commented that Chua "manages the class well so that students can share their views comfortably without fear of backlash from others."

Last year, the Buckley Institute awarded its first ever Lux et Veritas Faculty Prize to lecturer Dr. Mordechai Levy-Eichel. During his award ceremony in September 2022, Levy-Eichel, a lecturer in the Department of Political Science and the Humanities Program, laid out his "ten commandments of teaching." Levy-Eichel walked through what he felt were useful guidelines for teachers to ensure open discourse in the classroom while also mitigating the fear faculty have themselves of venturing into dangerous territory during class discussions.



ACTION FOR YALE

After the Yale Corporation abolished the petition candidate process for Alumni Fellow elections in May 2021, Yale alumni were left without the signature means of pushing for reform at Yale.

Since then, Fight for Yale's Future, an initiative of the Buckley Institute, has been working to make Yale a better place nonetheless. Earlier this year, we submitted a petition with signatures of almost 1,300 students, alumni, faculty, and supporters to Yale President Peter Salovey and the Yale Corporation calling on Yale leadership to recommit to the Woodward Report free speech principles.

The Fight for Yale's Future petition outlined several concrete steps that would dramatically improve Yale's free speech environment including instituting regular programs educating students about their speech rights during orientation or other first-year experience programs and distributing a printed copy of Yale's free speech policies to every student. To make it unequivocally clear that Yale will support its students' free speech rights, Yale leadership should distribute a written statement to all members of the University community affirming that the Woodward Report remains Yale's governing and binding free speech policy.

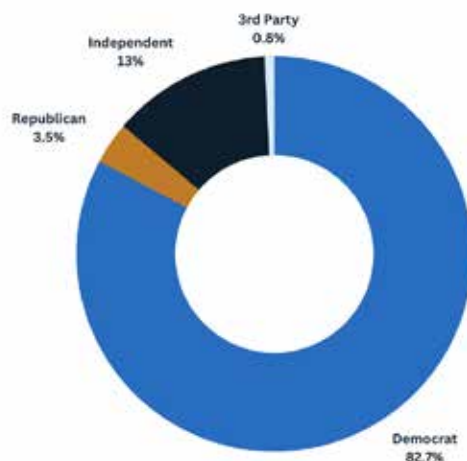
The petition further asks Yale to join 100 other institutions of higher education in endorsing the Chicago principles and to add a "safe harbor" clause to its free speech policies precluding investigations of students or groups by the University over protected speech.

More information is available at fightforyale.com

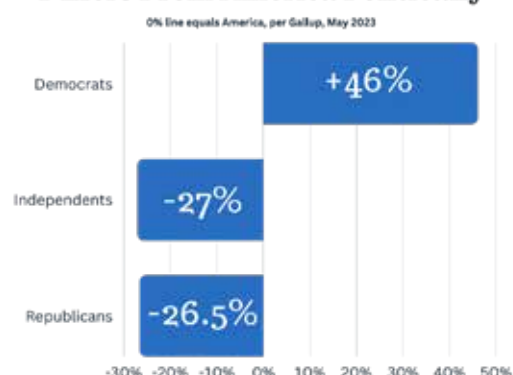


THE TRUE STATE OF FACULTY POLITICAL DIVERSITY

Though it has been long known that the faculty at Yale, and many other American universities, are overwhelmingly liberal, the Buckley Institute wanted to know the exact extent of the political bias in Yale's faculty lounge. We began our study earlier this year by looking at four of the most relevant departments — Economics, History, Philosophy, and Political Science — and the law school. The Buckley Institute plans to release a report on the full Yale faculty.



How Yale's Faculty Differs From America Politically



Political Science: 1 Republican Economics: 0 Republicans

CAMPUS IMPACT

85%

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



96%

of student fellows are likely to recommend becoming a Buckley Fellow to a friend or classmate

91%

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

90%

of student fellows agree that the Buckley Institute exposed them to ideas they would not have encountered otherwise on campus

84%

of student fellows agree that the Buckley Institute has made it more comfortable to express heterodox viewpoints on Yale's campus, inside the classroom or out

Why Our Work Matters

70% of student fellows frequently or sometimes self-censor in the classroom and on campus

ONLY 6% of student fellows do not fear academic and/or social consequences for expressing their views on campus

ONLY 8% of student fellows agree that Yale always lives up to the promises of the Woodward Report

BUT... 67% of fellows agree the Buckley Institute has given them more confidence to speak up in class to share their own opinions or support their classmates.

95% of student fellows agree that the Buckley Institute has had a positive impact on Yale's campus culture

94% of student fellows agree that the Buckley Institute has had a positive impact on free speech at Yale

What Students Are Saying

"The Buckley Program is more than just a conservative organization. Its events serve as an opportunity for all students who are dissatisfied with the campus orthodoxy to come together and engage in meaningful, intellectual discourse. Liberals, conservatives, even the occasional Republican – everyone finds a place here."
– Aron Ravin '24

"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."
– Kevin Xiao '23

"The Buckley Program helps create a plurality of political views on campus."
– Rohan Krishnan '24

Data reflects the results of our Winter 2023 survey of current Buckley Program Fellows



How The Buckley Institute Has Helped Student Fellows

- ✓ Identify what I wanted to study at Yale
- ✓ Develop my intellectual and political interests
- ✓ Gain access to an internship opportunity
- ✓ Increase professional networking opportunities
- ✓ Meet other students who respect my views
- ✓ Hear views not found elsewhere on campus
- ✓ Have a space on campus where I can express my views openly

Congratulations to Buckley's graduating seniors.

We look forward to watching as they make their mark on the future.

Our 115 graduating Buckley Fellows will pursue careers in consulting, finance, and education. Some will be matriculating into law or medical school. Others will dive directly into the policy world. Our survey of the graduates highlighted the impact the Buckley Institute had on their experience at Yale.

What were the most beneficial opportunities that the Buckley Institute provided for you?

- "A group of people advocating for free speech on campus."
- "Speaking events with distinguished guests who otherwise may not have come to campus."
- "Smaller seminars at which I could get to meet interesting people, both students and guests."
- "Summer internship funding, Firing Line Debates, multi-day seminars."
- "Networking and career building events."
- "Coming to speaker's talks and the small-scale dinners to have very interesting conversations."
- "I got to know many people I otherwise wouldn't have met."

What initially inspired you to join the Buckley Program?

- "The opportunity of community not found at Yale."
- "Quality of speaker events."
- "Freely expressing ideas to figure out what I believed in."
- "I wanted a place on campus where conservative views were heard."
- "Its commitment to free speech."
- "Intellectual curiosity."
- "As a progressive, I was looking for a forum to more seriously engage with right-wing and conservative thought at Yale."
- "I wanted to be able to experience diverse views not found elsewhere on campus."
- "Desire to hear from conservative speakers in particular."

"A conversation with Alex Sikorski introduced me to the Program, and I was immediately amazed by the fact that I could interact with speakers of the caliber that the Buckley Program brought."
– Yale Senior



Student Fellow Spotlight

SAHAR TARTAK '26

Before you came to Yale, were you worried about the campus free speech climate?

This was actually something that I was considering seriously when I was applying to schools. Based on just speaking to people who were already at Yale, it seemed like they had some issues with political correctness and political intolerance that I found discomforting and that the campus voice tended to be pretty one-sided. So, it was definitely something that concerned me.

Were there any topics in particular you thought would be difficult to discuss on campus?

I had a couple of issues that I just was worried that I wouldn't be able to express myself about, like being a supporter of Israel, and race and identity politics issues.

In looking at the free speech environment, did the Halloween costume controversy come up?

Yeah. I brought that up with people on campus and some of the answers were just inadequate. Some people said that the Halloween controversy was really a consequence of students not liking Professor Christakis. First of all, I also don't want the jerks to get persecuted for their bad ideas. And second of all, I've met and spoken to Professor Christakis, he is not a jerk at all.

I had a friend, five years older than me, who came to Yale right after that happened and he said, "Sahar, I hadn't even known about it when I got here, but I think if I had known, I would've reconsidered my choice just because it was so appalling."

You had issues with cancel culture when you were in high school – teachers who were giving you grief about how you felt it was inappropriate to spend the school's money in certain ways.

I understood that the positions that cancel culture puts young people in and just people in general are so exhausting and uncomfortable that it might be worth avoiding those situations at all costs. But on the other hand, I also understood and still understand the importance of standing up to intolerance.

When I see students who can't tolerate, for instance, an opposition to a welfare state, I just think to myself, how are you going to interact with your family, neighbors, and friends?

What has the campus culture actually been like?

I think because of the Buckley Institute, it's actually been really comfortable.

Probably the worst moments are in big administrative settings. During freshman orientation, we had a presentation about how to stay safe from sexual assault. The presenter said, "We're about to discuss how to stay safe from sexual assault, but oftentimes that sounds like victim blaming and I just want to make clear that the blame is 100% on the perpetrator and not the victim." Everyone



"The other students on campus can't shun 550 members of the student body. That's just not feasible. It really makes viewpoint diversity mainstream."

applauded the speaker and then the speaker said nothing about how not to get sexually assaulted on campus.

Another example is a student asked a question in a policing presentation about campus policing and safety. The person presenting did not answer the question and pointed out that calling a street “shady” insults the people on that street. And then the presenter said, “No, New Haven is safe and you really shouldn’t worry.” But that’s actually just not true. You can look at the crime rates.

Do you ever feel pressure to self-censor in class?

I think we’ve done such a good job in media stigmatizing cancel culture that students have become more reluctant to participate in it. When you’re sitting right next to a group of people, it’s just not likely that someone’s going to yell at you.

But, I would say that I’ve had moments where I’ve censored myself because there’s a lot of fear on campus. It’s easy to let that fear get to your head and then not say what you want to say.

Do you feel like there are opinions you have that are mainstream that you would get called out for if you shared them in a class?

Even being apologetic for or willing to stand up for people who like Trump is probably not tolerated here, let alone being in favor of Trump. I get if you’re not a fan of him, but, again, half the country to some extent was.

You joined the Buckley Institute for the annual trip to Washington, D.C. this year. How was it?

Oh, it was amazing. I have never learned so much in one week. I really liked Jonah Goldberg. He founded *The Dispatch*. He was super insightful and also quite – I felt at least – moderate.

What are the things you like most about the Buckley Institute so far?

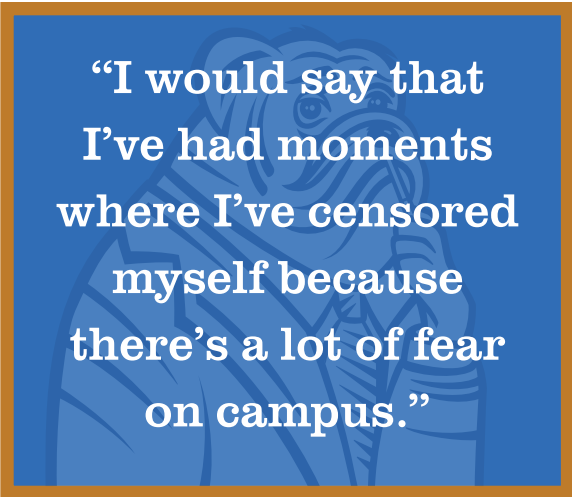
I love hearing from the speakers. It’s a wide variety of people with insights who constantly give you advice to do good things in your life, such as listening to people who you disagree with, and doing things that you enjoy and are passionate about.

Is the Buckley Institute’s work having a larger impact on Yale?

Yeah, of course. It’s basically the case for diversity. When you’re around people who you know are different from you, but they’re your friends and you live with them, you can’t be intolerant of them because they’re right there. The other students on campus can’t shun 550 members of the student body. That’s just not feasible. It really makes viewpoint diversity mainstream.

Have you made good friends through the Buckley Institute?

Oh, yes. Buckley just wants everyone to engage in free speech and viewpoint diversity. So, as a result, you just wind up with a big group of people who are interested in just connecting with you and hearing what you have to say. I’ve made some really, really good friends in the Buckley Institute.



**“I would say that
I’ve had moments
where I’ve censored
myself because
there’s a lot of fear
on campus.”**

Student Fellow Spotlight

ANSHUL GUHA '25

Before you came to Yale, what did you think the campus environment was going to be like?

Coming into Yale, especially as a high school senior, I was quite concerned that it was going to be very liberal and that there would be kind of a dearth of meaningful discussions that go across the left and the right divide.

I remember almost self-censoring on my Yale application. I think it speaks a little bit to how people outside of Yale think about Yale generally.

What were the kind of things that you had heard about Yale or knew about Yale that made you worry about the campus orthodoxy in the first place?

I'd heard about the Christakis incident – the Halloween controversy. I knew generally that Yale was a very progressive campus and I was a little hesitant about speaking freely on political issues. And honestly, the way that this would've manifested for me as a STEM student was that I just wouldn't have talked about politics on campus. Had I been a humanities major or a history major, it would probably have been more directly self-censoring within seminars or classes.

How did you get involved in the Buckley Institute in the first place?

When I was maybe in the first one or two weeks, I got an email saying Buckley was giving out Chick-fil-A sandwiches and talking about free expression and individual rights.

I met a couple of other students and they were having some really great conversations. I ended up signing up for a dinner seminar with Rayhan Asat about her brother who was, and still is, interned in one of the Uyghur concentration camps. And so, just hearing about her story and trying to think of interesting questions to ask her, that exercise in and of itself was very helpful. I just had so much fun interacting with those students there that I thought, okay, I should really do this more often.

How has the Buckley Institute impacted your view of the free speech environment on campus?

I think part of the reason I'm less pessimistic than when I was coming into Yale is because of the existence of the Buckley Institute, and also because of a lot of the people that I've met through the Buckley Institute. The people I've met outside of Buckley, strangely enough, I've seen are very receptive to unorthodox ideas and very receptive to having great in-depth conversations that I didn't think that I could have had coming into Yale.

In your time at Yale, have you self-censored at all?

Well, I've thought about self-censoring, but I fought against it and decided not to do it.



I can point to a great example of the type of culture that I think should be more common at Yale. When I was having dinner with some of the other Buckley board members, we were discussing transgender rights issues. Another student overheard the conversation and started expressing some of their own views on the topic. One of the other Buckley board members ended up actually inviting her to join our conversation. Because we invited that other student into the conversation, we were able to find some common ground on the issue of having same-sex floors and same-sex housing.

What do you like most about the Buckley Institute?

Probably talking to the other Buckley Fellows because I really get to see other people's perspectives. And so what might happen is that we might have a speaker who's given us some ideas to think about, and I'm able to work through the main points of those speeches with the other Buckley fellows. Just hearing their ideas really makes me think and reconsider and try to understand them better.

You helped organize a STEM-focused event with former NASA Administrator Jim Bridenstine. What inspired that?

I did want to reach out to more people with science backgrounds. First, a lot of science is funded by the federal government. It's important for the public to be aware of the type of science that goes on because a lot of it is in fact funded by the taxpayer.

The other thing is that being able to do good science and fund important science is really useful because science is one of those few things that if used correctly is going to improve humanity.

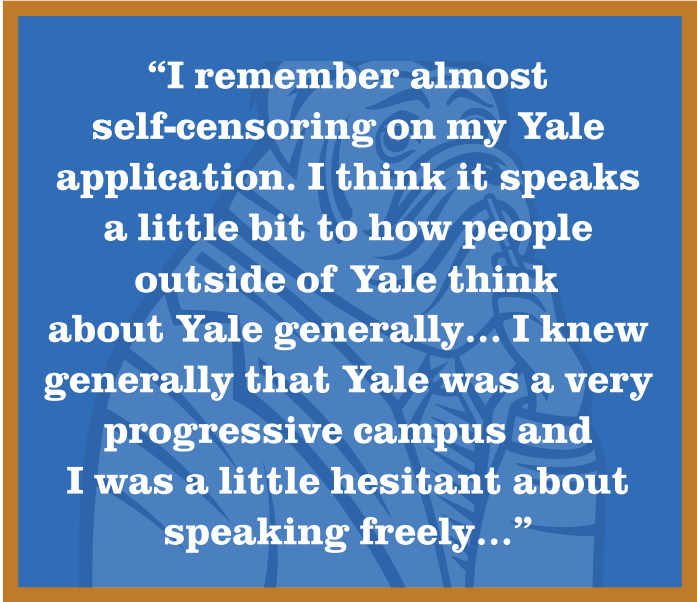
Plus, a lot of political conversations such as nuclear power, climate change, things like that, they all rely heavily on the scientific data used to back up whatever policy assertions are made. So understanding the science in and of itself becomes more of a political question in those cases.

Do you think the Buckley Institute is having an impact?

Oh, absolutely. Definitely. I think we're definitely succeeding in the mission of trying to bring some more interesting and heterodox speakers to campus.

Has the Buckley Institute helped you figure out what you want to do in the future?

Being part of the Buckley Institute has made me more interested in just understanding the world better. Even if I do go into something heavily math related, it'll be something that has a lot of considerations of global affairs. I'm also strongly considering working for a few years and then attending law school. I had not considered law school before Buckley.



“I remember almost self-censoring on my Yale application. I think it speaks a little bit to how people outside of Yale think about Yale generally... I knew generally that Yale was a very progressive campus and I was a little hesitant about speaking freely...”



KARINA KOVALCIK '17

Karina Kovalcik, Economics '17, is a senior quantitative analyst at Chaikin Analytics, a suite of stock research tools and portfolio management services.

When you were looking at colleges, were you worried about the campus free speech culture?

Yeah, I mean the Ivy League has a reputation, and frankly has for a pretty long time, of being very liberal. Even when I was getting recruited – I actually played soccer at Yale – it was always a given. It was a known thing. But I have to say I expected it from the professors and such. I didn't really expect it from the students though. And so that surprised me a little bit.

What surprised you the most about Yale students' free speech culture?

The Ivy League is the crème de la crème, the smartest people in the world, highest level of academic standards. And frankly, there's this belief that you can explore all kinds of pathways of thought because that's how development occurs. But there were very clear delineations of what is an acceptable train of thought and what is not an acceptable train of thought.

You were a student at Yale during the infamous Halloween costume protest and shout down. What did you think of everything that happened?

My first thought was, people have lost their minds. People have utterly lost their minds. That is so disrespectful. It was a really bad look for the students and gave us a very bad name.

How'd you get involved with the Buckley Institute in the first place?

Zach Young, one of the early presidents of the student board, found out I was conservative and invited me to come to a couple of Buckley events. I loved all of it.

Are there any events in particular that stood out from all the others?

We had Jon Haidt come to talk about "The Coddling of the American Mind". J.D. Vance came. Ben Carson and Ben Shapiro were cool too! There was also a huge protest about somebody who was invited to speak on a panel. My buddy was walking out of the event and he literally got spat on by a student protestor.

How did being involved in Buckley impact you as an undergraduate?

I think that my involvement with the Buckley Institute helped me become a lot more confident in myself as a political human being. It introduced me to the nuances of the political debates we hear on TV, so I was better able to develop a more balanced and informed opinion.

Do you have any advice for current Buckley Fellows?

While the lack of intellectual diversity and the coddling are things that you wish didn't need to be that way, the other side of that is that because the campus atmosphere is so different from reality, a lot of things can be possible. And so, I would just say persevere and stick to your commitment to exploring many different perspectives. It will really benefit you in life to have an open mind about things.

"...my involvement with the Buckley Institute helped me become a lot more confident in myself as a political human being."

Message from the Treasurer, John Spagnola '79

The resumption of regular programs and events in 2022-23 after the COVID pause brought new life to the Buckley Institute's organization, mission, and finances. Revenue for the year grew to \$1,844,165, a 6.5% increase, while total net assets stood at \$3,085,132, both new highs. This financial strength manifests itself in the growth in student fellows – nearly 10% of Yale undergraduates; programs – 86 speakers participated in Buckley events and programs last year; and donors – over 1,000 people contributed to the Buckley Institute in 2022. We are extremely grateful to have earned our donors' trust and will continue to be true to our mission by spreading the message of "diversity of thought" throughout the Yale College campus and beyond.



December 31, 2022

ASSETS

Current Assets

Cash	\$ 1,089,293
Promises to give	201,989
Marketable securities	1,768,853
Prepaid expenses and other	46,753
Total Current Assets	3,106,888
Property and equipment, net	12,819
Operating lease right-of-use asset	57,277
	<u>3,176,984</u>

LIABILITIES AND NET ASSETS

Current Liabilities

Accounts payable and accrued expenses	\$ 34,575
Current portion of operating lease liability	57,277
Total Current Liabilities	<u>91,852</u>

Net Assets

Without donor restrictions	
Undesignated	1,981,816
Board designated funds	959,627
Total Without Donor Restrictions	2,941,443
With donor restrictions	143,689
Total Net Assets	3,085,132
	<u>\$ 3,176,984</u>

REVENUE, GAINS AND SUPPORT

	Without Donor Restrictions	With Donor Restrictions	Total
Contributions and grants	\$ 1,326,935	\$ 183,562	\$ 1,510,497
Conference revenue	34,217	-	34,217
Investment loss	(31,480)	-	(31,480)
Special events, net of direct donor benefit of \$129,208	305,117	-	305,117
Other income	25,814	-	25,814
Net assets released from restrictions	39,873	(39,873)	-
Total Revenue, Gains and Support	<u>1,700,476</u>	<u>143,689</u>	<u>1,844,165</u>

EXPENSES

Program services	904,579	-	904,579
Management and general	184,797	-	184,797
Fundraising	258,227	-	258,227
Total Expenses	<u>1,347,603</u>	<u>-</u>	<u>1,347,603</u>
Change in Net Assets	352,873	143,689	496,562

NET ASSETS

Beginning of year	2,588,570	-	2,588,570
End of year	<u>\$ 2,941,443</u>	<u>\$ 143,689</u>	<u>\$ 3,085,132</u>



SUPPORT US

The Buckley Institute 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 Institute:

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



“Thanks to your generosity, I am confident that conservative values at Yale will not only survive, but thrive in coming years.”
– Zeki Tan '25

“If we don’t save free speech today, there will be a totalitarian tomorrow. Read George Orwell’s *1984*. It was supposed to be a warning, not an instruction manual.”
– John O’Donnell '74



God and Man at Yale Society

Estate gifts have a transformational impact on the future of the Buckley Institute 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.



Christopher Buckley addressing Buckley Institute supporters at Great Elm (William F. Buckley, Jr.'s family home) to 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 Institute.

As of June 2023, the following 21 supporters have joined the God and Man at Yale Society. If you have included the Buckley Institute in your estate plans, please let us know so we can recognize you in future reports.

Mr. David G. Anderson and Ms. Nancy Kaible	Mr. Peter B. Dooley	Mr. and Mrs. John O'Donnell
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Ready to join our God and Man at Yale Society?

Contact your lawyer or financial planner to include the Buckley Institute 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 be publicly recognized, unless you request anonymity. Contact Isabelle Hargrove, Director of Development, at Isabelle@buckleyinstitute.com or 203-745-0571 with any questions.

Wisdom in Youth Society

This giving program is tailored to the interests of younger alumni who were Buckley Fellows during their time at Yale. Please contact Isabelle@buckleyinstitute.com for more information.

Interview with Sherman Baldwin '86

What was your experience at Yale like?

I had a very happy and fulfilling four years at Yale from '82 to '86. I had a great experience in the classroom, on the athletic fields, and overall, a very positive Yale experience.

What was the free speech climate like at the time?

It honestly was not something that I think was heightened at that point in time. I think the school was absolutely liberal leaning in terms of the politics of the faculty and the politics of the student body. But honestly, the whole notion of what's come up in the recent years of self-censorship or feeling like some points of view might be too difficult to raise really didn't exist.

How do you feel about the growth of cancel culture on campus?

That's one of the reasons I've gotten involved in the Buckley Institute, because I think that's a horrible trend.

I think it really started to accelerate with this 2015 Halloween costume incident that I do not think that the Yale administration handled well, in my opinion. And I think it's accelerated nationally since that point. And this whole concept of canceling people or canceling ideas or just shouting them down, I think is terrible.

Do you think the Buckley Institute is helping combat cancel culture on campus?

Yes, I feel the Buckley Institute is playing a vital role, not just at Yale, but it has the opportunity to play that role nationally.

Were you involved as a Yale alumnus before getting connected to the Buckley Institute?

I've been a loyal Yale alum since I graduated. I've given to the college on an annual basis for 30+ years, but I really began to question that. And my giving now has definitely shifted in focus. Yale doesn't need my general contributions anymore, and I'd like to see an institution like the Buckley Institute thrive.

What is the most important aspect of the Buckley Institute's work in your opinion?

"...when smart people withhold their perspective and keep it to themselves, I think everybody loses."

I think it's giving a forum and a support network to minimize the notion of self-censorship on campus. That if you have a point of view that's a little bit out of step with the norm or the orthodoxy of the day, you should feel comfortable making that point of view known.

You have two children who are Yale alumni. Were they affected by cancel culture on campus?

They both would come home during vacations and talk about situations where they felt like they were self-censoring a bit. And that I found upsetting. I felt like they weren't getting the best Yale education that is possible. And when smart people withhold their perspective and keep it to themselves, I think everybody loses.



Sherman Baldwin earned a B.A. from Yale University, a Master's degree from George Washington University, and an M.B.A. from the Harvard Business School. He served in the U.S. Navy from 1987 to 1995 and is CEO of LCR Capital Partners, a private investment and advisory services firm. An award-winning author, he was also a Lecturer on Innovation & Leadership at Yale. Two of his children attended Yale as undergraduates.

Donald Kagan Memorial Fund and Lecture

Over his four decades at Yale, Professor Donald Kagan became more than an educator; more than an administrator; more than a scholar and leader. He truly became an institution at Yale.

Throughout his time at Yale, Professor Kagan was dedicated to furthering appreciation of the roots of Western Civilization and to the preservation of the Yale he knew and loved.

That is why the Buckley Institute is proud to launch the Donald Kagan Memorial Fund to advance the values Professor Kagan stood for, spread the knowledge he felt indispensable, and fight for the Yale he believed in.

The inaugural memorial lecture will be given on September 7th by Professor Kagan's former student, Cornell University professor and classicist Barry Strauss.

"When you enter Payne Whitney Gymnasium and are confronted by that sculpture of the bulldog, you're seeing Don Kagan. When you walk through Woolsey Rotunda, that Athenian warrior sculpted into the wall is Kagan. When you look across Old Campus and see Nathan Hale, hands bound behind his back defying the enemies of freedom, that's Don Kagan."

– Charles Hill, fmr. Diplomat and Yale Lecturer



For more information, go to www.buckleyinstitute.com/kagan

Remembering Terry Holcombe, True Devotee of Lux et Veritas

The Buckley Institute was saddened to hear of the passing on June 5, 2023, of Terry Holcombe '64, member of the Buckley Institute board of directors and true devotee of lux et veritas.

More than most, Terry dedicated himself to Yale. From 1975 to 1998, he served Yale under six university presidents and oversaw multiple successful capital campaigns, raising billions of dollars for the alma mater he loved so much.



Terry carried that passion and energy over to the Buckley Institute where he was not only a generous

supporter himself but also a dedicated board member. His advice was invaluable in guiding our efforts. His willingness to put his name and stamp on our work to make the Buckley Institute a truly effective and impactful organization will always be remembered. And so, too, will the witty way in which Terry often delivered his wisdom.

The Buckley Institute is grateful to have had the opportunity to work with him and benefit from his counsel. Terry will be truly missed.

May his memory be a blessing.

Thank You

The Buckley Institute would like to recognize those donors who contributed to our efforts
between January 1, 2022 and December 31, 2022.

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