



THE WILLIAM F. BUCKLEY, JR. PROGRAM AT YALE

ANNUAL REPORT



2019-2020

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

Dear Friend,

We are delighted to report to you on another strong year for the Buckley Program. As the pages that follow detail, we continued to significantly expand our reach both on and off campus.

The 2019-2020 academic year featured a busy calendar with dozens of programs including seminars, lectures, and debates. Even when Yale's campus shut down in light of the pandemic, we forged ahead with a popular series of online events spanning art history, the Constitution, feminism, and much more. Over the past year, thousands of people attended our forums either in person or online, not to mention those who watched recordings on our YouTube channel.

Remarkably, our student membership soared to a record high of 405. Our student fellows took advantage of special opportunities such as meetings with a Supreme Court Justice and Cabinet Secretary. We encourage you to read the student comments and interviews in particular throughout this report. Their stories underscore the powerful impact of our efforts. As one student recently noted in reviewing one of our seminars:

These seminars are always a fantastic opportunity to have truly open academic debate...there is a considerable amount of viewpoint diversity, and this is one of the few times that I feel that I can authentically discuss my viewpoint and others' viewpoints without fear of retribution.

While that statement is a sorry reflection of the state of campus life, it is a reminder of why our work remains vital. What happens on campus does not stay on campus; indeed, it is changing our culture and our country in very real ways.

Bill Buckley explained upon the founding of *National Review* in 1955 that "ideas rule the world." That is why it is so critical to have the Buckley Program as a unique bulwark against the tyranny of groupthink that dominates so many institutions. The depth and breadth of our programs on an elite campus is simply unparalleled. For context, many campus organizations can barely host one conservative speaker without a riot. We do so weekly.

But the measure of our success is not merely bringing viewpoints that would otherwise be unheard on campus, but in cultivating attitudes like this one: "I feel comfortable expressing my views openly in the classroom BECAUSE the Buckley Program has imbued me with a sense of duty to speak my mind and work to improve the campus climate."

We are grateful to our donors for their continued generosity as we labor to keep the legacy of William F. Buckley, Jr. alive for a new generation, provide a home for serious conservative thought, and restore the honest exchange of ideas on campus. Our important work would not be possible without your support. Thank you!

Sincerely,



Roger Kimball
Chairman



Lauren Noble
Founder and Executive Director



MESSAGE FROM THE STUDENT PRESIDENT, Kobe Rizk '21

As we enter a new academic year, I'm happy to take the opportunity to reflect on the Buckley Program's activities over the past two semesters. We continue to be one of Yale's largest and most active student organizations. At the end of the 2019-2020 academic year, the Buckley Program had over four-hundred undergraduate and graduate student fellows. This broad enthusiasm for the Buckley Program across campus is an encouraging reminder that many Yale students still wish to hear perspectives different from their own and engage with ideas they wouldn't normally encounter in modern academia.

In my capacity as the Buckley Program's student president, I regularly meet and work with many incredibly dedicated fellow students. I want to especially take a moment to thank the Buckley Program's student board. Whether it be through coordinating with our program's speakers, planning events, or expanding the program's outreach efforts, each member of our student board plays a valuable role in forwarding the mission of the Buckley Program.

Over the last year, we have had the pleasure of hosting many events open to both student fellows and the wider Yale community. These included lectures by guests such as Dr. Yuval Levin, FCC Chairman Ajit Pai, Margaret Hoover, Dr. Michael Pillsbury, and Rich Lowry. Our annual conference focused on the legacy of Hayek's *The Road to Serfdom*. We held dinner seminars with guests including Jay Winik, Professor Nicholas Christakis, Professor Anthony Kronman, and Richard Brookhiser. In addition, we hosted several Firing Line debates in the spirit of Bill Buckley's classic television program. These included debates on the American withdrawal from Syria, merit-based immigration, and university divestment from the fossil-fuel industry.

One of the most exciting new developments was a trip to Washington D.C last fall. Student fellows had the opportunity to meet with government officials such as Secretary of Education Betsy DeVos, Senator Josh Hawley, Senator John Thune, and two federal judges.

As you are well aware, the COVID-19 pandemic put a damper on many of the exciting events we had on tap for the spring semester. When the crisis first hit the U.S. and all Yale students were asked to vacate campus, we were unsure of how the Buckley Program would continue its activities without the ability to host in-person conversations in lecture halls, seminar rooms, and over



dinner. We are pleased to report that the second-half of the semester turned out to be quite successful, and we were able to continue many of the Program's offerings to students remotely. Some of the online events we've hosted in recent months include a conversation with Professor Michael Lewis on art history at Yale, a Firing Line debate on student loan forgiveness between David Bergeron and Inez Stepman, and most recently a lecture on Edmund Burke's view on capitalism with Professor Gregory Collins.

I want to sincerely thank you for your generous support of our efforts. Joining the Buckley Program has been the single most rewarding experience of my time at Yale. In saying this, I know I speak for countless other student fellows, past and present. Please join me in reflecting on the Buckley Program's crucial role on Yale's campus. It wouldn't be possible without you and your support.

2019-2020 ACADEMIC YEAR Events in Review

ARISTOTLE ON THE GOOD LIFE

August Seminar with Robert Bartlett of Boston College
August 19, 2019 to August 21, 2019

THE INVISIBLE CRISIS

First in three-part lecture series by Yuval Levin of the American Enterprise Institute
September 5, 2019

WHY INSTITUTIONS MATTER

Fall Semester Seminar featuring Yuval Levin
Held during three lunches over the course of the fall semester
September 6, 2019, October 4, 2019, and November 8, 2019

A CONVERSATION ON FREE SPEECH AND INTELLECTUAL DIVERSITY

Featuring Nick Rosenkranz, law professor at Georgetown University and Jonathan Haidt, professor at New York University's Stern School of Business
Held at the Yale Club of New York
September 9, 2019

NATHAN LAW, HONG KONG POLITICIAN AND DEMOCRACY ACTIVIST

Seminar
September 11, 2019

THE ASSAULT ON AMERICAN EXCELLENCE

Seminar with Anthony Kronman, former dean of Yale Law School
September 12, 2019

BLUEPRINT: THE EVOLUTIONARY ORIGINS OF A GOOD SOCIETY

Seminar with Nicholas Christakis, Sterling Professor of Social and Natural Science at Yale
September 18, 2019

FIRING LINE DEBATE ON ABORTION

Featuring Alexandra DeSanctis, Jill Filipovic, and Stephen Latham
September 19, 2019

AMERICAN INDIVIDUALISM: HOW MODERN CONSERVATISM CAN APPEAL TO A NEW GENERATION

Lecture by Margaret Hoover
Made possible by the Irving Brown Lecture Series at Young America's Foundation
September 26, 2019



THE FCC: FREE MARKETS AND FREE SPEECH

Lecture by FCC Chairman Ajit Pai
October 2, 2019

INSTITUTIONS IN FLUX

Second in three-part lecture series by Yuval Levin
October 3, 2019

APRIL 1865

Seminar with Jay Winik, author and historian
October 14, 2019

FALL BREAK SEMINAR IN WASHINGTON, D.C.

October 16, 2019 to October 18, 2019

NINTH ANNUAL CONFERENCE ON F.A. HAYEK'S *THE ROAD TO SERFDOM AT 75: THE FUTURE OF CLASSICAL LIBERALISM AND THE FREE MARKET*

Featuring Randal K. Quarles, Sohrab Ahmari, Cliff Asness, Charles W. Calomiris, Oren Cass, Gene Dattel, Veronique de Rugy, Michael Brendan Dougherty, Ross Douthat, Michael Franc, Daniel McCarthy, Gerald O'Driscoll, Amity Shlaes, Noël Valis, Kevin Williamson, and Doug Dukey.
November 1, 2019

BEYOND MERITOCRACY

Third in three-part lecture series by Yuval Levin
November 7, 2019

FIRING LINE DEBATE ON WHY HAS AMERICA RETREATED FROM MARRIAGE AND WHAT CAN WE DO ABOUT IT?

Featuring June Carbone and Bradford Wilcox
November 14, 2019

DEMOCRACY AND DISTRUST: THE PROBLEM OF POPULISM IN THUCYDIDES

January Seminar featuring Clifford Orwin of the University of Toronto
January 9, 2020 to January 11, 2020





GIVE ME LIBERTY

Seminar with journalist and historian Richard Brookhiser
January 15, 2020

FIRING LINE DEBATE ON “TRUMP’S SYRIA WITHDRAWAL AND AMERICA’S NATIONAL INTEREST”

Featuring Ambassador Robert Ford and Mona Yacoubian
January 27, 2020

BACKYARD POLITICS: WHY STATE AND LOCAL AFFAIRS MATTER

Seminar with Jonathan Wharton of Southern
Connecticut State University
February 5, 2020

INTELLECTUAL DIVERSITY IN ACADEMIA

Seminar with Carlos Eire, T. Lawrason Riggs Professor
of History and Professor of Religious Studies at Yale
February 10, 2020

THE CASE FOR NATIONALISM

Lecture by Rich Lowry, editor of *National Review*
February 13, 2020

FIRING LINE DEBATE ON MERIT-BASED IMMIGRATION

Featuring David Azerrad and Alex Nowrasteh
February 20, 2020

TRUMP’S CHINA STRATEGY

Lecture by Michael Pillsbury of the Hudson Institute
February 24, 2020

FIRING LINE DEBATE ON FOSSIL FUELS DIVESTMENT

Featuring Tim Weiskel and Nick Loris
Co-sponsored by AEI on Campus
March 4, 2020

FREE MARKET FAIRNESS

Spring Break Seminar featuring John Tomasi of
Brown University
March 9, 2020 to March 11, 2020

A CONVERSATION ON ART HISTORY AT YALE

Featuring Michael Lewis of Williams College
March 25, 2020

A CONVERSATION ON COVID-19

Featuring Howard Forman of Yale University
April 1, 2020

FIRING LINE DEBATE ON FORGIVING STUDENT DEBT AND MAKING COLLEGE FREE

Featuring Inez Stepman and David Bergeron
April 21, 2020

WHAT’S RIGHT (AND BADLY WRONG) WITH FEMINISM

Featuring Christina Hoff Sommers of the American
Enterprise Institute
April 27, 2020

YALE CORPORATION ALUMNI FELLOW CANDIDATE FORUM

Featuring Ambassador Victor Ashe and Maggie Thomas
May 7, 2020

THE CONSTITUTION IN THE TIME OF CORONAVIRUS

Featuring Josh Blackman of South Texas College of Law
Houston
May 11, 2020

PANDEMIC ECONOMICS

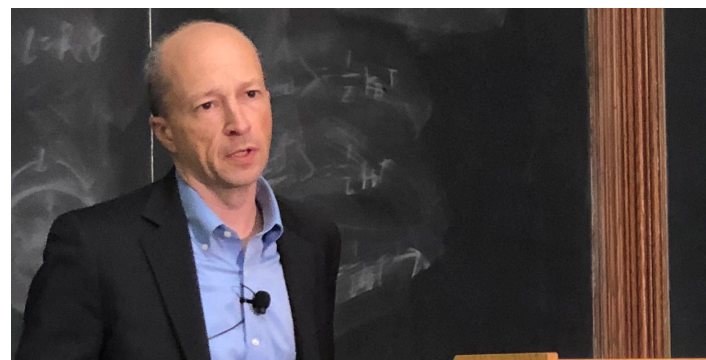
Featuring Robert Barro of Harvard University
Co-sponsored by AEI on Campus
May 21, 2020

THE SPECTER OF NEW DESPOTISM: ON THE SIMILARITIES BETWEEN COMMUNISM AND LIBERAL DEMOCRACY

Featuring Ryszard Legutko, Member of the European
Parliament
May 28, 2020

WHAT DID THE FIRST CONSERVATIVE THINK ABOUT CAPITALISM?

Featuring Gregory Collins of Yale University
June 10, 2020



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

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





THE WILLIAM F. BUCKLEY, JR. PROGRAM AT YALE

2019 ANNUAL CONFERENCE — & Gala —

On November 1st, the Buckley Program hosted its Ninth Annual Conference on *The Road to Serfdom at 75: The Future of Classical Liberalism and the Free Market*. The conference is always a favorite of students and supporters alike, and this year's event was no exception. Panel discussions and debate topics included:

- "Can Free Markets Survive with the Rise of the New Nationalist Right and the Democratic Socialist Left?"
- "Classical Liberalism Today: Is Success the Cause of its Decline?"
- "Resolved: The U.S. government should establish a policy to reduce its trade deficit"

Randal K. Quarles, the vice chair of the Federal Reserve Board of Governors, gave the introductory remarks. Our slate



of speakers also included Sohrab Ahmari, Cliff Asness, Charles W. Calomiris, Oren Cass, Gene Dattel, Veronique de Rugy, Michael Brendan Dougherty, Ross Douhat, Michael Franc, Daniel McCarthy, Gerald O'Driscoll, Amity Shlaes, Noël Valis, and Kevin Williamson. Our evening finished



with dinner and a conversation with Arizona Governor Doug Ducey.

A survey of more than 200 attendees (students, supporters, and others) after the event shows that it was extremely well-received. Approximately three-quarters of attendees described themselves as “very satisfied with the event” and more than 85 percent said they were likely to attend again. In comments they pointed to the opportunity for thoughtful, nuanced exploration of an important topic. “I like hearing intellectual conversations about current topics, not just cable channel talking points,” wrote one respondent. Another attendee praised the conference as an “opportunity to listen to largely well-



reasoned discourse on timely and sometimes arcane topics that are either too often ignored by the media or presented in simplistic sound bites.” A regular conference attendee characterized this event as one of his favorites so far: “All Buckley fall conferences are outstanding, but [in my humble opinion], this was one of the best — highly topical, centrally important to the republic, and remarkably well addressed from a variety of perspectives and emphases. BRAVO!”

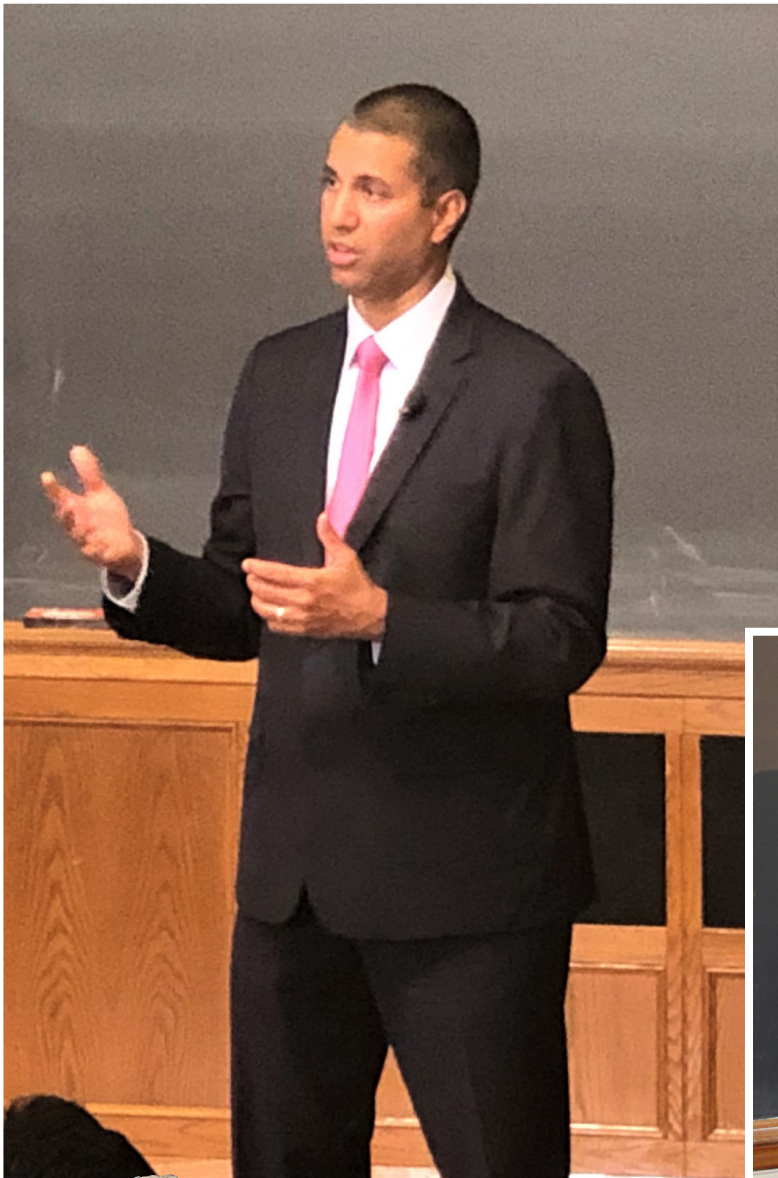


LECTURE Series

The Buckley Program has demonstrated a singular capacity among elite academic institutions to bring various conservative and libertarian thinkers, politicians, and professionals to campus. The quality and number of events is unparalleled. Free and open to the public, our lecture series spans a wide range of subjects from foreign and domestic policy to American institutions and life to campus culture. Buckley Program fellows gain special access to our speakers, who sit for interviews with our student writers and meet with small groups of students in our offices or over a meal. This year, our slate featured prominent names, including Christina Hoff Sommers, Ajit Pai, Yuval Levin, and Rich Lowry.



In the spring, we had the unique opportunity to expand our already large and diverse audience by bringing our lectures online. Through our Zoom Webinars, we continued to give our students access to serious conservative thought and ideas despite a global pandemic. We consistently reached between 100 to 200 viewers with each of our online lectures, sharing the Buckley Program's mission with a new audience beyond Yale's physical borders.



SERIES With Dr. Yuval Levin



In the fall 2019 semester, the Buckley Program hosted a semester-long series with Yuval Levin, a resident scholar and director of Social, Cultural, and Constitutional Studies at the American Enterprise Institute (AEI) and the founding editor of *National Affairs*.

Dr. Levin served on the White House domestic policy staff under President George W. Bush and has been published in *The New York Times*, *The Wall Street Journal*, *The Washington Post*, and *Commentary*. He is the author of *The Fractured Republic: Renewing America's Social Contract in the Age of Individualism*, *The Great Debate: Edmund Burke, Thomas Paine, and the Birth of Right and Left*, and *A Time to Build: From Family and Community to Congress and the Campus, How Recommitting to Our Institutions Can Revive the American Dream*. He holds an MA and PhD from the Committee on Social Thought at the University of Chicago.

During his three visits to campus, Dr. Levin delivered a series of public lectures in addition to teaching a seminar open to Yale students on "Why Institutions Matter." His lectures included:

- The Invisible Crisis
- Institutions in Flux
- Beyond Meritocracy

To watch the full series, visit the Buckley Program's YouTube channel.

SIXTH ANNUAL Disinvitation Dinner



WHAT I WOULD HAVE SAID

WEBINAR SERIES

In April, we launched our “What I Would Have Said” Webinar Series. Held in a similar spirit as our celebrated annual Disinvitation Dinner, this online series provides a platform for speakers who have been disinvited or disrupted. Given the postponement of our Disinvitation Dinner, students and supporters alike welcomed this new initiative.

The legendary “Factual Feminist,” Christina Hoff Sommers, kicked off the series with her talk on “What’s Right (and Badly Wrong) with Feminism.” Dr. Sommers is a resident scholar at the American Enterprise Institute. Before joining AEI, she was a philosophy professor at Clark University. She has authored many books, including *Who Stole Feminism?* and *The War Against Boys*. She has faced protestors at many campuses over the years, including Oberlin and Lewis and Clark Colleges.



Dr. Sommers began by giving a short lecture explaining the difference between what she terms “equity feminism” and “gender feminism.” Equity feminism refers to the belief that women and men should be equal in the sense that they each have equal rights and freedoms. Equity feminism, she contended, is in line with the liberal principles our society is based upon and is a laudable and important political and philosophical movement. She distinguishes this type of feminism from the type of feminism now in vogue, especially in the academy: gender feminism. Gender feminism, by contrast, does not seek equality between sexes but encourages hostility toward men, attributing any type of disparity between the sexes to oppression by a patriarchal system.

After the talk, Dr. Sommers took questions from the student moderators, Kobe Rizk '21 and Emma Mueller '21. She also fielded a wide variety of questions from the audience. Some questions enabled Dr. Sommers to elaborate on issues of gender disparity, such as the wage gap. She argued that that sort of disparity stems from women’s freedom and preferences, not discrimination. She noted that feminists fail to account for the reality of what women want in their policy assessments. Other questions inquired about specific policy proposals, from paid family leave to abortion policy. Ultimately, Dr. Sommers stressed the need for reasonable, open, and honest dialogue and scholarship on issues of gender. She hoped that her scholarship would in turn inspire upcoming and future academics to continue studying these questions, and break up the echo chamber radical feminists have on the academy and culture.

For our second iteration this webinar series, we were joined by Professor Josh Blackman of South Texas College of Law Houston. Professor Blackman specializes in constitutional law, the United States Supreme Court, and the intersection of law and technology. He is the author of several books, has twice testified before the House Judiciary Committee on the constitutionality of executive action on immigration and health care, and is currently an adjunct scholar at the Cato Institute. In 2018, protestors attempted to shut down his scheduled lecture on the importance of free speech on college campuses at City University of New York Law School.

Professor Blackman discussed the topic “The Constitution in the Time of Coronavirus.” Against the backdrop of extraordinary measures



and policies to combat the spread of coronavirus, many Americans have expressed concern that fundamental Constitutional rights are being abridged, making this an extremely pertinent conversation.

Professor Blackman fielded a wide variety of questions from the audience. Moderated by Jasper Boers '22 and Hovik Minasyan '22, the conversation covered many issues such as the shutdown of churches, the role and ability of the courts in this unusual situation, and how the virus will shape the future of constitutional law.

The third installment of this series featured Polish member of the EU Parliament, Ryszard Legutko. A professor of philosophy at Jagellonian University in Krakow, Poland, Mr. Legutko is the author of *The Demon in Democracy: Totalitarian Temptations in Free Societies*. He has served as the Minister of Education, Secretary of State in the Chancellery of the late President Lech Kaczynski, and Deputy Speaker of the Senate and is active in the anti-communist movement in Poland. He is currently Deputy Chairman of the Parliamentary Group of European Conservatives and Reformists and a member of the Foreign Affairs Committee.



In 2019, Middlebury College invited him to speak about his book, *The Demon in Democracy*, but due to protests staged by students and professors, the administration cancelled the lecture hours before Mr. Legutko was to speak. This webinar sought to provide Mr. Legutko with a platform to discuss his ideas and allow our students and supporters to engage with his ideas, rather than silence them. His topic “The Specter of New Despotism: On the Similarities between Communism and Liberal Democracy” addressed the main themes of his would-be lecture at Middlebury.

Beginning with 20 minutes of prepared comments, Mr. Legutko laid out his central thesis: our liberal democracies are more and more resembling totalitarian societies. He argued that, while there are significant differences, both types of regimes ultimately aim to politicize the whole of society, leaving nothing—from art and academia to the family and even sex—outside the purview of the state. He also explained how in contemporary liberal democracies, there has been a narrowing of what counts as “mainstream” views, leaving nearly no discernible differences between political parties. This narrowing pairs with the predominant impulses of society to silence, denounce, and expel views that do not align with their espoused political ideology.

Following these remarks, our student moderators Kobe Rizk '21 and Jasper Boers '22, opened up the conversation portion of the webinar. The audience asked the thinker and diplomat many questions, some sympathetic and some critical. Ultimately, the conversation modelled what the Buckley Program strives for: respectful and thoughtful engagement with ideas that challenge you to think more deeply and critically about the world.



CAREER Fair

In 2018, the Buckley Program hosted its first-ever career fair. Given the popularity of this initiative with student attendees and recruiting organizations, we brought it back again at the Fall Conference in 2019. Participating organizations and employers included the Heritage Foundation, *The New Criterion*, RSR Partners, American Enterprise Institute, Manhattan Institute, and Hertog Foundation. “I greatly enjoyed the opportunity to learn from speakers at the top of their fields, and the career fair was extremely helpful for me to learn more about the professional opportunities out there,” wrote one student in an evaluation.



MULTI-DAY Seminars

Over the past few years, our multi-day seminar program has continued to grow in popularity with students. During the 2019-2020 academic year, we offered five of these seminars.

In August 2019, students returned to campus a few days early for a seminar on “Aristotle on the Good Life” taught by the engaging Robert Bartlett of Boston College. A participant described it as “a deep dive into most of the Aristotelian corpus.” One hundred percent of the participants said they were very satisfied with the seminar and that they expected to use what they learned in the future. When asked did “the seminar expose you to ideas that you would have otherwise not encountered in your courses?” 73 percent of attendees strongly or somewhat agreed. When asked what they learned, one student wrote, “The difference in how Aristotle views virtue and happiness compared to how other philosophers do. Gained an appreciation for the nuance and complexity behind the text we read I didn’t get from my reading of the text.” Another wrote, “This seminar was extremely rich and thought-provoking! Despite it being only three days, it was one of the best course experiences I have had during my MA at Yale.”

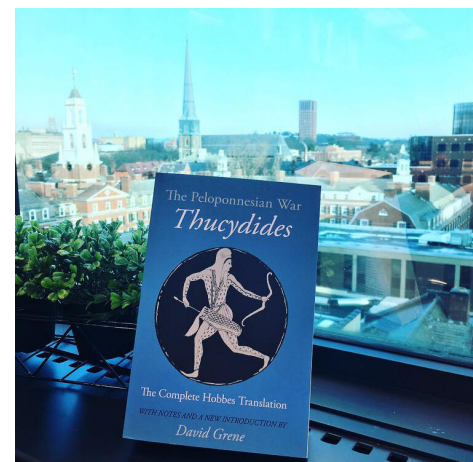
During the fall semester of 2019, we sponsored a seminar on “Why Institutions Matter” featuring Yuval Levin of the American Enterprise Institute, who also delivered a related series of public lectures. These seminars were held during three lunches over the course of the fall semester. Students wrote in surveys after the seminar that they were pushed to think critically about what they believed: “I...had many of my opinions challenged because of this seminar. I hope to be a part of another one in the future!” When asked about what they learned, one appreciated that Levin dissected all institutions without bias: “My main takeaway from this seminar was a critical analysis of the priorities of both the Democratic and the Republican [parties]. I also gained a much greater appreciation for the role and importance of institutions in U.S. political and social life.” Another wrote, “I honestly cannot get enough of these [seminars]. I feel like my brain expands so much.”



For the first time ever, we also traveled for a multi-day seminar. From October 16, 2019 to October 18, 2019, a group of 14 Buckley fellows visited Washington, D.C. They met a Supreme Court Justice, a Cabinet Secretary, three U.S. Senators, and countless legislative aides, think tank scholars, and others who make the city tick. Every single attendee said they were very satisfied with the trip. One student wrote, “I learned a lot from the speakers and more about how the U.S government functions. It is amazing how the media portrays someone versus when you meet that person face to face. One highlight for me was meeting a lot of alumni at the dinner, from people who recently graduated to people who have been working in D.C for decades. It shows that Washington D.C is a place for people with all sorts of backgrounds, ranging from humanities to STEM majors.” Another wrote, “You have changed my life...I

come from a community where a career in politics is not something that people ever think about. But my God, do I feel a tremendous duty to serve my community to the best of my ability! For God, for country, and for Yale!”

In January, students gave up their final days of Winter Break in order to come together and study one of the most preeminent works of the ancient world – Thucydides’ *The Peloponnesian War*. Spanning various undergraduate and graduate schools at Yale, the students brought diverse intellectual backgrounds to the seminar table as well as varying degrees of prior familiarity with the text. Under the guiding wisdom of Professor Clifford Orwin, a scholar of ancient and modern political philosophy from the University of Toronto, the students engaged in a close reading of the seminal political speeches in Thucydides. Through this deep dive into various examples of political rhetoric and persuasion, Professor Orwin encouraged the students to think more deeply about the characteristics of populism in democratic leaders and regimes, presenting timely and important questions for thinking critically about contemporary political matters.



BUCKLEY PROGRAM SEMINARS

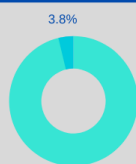
CULTIVATING DEEP AND OPEN INTELLECTUAL
EXPLORATION



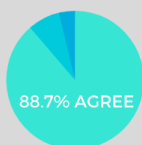
100% OF STUDENTS SAID THEY
WOULD RECOMMEND OUR SEMINARS
TO A FRIEND OR CLASSMATE



OVER 9 OUT OF 10
STUDENTS PLAN TO
USE THE MATERIAL
THEY LEARN



Likely to Return
96.2%
MORE THAN 96% OF
STUDENTS WOULD
RETURN FOR A FUTURE
SEMINAR



THIS SEMINAR EXPOSED ME TO IDEAS I
WOULD NOT HAVE OTHERWISE
ENCOUNTERED IN MY CLASSES

BOOKS RECEIVED BY STUDENTS:

Politics, Aristotle
Nicomachean Ethics, Aristotle
Rhetoric, Aristotle
The Peloponnesian War, Thucydides
Free Market Fairness, John Tomasi

DATA FROM 2019-2020 ACADEMIC YEAR SEMINAR STUDENT SURVEYS

At the close of the seminar, many students expressed their gratitude for the opportunity to spend time in detailed study of such an important work in the Western Canon. One student said, “I did not previously realize the richness of all of Thucydides’ speeches. We only spent five hours on all of Thucydides in Directed Studies, which made me totally miss the complex account of populist democracy that he raises in his work. The seminar made me feel much more attuned to the complexities of populism and the inadequacy of our contemporary thinking on the topic.” Another student voiced gratitude for the Buckley Program’s overall project: “The opportunities that I’ve had with the Buckley Program...are actually incomprehensible to my very own parents, both immigrants, who never would have dreamed that some generous soul would be willing to do so much to help their child.”

Over spring break, 20 lucky students studied with Brown University political theorist, John Tomasi. Professor Tomasi is the founder and director of the Political Theory Project at Brown, a “research center dedicated to the study of ideas and institutions that might make societies more free, prosperous, and fair.” The seminar focused on his recent book titled *Free Market Fairness*, which addresses the moral claims about liberal democracy as expressed by John Rawls and argues that economic liberties should play an important role in this moral framework as economic freedom is a part of democratic fairness.

In their applications, students expressed much interest in this subject, citing the current disagreements about the role of economic liberty among thinkers on both the right and the left. Many students wished to clarify their thoughts on the topic and learn more about the philosophical basis for different economic systems. The student participants spanned many different academic disciplines and levels. Yale College, the Divinity School, the School of Management, and the PhD programs were all represented in our student cohort. We had students of economics, political science, philosophy, data science, and even molecular biology. The range of student interests brought out a lively and fruitful discussion that greatly enriched the seminar. Over the course of the three days, the students had the opportunity to think about the topic in a variety of different formats: full seminar discussion, small group breakout exercises, and individual exchanges between fellow students or the professor.

Students spoke very highly of the seminar: “These seminars are always a fantastic opportunity to have truly open academic debate...there is a considerable amount of viewpoint diversity, and this is one of the few times that I feel that I can authentically discuss my viewpoint and others’ viewpoints without fear of retribution. Every seminar I have attended focuses on very relevant topics and incorporates a thoughtful perspective.” They also enjoyed the lively discussion that Professor Tomasi fostered: “Tomasi was one of the most fun seminar leaders that we have had to date. It was excellent to see so much discussion in the group and I thought it challenged a great many of the people in the room.” Ultimately, 100% of the student participants said they would attend another seminar in the future and would recommend the

seminar to a friend or classmate. 75% of participants said they were exposed to ideas they would not have otherwise encountered in their classes. One student concluded, “This seminar has been my first sustained academic exposure to right-liberalism. Professor Tomasi was a joy to learn from.”

We are looking forward to our next three-day seminar coming up in August. Professor Vickie Sullivan of Tufts University will lead this one on “Shakespeare’s Depiction of Rome.” The seminar will study Shakespeare’s *Coriolanus*, *Julius Caesar*, and *Antony and Cleopatra* in order to assess the playwright’s views on the reasons for Rome’s greatness and the causes of its decline. Other themes will include ancient Rome as a model of civic participation, the demands of Roman virtue, the role of women in a martial regime, the transition from paganism to Christianity, and the place of philosophy in the city. Finally, the seminar will discuss what judgment Shakespeare ultimately renders on this ancient regime.



VIRTUAL EVENTS

Amid the unexpected circumstances brought on by the COVID-19 outbreak, the Buckley Program hosted its inaugural online webinar event in late March. In the aftermath of the Yale Art History Department's removal of the introductory survey course, students, alumni, and Americans more broadly expressed concern about this rejection of the Western Canon from such a prestigious university. Michael Lewis, Professor of Art History at Williams College, joined the Buckley Program over Zoom to discuss this decision by Yale.



Professor Lewis argued that Yale's decision is in line with all the trends in the field of art history and sheds light on the issue to most of us that do not see the inner workings of academia. He expressed sadness, but not surprise at the choice, lamenting how Yale's replacement of the survey with multiple, more focused and critical theory-oriented classes only makes it more and more likely that those who do not primarily study art will never be exposed to their cultural artistic traditions. The students who plan to go to graduate school in art history will not be the ones affected, Lewis stated, but the students going on to be lawyers, bankers, and doctors will leave without a critical piece of a full education.

When the hour was up, so many participants had asked questions that many were left unanswered; however, everyone came away with a nuanced view of the forces driving the Yale Art History department's decision, the implications for the future education of students, and a deeper appreciation for the role of art in our society.

In April, with our Yale students away from campus for the rest of the semester, the Buckley Program continued with its new online programming, this time addressing the health crisis itself with Dr. Howard

Forman speaking on the COVID-19 pandemic. Dr. Forman is a Professor of Radiology and Biomedical Imaging, Public Health (Health Policy), Management, and Economics at Yale. He directs the Health Care management program in the Yale School of Public Health and teaches healthcare economics in the Yale College Economics Department.

Student President Kobe Rizk '21 and Vice President Weaver Lilley '21 moderated the discussion with Dr. Forman, posing questions on the multiple facets of the pandemic's causes and effects. Professor Forman illuminated the data the U.S. and other countries have been collecting and using to make projections. He highlighted the importance of testing and argued that the United States needs to significantly increase the amount of testing for the virus conducted, which would both help us contain cases better and give us more accurate data to work with. Dr. Forman emphasized that we must use the best data we can to make predictions and learn and adapt as we gain more information. Questions from the audience varied widely, from questions about the economic consequences of the virus to best individual practices for staying safe.

Later that month, our first online Firing Line Debate explored Forgiving Student Debt and Making College Free. Moderated over Zoom by student president Kobe Rizk all the way from his home in Alaska, this debate tackled the questions of the current student loan debt crisis and the future of higher education. The debate featured two policy experts in the field. Inez Stepman is a senior policy analyst at the Independent Women's Forum. She has worked in education policy for seven years, and prior to joining the



Independent Women's Forum, she was the director of education and workforce development at the American Legislative Exchange Council. David Bergeron is a senior fellow for Postsecondary Education at the Center for American Progress. He previously served as the acting assistant secretary for postsecondary education at the U.S. Department of Education.

Mr. Bergeron began the debate with his opening statement, defending the pro-debt-forgiveness side. He laid out much of the history of federal student loan policy describing how well-intentioned policies had unintended consequences over time, ultimately creating a contemporary societal situation that pits generations against each other. He described student loan forgiveness as "a matter of intergenerational justice." Ms. Stepman followed, taking the free-market stance. She argued that the root of the debt crisis lies in the ever-increasing cost of a university education, and that pouring federal money into those universities only incentivizes them to increase costs. Forgiving student debt would simply escalate this problem, instead of doing anything to address increasing college costs.



After their statements and some back and forth, the debaters fielded questions from the moderator as well as from the audience. Both panelists displayed amiability and respectful disagreement, modeling thoughtful discourse on such an important and timely policy topic.

In May, the Buckley Program took a unique opportunity to host a candidate forum for those seeking to join the Yale Corporation. Moderated by Valerie Pavidonis '22, who covers these issues for the *Yale Daily News*, the forum featured two petition candidates for 2021, Victor Ashe '67 and Maggie Thomas FES '15.

Later in the month, we were joined virtually by Dr.

Robert Barro for a discussion of his latest research drawing on the Spanish Flu for insights into the current COVID-19 situation. Dr. Barro is a visiting scholar at the American Enterprise Institute and the Paul M. Warburg Professor of Economics at Harvard University.

Opening with a short lecture, Dr. Barro argued that the voluntary measures taken to slow the spread of the virus, in the current case widespread lockdowns, were the correct policy choice as the data indicated that this slowing did not just delay the spread but also reduced overall mortality rates. He also gave optimistic predictions for economic recovery after the COVID-19 restrictions are lifted, in contrast to many other pundits and researchers. Dr. Barro hypothesized that since the dramatic negative supply shock on the market was induced by a public policy of isolation and not by systemic economic factors, that once that supply shock was removed, the economy would grow rapidly back to a state similar to the pre-pandemic economy.

Finally, in June, we were joined by Gregory Collins for his discussion of Edmund Burke's understanding of economics and ethics. Dr. Collins is a Postdoctoral Associate and Lecturer in the Department of Political Science and Program on Ethics, Politics, and Economics at Yale University and the author of *Commerce and Manners in Edmund Burke's Political Economy*.

Dr. Collins laid out the central thesis of his new book. He argued that Burke's understanding of economics escapes modern political classifications. Burke saw the value of free markets and understood that commerce, properly conducted, can make individuals and communities not only better off, but better overall. However, Burke also thought that commerce was only one activity that fit into a larger social order of institutions, manners, and customs. Ultimately, Burke helps us understand the strengths of commercial society, but also its limitations.

Our student moderators, Jasper Boers '22 and Mathis Bitton '23, began the conversation with questions for Dr. Collins, drawing out implications from this understanding of Burke for its impact on our contemporary debates about capitalism. They then opened questions up to the online audience, with questions covering Burke's opinions on specific economic policies to broader conceptual discussions of how Burke's views on the limitations of commercial society can help inform criticisms of globalism and neoliberalism today.



FIRING LINE Debates



Bill Buckley was famous for his TV program *Firing Line*, where he engaged in honest, in-depth debates with guests of all different viewpoints. As our culture moves more and more toward “cancelling” those with differing opinions, our Firing Line Debate Series, which seeks to carry on our eponym’s legacy of open and respectful discussion, becomes even more important. We model this type of discourse by bringing in two experts of opposite viewpoints, often think tank scholars or prominent professors in their fields, to explain what they think about complex and difficult topics.

During the 2019-2020 academic year we hosted six such debates on abortion, the retreat from marriage, Syria, immigration policy, fossil fuel divestment, and the student loan debt crisis. These debates historically draw our most ideologically diverse audiences and consistently draw crowds of over 50 students, faculty, and community members. For example, our debate on Syria attracted a standing-room only crowd, with some students even standing outside in the hallway! In a recent survey, 98% of our student fellows reported attending a debate this school year, finding them one of the rare spaces on campus where they can hear two sides of important issues presented thoroughly and thoughtfully.



"I hope [the students] gain a deeper understanding of Syrian conflict, of its complexity, not feel in the midst of an echo chamber, and come away with a much more nuanced appreciation of how difficult and complex these questions are...I hope students come away with more questions than answers since that means we have done a good job of surfacing all the different complex angles to this conflict and how hard it is to actually figure out a smart way forward for American foreign policy."

- Mona Yacoubian



STUDENT Blog

Our dedicated students conduct interviews with the incredible guest speakers we bring to campus and, during the spring semester, to Zoom as well. We encourage you to check out our student blog, *The Beacon*, by visiting www.buckleybeacon.com.

THE BEACON

"I went to the American Philosophical Association and read a paper pointing out some of the excesses of what I call 'gender feminism'. I defended 'equity feminism', and I remain an equity feminist. Anyway, I thought that there would be great [discussion]. I made some great points, they made some great points, and what usually happens in the American Philosophical Association is you argue and then you go out for drinks. We did not go out for drinks. Instead, I was excommunicated from a religion I had no idea existed."

-Christina Hoff Sommers



The fall of the Communist system was one of the happiest moments of my life. After the fall, a new political chapter was opened: liberal democracy. We were thrilled to have a new political regime and institutions. So, can liberal democracy be despotic? 30 years ago I would have considered a positive answer an absurdity, but slowly this changed.

-Ryszard Legutko



There's also an acknowledgement that perhaps [the lack of intellectual diversity] is a problem, but I think it's a hollow acknowledgement by the 98 to 99 percent who actually, very much like fish in the ocean, who swim in a substance that they take to be utterly real and no different from what we consider air, but in fact they're in water. What we bipeds consider necessary air, doesn't exist; for the two percent who identify as conservative, we're strange, we're from another world. It's difficult to exchange ideas precisely because of that atmosphere; the liberal atmosphere is taken to be so normative, so utterly real, so objective, that anyone who disagrees and says, 'by the way this is water,' you're immediately pegged as not being very smart – or as perhaps being even evil.

-Carlos Eire

"The problem with

teaching the course from what

you call a 'critical' point of view is that

you take away the one intrinsic thing that art education offers, which is the study of form.

Form, color, fine texture, all those properties. You are turning the art into an instrument of politics, rather than making it something interesting in and of itself."

-Michael Lewis

INTERNSHIP Program

In 2020, the Buckley Program funded student summer internships for Yale undergraduates at the Foundation for Individual Rights in Education (FIRE), *National Review*, and *The New Criterion*. Interns are chosen through a competitive application process administered through Yale's Office of Career Strategy.



FALL Essay Contest

Each year, the Buckley Program sponsors two essay contests: one for Yale College students and one for high school students. In 2019, students were asked to consider what can we learn from Hayek and apply to today's challenges. They were encouraged to consider this prompt: In *The Road to Serfdom*, Friedrich Hayek explained: "Economic control is not merely control of a sector of human life which can be separated from the rest; it is the control of the means for all our ends. And whoever has sole control of the means must also determine which ends are to be served, which values are to be rated higher and which lower, in short, what men should believe and strive for."

Winners were recognized at the Buckley Program's Annual Conference dinner banquet in November. The award recipients were:

Yale College Competition

First Place: Alex Hu

Second Place: Mathis Bitton

Third Place: Rowan Majumdar

High School Competition

First Place: Aidan Higgins, Sophomore at Xavier High School in Middletown, CT

Second Place: Sam Rhee, Junior at St. Albans School in Washington, DC

Third Place: Lilliane Bjerke, Junior at Greenwich High School in Greenwich, CT



STUDENT Leadership

The Buckley Student Board consists of eleven dedicated members. These students gain valuable professional and leadership experience, whether it is through coordinating with our guest speakers, doing campus outreach, or running our student publication, *The Beacon*.

At the start of spring semester, the outgoing board members turned over the reins to the 2020 leadership team led by President Kobe Rizk '21. This team met together at our Buckley Student Board Retreat in January to brainstorm and prepare for the semesters ahead. During the retreat, our new leaders had the opportunity to hear and learn from three distinguished guests to help them spread Buckley's mission on campus.

Past Student President of the Buckley Program Josh Altman '17 spoke about his experiences and gave advice on how to best lead when the campus climate is hostile. Professor Sam Abrams of Sarah Lawrence College imparted lessons from his current research on the political leanings of university administrators, faculty, and students. He also shared wisdom from his experiences being protested by students and facing threats of violence for a *New York Times* article he published in 2018. Yale alumna Leslie Zane '82 provided a lesson on marketing and branding to better promote the Buckley Program on campus. The leadership board took these insights into the semester with them, implementing strong outreach plans, resulting in more student fellow applications and high event turnout for the semester.





ALUMNI TRUSTEE INITIATIVE

The Buckley Program is proud to support the effort to place Victor Ashe '67 on the ballot for the Yale Corporation. Ashe served as longtime mayor of Knoxville, Tennessee and as U.S. Ambassador to Poland. His commitment to much needed governance reform at Yale is refreshing. Just to appear on the ballot, Ashe needs to collect 4,394 signatures by October 1st.

You can learn more about Ashe and his views at www.AsheforYale.com. Please spread the word about this important campaign and encourage Yale alumni to sign the petition.

WISDOM IN YOUTH Society

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

We are grateful to all the young alumni who have stepped up so far for their generosity in ensuring the Buckley Program continues to thrive. The following young alumni joined the Wisdom in Youth Society in 2019 and 2020:

Anonymous
Mr. Josh Altman
Ms. Andrea Barragan
Mr. Esteban Elizondo
Mr. Rafael Fernandez
Ms. Amalia Chua Halikias
Mr. Robert Henderson
Ms. Elizabeth Gray Henry
Ms. Karina Kovalcik
Mr. Brian T. Koziara
Ms. Jessica Liang
Mr. Rich Lizardo
Mr. Benjamin Marrow
Ms. Lauren Noble
Ms. Abigail Owen-Pontez
Mr. Mark Perelman
Ms. Rachel Suzanne Phillips
Ms. Sarah Scott
Mr. Bernard Stanford
Mr. Samuel Sussman
Mr. Kyle Tierney
Mr. Ethan Young
Mr. Zachary Young



STUDENT FELLOWS Program

BUCKLEY FELLOWS

LEARN MORE ABOUT OUR STUDENTS

400+

WE HAVE OVER 400 STUDENTS FELLOWS,
MAKING THE BUCKLEY PROGRAM ONE OF THE
LARGEST EXTRACURRICULAR ORGANIZATIONS
ON YALE'S CAMPUS



98% OF FELLOWS
WOULD RECOMMEND
JOINING THE PROGRAM
TO A CLASSMATE

OUR FELLOWS:

- SPAN OVER 22 ACADEMIC MAJORS
- REPRESENT ALL UNDERGRADUATE COLLEGES AND OVER 5 GRADUATE SCHOOLS
- HOLD A WIDE VARIETY OF POLITICAL VIEWS

I FEEL COMFORTABLE EXPRESSING MY
VIEWS OPENLY...

IN THE CLASSROOM

IN THE BUCKLEY PROGRAM

58% DISAGREE

98% AGREE

"I FEEL COMFORTABLE EXPRESSING MY
VIEWS OPENLY IN THE CLASSROOM
BECAUSE
THE BUCKLEY PROGRAM HAS IMBUEED ME
WITH A SENSE OF DUTY TO SPEAK MY MIND
AND WORK TO IMPROVE THE CAMPUS
CLIMATE."

-STUDENT FELLOW

DATA FROM 2020 BUCKLEY FELLOWS SURVEYS

The Buckley Program significantly increased student membership this year, ending the academic year with 405 fellows. That is

a record level! These fellows, who each chose to submit an application to join, enjoy opportunities and advantages not open to the general public. Fellows are able to attend dinner seminars with our speakers, experiencing an intimate and personal setting to engage further with guests. They receive copies of books, such as Rich Lowry's *The Case for Nationalism* and Michael Pillsbury's *The Hundred-Year Marathon*, allowing them to dive even deeper into the subjects our speakers address. This year, our fellows participated in a Fall Break trip to Washington, D.C. where they experienced once-in-a-lifetime professional development opportunities, meeting with a Supreme Court Justice, Senators, Capitol Hill staffers, think tank scholars, and many other officials and professionals.

The student fellows also find a home for serious conservative thought and a welcoming community of peers interested in respectfully exploring ideas with each other. Group study breaks, fellow receptions, and attending Buckley events together gives fellows the chance to form bonds with one another that last beyond their years at Yale. As more of our student fellows become young alumni, many speak of their experiences with the Buckley Program as highlights of their time at Yale and continue to return to attend Buckley events, especially the Annual Conference and the Disinvitation Dinner.



THE REED LEGACY Challenge

Building a long-term stable foundation for our efforts is a top priority, which is why we have been encouraging supporters to consider including the Buckley Program in their estate plans. We now have a chance to double the impact of that support.

Mark H. Reed '72 has let us know that he has made a provision in his will to provide an extremely generous \$200,000 gift to the Buckley Program. And he wants to encourage others to do that same via the Reed Legacy Challenge. Mr. Reed has offered to match new estate gift commitments dollar for dollar with an increase in his own estate gift of up to an additional \$200,000. That means that if enough people jump on board, we could have estate gifts totaling \$600,000!

We hope you will consider joining this important campaign, which will have a transformational impact on our future. Your remarkable generosity would ensure the Buckley Program 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 actually heard on campus, and promoting free speech and intellectual diversity.

You can participate in this special challenge by naming the Buckley Program as a beneficiary in your will or as a beneficiary of a retirement or other account. Once you have taken one of these steps, please complete the Reed Legacy Challenge Form. When we receive your completed form, Mr. Reed will bump up his own estate gift through the Reed Legacy Challenge. In addition to multiplying your generous estate gift by taking advantage of the challenge, this commitment will entitle you to membership in our God and Man at Yale Society.

Supporters like you know why the work of the Buckley Program is so critical. As Mr. Reed wrote to us when he decided to make his generous commitment:

Too many of our once great educational institutions have embraced the ugly concept of “groupthink,” abandoning their fundamental mission to advance a reasoned search for truth. Yale has shown disturbing signs of following suit. However, I am greatly encouraged by the organizational and intellectual strength and vitality of the Buckley Program for its unswerving commitment to the free exchange of views. I am particularly pleased to see that it is using every available communications platform to deepen its reach. If Yale is to remain at the forefront of American higher education, the Buckley Program will play a pivotal role, provided it has the requisite financial resources. I urge my fellow alumni to play their part toward that noble goal.



We would be delighted to speak with you about what it would mean to participate in the Reed Legacy Challenge and to make an estate gift to the Buckley Program.

Please do not hesitate to reach out to Lauren@buckleyprogram.com or (203) 745-1316.

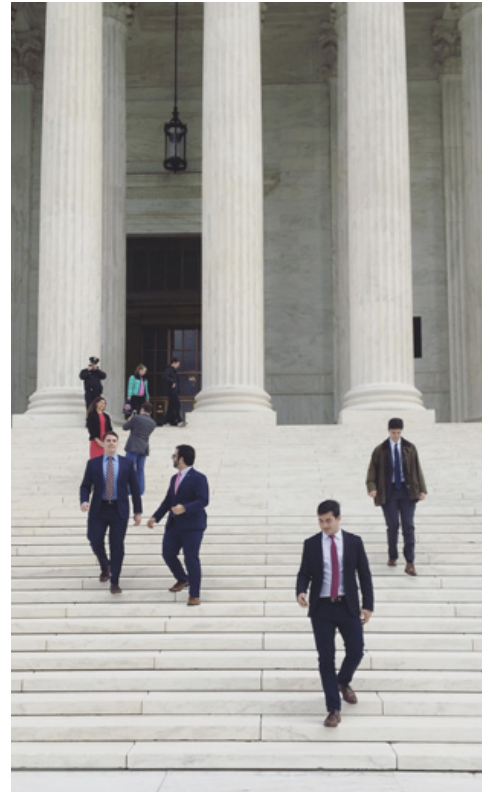
WHAT STUDENTS Are Saying

"I would describe [the overall intellectual and political climate at Yale] as stifled. Most people seem so far to the left that even my relatively more moderate conservative views are seen as radically oppressive to many students. The Buckley Program provides a space where I can meet and speak with people who will not treat me differently if they hear my viewpoints — in fact, they will treat me with respect."

"Thank you so much for the opportunities that you have provided. My participation in the Buckley Program has, without a doubt, been the highlight of my experience at Yale. The Program is helping to maintain the tradition of pursuing the truth wherever it may lead in opposition to the censorship and groupthink that we are witnessing elsewhere in the university setting."

"Buckley has been an amazingly important and eye-opening part of my Yale experience. For most issues, I lean progressive; however, I have found it invaluable to learn more about opposing views from my peers and from the fantastic speakers that Buckley has brought. I think it's so important to hear both sides of an issue, and Buckley gives this to me in a way I felt was a bit lacking on the Yale campus. Thank you for your generosity and for all that you have done to give me this truly wonderful academic experience."

"I am so grateful that the Buckley Program exists. Without it, I would feel very lonely and lost in today's Yale campus culture."





“Your support allows this dynamic program to positively benefit the culture of Yale and create room for important conversations that would not otherwise happen here.”

“The Buckley Program is singly responsible for exposing me to the rich diversity of conservative intellectual thought. It has been a critical component in formulating my political identity. I will benefit from the experiences made possible by the Buckley Program for decades to come.”



“The overall climate on campus is one of self censorship due to fear. No one wants to say anything that could potentially make them persona non grata and so intellectual discussions have become predictably boring. The Buckley Program provides a forum for more open discussion and the pursuit of truth.”

“Without Buckley, I would not have been exposed to any of the leading ideas or intellectuals in the modern conservative movement, and my experience interacting and engaging with these thoughts and figures has better prepared me for my activities both inside and outside of the classroom.”

MEET A Few Of Our Student Fellows

Interview with Rosie Braceras '22

Q: Why did you join the Buckley Program?

I knew about Buckley before I started at Yale and after I'd been accepted, the Buckley Program was actually one of the reasons I chose Yale. I knew that a lot of the small liberal arts colleges of New England, most Ivys, and in general higher education tend to be very liberal and very much an echo chamber. I really liked the idea that the Buckley Program was there to break up that echo chamber and allow people to voice their opinions. As a conservative, I found that very important for my education—for it to be not just a single viewpoint. As someone who is interested in political science and history, I think that if there's only one viewpoint then you miss a lot of what you should be learning...I found a community of great students that don't all have the same viewpoints as I do but they all are willing to accept different viewpoints for what they are and engage in that dialogue.

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

I have found some of my best friends through the Buckley Program. When I first started at Yale, I went to Buckley's Annual Conference in November. I went in not really knowing a lot of people in Buckley and everyone was super nice and introduced themselves to me and pulled me into the community. That's when I met a lot of my friends who are some of my best friends to this day.

Q: What has been your favorite Buckley experience?

That's really hard because I love so many of the Buckley events I've been to. I would say the Abortion Firing Line Debate was a great demonstration of the type of dialogue that the Buckley Program tries to get going on Yale's campus. We had two women who were diametrically opposed on abortion—it was a fascinating debate for me and really eye opening—but at the end of the debate they had dinner together with a group of fellows which was a great experience. This most recent semester, I really enjoyed the dinner with Carlos Eire. He has one of the most interesting life stories from a Yale professor or in general. I read his biography over Christmas break and honestly it read more like a literary novel—it's just that interesting. The dinner was really cool because he had a genuine interest in the Buckley Program, in the students, and in the future of the college and how it should preserve liberal education. It was so nice to hear from a tenured faculty member. Basically, I love college.

“The Buckley Program was actually one of the reasons I chose Yale.”

Q: What is the intellectual and political climate like on campus? Why do you think Buckley's mission is important on campus?

Outside of the Buckley Program, a lot of it is very liberal. In the classroom I will be the token conservative in seminars. In those seminars, I will get attacked verbally for some of the things that I want to say, so there are times when I have to choose when and what I say. It's nice to have the Buckley Program and I am also in the Yale Political Union which are great outlets for being able to speak openly. As far as classes go, for example, one of my first weeks of the semester in a seminar on political persuasion we were going over the Constitutional



Convention and the persuasion used during the convention. One student raised his hand and went off about how the Constitution was “written for the purpose of oppression.” I wanted to stand up for the Constitution which I hold dear to my heart. Everyone else in the class agreed with the first student, saying how could it not be a document of oppression when it was written in the time of slavery. At that point, I had to calm down and realize that I was not going to win that argument because they were so adamant and were not open to the idea that they could perhaps be wrong. I think that Buckley fills an important void in Yale students’ education by giving students, including me, the opportunity to not only hear perspectives that they may not hear in the classroom but also the ability to trust their own ideas that they feel that they cannot express in the classroom without being penalized either by the professor in terms of grades or by other students who will no longer like them as a person or not respect you for who you are.

Q: What are some of your professional goals for after college? Has Buckley helped to foster or further those goals in any way?

The Buckley Program has definitely influenced me. I am not 100% positive on what I want to do—I am only a sophomore. However, going on the Buckley trip to D.C. over October break and meeting with different public officials whether it be judges, Senators, Senate staffers, people who work in think tanks, and just a wide array of different jobs really opened my eyes to the types of jobs I’d be interested in pursuing. While I do not know specifically what I’d like to do, I know I would like to work in D.C. after graduation for a few years at least. The Buckley Program has also helped me make so many different connections and interact with so many different people and what they’re interested in and what they’re doing, which has been a great resource on the professional end in addition to furthering my education.

Q: Anything else you want to add?

I just read Ayaan Hirsi Ali’s autobiography *Infidel*, so I am so excited and very happy that despite the coronavirus, we were able to reschedule the Disinvitation Dinner for November. I’m really looking forward to it. Disinvitation last year was so much fun and it was just an amazing experience, I don’t really have words to describe it. It was one of the highlights of my year. I think that and the D.C. trip were the two highlights of my year and both of those were because of Buckley. It’s amazing that I was able to go to both events for free and it gives a lot of students the chance to go to these events and have these opportunities who wouldn’t be able to if they weren’t free, which I think is really great.

Interview with Kevin Xiao '23

Q: As a first year, what were your expectations coming in about the environment at Yale? How did they stack up to your experience this year?

When I came into Yale, I was expecting something very liberal, something very social-justice oriented and that there would not be much diversity of opinion. I went to school in New Jersey so I had a similar background in high school and it was always a culture war when you talked about politics and you were conservative, so that was the set up I was expecting at Yale. I would say that in the first few weeks, that was my takeaway with all the administrative info sessions. Camp Yale showed me that it was very much stacked against people who had unorthodox viewpoints. But after that I learned there were organizations that helped promote ideological diversity of opinion...Finding Buckley at the Extracurricular Bazaar during the first few days at school was something that changed my mind a lot and showed me that Yale wasn’t as monolithic as I thought it was.

Q: Even though you found these spaces which you didn’t expect at Yale, is there still a dominant political and intellectual culture on campus?

Yes, definitely. The faculty and especially the administration, even my head of college, are perhaps not the most open to political viewpoints that aren’t the mainstream. But I think that this is very representative of the experience I’ve had in my classes or when I’m dealing with faculty and administrators who have a political viewpoint that while they may not express it overtly, you can still tell it informs their decisions implicitly about what initiatives they allow and which they put their support behind. For example, at the Law School all of the walls are plastered with social justice oriented initiatives, which I admire in terms of what they’re striving for, but it seems as if there is only one initiative or mission that the Yale community is behind. Anything outside of that doesn’t really get support from the school...But that was something I thought was going to be here and it’s become the new normal for me. It’s going to be here and the best I can do is try to work within what’s going on around me.



Kevin Xiao Interview Continued...

Q: Why did you join the Buckley Program?

I found the Buckley Program through an upperclassman, Alexander Sikorski. He introduced me to what it was, and he told me about the events and programming that the Buckley Program put on. After that I was immediately drawn in because I am someone who really loves talking to people and debating with people about different political ideas and the added bonus of hearing from experts and practitioners in the field was something that I never seen before. I would never have had the chance to see Michael Pillsbury, for example, if it had not been for the Buckley Program. Knowing that Buckley brought in so many unique, exciting, and cutting-edge speakers and ideas to Yale was something that I wanted to be a part of.



Q: What has been your favorite Buckley experience so far?

That's a tough one! I think the Fall Conference and seeing Doug Ducey on that stage was a highlight—probably of my life actually. I've just never been so up and close to an actual member of government. I've seen politicians on TV giving their soundbites, but never in the flesh and talking about initiatives that affected his state. It was interesting because I was sitting at a table with another student from Arizona and she was telling me all about Arizona politics and that made things real for me in a way that I don't think any other event at Yale has. I feel that as a student at Yale, everything around me is kind of secondary. I talk to and learn from professors who probably have advised or helped counsel political leaders, but I've never interacted with someone that had a direct role in public affairs. Seeing Doug Ducey, someone who has influences over billions of dollars of government expenditures and millions of peoples' lives, was something I had never before had the opportunity to do.

“The seminar showed me an academic community unlike one I'd experienced before.”

Q: What did you think of your experience in the Spring Break Free Market Fairness Seminar?

I think the seminar was better than any of the classes I've taken at Yale so far. The reason I say that is it was with a group of people that actually cared about what we were learning. Most of my classes this year have been survey classes, so maybe I just haven't taken enough seminars yet, but taking a seminar with Professor Tomasi was something where I could engage in discussions with people who did the readings as thoroughly and as passionately as I did them. I think being part of such a discussion with other students who are informed about economics, or philosophy, or political science, was an experience that forced me to think about different perspectives and see this one issue of Free Market Fairness from a range of different viewpoints. It was valuable to see all the applications in different sectors, and it forced me to consider these alternative perspectives I would never have heard otherwise. In that way, it showed me an academic community unlike one I'd experienced before.

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

For me, having intellectual diversity and viewpoint diversity is something of the utmost importance because it forces people to confront ideas that they haven't heard before or even if they have heard before they don't like. If people grapple with ideas like that then there is a chance that even if they are not persuaded, they will understand better why they don't believe those ideas. In that way, it creates a marketplace of ideas, to quote Justice Holmes. It's really important that the students at Yale who are going to be future leaders of the free world and run corporations and countries understand the different viewpoints that are out there. They need to not be blind to viewpoints, conservative viewpoints mainly, which they were never exposed to on campus at Yale. College, I thought, was supposed to be the place where you could confront ideas without fear of reproach or public shame and ostracization. If Professor Anthony Kronman, the former Dean of Yale Law school, has it right and that is the purpose of the university in a free society, then that truly is the void that the Buckley Program is filling. It's something that I don't really see at all in my classes or in Yale academic departments. I'm a part of the political science department and we rarely see speakers who come from a conservative or libertarian viewpoint. Buckley bringing in speakers like Yuval Levin, Michael Pillsbury, or others who have viewpoints that would never otherwise be heard in the classrooms and hallways of Yale is something that is really important to me. It not only broadens my horizons but also makes the richness of the conversations better. Otherwise people would just be stating the same opinion over and over again and I don't gain anything from that and other students don't gain anything from that.



Interview with Mathis Bitton '23

Q: As an international student, what were your perceptions about the political climate at American universities, and specifically Yale, coming into this year? How did those expectations compare to your experience this year?

Internationally, American universities are regularly mocked for being ideological echo-chambers. While I did not necessarily expect Yale faculty and students to be perfectly monolithic, I certainly thought of Yale as a place where people exchange viewpoints within a broad liberal consensus. What I failed to anticipate is not only the diversity of opinions on campus, but also the influence of institutions – like Buckley – that dedicate their time and effort to provide healthy debating spheres. The voices of uniformity are indeed powerful at Yale, but so are those who reject and oppose conformism. My Yale experience has been more dynamic, varied, and intellectually challenging than I expected.

Q: Why did you join the Buckley Program?

I first walked into a Buckley lecture because I thought that the theme and speaker were interesting and inaccessible in any other setting at Yale. Yuval Levin, a staunch conservative, adopted a deeply nuanced a skeptical position of the question of meritocracy. I walked out surprised and curious. I came back to a couple of events, and I started to talk to the students who were coming to all these debates and lectures. Despite a myriad of differences, we all shared a kind of appetite for unconventional perspectives, for unexpected arguments, for the ability to change our minds and recognize that college students are very unlikely to possess a full grasp of human and political affairs. This community of like-minded students is what made me join.

“What Buckley does is, in essence, basic: provide a forum for all sides to be taken seriously. But in the context of the modern university, this simple mission-statement becomes a quasi-revolutionary act.”

Q: You’ve had the opportunity to participate in two Buckley seminars. Can you talk about your experiences in them?

The two seminars I have participated in, hands down have been my favorite Buckley experiences. Professor Tomasi and Professor Orwin are phenomenal scholars, and every minute of those two weeks was enlightening. The debates were open, the students were deeply interested, and the logistics were impeccable. The university rarely offers the opportunity to have low-stakes, intensive seminars. This was the first time that I got to set a couple of days aside to immerse myself fully into fundamental questions of political theory. The diversity of the students was also remarkable: I cannot think of any other classroom where Divinity and Law school students find themselves mixed with first years and advanced graduate students.

Q: You’ve written some op-eds in campus publications. What is it like to voice possibly controversial opinions on campus publicly?

I think that the YDN in particular is moving in the right direction. The very same thirst for unconventional opinion that underpins Buckley’s success and mission is starting to make other institutions accept the necessity of intellectual diversity. I am fortunate enough to be a fairly moderate person by nature, so I did not face any significant backlash. But I personally know many who have, and it is frankly saddening to see brilliant Yale students descend into tribal hatred when something remotely controversial happens to emerge from a school publication. I do hope that we are slowly but surely getting there, though.

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

Because it plays an active part in representing a voiceless portion of the student body. Many students—who make come from abroad, or from rural communities—hardly manage to



Mathis Bitton Interview Continued...

ever talk about political questions in public. They fear the pressure of public opinion, and the repercussions it may have on academic or career outcomes. What Buckley does is, in essence, basic: provide a forum for all sides to be taken seriously. But in the context of the modern university, this simple mission-statement becomes a quasi-revolutionary act.

Q: What are some of your professional goals when you leave college? Has Buckley helped to foster or further those goals in any ways?

I definitely want to go to graduate school. As for the ultimate goal, it will most likely be either academia or politics. Both these disciplines require an open-mind and an eager dedication to debate. Buckley encapsulates that spirit. The program also has fantastic networking events/career fairs that directly allow students to connect with prospective employers, as they have for me.

YOUNG ALUMNI Making A Difference

Interview with Elizabeth Henry '14

Q: What has your professional path looked like since graduating from Yale?

When I first graduated from Yale I wanted to work in Washington D.C., but most people have to get an internship first, so I interned for the House Ways and Means Committee while I was looking for a job. I found one within about a month working for Senator Thad Cochran who then was the Senior Senator of Mississippi—that was July of 2014. When Republicans won the senate in November of 2014, he became Chairman of the Appropriations Committee and I covered issues such as making sure the Chairman's priorities were included in bills and that agencies interpreted his priorities the way he intended them. I worked for Senator Cochran until he resigned in April 2018. I then started working for Senator Cindy Hyde-Smith. I advise her on all healthcare issues



"What the Buckley Program has really brought is an intellectual conservatism that can be on par with what the university itself is putting forward in terms of liberalism."

across government and I also serve as her Director of Administration, so I keep the trains running on time in her office. It was a very exciting, interesting, and busy time setting up a new Senate office. I set up everything from getting people on the payroll on the first day to the office policy manual to how we would get things approved by the Senator. I'm still in that role now. Senator Hyde-Smith is the first woman to serve in Congress from Mississippi so it's very exciting for me to be able to work for her. It was very interesting to be able to work for someone at the end of their career as Senator Cochran was and then someone at the beginning of her Senator career like Senator Hyde-Smith. I also go to Law School at Georgetown at night. I love working on the Hill and I love my job, but I felt like I needed an advanced degree, so being able to go to a top school while still working seemed like the best option. If the President is reelected, it will certainly be four more exciting years to be a Republican in D.C., and I'm excited for what the future holds.

Q: What is your favorite aspect of your work in Washington D.C.?

One thing I like is helping regular everyday people be able to navigate the federal government. One of the consequences of us having such a large federal government is that it's completely indecipherable to average Americans. How a small rural hospital can effectively communicate with Medicare, how a physician who has found something new can connect with the FDA to approve what they want to do—all of this is pretty opaque. Being able to help those people know where to go and know how to advocate for themselves before the federal government is really one of the best parts of my job. Another thing I would say is that I love health policy because it's so complicated, there's so many different aspects, it's a huge issue at the federal and state level, and it affects every single American life. While it does have aspects of political ideology to it—there are certainly Republican



positions on healthcare and Democratic positions on healthcare—once you get down into the weeds it's more about "How can this be done effectively?" I think healthcare is a great example where there is a top line of political debate but once you get down into the weeds you see a lot of bipartisan groups working together.

Q: How did the Buckley Program impact your experience at Yale?

I was fortunate the Buckley Program was started when I was a freshman, so I was one of the first students to be able to be involved, but also to be involved for all four years. I would say that at Yale the conservative social aspect has been there for a long time, with conservative students knowing each other and being friends, that sort of thing. What the Buckley Program has really brought is an intellectual conservatism that can be on par with what the university itself is putting forward in terms of liberalism. The university will sponsor all sorts of liberal philosophers, professors, and politicians to come talk on behalf of the university, but you don't get the same with speakers coming to campus to speak on conservative ideas. You didn't have those opportunities for intellectual diversity before the Buckley Program. It has the resources to be able to bring those debates onto campus, with topline speakers who hold different views from what students are hearing in class. In my experience, the Buckley Program has also played a uniting role among conservative students at Yale. As much as Yale conservatives can feel left out by majority viewpoints, I also think there can be infighting among themselves. One of the roles Buckley has played is bringing students from those different conservative groups together. I've continued to be involved in the Buckley Program. Lauren and I like to joke that we're two of the three people who have been to all the Annual Conferences! I continue to go back to the Buckley conference because I find them interesting for my own personal learning experience. Diversity on Yale's campus is so important, and I want to do what I can to support that.

Q: You were a part of the Program at its beginning. How have you seen the Program grow over time?

I can't believe it now when Lauren says that the Buckley Program is one of the largest student organizations on campus—it's amazing to me! It's a testament to the hard work of Lauren and of all the different students over the years as well as the commitment of the people on the Board and those all over America who support the Buckley Program. When I was a student, it was in its nascent stages. I remember one of the first events with Harvey Mansfield in the Pierson Master's house and there were maybe 10 of us there. Now, I read about the enormous events that the Buckley Program hosts. I read about the seminars they're hosting during breaks, the trip to D.C. Lauren planned, and I hear her say that it's now one of the largest student organizations. That's truly amazing for it to have grown so much. I was a freshman in 2010 and to see in such a short period of time for it to have grown to be a superlative on campus is really amazing.

Q: Why have you chosen to continue to support the Program and why would you encourage others to support it as well?

It's no secret that I am not super thrilled with the direction that the Yale Administration is going. I very much think that many of the decisions they've made in recent years have been made poorly. I think the administration itself is hesitant to be a leader on things and is too subject to the whims of students. As much as I love Yale and I will always be a bulldog in my heart and shout "For God, for country, and for Yale" till my dying day, I don't feel like supporting the university directly is supporting something I can agree with. Supporting the Buckley Program is a way for me to support Yale and support Yale students while also ensuring that the things I think are important—open debate, free inquiry, intellectual diversity, being able to hear both sides of an argument and weigh them in your mind to decide what you think for yourself. All those things that were such an integral part of my Yale experience, and are why I'm grateful for Yale and what the Buckley Program stands for. Being able to support that and ensure future generations of Yale students are able to grow through that experience is why I still support the Buckley Program.

Q: What would your advice be to current fellows in the Buckley Program about getting the most out of their time in the program and at Yale in general?

One thing you don't realize until you leave Yale is how many amazing opportunities you have as a Yale student. I work in the United States Senate and there are always events going on, but I honestly believe that there are more interesting speakers and events taking place on Yale's campus than there are in the U.S. Senate. There are more opportunities to learn and to engage at Yale than you will ever realize until you are not there anymore. I would just encourage students to grab all those opportunities as much as they can. Participate in things like the Buckley Program that allow you to interact with some of the great thinkers and doers of our time. One of the most valuable things for me was attending Yale helped me know not only what I believed, but what other people believe and why I believed what I believed. I think a lot of students come to Yale knowing what they believe, but until you are challenged it's hard to know why you believe that. I would encourage Yale students to consider these four years four years to really understand why you believe what you do which will make you more effective no matter where you end up in your future.



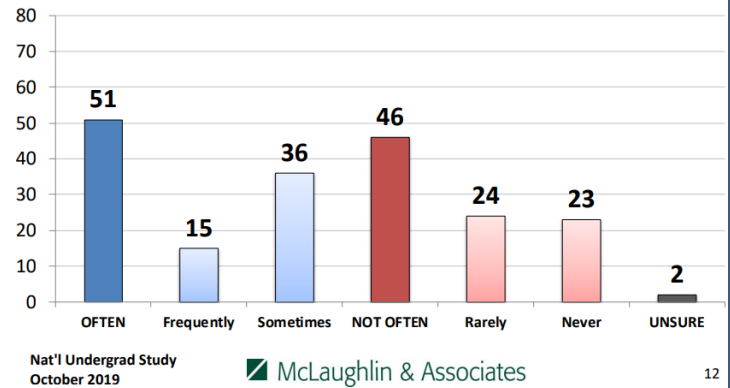
NATIONAL Survey

For the fifth year in a row, we commissioned a national survey to gauge the views of U.S. college students. Our 2019 survey asked students to weigh in on topics ranging from free speech and other Constitutional questions to their opinions on Social Security, federal debt, the Green New Deal, Medicare for All, student loan debt, the U.S. presidential candidates and other pressing issues. The nationally-known firm McLaughlin & Associates conducted the polling, which was covered by the *New York Post*.

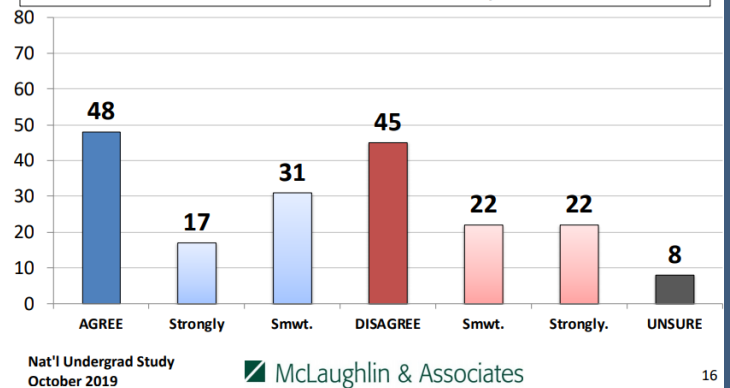
HIGHLIGHTS FROM THE SURVEY INCLUDED:

- By a greater than two to one margin, students believe the Constitution is a very important document for our country that serves as the indispensable rulebook for honest government (63%) rather than it being an outdated document and that amending the Constitution is too slow and difficult of a process (27%).
- When it comes to the First Amendment, 84% of students say it is an important amendment that still needs to be followed and respected while just 12% say it is outdated and can no longer be applied in today's society.
- A majority of students, 55%, opposes their college or university having speech codes to regulate speech for students and faculty. Greater than one in three, 35%, favor speech codes. This is similar to last year, when 38% favored speech codes and 54% opposed them.
- Exactly half, 50%, of students say they have often felt intimidated in sharing their ideas, opinions or beliefs in class because they were different than those of their professors. Forty-six percent (46%) say this does not occur often.
- A slight majority, 51%, of students say they have often felt intimidated in sharing their ideas, opinions or beliefs in class because they were different than those of their classmates or peers. Forty-six percent (46%) say this does not occur often. This has changed slightly from last year, when 54% often felt intimidated and 44% were not often intimidated.
- When asked about those with whom they disagree, 63% of students say that most of the people they disagree with are good people who just see the world differently and these fundamental disagreements do not impact how they feel about them. By contrast, 29%, say that a person's views impact how they see them and they cannot help but think negatively of a person if they hold viewpoints that are perceived as

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



Agree/Disagree:
"Hate speech, no matter how racist or bigoted it is, is still technically protected under the First Amendment as free speech."



uninformed, intolerant or bigoted.

- Thirty-two percent (32%) agree that it is sometimes appropriate to shout down or disrupt a speaker on campus, while 61% disagree. This is a 16-point change from last year when students were more likely to agree with this statement, 41% agree to 54% disagree.
- **Students divide, 48% agree to 45% disagree, on whether hate speech – no matter how racist or bigoted it is – is still technically protected under the First Amendment as free speech. This is also a 16-point change from last year when students were more likely to agree with this statement, 57% agree to 38% disagree.**
- Thirty-one percent (31%) agree that physical violence can be justified to prevent a person from using hate speech or making racially charged comments, while 62% disagree. This is mostly unchanged from last year when 33% agreed and 60% disagreed.
- By a 54% to 31% margin, students favor eliminating the Electoral College and electing the President through a direct popular vote. Fifteen percent (15%) are unsure.
- Students favor the Green New Deal by a two to one margin, 43% to 22%, however a sizeable 35% are unsure.
- Two-thirds, 66%, favor Medicare for All while 24% oppose it.
- Forty-seven percent (47%) would be willing to pay more in taxes personally to support programs like Medicare for All and the Green New Deal. Thirty-two percent (32%) would not and another 21% are unsure.
- When given a choice, 60% of students say they shouldn't have to go broke to pay for a quality education and we should forgive student debt and make college free. By contrast, 32% say students and families need to be more responsible when choosing a school within their means and forgiving students loans isn't the answer because someone has to pay for it.
- However, there is a divide when it comes to the fairness of increasing taxes on individuals who never attended college. Forty-six percent (46%) believe it is fair for those who never attended college to pay more in taxes to make college more affordable for others or forgive loans for former students. A similar 45% say it is unfair.
- There are 24% of students who support forgiving student debt and making college free, but believe it is unfair for those who never attended college to pay more in taxes.
- After graduating college, 37% of students anticipate needing financial assistance from their parents, while 44% do not. Nineteen percent (19%) are unsure.
- When given a choice, 37% prefer democratic socialism and 30% prefer capitalism. One in three (33%) were unsure.
- A slight plurality, 40%, says that socialist principles have the potential to be good for America because they promote fairness and give more opportunities to the less fortunate and those who struggle in our society. Thirty-seven percent (37%) say that while capitalism isn't perfect, it has promoted freedom and opportunity for millions in America and across the world and socialism is too radical. Nearly one in four, 23%, were unsure.



LICIA HAHN AND NICK ROSENKRANZ

JOIN BOARD OF DIRECTORS

We are delighted to welcome the two latest additions to the Buckley Program's Board of Directors, Licia Hahn and Nicholas Quinn Rosenkranz '92 LAW '99.

Licia Hahn is President of Licia Hahn & Co, LLC, a New York management consulting firm focused on improving the performance of CEOs and their companies. The firm's clients are principally Fortune 500 companies in the media, healthcare, financial services, and industrial sectors. Before the formation of her firm in 2001, Hahn served as EVP Marketing, Working Woman Network, a B2B digital brand, and VP News & Marketing, CBS Television Stations Group.

Prior to her stint in TV news, Hahn spent nine years as a marketing executive successfully repositioning *The New Yorker*, *House Beautiful* and *European Travel & Life* magazines. She started her career in IBM corporate sales and in fixed income institutional sales at Lehman Brothers, and then was finance director for a U.S. congressional race in Philadelphia. After the campaign, she joined ad agency Lowe & Partners in account management on Citibank's credit card businesses.

Hahn is the Executive Producer and Co-Creator of a bi-weekly podcast *This Is Your Brain with Dr. Phil Stieg*, launched in April 2019. Within three months of its release, the podcast became a hit with thousands of listeners and is now in the Top 50 All-Time Best Seller Podcasts in Apple's Life Sciences category. Hahn also spearheaded the creation of The Weill Cornell Medicine Children's Brain Tumor Project in 2011 with two leading neuroscientists to fund research for rare and incurable pediatric brain cancers. The Project's lab is now one of the country's leading scientific centers in the space. She currently serves as its strategic advisor.

Hahn is a graduate of Bryn Mawr College with a B.A. in French literature and attended Columbia University's Executive MBA Program in Finance and Accounting for Executives. She has lectured widely in the academic, business, and non-profit sectors and is currently an Associate Fellow at Yale University's Berkeley College.

Nicholas Quinn Rosenkranz is a Professor of Law at Georgetown, specializing in constitutional law, federal jurisdiction, foreign affairs law, and statutory interpretation.

His articles on these topics are among the most downloaded and cited in these fields: they are consistently published in the nation's top law reviews, including the *Harvard Law Review* and the *Stanford Law Review*, and his work has been cited by many state and federal judges, including three different Justices of the U.S. Supreme Court.

Rosenkranz frequently testifies before Congress as a constitutional expert, including, for example, at the Senate Judiciary Committee hearings for the nomination of Loretta Lynch to be Attorney General and Sonia Sotomayor to be a Supreme Court Justice. He has written briefs and presented oral argument at the U.S. Supreme Court. In the popular press, he has written opinion pieces for *The Wall Street Journal* and *The Washington Post*, and he is frequently asked to comment on legal issues for various national media.

Rosenkranz's primary extracurricular activity is his work to support free speech and intellectual diversity at American universities. He serves on the Board of Directors of the Federalist Society, which is the leading proponent of intellectual diversity and debate in legal education. In 2015, Rosenkranz and Jonathan Haidt co-founded Heterodox Academy, which promotes intellectual diversity of university faculty and unfettered debate on university campuses. He has written about these issues, both in scholarly journals and in national periodicals. For decades, his family's primary philanthropic goals have been to raise the level of national debate on matters of public policy; to promote free speech and intellectual diversity on university campuses; and to promote excellence at Yale.



CONNECT With Us



BUCKLEY ON SOCIAL MEDIA

The Buckley Program continues to extend its reach beyond Yale's campus. Our social media presence allows us to share the Program's efforts with a wide online audience, increasing the reach of voices and ideas that are so often silenced by colleges and the culture. On Facebook we have nearly 4,000 followers and our posts reach thousands each week. Our YouTube channel has over 1,000,000 total views. In 2020, we also launched our Instagram where we connect directly with our students.

Follow us on Facebook, Twitter, and Instagram @buckleyprogram

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

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A legacy gift to The William F. Buckley, Jr. Program at Yale is an ideal way to ensure your generosity has an enduring impact on the advancement of free speech and conservative values at Yale and beyond. To learn more about the God and Man at Yale Society or to let us know that you intend to join, please contact Lauren@buckleyprogram.com.



THE FINANCIAL STRENGTH Of The Buckley Program

A Message from the Treasurer, John Spagnola '79

The Buckley Program continued its steady growth on all fronts in 2019. As the many programs and forums grow in popularity and expand their reach, our fundraising efforts increased revenue to \$1,231,686 for the year, an increase of \$145,609 over 2018. Unrestricted net assets increased to \$1,328,235, putting the Buckley Program on solid financial footing for the future.



December 31, 2019

Assets

Current assets:

Cash	\$ 223,130
Marketable securities	1,094,968
Prepaid expenses and other assets	28,998
Total current assets	<u>1,347,096</u>
Property and equipment, net	3,778
	<u><u>\$ 1,350,874</u></u>

Liabilities and Net Assets

Current liabilities:

Accounts payable and accrued expenses	\$ 22,639
Net assets, without donor restrictions	<u>1,328,235</u>
	<u><u>\$ 1,350,874</u></u>

Net assets without donor restrictions:

Revenues and support:

Contributions and grants	\$ 881,550
Special events	312,268
Other income	37,868
Total revenues and support	<u>1,231,686</u>

Expenses:

Program services	772,961
Management and general	75,685
Fundraising	124,543
Direct donor benefit	83,414
Total expenses	<u>1,056,603</u>

Change in net assets without donor restrictions 175,083

Net assets without donor restrictions, beginning 1,153,152

Net assets without donor restrictions, ending \$ 1,328,235



ABOUT Us

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





The Buckley Program would like to recognize those donors who contributed to our efforts between January 1, 2019 and December 31, 2019.

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