



# BRADLEY IMPACT BRIEF

SECOND QUARTER 2022 ISSUE

## BY THE NUMBERS

### THE STATE OF CIVIL DISCOURSE IN THE US

"The political climate these days prevents me from saying things I believe because others might find them offensive."

All Respondents who agree with this statement:

- 2017: **58%**
- 2020: **62%**

2020 Respondents who agree with this statement by political self-identification:

- Liberal: **52%**
- Moderate: **64%**
- Conservative: **77%**

**50%** of "Strong Liberals" support firing executives who donated to Trump.

**36%** of "Strong Conservatives" support firing executives who donated to Biden.

SOURCE:  
Cato Summer 2020 Survey,  
Political Opinions

## FROM THE DESK OF GABE CONGER

Dear Friends,

**B**orn in August 2017, my daughter Reagan doesn't yet know she was named for one of the greatest statesmen and leaders in American history.

I look forward to teaching her that what made the Gipper great wasn't his political acumen, though he was a skilled politician. What made him great was his moral courage. He knew in his bones that good policy was guided by an idea: ordered liberty. And by the time he was elected the fortieth president of the United States, that meant defying the Washington establishment and directly opposing at every possible turn an idea opposed to both liberty and order: communism.

*"Mr. Gorbachev, tear down this wall!"*

I was still very young when, in July 1987, Reagan issued his historic challenge to a flatfooted Soviet General Secretary at Berlin's Brandenburg Gate. And when, just over two years later, the communists folded, and the wall began to come down. But I grew up in a nation that flourished in the ordered liberty that Reagan, the Founders, and other great Americans handed on to my generation. The idea of ordered liberty has had profound consequences.

So, it breaks my heart to see what we're doing with this extraordinary inheritance, elevating ideas that are consequential too—but not for the good. The same murderous ideas that Reagan so boldly opposed took root in American universities. Indeed, they now animate a substantial portion of our public discourse, and we can see clearly their devastating effect throughout our institutions, even our own families.

In this Impact Brief, you'll see how the Bradley Impact Fund community is active in the realm of ideas—backing thinkers and leaders who courageously and effectively defend the ordered liberty we've been given. We fight to pass on this incredible gift for generations yet to come. Thank you for your stalwart support in our shared mission.

Onward,

Gabe Conger  
President, Bradley Impact Fund



## Interview with Ambassador Andrew Bremberg

PRESIDENT AND CEO,  
VICTIMS OF COMMUNISM MEMORIAL FOUNDATION



VICTIMS OF COMMUNISM  
MEMORIAL FOUNDATION

### ABOUT

The Victims of Communism Memorial Foundation is an educational, research, and human rights organization devoted to commemorating the more than 100 million victims of communism and to pursuing the freedom of those still living under totalitarian regimes. Located two blocks from the White House in the heart of Washington, D.C., the Victims of Communism Museum opened on June 13, 2022.

[victimsofcommunism.org](http://victimsofcommunism.org)





**Q: Given the threats that America is facing both internally and around globe, why is the mission of Victims of Communism Memorial Foundation so vital to America today?**

VOC's mission is vital because an estimated 100 million people died under communism, but we have largely not educated future generations about this evil since its "fall" in 1989–1991. I was a student at the time, so I remember parents and teachers crying tears of joy at the fall of the Berlin Wall. I knew what it symbolized—the end of the Cold War and the threat posed by an evil empire. But no one younger than me has any lived experience of that. The "End of History" thesis that was so popular in the nineties after the wall came down was, unfortunately, wrong. We thought that the old Cuban dictators, the Castros, would soon be out of power. China would be forced to liberalize as their economy opened up.

But "the end of global communism" didn't happen. In fact, 1.5 billion people still live under this evil ideology today. We've seen Cuba's version of communism spread as it gained influence in Venezuela and Nicaragua and other parts of the region. In China, we've seen for the past decade that Xi Jinping, a brutal communist leader, is leaning much more into his Maoist roots than any other leader since Mao.

**Q: It was wonderful to see the enthusiasm around the museum's opening in June. How do you think it will impact visitors?**

Well, we had a school come through the other day for the first time, and you can see the impact of putting a face on the wreckage done by communism. Visitors are surrounded by powerful, immersive exhibits that bring you into the stories of those who resisted—elected officials, resistance fighters, religious leaders, even the die-hard communists who found themselves crushed by the system they helped to build.

In one of the exhibits we have a film on communist gulags in which the images are primarily works of art created by survivors, and the voiceover is their testimonies. The voices come from survivors of the Soviet, Chinese, Cuban, Vietnamese, and North Korean labor camps. By showing what is consistent in their stories, the viewer gains a sense of the themes that connect brutal communist dictatorships, which sheds light on what the ideology is. So, we have both macro, big-picture exhibits, and the intimate stories of the survivors.

**Q: What else is VOC doing to educate and inform Americans about the evils of communism beyond the museum?**

We're about to release a new curriculum for teachers to use—a web-based, interactive study platform launching later in the summer. We've also started talking to state leaders about integrating stories from the victims of communism into their public education systems. So, we were thrilled to see that Florida and Arizona have passed bills requiring that the truth of communism be taught in public schools. We're working with a dozen more states to do the same.

In May we published the first-ever hack of Xinjiang police computers showing what Xi Jinping and the Chinese Communist Party (CCP) are doing in the Xinjiang province. We received tens of thousands of files and documents from a hacker that we published as "The Xinjiang Police Files"—the first-of-its-kind deep dive into the thinking, policies, and methods being employed to oppress the Uighur people in Xinjiang. It's been tremendous to see the number of nations that are changing policies towards China these last few weeks—many of these citing our report as they do so. We even saw the European Union adopt the "Xinjiang Police Files Resolution," with near-unanimous consent, which directly drew on VOC's publicized policy recommendations.





**Q:** You recently traveled to Eastern and Central Europe. Can you tell us what you saw?

Yes, I was traveling throughout the region and was in Romania on February 24, the day Russia invaded Ukraine. It is difficult to convey the depth of what the assault meant to those whose cultural memory includes the terror of Soviet communism. So, to be there as things unfolded, and in light of my role in leading VOC and overseeing the opening of the museum, it was gut-wrenching. I was struck anew by the stark contrast between the reality and popular impression, and at the lack of education, especially with regard to Soviet communism.

Someone who is not ignorant at all about the history of communism is Vladimir Putin. Russia today is not necessarily a communist country, but it is run by a former KGB officer who came up through communism, and that says something about who he is. He has spent years trying to rehabilitate the memory of Josef Stalin—even to lionize him. So, from a current events perspective we need to take that into account if we want to understand what's going on today.

**Q:** What should the Bradley Impact Fund donor community take away from our conversation today?

If we want to have a future safe from communism, we have to invest today to make sure young people learn about its horrors. The victims' voices matter, and they are a powerful antidote to tropes that we still hear, like "Real communism has never been tried." It most certainly has been tried, and wherever it has been, it leaves a wake of death and destruction. Students need to learn the stories and facts of history, but they also need to know what it looks like today, because it is not gone yet.

Use the QR code below to access the full interview.





## GRANT RECIPIENT SPOTLIGHT:

# Student Free Press Association

## THE COLLEGE FIX

POWERED BY THE STUDENT FREE PRESS ASSOCIATION

### ABOUT

The Student Free Press Association (SFPA) tells stories, spots talent, and launches careers in journalism. Through its news website, *The College Fix*, SFPA mentors and publishes college-aged writers, exposing the progressive monoculture in higher education and improving journalism nationwide.

[thecollegefix.com](http://thecollegefix.com)



A fair and accurate media is an integral component of a free society. Yet, most schools dedicated to producing professional journalists have embraced a political culture that is more likely to punish than encourage independent thought.

The result? Only 36 percent of Americans have a “great deal” or “fair amount” of trust in mass media, according to a Gallup poll from October 2021.

The fight to restore independent thinking on campus and trustworthiness in the media must be focused on the source of this confusion—college campuses themselves. By reclaiming real

intellectual diversity on campus, *The College Fix* helps educate a citizenry that is more capable of thinking critically and demanding the truth. And by emphasizing talent development, SFPA pursues the long-term goal of reform in both the media and higher education.

Under the mentorship of professional writers and editors, SFPA’s student journalists document the growing scandal of political correctness, assaults on free speech, and the left-wing orthodoxy that characterize most universities today. These journalists are introduced to the wider professional journalism community, to growing effect.

Since its founding in 2010, SFPA has sponsored more than 100 fellowships at leading media outlets, and their alumni can now be found at *The Wall Street Journal*, *Washington Examiner*, *Washington Free Beacon*, Fox News, *Houston Chronicle*, and other venues.

With nearly three out of four of SFPA fellowship alumni of the last seven years working in media, SFPA’s impact is growing, both on campus and in newsrooms nationwide.



# DONOR Q&A

with **KEITH MARDAK &  
MARY VANDENBERG**



*“With our additional matching \$500,000 gift, the expanded \$6 million challenge will help St. Marcus more quickly achieve their bold vision for these kids and their families.”*

— **KEITH MARDAK**

## ABOUT

With a vision of becoming the best urban Christian school in America, St. Marcus Lutheran School serves more than 1,100 students at its three campuses on Milwaukee’s north side. To support the growth and operations of the school, St. Marcus is conducting a comprehensive campaign, **Courage to Commit**, with a goal to raise \$31 million.

[stmarcus.org/school](http://stmarcus.org/school)



**I**t would be a serious understatement to say that philanthropists Keith Mardak and Mary Vandenberg have left their mark on the greater Milwaukee area.

With significant investments in multiple arts and education institutions, the couple’s generosity will meaningfully impact Milwaukee residents for decades to come. And with their recent **\$3 million matching gift to St. Marcus Lutheran School**, Mary and Keith have challenged fellow philanthropists to help **raise a total of \$6 million** in support of St. Marcus School’s **\$31 million Courage to Commit** campaign.

“The community stepped up to meet our initial \$5 million challenge, helping the school hit its \$20.1 million phase two goal. But in conversations with St. Marcus’s leadership, we saw a need to increase the challenge grant,” said Keith. “With our additional matching \$500,000 gift, the expanded \$6 million challenge will help St. Marcus more quickly achieve their bold vision for these kids and their families.” This investment in St. Marcus is a natural extension of Mary and Keith’s work with Boys and Girls Clubs of Greater Milwaukee. “We built an after-school





program that's helped over 16,000 kids in seven years. But with a school like St. Marcus, you can have a more profound effect on each child's life." Keith, who began his career as a teacher and continued in music education publishing as CEO of Hal Leonard Corporation, decided years ago that it would never be just about the money. His philanthropic vision includes building communities that are directly involved and invested in the success of the organizations they support. "We focus on large matching grants because they tend to bring in folks who otherwise might not get involved," said Keith.

Encouraging people to engage directly and personally visit the organizations they are considering supporting is also essential to their philanthropic vision. "Once we toured, it opened our eyes to what was going on at St. Marcus," said Mary in an interview with the school's team. "Keith and I became fascinated with what the school was doing. When we heard about the plans to expand with a third campus and knowing of the problems with education in our city . . . it spoke to us, and we knew we had to get further involved."

"St. Marcus is an extension of everything we have been doing. It is a well-run organization, and we are very impressed with the teachers and staff . . . You have to see it to believe it. If you did, you would support St. Marcus," Keith stated. "Once you meet the kids, it makes your gift real. You know who your gift is impacting."

When phase two construction is complete in the fall of 2022, the **Mardak/Vandenberg Campus Gateway** will provide a welcoming and secure entry way for the Harambee Campus, as well as a student commons and administrative space. The Harambee campus opened amid construction in fall 2021 to serve 150 scholars in K4-2nd grade. A grade level will be added each year until the school reaches its capacity to serve more than 600 scholars in K4-8th grade.

"We love Milwaukee," Mary added. "This city gave us the opportunity to lead well-rounded, successful lives. We want every child in this city to have that opportunity too."

# Bradley Prize Winners

## SPEECH EXCERPTS

### ABOUT

The Lynde and Harry Bradley Foundation launched the Bradley Prize in 2006 to shine a light on the ideas that shape sound public policy and advance freedom, and to celebrate the achievements of the most impactful conservative leaders.

At an event on May 17, 2022, at the National Building Museum in Washington, D.C., the Bradley Foundation honored 2022 Bradley Prize recipients Glenn Loury, Chen Guangcheng, and Wilfred McClay, three of the most courageous and consequential thinkers in America today. We present here brief excerpts of all three exceptional presentations.

To view the full speeches, visit The Bradley Foundation's YouTube channel at [bradleyfdn.org/liberty](https://www.youtube.com/channel/UCbradleyfdn) or scan here:



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“The Civil War left 600,000 dead in a country of thirty million. That war, together with the constitutional amendments enacted just afterward, made the enslaved Africans and their descendants into citizens. In the fullness of time, we have become equal citizens. That should not have taken another century. Indeed, my African ancestors should not have been enslaved in the first place. But, whereas slavery was a commonplace of human culture dating back to antiquity, emancipation—the freeing of four million enslaved persons as the result of a mass movement for abolition—was a new idea, an idea fitfully brought to fruition over a century and a half ago here in our own United States of America. This victory for human decency would not have been possible without the philosophical and moral commitments cultivated in the West concerning the essential dignity and the God-given rights of human persons.”

### GLENN LOURY

*Merton P. Stoltz Professor of Economics  
at Brown University*





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“Truly, in the hearts of those who refuse to be enslaved, America is the land of the free and the home of the brave. It is a beacon of freedom and a model of democracy. America holds the hopes and dreams of humanity. The constitution and the rule of law guarantee democracy, freedom, human rights, and justice. With the three branches of government, power is limited, and freedom of speech and religion are protected. The people are free to pursue their dreams. So, America is the most dynamic nation on earth, not only a superpower in wealth and strength, but in goodwill and potential as well . . . I escaped the claws of the Chinese Communist Party and now stand before you. This is proof that nothing is impossible, so long as it is righteous.”

### CHEN GUANGCHENG

*Distinguished Fellow at the Center for Human Rights at the Catholic University of America*

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“We need to become a serious country again. And to do that, we need to believe in ourselves again, believe in the reason we have been placed here, a land of hope for a world that needs us more than ever. We need to understand that a world without America will be immeasurably diminished, both in material and spiritual terms, and that we have no choice but to live up to the responsibilities that come with our many blessings. Our history can, I believe, be an enormous resource in that endeavor. The work will not be easy. But it will be much harder to live with ourselves, and with the rebuke of the future, should we shrink from the challenge. And once we understand what is at stake, we may feel a certain exhilaration that comes of knowing what our circumstances and character demand of us.”

### WILFRED McCLAY

*Victor Davis Hanson Chair in Classical History and Western Civilization at Hillsdale College*

## GRANT RECIPIENT SPOTLIGHT:

# Independent Women's Forum



### ABOUT

Independent Women's Forum (IWF), founded in 1992, is the leading national women's organization dedicated to developing and advancing policies that are more than just well-intended, but actually enhance people's freedom, opportunity, and well-being.

[iwf.org](http://iwf.org)



Right now the very concept of womanhood is under assault. That's why IWF brought together leading legal minds from the Left and the Right to create the Women's Bill of Rights, model legislation that defines terms like "female" and "woman" as based in biology and codifies that when safety, privacy, and fairness are implicated, single-sex offerings cannot only be legal but necessary. IWF's Women's Bill of Rights was used as the basis for a resolution that was introduced in the House and Senate.

Another of IWF's top priorities is celebrating women who fight to expand opportunity through its Champion Women Series. Notable leaders featured in the series include Virginia Lieutenant Governor Winsome Sears, Philanthropy Roundtable President Elise Westhoff, and Freedom Education Ambassador Xi Van Fleet.

IWF engages in national and state policy through a variety of programs, including the following initiatives.

- **The Center for Economic Opportunity** develops and advocates for common-sense policy solutions that expand workplace choice, flexibility, freedom, and opportunity for women everywhere.
- The **Education Freedom Center** works to empower parents by expanding educational opportunities and also encourages educational options that focus on academic achievement and create healthy environments for students to learn and thrive.
- IWF's **Independent Women's Law Center** fights for freedom and opportunity for women and girls. In the courts, before administrative agencies and legislative bodies, and in the court of public opinion, the law center fights against gender ideology and other radical legal theories that deny due process, undermine equal opportunity, and make the government less accountable. IWLC defends the democratic decision-making process and our structural constitution.

With these and other dynamic programs, IWF's is resetting several narratives, and ensuring more women's voices are now being heard in Washington, D.C., state capitals, and the public square.





## GRANT RECIPIENT SPOTLIGHT: Tax Foundation



### ABOUT

The Tax Foundation is the nation's leading independent tax policy organization. For over 85 years, their goal has been to improve lives through tax policies that lead to greater economic growth and opportunity.

[taxfoundation.org](https://taxfoundation.org)



“I think I was wrong then about the path that inflation would take,” Treasury Secretary Janet Yellen said in late May when asked by CNN about her previous statement that rising inflation rates would be “transitory.”

Following the secretary's striking admission there is renewed, if belated, discussion about the need for policies to address the nation's historically high inflation rates. It isn't yet clear, however, that the message has been heard by the current administration, whose proposed 2023 budget would make the United States' top tax rates on individuals and corporations the highest in the world. As the Tax Foundation's research has shown, this would further hamper the American economy precisely when its recovery and expansion are most necessary.

The real-world impact of such misguided policy is too often lost amidst increasingly obscure budget negotiations. And the insular nature of these back-room debates can make it easy for officials to lose sight of those least prepared to endure higher inflation.

It's times like these that the Tax Foundation's principled approach, rigorous research, and insightful analysis are most needed. And because Tax Foundation deals in facts, their research is respected by policymakers and journalists alike, which has widened the reach of their impact. The Foundation was by far the most-cited authority on tax policy in 2021, earning more than 30,700 citations. And considering the almost unbelievable 23 million pageviews their website saw the same year, it's clear the Tax Foundation's reach now extends far beyond policy wonks and academics.

As a nonpartisan, educational organization, the Tax Foundation's data and analysis are used by hundreds of policymakers, influencers, and organizations to restore fiscal sanity and stability to government budgets. At a time when poorer families are bearing the brunt of reckless government spending, such broad opposition to bad tax policy is a matter not only of fiscal prudence, but of justice.





SAVE  
THE DATE  
OCT 6-7



## BRADLEY IMPACT CONFERENCE

OCTOBER 6-7, 2022  
GRAND GENEVA RESORT  
LAKE GENEVA, WISCONSIN

Join philanthropists and leaders from around the country at the Grand Geneva Resort! This year we'll focus on the importance of investing in ideas in order to advance a vibrant civil society, with presentations and breakouts on education, journalism and communications, public interest law, and giving with multigenerational impact.

## CONFIRMED SPEAKERS



**VICTOR DAVIS  
HANSON**

Martin and Illie Anderson  
Senior Fellow,  
Hoover Institution



**THE HONORABLE  
BETSY DeVOS**

Former U.S. Secretary  
of Education

### Bradley Impact Fund's Core Principles

Constitutional Order | Free Markets | Civil Society | Informed Citizens | Donor Intent

## Bradley Impact Fund | Board of Directors and Officers

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