



BRADLEY IMPACT BRIEF

THIRD QUARTER 2022 ISSUE

BY THE NUMBERS

Do you think the nation's democracy is in danger of collapse?

- YES: **58%**
- NO: **37%**

Over your lifetime, do you expect political divisions in the country to ease, to worsen, or to remain about the same?

- EASE: **15%**
- WORSEN: **53%**
- REMAIN THE SAME: **28%**

What do you think is the bigger danger to the United States: other countries that are adversaries of the United States or political instability within the United States?

- POLITICAL INSTABILITY: **76%**
- ADVERSARY: **19%**

SOURCE:
Results of January 2022
Quinnipiac University poll of
approximately 1,300 American
adults nationwide

FROM THE DESK OF GABE CONGER

Dear Friends,

In times of change and danger, when there is a quicksand of fear under men's reasoning, a sense of continuity with generations gone before can stretch like a lifeline across the scary present.

— John Dos Passos

This line jumped out at me from Wilfred McClay's remarks (an excerpt of which is included in this issue) at the 2022 Bradley Prizes event in Washington, DC. Quoting one of America's greatest writers, Professor McClay argued, in part, that much of the anxiety and division that now permeates American society can be traced to our abandonment of civic education. If we are to again be a serious nation, he claimed, we have to re-learn our story.

I'd add that it is incredibly urgent that we do so. One of the most popular "experts" on mainstream media today has grown fond of denigrating the U.S. Constitution, even claiming it "is kinda trash." What can we, as a nation, tether our lifeline to when cable-cutting vandals are treated as reasonable authorities?

Foreseeing such demagoguery from both citizens and statesmen alike, James Madison famously argued in *Federalist* No. 10 that while we can't change human nature's tendency toward "faction," we can better preserve the union by delegating significant authority to the states. After all, "*Enlightened statesmen will not always be at the helm.*"

Alas. In this issue of the Impact Brief, we focus on civic education—fittingly, as it should arrive soon after Constitution Day. To recognize the vision and virtues embedded in our founding document is to see clearly that our union had a purpose. We celebrate this day, even in the *scary present*, because it still does.

At next month's Bradley Impact Conference, we'll discuss these and related issues in depth and among friends. I hope you can join us.

Onward,

Gabe Conger
President, Bradley Impact Fund



Featuring Wilfred McClay

REMARKS FROM BRADLEY PRIZE CEREMONY
WASHINGTON, DC, ON MAY 17, 2022

The following speech was given by 2022 Bradley Prize winner Wilfred M. McClay at the 18th Annual Bradley Prize Ceremony in Washington, DC, on May 17, 2022.

It is a great joy and privilege for me to be here with all of you this evening. It is an immense honor simply to appear on the same stage with these two men, my fellow prize-winners, both of whom are heroes to me, and heroes of a very high order. And then, to find myself lifted into the company of Bradley Prize recipients in years past, a cloud of witnesses who testify to this country's role as a home for excellence, and to the Bradley Foundation's tireless support for that ideal. In a time when the luster of so many once-vaunted honors has faded, this one is only gaining in strength. May it ever be so.

I'm going to build my brief remarks tonight around a story. They say that anecdotes are not data; but so much the worse for data. Stories are what make the world go round. They are the means by which we orient ourselves to the world, and to one another. There

are stories of which we are already a part, and that are a part of us, stories that have already formed the basis of our common life even before we lisp our first words. Stories drawn from the Bible, from children's books, from great literature and movies, from history, or from humbler sources, such as the shared yarns of extended families or the patois of long-standing friendships and intimate relations.

So, here's my humble little story for tonight.

At some point during the past few years, I was fortunate enough to have dinner with a very wise friend, here in Washington, at his favorite seafood restaurant near Dupont Circle. I noted that he seemed to be spending more and more of his time in a certain foreign country. He acknowledged the fact, paused for a moment, and then added the following words: "I want to live in a



serious country.” It may be relevant to point out that the foreign country in question is Israel, where seriousness is an existential requirement. But it is equally important to point out that the gentleman in question is an American patriot of the highest order, the author of books on the subject. For him to say such a thing was, for me, a very serious matter.

So . . . have we become an unserious country? I dismissed the idea at first. Millions of good, responsible, ordinary Americans go about their business, raising their families, paying their bills, participating in the life of their communities, building their futures. They don’t have time for the insanities that are polarizing our culture.

But then I thought again and considered the evidence.

Would a serious country have run up a national debt of now almost \$30.5 trillion during times of relative peace and prosperity?

Would a serious country have spent that borrowed money feathering its nest with cheap consumer goods and the other markers of material prosperity, produced by a ruthless foreign power employing what amounts to slave labor?

Would the leadership class of a serious country become so deeply preoccupied with its internal political wranglings that it fails to see that the rest of the world is watching and taking note—and that the country’s enemies in the world are even now calculating the possibilities that its feckless leaders have opened up for them?

Would a serious country actively seek to demoralize its police forces? Would it promulgate arbitrary and contradictory policies regarding public health, causing angry divisions in the land and distrust of authority that may take years to heal, if ever?

Would a serious country allow a twenty-year investment in Afghanistan to go up in smoke, and abandon the Afghans who had trusted in its protection, along with a major air base and \$90 billion of weaponry—an amount larger than the annual military budget of all but two countries in the world?

Would a serious country allow the apparatus by which it elects its leaders to become so corrupted and to fall into such disrepair that its citizenry of both major parties no longer trust the outcomes of our elections?

And here is the question that most concerns me. Would a serious country so completely lose perspective on its own past that it would seriously entertain the idea that the nation was founded in and on slavery, rather than on the ideals that have made it a beacon to the rest of the world? And would a serious country think it appropriate to teach its children that the nation’s past is best understood as a parade of horrors, to which the most appropriate response is not pride but lacerating shame?

Land of Hope represented my small attempt to provide an adequate response to these questions

“We need to believe in ourselves again, believe in the reason we have been placed here, as a land of hope for a world that needs us more than ever.”

— WILFRED McCLAY



about our past. In the three years since the book was published, I've learned how many of us have wanted and needed just such a book. Nobody wants an account of the American past that is sanitized. We know well our faults, and the importance of owning them. But we also want and need an account that places our faults in proper perspective—in much the same way that we understand every flawed but fundamentally admirable person we have ever known and loved in our personal lives. That is the nature of love, not to demand perfection, but to see imperfection in the light of something larger. And the unwillingness to love is the greatest unseriousness of all.

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, as 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.

Let me close with a quotation, the one with which I began *Land of Hope*. It is a reflection on the uses of the past by the novelist John Dos Passos,

written in 1941:

In times of change and danger when there is a quicksand of fear under men's reasoning, a sense of continuity with generations gone before can stretch like a lifeline across the scary present and get us past that idiot delusion of the exceptional Now that blocks good thinking.

Yes, we too live in a time of danger. But consider this. When Dos Passos wrote these words in early 1941, Adolf Hitler's formidable war machine controlled all of continental Europe, and only the British Isles held out—though who knew for how long? Dos Passos could have been forgiven for thinking that this terrifying moment was without historical precedent. Instead, he invoked the past, and the idea of a historical consciousness that could “stretch like a lifeline across the scary present,” and help us to know that we remain connected to those who came before us.

To do that, we first have to learn, or relearn, our story. In so doing, we will discover that we also are learning about ourselves, and about all the things of which ordinary people are capable—even us—when we are allowed to breathe the air of freedom and hope.

Thank you.

To view
Professor McClay's
full speech, visit
bradleyfdn.org/liberty
or scan QR code.



**GRANT RECIPIENT SPOTLIGHT:**

Leadership Program of the Rockies

**ABOUT**

For two decades, Leadership Program of the Rockies (LPR) has been strengthening, training, and equipping emerging leaders to reach new heights in the public and private sectors of civil society. With more than 2,000 alumni impacting politics and culture in Colorado, LPR decided in 2019 to expand to other states, beginning with Connecticut.

leadershipprogram.org



Former US Congressman and Chairman of Leadership Program of the Rockies Bob Schaffer doesn't hold back in singing the praises of LPR President Shari Williams. It isn't just her expertise in policy, he says, but in the community:

"In the private sector, in ministry, in education and academia, Shari saw that we needed to move further ahead than politics and start focusing on the culture of communities—the way people think, the way they think about freedom."

Well-formed leaders can make tremendous progress wherever they serve. So, LPR identifies and brings together emerging leaders from the legal, economic, business, political, nonprofit, and civic sectors to learn how visionary, principle-centered leadership can positively impact their community.

During nine monthly sessions, LPR students participate in a challenging series of lessons and discussions about the freedoms that make America unique, with an emphasis on the principles of free markets and limited government. Many of the most

respected conservatives in the country—including experts on current events, leadership, and the political process—lead each session.

The impact in Colorado having been so profound, LPR agreed to expand its dynamic programs to Connecticut. And thanks to the enthusiastic support of partners and funders in the Constitution State, the **Charter Oak Leadership Program** graduated its first cohort in 2020.

The goal, as Shari says often, is to "Build an Army for Freedom." And given recent encroachment on civil liberties in seemingly every corner of society, LPR looks to continue expanding as long as there are partners in liberty ready to join them.



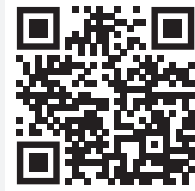
GRANT RECIPIENT SPOTLIGHT: Bill of Rights Institute

**BILL of RIGHTS
INSTITUTE**

ABOUT

Established in 1999, the Bill of Rights Institute (BRI) is an educational organization that teaches civics with the goal of equipping students and teachers to live the ideals of a free and just society. The Institute develops educational resources and programs for a network of more than 60,000 educators who reach an estimated 6 million students.

billofrightsinstitute.org



“**T**his has to be a joke,” thought 16-year-old Cynthia Huang when the call came. The junior at Orange County School of the Arts soon realized, however, the voice on the other end was serious.

Cynthia’s essay on natural rights was selected by a panel from the **Bill of Rights Institute** from among nearly 4,000 submissions from students in all fifty states, Washington, DC, Guam, Puerto Rico, and military bases worldwide. And while winning a national contest is a great honor, Cynthia is more excited about the grand prize, a \$7,500 scholarship.

BRI’s annual **We the Students Essay Contest** is one of several student programs designed to encourage students to reflect on the principles

that are foundational to freedom. Other student programs include the **MyImpact Challenge**, which encourages students to lead local projects to improve their communities; **Think the Vote**, which brings students together from across the nation to discuss and debate key policy issues; and the **Constitutional Academy**, a summer program for high schoolers who are interested in government and civil society.

Since 1999, the Bill of Rights Institute has developed such programs and educational resources that help students like Cynthia examine the story of our country and exercise the skills of citizenship. Nationwide, nearly one out of every three secondary school teachers of American history, civics, and social studies uses BRI’s resources in the classroom and participates in BRI professional development programs. BRI offers teachers market-leading curricula and in-person and online professional development, and teachers are never asked to pay for these valuable resources.

BRI’s goal in all these projects is to help Americans to more perfectly realize the promises of our nation’s founding. Given the state of civic education in US schools, their mission could not be more timely.



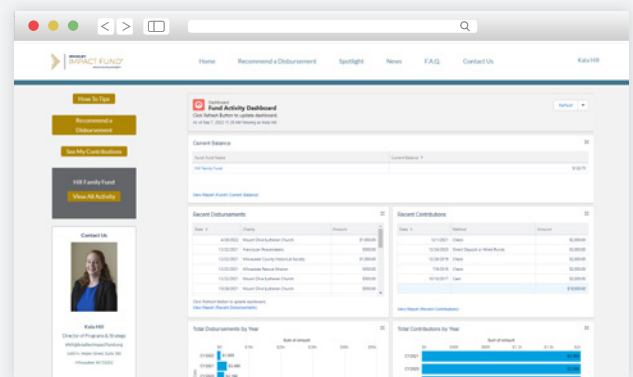
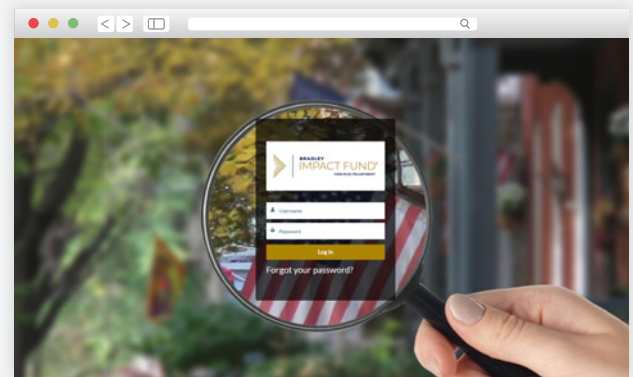


New Donor-Advised Account Holder Portal LAUNCHED JULY 2022

The Bradley Impact Fund recently launched a new online portal for donor-advised account holders. With 24/7 access to your account, you have greater flexibility in achieving your philanthropic goals. From the portal, you can:

- make grant recommendations,
- access account statements and history, and
- review investment performance

We hope you find it helpful! If you are a donor-advised account holder and have not yet set up your login, have suggestions for improvements, or would like help from a member of our staff, please contact us at donorservices@bradleyimpactfund.org or (414) 291-2500.



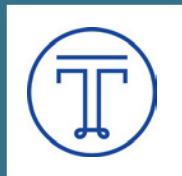
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IN THEIR WORDS: *A Conversation with Teneo*

The Bradley Impact Fund recently sat down with Amanda Covo, CEO of Teneo, to share more about their mission and goals.

Teneo is a national, members-only leadership organization that exists to recruit, connect, and deploy the most talented and influential conservatives who lead opinion and influence the industries that shape society.



Visit
teneonetwork.com
or scan QR code.

Q: What societal problem is Teneo working to solve?

Teneo is the talent pipeline for the conservative movement. We are laser-focused on transforming the key institutions shaping American culture.

We know the conservative movement, unlike the progressive Left, has failed to prioritize the placement of talented people in positions of influence within the key industries in America. So, progressive ideology is winning on nearly every front. The Left dominates academia, the media, corporate America, major financial institutions, and our schools. We see Hollywood blacklisting pro-America films, hormone therapies for children being normalized in American culture, major American companies forcing a “woke” ideology into our lives, and foreign policies being championed that weaken America.

That absolutely has to change. Teneo can change it. And that’s our focus.



Q: Let's cover some basics. What is Teneo, and who are your members?

Many of your readers are likely familiar with The Federalist Society—and it's a great honor to have Leonard Leo now as Chairman of Teneo's Board.

Our work is to replicate within Teneo what the Federalist Society accomplished. We're building the capacity to do for the broader culture what Leonard and others were able to do in law. We're recruiting, connecting, and deploying extraordinary leaders within business, media, finance, entertainment, and other sectors. We have an extraordinary network of leading CEOs, film producers, private equity investors, high-ranking public officials, leading journalists, Navy SEALs, public policy leaders, and best-selling authors across the country. They're extremely talented conservative leaders in their 40s and under who are shaping the institutions that shape society, and their work is incredibly important for the future of America.

Q: What do you see as the value of Teneo Network to the broader conservative movement?

While much of the conservative movement focuses on developing the right ideas, Teneo focuses on developing the right leaders—and deploying those leaders to take our shared ideas to boardrooms and editorial rooms, to Silicon Valley and the White House, and on.

We're building the infrastructure—the talent pipeline—that the conservative movement has needed for decades.

For example, when a filmmaker has an important message to bring to the world, where does he or she go? They need to know the right people in the media or with financial capital—people who can help bring that film to American society.

Teneo is positioned in a way that really no other organization is to bring together industry leaders

such that they can quickly build bonds of trust and friendship and then take action together on behalf of our shared ideas.

Q: How have you built such a tight-knit community of leaders?

Our Founder Evan Baehr was so brilliant in building Teneo to be an organization of leaders committed to supporting one another in their pursuits to advance our shared mission.

Teneo events are designed with that purpose in mind: building connective tissue among networks of friends that can be operationalized toward projects of mutual interest and concern.

Leonard calls this the foxhole theory of networks. The idea is that there is nobody you would rather share a foxhole with than your closest friends—and, equally, that time spent in the trenches produces a level of trust and intimacy that can be put into action to advance our ideas.

Q: What's the one thing you would want potential supporters of your mission to understand about Teneo?

We are building something unlike anything else in America today. What we're building within Teneo is the capacity to leverage friendship, talent, and ideas to capture the gates of the industries that define our culture and shape our society—and implement it on a much larger scale. To pull it off, we need the brightest minds with us executing the mission. We believe that when the history books are written, Teneo and the visionary individuals and institutions who were among the earliest to see its potential will be regarded among the most influential and consequential forces preserving America's founding values and achieving remarkable wins for our country and the ideas that have made it the greatest nation on earth.

IDEAS MATTER

BY JESSICA DEAN
SENIOR VICE PRESIDENT
BRADLEY IMPACT FUND



On January 21, 1981, Ronald Reagan held his first cabinet meeting. At that meeting he handed each cabinet secretary a copy of *Mandate for Leadership*, a 3,000-page tome filled with over 2,000 conservative ideas and policy recommendations.

The book was the idea of Heritage board member Robert Kriebel, a chemist by trade who, based on a hunch that Jimmy Carter would be a one-term president, suggested it would be a good idea to have a playbook for an incoming administration. *Mandate for Leadership* became the plan of action for the entirety of the Reagan administration. *The New York Times* called it “the manifesto of the Reagan Revolution.” By the end of Reagan’s first year, over eighty percent of the policy suggestions had been implemented.

Eight years after that first cabinet meeting, a small group of scholars met at a convent in Madison, Wisconsin, to start another kind of revolution. Kimberlé Crenshaw, Neil

Gotanda, and Stephanie Phillips organized a workshop entitled “New Developments in Critical Race Theory.” With roots in 1970s-era Critical Legal Studies, the CRT movement would soon gain steam in universities—first in education schools and later in law schools.

It would later gain financial backing from progressive billionaires, who invested in converting the theory into the radical ideas now employed in school districts and corporate boardrooms nationwide.

As conservative scholar Richard Weaver famously pointed out, ideas have consequences. But this is only true if the ideas gain supporters. *Mandate for Leadership* was made possible

by funding from Kriebel and others who supported the Heritage Foundation in the early years. Another early backer of the “think tank” that would market policy ideas directly to staffers in Washington, DC, was Joe Coors.

In *Funding Fathers*, Nicole Hoplin and Ron Robinson argued that such donors were the conservative venture capitalists of their day, investing in ideas and people

“The trick is finding and funding the best ideas, which is where the Bradley Impact Fund can help.”

— JESSICA DEAN



that would become the foundation for conservative movements through the decades. It's a great read for those of us who love stories of men and women who had the vision to fund visionaries—often with relatively little capital. The venerable Mont Pelerin Society, for example, was started in 1945 when a picture frame manufacturer named William Volker gave Friedrich Hayek \$2,000 to be used for “educational purposes.”

There are still great people with great ideas among us. Unfortunately, those with ideas antithetical to freedom are also among us, oftentimes backed by tech billionaires and universities. The bright side to this is that liberty is less expensive than its alternatives, as we see time and time again with elections, where conservatives are routinely outspent, yet often find a way to victory.

The trick is finding and funding the best ideas, which is where the Bradley Impact Fund can help. Who is writing the next *Mandate for Leadership*? Which groups are taking on issues in education—from promoting education options to protecting intellectual diversity on college campuses—and winning? What startups are reaching younger generations and making conservative ideas relevant to them? How can I move the needle? And as we enter election season, who is coming up with the best ideas and policies for them?

We'd love to introduce you to the people and organizations that are on the cutting edge of conservative ideas and policy. If you're already working with us, ask us to make suggestions. Attend an Impact Fund event in California or Lake Geneva or Arizona to learn more about who is doing great work. Or be our guest at a meeting of an organization we support in your area: we'll be attending events in Texas, Florida, Arizona, California, Georgia, Montana, Idaho, Washington (DC and State), and Oregon between now and the end of the year. We'd love to meet you in person and help connect you with others who are backing the people and ideas that are laying the groundwork for the future of freedom—it's one of the best parts of our work. We look forward to hearing from you.



**Interested in learning more about
how we work with donors?**

Contact us at (414) 291-2500 or
gabeconger@bradleyimpactfund.org.



BRADLEY IMPACT CONFERENCE

OCTOBER 6-7, 2022
GRAND GENEVA RESORT
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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.

Interested in learning more?

Contact us at (414) 291-2500 or gabeconger@bradleyimpactfund.org.

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VIVEK RAMASWAMY

*Co-Founder and
Executive Chairman,
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SESSIONS

- SESSION I:**
Reengaging with Founding Principles
- SESSION II:**
Free Enterprise Still Matters
- SESSION III:**
Reclaiming the Fourth Estate
- SESSION IV:**
Litigating to Preserve Your Rights

BREAKOUTS

- Schools as the Heart of Community
- Threats to Your Philanthropy: A View from Washington

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