

THE BRIEF

FROM THE DESK OF GABE CONGER

Dear Friends,

Like ideas, elections have consequences. The Trump administration did not wait for the handover of the keys to the White House before making serious policy moves, and things have only gained steam with each week, through the inauguration. From the federal budget to foreign policy, a flurry of nominations and actions have given hope to conservatives that Trump 2.0 may deliver the long-promised reforms that conservatives have hoped and prayed for.

Among the most tantalizing moves was the establishment of the Department of Government Efficiency, or DOGE. With promises to delete entire federal agencies, force federal workers to return to the office, and cut up to one trillion dollars from the federal budget, one thing the Trump administration can't be accused of is treading lightly.

Whether these and other hopes are realized will have a lot to do with the non-government platoon of support that has formed around the incoming Congress and administration. Looking at a list of the best-positioned reform, accountability, transparency, and policy experts contributing to the new administration's fast start is like looking at the Bradley Impact Fund's grant recipient list. Especially now, our community of purpose is living up to its name as an *Impact* Fund, and given the dynamics of this moment, several of our partners are in perfect position to help the new government achieve a number of its goals.

So, yes, this is your moment, too. In this issue, we wanted to (re)introduce you to some partner organizations who are leading in the areas of our Guiding Principles: Civil Society, Constitutional Order, Informed Citizens, and Free Markets. Your membership has never been more valuable, or more vital. Thank you!

Onward.



Gabe Conger
President, Bradley Impact Fund



DID YOU KNOW?

Bradley Impact Fund Donors Gave
OVER \$48M IN GRANTS
IN 2024

View our
Annual Report

Scan the code to learn more
about what the Bradley
Impact Fund community
made possible in 2024.



2024 IMPACT

We thank the members of our donor community for their support and their commitment to restoring, strengthening, and protecting America's founding principles and institutions. It is a privilege for all of us at the Bradley Impact Fund to partner with you in working toward that vision.

 **1,880**
GRANTS MADE

 **\$25,641**
AVERAGE GRANT

 **707**
ORGANIZATIONS SUPPORTED

\$711,575

GRANTED FROM BRADLEY IMPACT FUND

Issue Funds to sixteen organizations

- Becket
- Bradley Summer Associate Legal Fellows
- CO2 Coalition
- Center for Urban Teaching
- Competitive Enterprise Institute
- Concordia University Wisconsin Foundation
- Economic Policy Innovation Center
- The Fairness Center
- Schoolahoop Project at Foundation for American Innovation
- Kite & Key Media
- Leadership Program of the Rockies
- Neu-Life Community Resource Center
- Philanthropy Roundtable
- Public Interest Legal Foundation
- Reformers Academy
- Sherman Phoenix Foundation

Giving to the Impact Fund Over Time



Total Annual Disbursements



\$407,914,794
TOTAL GIVING TO IMPACT FUND
ACCOUNTS since 2013

\$232,645,008
TOTAL DISBURSEMENTS TO
GRANT RECIPIENTS since 2013



Increased grantmaking from all account holders set a record for the number of organizations supported across the nation in 2024.

Learn more about how the Bradley Impact Fund made an impact during 2024 by reading the Annual Report.



FREE MARKETS

The EPIC MOMENT WE'RE IN



One of the new administration's initiatives that has given the greatest hope to the fiscally sane has been the Department of Government Efficiency.

Veterans of D.C. budget battles are among those whose DOGE optimism is most cautious. They've seen big promises fall short, time and again, even if no one can recall a precedent for the amount of energy and focus being set loose in an environment where the purveyors of Big Government are still reeling, and the political landscape is being realigned. Additional cause for optimism this time around comes from anti-swamp Impact Fund partners who have made tremendous strides in a short amount of time. One crew leading this movement is the **Economic Policy Innovation Center (EPIC)**, which is standing by ready to support DOGE with data and ideas.

Can EPIC's small army of fiscal warriors help DOGE force our national representatives to reclaim their Article One powers? EPIC's leading fiscal policy



expertise and its demonstrated success in working with Congress will be vital to answering this question, with action, in the affirmative.

Under the leadership of economist Paul Winfree, EPIC develops and promotes economic policy to advance a free and prosperous America through original research to inform practical policy solutions. Dr. Winfree is perhaps best known as an architect of the Tax Cuts and Jobs Act of 2017, which is widely acknowledged to have spurred the economic comeback under the first Trump administration.

With strong executive support, the right congressional backing, and a framework for job creation and cost cutting outlined by Dr. Winfree and his colleagues, DOGE can very well deliver where past attempts at reining in Washington, D.C. overreach have failed. There appears to be strong support from the top of the administration, so garnering strong partnership in Congress will be key.

EPIC provides federal policymakers with educational resources and fosters cooperation with experienced leaders. They've hosted retreats with dozens of members of Congress—no small feat in itself, and vital to giving members confidence to make bolder cuts in the next couple of years. Every EPIC expert has practical experience in high-level policymaking roles and their respective fields. And this expertise has never been more needed than it will be in the next two years, with an aligned federal government that must be prepared to make dramatic moves and a Constitution-friendly Supreme Court.

A further cause for optimism—and mandate for urgent action by the executive and judicial branches—can be found in the Supreme Court's recent *Loper Bright*

and *Relentless* decisions, which together open the door to significant rollback of Chevron deference, the judicial fiat of deferring to agency interpretations of ambiguities in federal statutes. Decades of unchecked growth in the creation of regulatory agencies have profoundly weakened the American economy and rule of law.

This moment's "perfect storm" of aligned federal branches, favorable Supreme Court ruling, and societal readiness for dramatic change in how government operates may still not be enough. The "deep state" of permanent, unelected Beltway bureaucrats has a hard-earned reputation for keeping things the way they are. But this is why EPIC experts such as Anthony P. Campau will be so important in the next few years. As EPIC's Fellow in Regulatory

Modernization and Alignment, Campau previously served as Chief of Staff and Counselor for the Office of Information and Regulatory Affairs (OIRA) within the U.S. Office of Management and Budget (OMB).

With experts like Mr. Campau and Dr. Winfree in position to support the new administration's stated desire to finally scale back the regulatory state, EPIC will be part of the battle to Make Congress Legislate Again. Given EPIC's commitment—one that the Impact Fund shares—to building a vibrant economy that benefits workers and their families, this moment could be very different than previous ones, with the American people being the primary beneficiaries.

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CIVIL SOCIETY

Open The Books

: *Open the Books has*
 : *built the largest private*
 : *database of U.S. federal*
 : *and state government*
 : *data in the world.*
 : *Every Dime. Online.*
 : *In Real Time.*



When Open The Books founder Adam Andrzejewski passed away suddenly last year, shockwaves rippled through conservative policy circles nationwide. Over more than a decade, Adam and his colleagues broke the code not only on how to quickly find valuable gems of data deep in the bureaucratic swamps of Washington, but how to turn them into headlines that afflicted the most comfortable and powerful of our public servants. Government transparency is a bedrock principle and the foundation for trust in our institutions. Transparency is for government; privacy is for the people.

OTB broke stories that even the Left should have paid closer attention to: Kamala Harris's inability to retain staff, the paltry portion of federal workers who actually go into the office, how Anthony Fauci became the highest-paid federal worker, and the like. Filing almost 60,000 Freedom of Information Act requests annually, OTB is building something the federal government would build if it cared about transparency—an up-to-date and easily-searchable database of all federal spending. In fact, OTB has built the *largest private database of U.S. federal and state government data in the world.*

For DOGE and other budget hawks in Congress and the private sector, OTB has shown what can be done with the right talent and laser focus on transparency.



In 2023, they captured 20.2 million public employee salaries, 5.2 million retirement pension annuities, and 163 million individual vendor payments. They've revolutionized the capture and loading of open records requests. Displaying the captured government spending data on its website and proprietary mapping platform, OTB is using big data and cloud technology to finally bring sunlight into the massive federal bureaucracy. The goal? **Every Dime. Online. In Real Time.**

An astounding resource for vigilant citizens of any background, anyone can now search all government spending at every level—federal, state, and local—for free. And with this newly-available resource, OTB's own researchers are breaking stories that wouldn't have been breakable even ten years ago.

- **\$1.3 billion in payments** given to Russia and China while they undermine and in some cases attack U.S. interests
- **Hundreds of millions of dollars** in Republican earmarks
- **The \$1 billion subsidy** for the Palestinians that lifted up Hamas
- Elite colleges receiving over **\$45 billion** from taxpayers
- **The militarization** of the EPA and IRS in the form of millions of dollars of tactical weaponry and armor

Of the many findings made by OTB or made possible by their research, one of the most concerning is the extent to which federal public health agencies officials personally benefit from the grantees funded by the agencies they oversee. In 2023, the National Institutes of Health paid more than \$30 billion in grants to some 56,000 recipients, while \$325 million flowed back in the other direction to NIH, its scientists, and leadership.

Typical was the case of Anthony Fauci (then-director of NIAID, which is under the NIH umbrella), who testified before Congress in 2022 that he couldn't recall if he

received royalties from any NIH grant recipients. NIH, for its part, refused to disclose to Congress the names of the companies paying royalties and to whom they were given, but because Open The Books was on the case, transparency finally prevailed, finding that Fauci, NIH director Francis Collins, and others were rewarded handsomely by the companies receiving NIH grants.

Those who share the Impact Fund's concern with the politicization of science don't fault scientists for benefitting from innovations they produce. It's the massive amount of federal funding changing hands through an agency whose leadership has fought tooth and nail to avoid oversight that is concerning. Were it not for transparency and accountability hawks like Open The Books, there's no telling how much of the federal public health infrastructure is actually advancing public health and how much is, like so much else under the federal banner, cause for very serious concern.

Now under the leadership of John Hart, long-time transparency advocate and friend of OTB, staff are ratcheting up their efforts to make government data accessible online to everyone, including public citizens, investigative reporters, academics, think tanks, politicians, etc. This is the "transparency revolution" that Adam Andrzejewski set out to lead. With a new administration that promises a revolution in accountability at the federal level, OTB's unprecedented success in publishing data behind the bureaucracy and longstanding relationships with likeminded policymakers couldn't come at a better time. Backing OTB's innovative transparency-in-data model demonstrates Impact Fund donors' commitment to bringing accountability where it is most needed—accountability that a *truly civil* society requires.



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CONSTITUTIONAL ORDER

Foundation for the Constitution



Georgetown’s Patrick Hotung Professor of Constitutional Law, Randy Barnett, is no stranger to the Bradley Impact Fund community. A former Bradley Prize winner, Mr. Barnett is one of the foremost champions of “originalist” legal philosophy that has, for the moment, regained influence in the federal court system. The idea is simple, really: originalists believe the Constitution means what it says, as the founders intended, rather than what we wish it said today.

Mr. Barnett is one of today’s strongest defenders of the Big Ideas that formed America, and because of his efforts, conservative justices at every level of the judiciary, including the Supreme Court, have had talented law clerks available to help research and draft some of the most consequential rulings of the last couple of decades. Mr. Barnett is, in other words, not just a thinker, but a doer—one whose influence extends far beyond the halls of academia. Impact Fund donors

will therefore not be surprised at his creative response to the constant problem of universities that often fail to honor the intent of donors—especially the intent of conservative donors.

Like so many others in our wider community of purpose, Mr. Barnett’s commitment to advancing Constitutional Values and protecting donor intent led him to build something new: **The Foundation for the Constitution**. With this independent nonprofit, supporters (including several from the Impact Fund community) can support the mission of the Center for the Constitution and impact the direction of the judiciary for the next generation without giving directly through university channels.

Alongside the Foundation for the Constitution, the companion Center for the Constitution was founded in 2012 to advance constitutional law and theory with a special emphasis on how best to remain faithful to the text of our founding document. Along with Professor Stephanie Barclay, Mr. Barnett directs the Center’s lectures, faculty colloquia, conferences, visiting scholars, post-graduate fellowships, and student fellows. All its activities are designed to engage scholars, students, and even Supreme Court justices in conversations about



how to interpret and apply the document that sits under glass less than ten blocks away from Georgetown Law.

The foundation’s new Research Fellows program, for example, supports early-career academics whose scholarship focuses on constitutional law or constitutional theory. The fellowship will help scholars to build a network with both junior and senior scholars working on constitutional law issues. The inaugural class of twenty-three fellows was announced this past October, with candidates coming from schools nationwide and from firms dedicated to conserving the founders’ intent in the Constitution.

Another innovation from the Center, funded through the Foundation, could also have a game-changing effect on originalism going forward.

The Interactive Constitution is an online guide to originalist scholarship on the U.S. Constitution, taking, according to Alexa Gervasi, the Center’s Executive Director, “an important step in taking originalism

from the abstract of academia and into practice. This novel resource. . . will provide practitioners and judges with a much-needed starting point for understanding and applying the original public meaning of the Constitution.” Visitors to the Interactive Constitution website find not only the entire Constitution text, they find each provision linked to summaries of articles and scholarship that highlight the intent of the founders.

With the Foundation for the Constitution, supporters can support the mission of the Center for the Constitution and impact the direction of the judiciary for the next generation without giving directly through university channels.

Now, scholars, students, law clerks, practitioners, and judges have a rich and growing source of scholarship on the original public meaning of our Constitution.

These are just a few highlights of Mr. Barnett’s and his colleagues’ creativity and drive to ensure that originalism only gains momentum during the next generation. But from a philanthropic perspective, the Foundation for the Constitution’s model poses a fascinating case study of its own: when established leaders in academia have a vision worth backing, donors who had previously given up on funding university programs have a new option.



INFORMED CITIZENS

*Making things
RealClear*

RealClear
Foundation

It's one of those *New York Times* headlines that, to put it charitably, hasn't aged well.

Why the Right Thinks Trump Is Running Away With the Race

The authors of this article spend 1,000 words or so reassuring *Times* readers (and perhaps themselves) five days before the election that the polls weren't as bad as they looked for Vice President Harris. As responsible journalists are wont to do, they sought comment for their story from "both sides" of the political spectrum, quoting Democratic pollsters and a "longtime Republican strategist" who, the authors probably didn't have space to mention, co-founded the anti-Trump Lincoln Project. This strategist was granted the article's takeaway line: "The goal is to set the predicate for the race's aftermath so you can challenge the result."

In other words, this "news" article leaves the *Times* reader thinking that questionable polls are being used by bad actors on social media to lay the groundwork for the next January 6—a day that, for the American Left, must live in infamy.

Impact Fund members know the *Times*' game, which is standard for mainstream media, even if it doesn't blow up in their face as quickly as this particular article did. We don't highlight it here to "spike the football." Well, perhaps a little Lambeau Leap. What's more important is highlighting the fact that Impact Fund donors are right now helping to break the Left's dominance in media and polls through support of the RealClear Foundation.

As a matter of fact, RealClearPolitics' "scarlet-dominated Electoral College map" was singled out in



RealClear Foundation’s investigative reporting, policy discussions, and polling averages elevate a broad range of expert opinions, trusting that more and better-informed free speech provides a better-informed citizenry that can make better decisions.

the *Times* article as typical of the problem despite the fact that RealClear’s polling average has been among the most trustworthy for the last several election cycles. That relevant part of the story also didn’t make it into the article, and if trends hold, the *Times* will not learn from their errors.

Which is why the Bradley Impact Fund is so committed to informing American citizens. **RealClear Foundation’s** inconveniently accurate polling apparatus isn’t the only reason the keepers of The Narrative are after them. Just as problematic is RealClear’s gift for throwing a rock through the Overton Window of acceptable opinion by using their massive reach to highlight news and commentary that the Left has declared off-limits. That they do so in a conspicuously nonpartisan way (RealClear’s pages always present opposing perspectives on topics ranging from politics to science to defense to religion) is why they’re seen as such a threat to the censorship industry today.

Censorship industry—isn’t that a bit dramatic? Perhaps it is, but we’re not sure how else to refer to, as RealClear tells it, a

complex of federal agencies, NGOs, and Big Tech [that] has targeted RCP. Global Disinformation Index (GDI), a State Department supported NGO, labeled RCP as one of the top-ten highest disinformation risks in the country and put us on an advertising blacklist. Google regularly demonetizes articles, videos, and links on RCP. Meanwhile, news outlets that have

spread actual disinformation – e.g., Russia-collusion hoax, Steele Dossier, Hunter Biden laptop as Russian propaganda, etc. – are on an advertising whitelist.

That’s what we’re up against, and it’s why the Impact Fund’s partnership with RealClear Foundation is so important. Its investigative reporting, policy discussions, and polling averages elevate a broad range of expert opinions, trusting that more and better-informed free speech provides a better-informed citizenry that can make better decisions. One of its initiatives, however, will prove increasingly important in the next few years: its **Polling Accountability Initiative**.

After the last few election cycles, Americans have developed a deep cynicism with regard to polls. Many have lost all faith in the practice, while others seem offended that anyone would doubt the wisdom of the experts, despite their faltering track record. Now, thanks to RealClear Foundation, someone is finally tracking their success in predicting real election outcomes, and if they err, in which direction they err. We’ll let you guess which direction that is, but we will also invite you to see for yourself, and to continue standing with RealClear Foundation as its dogged commitment to truth and objectivity continue to attract the attention of censors worldwide.



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Interview with Roger Ream

PRESIDENT AND CEO, THE FUND FOR AMERICAN STUDIES

Roger Ream has served as President and CEO of The Fund for American Studies (TFAS) since 1998. A longtime friend of the Bradley community, and recipient of a 2021 Bradley Prize, Mr. Ream joined the Impact Fund board of directors in 2024.

It's been an exciting couple of months, to say the least. How is The Fund for American Studies engaged in this historic moment?

We were pleased that three of our alumni were elected to Congress from North Carolina, Georgia, and Tennessee. We had another alum retained on the Supreme Court of Arizona, and a number of alumni elected to state office. . . . also, several close collaborators have reached out for help filling key staff positions in the new administration.

Donor-advised funds have been growing rapidly in popularity for philanthropists. Why are donor-advised funds so important today?

I was just with a TFAS donor recently in California. He works in financial services and has a variety of clients, so if he wants to support conservative groups and he's

worried about the reaction he might get from some of his clients, he gives through a DAF. Some of our donors want to support a particular project, and from our end, there are a number of projects we couldn't have done were it not for DAF donors.

Do you see the Impact Fund primarily as a vehicle for your national giving?

One reason I love the Bradley Impact Fund and the Bradley Foundation is because I grew up in Milwaukee. I even worked one summer for the Allen-Bradley Company, and they've had such a positive impact in Wisconsin and the Milwaukee community. They've stayed so supportive of the idea of civil society, of supporting organizations in the community as well as their understanding that you also have to be involved in what's happening in Washington and nationally in order to be effective in your community as well. So, this personal connection is very important to me.



• This is a shortened version of the interview with Mr. Ream.
• **FOR THE FULL INTERVIEW, VISIT [BRADLEYIMPACTFUND.ORG/BLOG/INTERVIEW-REAM](https://bradleyimpactfund.org/blog/interview-ream)**

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

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