



FROM THE DESK OF GABE CONGER

Dear Friends,

This month, nearly 1.9 million students will graduate with a bachelor's degree. What will they take away from their college experience? Many will earn a STEM degree or gain experience through internships. Leadership and technology skills will be enhanced. Yet, too few will have greater respect for vigorous public dialogue and diversity of viewpoints. The pressure to conform to the political correctness so pervasive on America's college campuses is a barrier to young Americans learning and valuing the principles of free speech and freedom of thought. These principles were essential to the founding of our nation, and they are just as essential today. With such extensive uniformity of opinion, the "informed citizenry" of today is not what our founding fathers pictured.

Our theme for this issue is the intersection of the power of ideas, education, and informed citizens. Robert P. George, Princeton University professor and Bradley Foundation Board Member, shares his perspective as a conservative academic engaged with young Americans at the threshold of their independence. We're also pleased to announce the 2019 Bradley Prizes winners, whose work has steadfastly advanced an informed citizenry. **The Grant Recipient Spotlight** will help you create your summer reading list; and in **The Future is Now**, we share Lincoln Network co-founder Aaron Ginn's ideas for collaboration of like-minded technologists using their Silicon Valley skills to advance liberty and viewpoint diversity.

Free thought and free speech are under fire in our society. As a donor community committed to personal freedoms and a vibrant civil society, we can do more to defend and promote both. In our **Insights** column, we share strategies for high-impact philanthropy in this area. If we've sparked some ideas about your giving with this issue, please give us a call. We'd love to talk with you about ways to make your philanthropy even more meaningful.

Sincerely,



Gabe Conger
President
The Bradley Impact Fund



BY THE NUMBERS



1.9M

CLASS OF 2019
BACHELOR'S DEGREES

10:1

DEMOCRAT
PROFESSORS
OUTNUMBER
REPUBLICAN

0 REPUBLICAN
PROFESSORS

AT 39%
OF LIBERAL ARTS
COLLEGES



Sources: National Center for
Education Statistics, National
Association of Scholars

PROTECTING & PRESERVING

American Intellectual Freedom

CULTURAL MARXISM

an excerpt used by permission of Robert P. George

Is there such a thing as cultural Marxism? Yes. But it is not what racist and anti-Semitic conspiracy theorists think and say it is. It is not a conspiracy. It is a school of thought—a very influential and consequential one, and one that deserves to be studied and needs to be understood. When people on the Left dismiss the idea of cultural Marxism as a myth cooked up by bigots and cranks, they are unwittingly abetted by bigots and cranks—fringe figures who present cultural Marxism, not as a school of thought (like, and competing with, conservatism, classical liberalism, libertarianism, non-Marxist forms of socialism, and, indeed, classical Marxism) but rather as a conspiracy run by Jews and members of racial minorities. This is as ludicrous as it is disgusting. It is important to understand cultural Marxism properly—to understand it as a school of thought—and to distinguish myths about it from its realities. ...

... Which brings us to the Frankfurt School—the group of German Marxist intellectuals who formed the Institute for Social Research in Frankfurt, Germany during the Weimar period and eventually moved the operation to Columbia University in New York when they fled the Nazis. The Frankfurt School scholars were cultural, rather than classical Marxists. But as time went on they broke with classical Marxism even more thoroughly by, essentially, giving up on the working class. In a sense, they foresaw the rise of the Reagan Democrats. The proletariat, they came to believe, had essentially become what Hillary Clinton would

several decades later, in an act of political suicide, label “deplorables.” Workers weren’t interested in fundamental change—economic or cultural. They liked owning homes, having decent cars, and sending their kids to colleges that would enable them to pursue professional careers and—who knows?—maybe even get rich. So Max Horkheimer, Georg Lukács, Theodor Adorno, and, above all, Herbert Marcuse would look elsewhere for revolutionaries—to oppressed, or allegedly oppressed, minorities and radicalized students.

The Frankfurt School retained classical Marxism’s materialism and atheism, but it incorporated into its cultural theory what the Frankfurt scholars regarded as great insights of modern psychology beginning with Freud. These alleged insights, particularly those pertaining to sexuality, marriage, and the family, were integral components of their proposal for a “long march through the institutions”—dethroning the historically dominant morality of the West and re-shaping the consciousness of future generations.

Herbert Marcuse’s role can scarcely be exaggerated. Again, young leftists who may never have heard his name think what they think in part because of his profound influence on the generation of intellectuals

Robert P. George is McCormick Professor of Jurisprudence and Director of the James Madison Program in American Ideals and Institutions at Princeton University and frequently a Visiting Professor at Harvard Law School. A prolific writer and a 2005 Bradley Prize recipient, he is a Director of The Bradley Foundation.



and activists whom he taught and who, whether they were formally in his classroom or not, devoured his writings and believed what he wrote. His three most influential works were *Eros and Civilization*, a critical work in justifying sexual revolutionary ideology and practices, *One Dimensional Man*, and “Repressive Tolerance.”

The Old Left was the working class and trade and industrial union left. The New Left, which arose in the 1960s was the left of student radicals—the people who would go on to have a significant impact on colleges and universities, K-12 education, the liberal or “progressive” movement, the entertainment and news media, the Democratic Party, the professions and professional associations, advocacy groups such as the ACLU and the Southern Poverty Law Center, various civic associations, some of the great philanthropic trusts, such as Rockefeller and Ford, the mainline churches, and in important respects even the great law firms and business corporations—making them by way of their internal policies and their advocacy and philanthropy agents of left-wing (“progressive”) ideology. The New Left created the modern women’s movement (heavily influenced by writers such as Simone de Beauvoir and Betty Friedan) and its ideology, the gay movement (and now the transgender movement) and its ideology, the abortion movement, and various academic fields of “cultural studies.” If you want to assess the scope and depth of the cultural power that has been achieved, just consider that gay activist organizations were able to command leading corporations from a variety of sectors and other organizations to stop a virtually toothless state Religious Freedom Restoration Act in Indiana, backing down then-Governor Mike Pence, who pitifully in announcing his capitulation declared that “Indiana is open for business again.”

When Marcuse was declared by an admirer to be “the father of the New Left,” he demurred only slightly, saying, “I am the grandfather of the New Left.” Perhaps where his influence is most vivid today is in the collapse of support for free speech, especially among the young and most especially among college students. Their teachers and their teachers’ teachers, for whom Marcuse was a guru, read his essay “Repressive Tolerance”—a brief for the proposition that tolerance is a one-way street and

that freedom of speech and other basic civil liberties need to be respected when, and only when, they are the liberties of those seeking the social transformations he favored. Tolerance is “repressive” when it is used by those opposing these transformations. They certainly need not be tolerated; their liberties need not be respected. Marcuse was a cultural, rather than a classical, Marxist, but he was no less a Stalinist for that.

I have no idea whether even a single member of the mob of student radicals and others who attacked Charles Murray and Allison Stanger at Middlebury College has read a word of Marcuse. But he is, at a minimum, their great grandfather. And his influence can easily be discerned in their consciousness, and the consciousness of thousands like them from Berkeley to Yale.

BRADLEY FELLOWS— *Advancing Freedom of Thought on Campus*

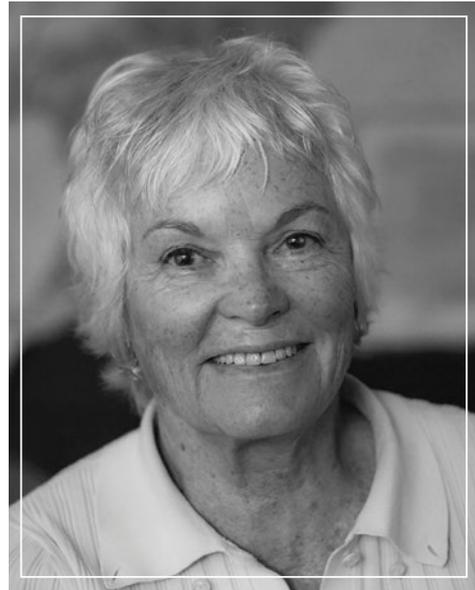
The Bradley Graduate and Post-Graduate Fellowship Program is strengthening America’s intellectual infrastructure through support for liberal arts students recommended by distinguished humanities and social sciences professors. Since the program’s inception in 1986, more than 3,000 Bradley Fellows have been recommended by a network that currently has **59 active professors nominating students across 50 leading universities**. Many pursue careers in academia, research, and public service.

In April, Fellowship program scholars, alumni and current Fellows gathered in Chicago for networking and discussion, with keynotes by Bradley Prize winners Charles R. Kesler and Robert P. George. The Jack Miller Center, a Bradley Foundation grant recipient, co-hosted the event.

Welcome

NEW BOARD MEMBER KATHRYN MURPHY BURKE

Please help us welcome Kathryn Murphy Burke to the Bradley Impact Fund Board. Murph is owner of Burke Properties and Westbrook Management Company. Burke Properties is a family-owned real estate business started by her late husband John in 1968. The Burkes shared a love of art and of community, and their generous and committed philanthropy over the years has enriched Milwaukee greatly. Murph continues the Burke tradition of charitable giving and is also active in local and state politics. A graduate of Mount Mary College, Murph gives through the Bradley Impact Fund to strengthen civil society in the Milwaukee community.



“ The Bradley Impact Fund’s recognition and promotion of the vital link between the arts, free expression of ideas, and civic engagement is what initially led John and me to join the donor community. I’m very pleased to serve as a Director, and look forward to adding my voice to the conversation on preserving the freedoms of this country. ”

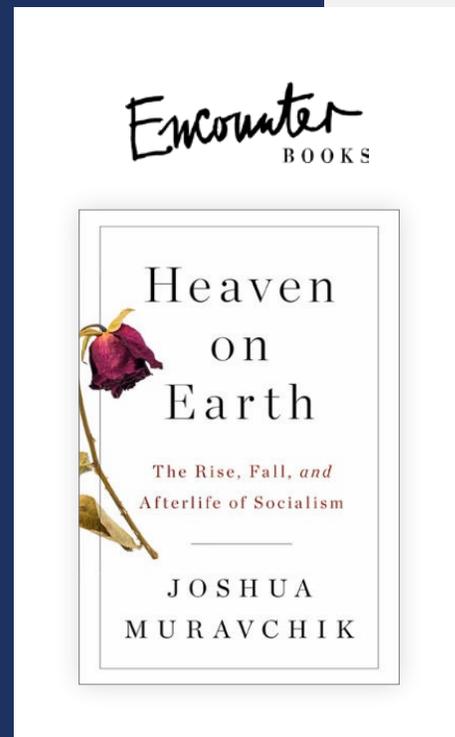
— Kathryn Murphy Burke
Bradley Impact Fund Director

GRANT RECIPIENT SPOTLIGHT

Encounter Books

If you're building your reading list of impactful conservative books, visit encounterbooks.com for ideas. Encounter Books was founded in 1998 to strengthen the marketplace of ideas and stimulate intellectual debate—two cornerstones of democratic culture—through the printed word. Encounter has published hundreds of highly-acclaimed titles which are now in more than 20,000 libraries across the nation and sold around the world. With ongoing support from The Bradley Foundation, and now members of the Bradley Impact Fund donor community, the organization has provided a platform for hundreds of authors, including William F. Buckley, Jr., Betsy McCaughey, Jason Riley, and Victor Davis Hanson. On Encounter's recent top 10 list of new releases is *Heaven on Earth*, a critical examination of socialism and its lasting effects, by Joshua Muravchik.

As Encounter Books marks its 20th anniversary, the entire organization celebrates its President and Publisher Roger Kimball's selection as a 2019 Bradley Prize Winner for his exceptional commitment to advancing liberty and preserving democratic culture.



Bradley Prizes: 2019 Winners

The Bradley Prizes honor scholars and practitioners whose accomplishments reflect the mission the Bradley Impact Fund shares with The Bradley Foundation: to restore, strengthen, and protect the principles and institutions of American exceptionalism. On May 7, 2019, three individuals were recognized as 2019 Bradley Prize Winners. Learn more about their accomplishments at bradleyprizes.org and watch for more Bradley Prizes event coverage in the Summer 2019 **Bradley Impact Brief**.



Roger Kimball

Editor and Publisher
The New Criterion

President and Publisher
Encounter Books



James Grant

Financial Journalist
and Historian

Founder and Editor
*Grant's Interest Rate
Observer*



The Honorable Janice Rogers Brown

Former United States Court
of Appeals Judge for the
District of Columbia Circuit

ON POINT WITH CARL HELSTROM

VICE PRESIDENT FOR PROGRAMS, THE BRADLEY FOUNDATION



As VP for Programs, Carl works closely with The Bradley Foundation Board and other members of the Foundation's program staff to advance the Foundation's mission and vision through philanthropic investments across the country.

What's at the intersection of technology and liberty? The Lincoln Network, joinlincoln.org.

Founded to create productive links between Silicon Valley and the freedom and free enterprise movement, Lincoln's vision is a nationwide, tech-centered community that promotes and supports liberty in culture and public policy and innovates with technology in ways that improve human well-being and empower a freer society.

Disruptive change with the potential for good—a goal of many philanthropists in this digital age in which we have instant access to globe-spanning information—allowing ideas and solutions to be shared throughout American society. The brisk pace and the openness of the internet and social media are contemporary expressions of our freedom.

Lincoln utilizes digital technology to advance American principles and ideas in several ways. As a tech services provider, Lincoln deploys talented consultants to work with advocacy, education, and research organizations. Lincoln also helps Congressional staffers to understand and use technology-based tools and processes more effectively. And, an important aspect of Lincoln's mission is to lead and sustain ongoing public discussions about the intersections of the technology and policy worlds.

Lincoln Network is working in a space that's critical for our nation's future. As technology's role and influence in our society continues to grow, we can utilize technology in thoughtful, purposeful ways to preserve and protect our freedoms.

DID YOU KNOW?

Digital technologies are expanding the exchange of viewpoints and ideas and accelerating human connection. Statistics from the digital space can be staggering:

- ▶ **57% of the world's population** (4.4 of the world's 7.7 billion people) is part of the growing global digital population
- ▶ **90% of the world's data** were created in the last two years
- ▶ **89% of adults in the U.S.** use the internet
- ▶ **1 billion more mobile connections exist** than people worldwide

Sources: Statista, Domo, Pew, GSMA Intelligence

At the Bradley Impact Fund, our focus is personal connection, both in person and online. Our online donor portal helps ensure we're meeting the needs of our entire donor community. While its many features are designed to bring simplicity and convenience to giving, there's one thing it will never do: Replace face-time with our donor community. We look forward to engaging with you at the upcoming Bradley Impact Fund events.

THE YEAR AHEAD 2019 Upcoming Events

October 10–11, 2019

9th Annual Bradley Impact Conference
Grand Geneva Resort, Lake Geneva, WI

Please contact Terri Famer at
events@bradleyimpactfund.org for event details.

THE FUTURE IS NOW: *Aaron Ginn*



Silicon Valley innovator Aaron Ginn harnesses the power of technology for the conservative movement as a co-founder of the Lincoln Network, an organization whose mission is “connecting the technology world to the liberty movement today to build a better tomorrow.” He has created

a network of like-minded technologists utilizing their tech skills to protect and support American freedoms. Lincoln’s tech experts build and design freedom-focused technologies and products by bringing to bear the best Silicon Valley technical skillsets. A recent Lincoln initiative was the development of digital opt-out tools for workers freed from mandatory union membership under last year’s Supreme Court *Janus vs. AFSCME* decision that makes the process of leaving the union as easy as clicking a button.

Bradley Impact Fund donors had a chance to meet Aaron at last fall’s Impact Conference. He has been recognized frequently as a top influencer in politics and policy by national media, and in 2017, was named to *Forbes* 30 under 30 for Law and Policy. His work is featured in the *New York Times*, *Los Angeles Times*, *Politico*, *TechCrunch*, *ReCode*, *Fox News*, *NPR*, *Washington Post*, and *Wall Street Journal*. Aaron was also a member of the digital

team for Mitt Romney’s 2012 presidential campaign, and one of the earliest thought leaders on the growth hacking movement, a business strategy used by many organizations today.



With support from The Bradley Foundation and Bradley Impact Fund, Aaron and Lincoln Network continue to push back constraints on the freedoms of thought and speech in American society, and political discrimination in the technology world. The Lincoln Network recently published *The State of Viewpoint Inclusion in The Tech Industry*. The report details findings from Lincoln’s nationwide survey of technical and non-technical employees about their perspectives on political correctness, diversity of viewpoints in the workplace, and healthy work environments.

“ **The most dynamic force shaping our culture and society is technology. Winning tomorrow’s policy and ideas battles will be dependent on how we utilize technology. With the support of The Bradley Foundation and Bradley Impact Fund, Lincoln is serving as the bridge to prepare the movement for the future.** ”

— Aaron Ginn



INSIGHTS FROM THE IMPACT FUND

CREATING A HIGH-IMPACT PHILANTHROPIC STRATEGY

“How can we give in a more meaningful way to preserve American values?”

It’s a question we hear often from our donors—perhaps not surprisingly coming from a community of thoughtful, determined people! The secret to high-impact conservative philanthropy is support that spans ideas, advocacy, and implementation and protects and advances American ideals.

The mission shared by our donor community is long-term. At the same time, many of you have shorter-term causes close to your heart. We encourage you to pursue giving strategies that support the full spectrum from ideas to implementation:

- ▶ **National:** National think tanks, university centers and scholars, and other nonprofit organizations, associations, and media outlets support and advance conservative ideas and institutions.
- ▶ **State:** State policy reform, research, and advocacy organizations keep government accountable and provide state leaders with strong solutions for pro-liberty policies and their implementation.
- ▶ **Local:** Local community organizations, arts and culture institutions, K-12 schools, and independent social service and faith-based groups are implementing local solutions.

How can the Bradley Impact Fund help you? Contact us and let’s have a conversation. With our knowledge of more than 400 well-vetted local, state, and national organizations in The Bradley Foundation portfolio, we can make recommendations and help you create an integrated, high-impact giving strategy that’s fully aligned with your donor intent.

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