



# BIENNIAL REPORT

2022–2023

CLAREMONT INSTITUTE



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## 2022–2023 BIENNIAL REPORT

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*“We are in a battle for American self-government and Western Civilization. We teach the principles of the American founding and their application to our current crisis with a sense of urgency because unlike so many in our complacent bipartisan ruling class, we know America could be lost and descend into tyranny. At the Claremont Institute we will fight as long as it takes to preserve and defend the foundations of American justice and greatness against the forces of darkness, ugliness, and woke despotism.”*

—RYAN P. WILLIAMS, PRESIDENT

## LETTER FROM THE PRESIDENT

*Dear friends,*

Education has always been at the core of the Claremont Institute’s work because America’s crisis started over 100 years ago with the introduction of bad doctrines meant to corrupt the American mind, deny the truth of America’s founding principles, and overthrow the Constitution.

In these pages we divide our activity thematically into “teaching,” “writing,” “leading,” and “litigating.” In all these things we are educating.

We educate the current and rising generations of statesmen, lawyers, policy professionals, congressional staff, academics, Sheriffs, and American political leadership in our fellowship programs.

We educate concerned citizens about the most pressing issues of ideas, politics, policy, and the sources of western civilization in our publications and scholarship, starting with the *Claremont Review of Books* and *The American Mind*.

We educate legislators and presidential administration officials at the national level—and legislators and gubernatorial offices across the states—in how to understand our constitutional crisis and what to do about it through our Center for the American Way of Life.

We educate judges, clerks, and constitutional litigators through our Center for Constitutional Jurisprudence.

For over 40 years, we have been educating with a sense of urgency about the recovery of America’s noble founding principles and the preservation of the American way of life.

Thank you for supporting this vital work. We are honored and blessed to be in the fight with you.

*Best,*

Ryan P. Williams, President

*We teach the principles and constitutional ideas that shape politics and policy over time to the few who will go on to positions of leadership in media, politics, academia, speechwriting, law, and law enforcement.*

When your aim is to restore America's founding principles to their rightful preeminence in our national life, you're going to need a lot of help. That is why the Claremont Institute began its Fellowship programs over forty years ago, to find and cultivate rising leaders willing to partner with us in our mission.

Our Fellowships bring together the best thinkers and activists from across the nation for an unparalleled educational experience. We educate the best and most promising young and mid-career writers, lawyers, activists, academics, entrepreneurs, and public servants through our Publius, Lincoln, John Marshall, Speechwriters, and Sheriffs Fellowship programs. With nearly one thousand accomplished alumni to date—including Mark Levin, Senator Tom Cotton, Laura Ingraham, Ben Shapiro, James O'Keefe, Michael Knowles, Charlie Kirk, and Mollie Hemingway—our highly competitive Fellowship programs continue to teach and guide the most influential and exciting network of leaders in America.

Our oldest program, the Publius Fellowship, has continued educating rising leaders in their early 20s, applying the principles of American government to the pressing questions of our

hotly contested and rapidly changing political landscape.

The Lincoln Fellowship has continued to recruit mid-career professionals seeking a deeper education to enhance their efforts to save America. They include former members of the Trump Administration along with others in media, politics, academia, journalism, education, technology, finance, and business, engaged in the vital work of determining how best to combat the rising extremism of the Left and reform the Right in line with American principles.

The John Marshall Fellowship continues to attract the top young conservative lawyers in the nation who are leaving or entering clerkships with federal judges and Supreme Court justices. As one major legal news site has stated, "Claremont fellowships are not uncommon among the Supreme Court of the United States (SCOTUS) clerks, especially the conservative ones." In addition to John Eastman, the John Marshall Fellows heard from former and current federal Circuit Court judges like Janice Rogers Brown, Edith Jones, and Lawrence VanDyke, and had wide ranging discussions with Claremont scholars about how to restore a principled constitutionalism based in natural law and natural rights.

Our returning fellowship faculty

include Claremont Scholars, former speechwriters, and policy advisors: Michael Anton, Claremont Institute Senior Fellow, former speechwriter for Governor Pete Wilson, Mayor Rudy Giuliani, and President George W. Bush, and national security official under President Trump; Theodore Wold, who was the Acting-Assistant Attorney General in the Office of Legal Policy at the United States Department of Justice and Deputy Assistant to the President for Domestic Policy during the Trump Administration; and Clark Judge, managing director of the White House Writers Group and former speechwriter for President Reagan. We have also been honored over the last two years to have guest speaker Stephen Miller, President of America First Legal, and former head speechwriter and policy advisor to President Donald Trump.

**The Claremont Institute is a battleship to save America from the forces of darkness.**

**Claremont is my jet fuel.**

— Charlie Kirk, Founder of Turning Point USA (2021 Lincoln Fellow)

In 2021, we founded the Sheriffs Fellowship, which has offered sheriffs training in American political thought and institutions, from the country's top

**I**  
*we teach*

constitutional experts and political theorists. The sheriffs are selected for their character, aptitude, accomplishments, zeal, and community reputation, to study the political-philosophical, institutional, and historical arc leading from the American Founding to today's militant progressivism and multiculturalism, with particular emphasis on the role of law enforcement in maintaining liberty.

One of our sheriffs, after the five days of our program, told us that he no longer felt that they were alone because the Claremont Institute was there to support and equip them with the knowledge and resources they needed to stand strong.

**My husband Mark and I divide our journalistic careers into two eras: before Claremont and after Claremont.**

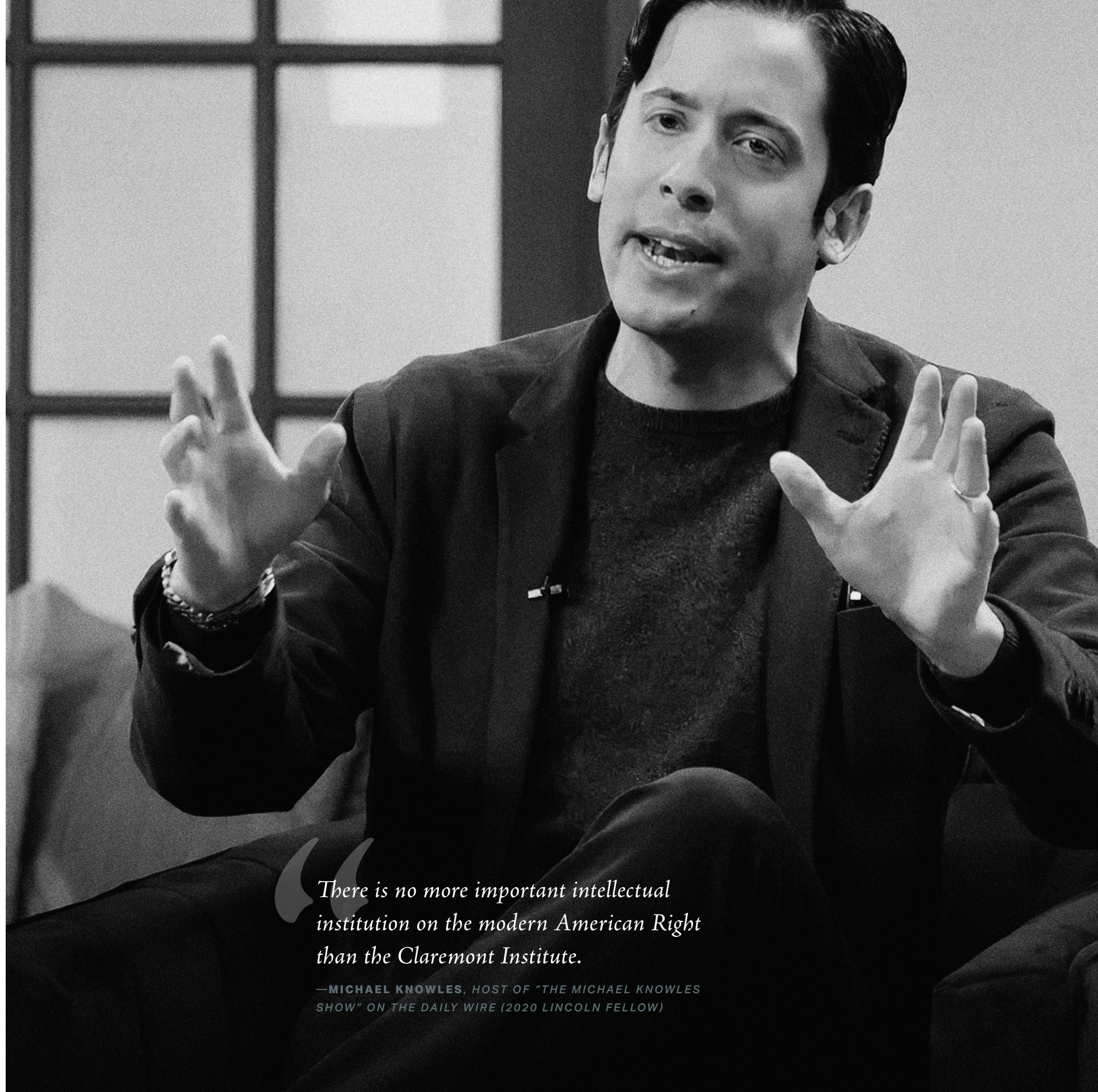
— Mollie Hemingway, Editor-in-Chief at The Federalist (2014 Lincoln Fellow)

We encourage our alumni to continue to think deeply about the meaning of conservatism and, most importantly, about what it means to be American. We stay with them long after their fellowships have ended, offering continuing education, events, mentorship, and advice—and connecting them with our network of scholars, thinkers, and doers throughout the nation.

We are well positioned after more than forty years of teaching and hard work: former members of the Trump Administration, leading national me-

dia figures, and public intellectuals frequently contact us and members of our network with questions about principle, policy, and hiring. We wear leftwing media hit pieces as badges of honor. After all, if you're taking flak, you're over the target. Here's one example from a hysterical piece published by *The New Republic*: "Claremont represents something new in modern American politics: a group of people, not internet conspiracy freaks but credentialed and influential leaders, who are openly contemptuous of democracy. And they stand a reasonable chance of being seated at the highest levels of government—at the right hand of a President Trump or a President DeSantis, for example." In fact, Claremont defends and seeks to recover *constitutional* democracy as it was originally meant by our Founders. We work tirelessly to help any leaders in America similarly dedicated to the American idea and way of life.

Demand for our educational programs increases as higher education continues to fail to teach Americans about America: even the best young leaders on the Right do not receive an adequate education about American government and its founding principles. Indeed, in our elite colleges especially, they receive nearly the opposite: undergraduate and graduate degrees in anti-Americanism. That is why they come to us. Our fellowship programs serve as an intense intellectual bootcamp for national leaders, as well as remedial



*“There is no more important intellectual institution on the modern American Right than the Claremont Institute.”*

—MICHAEL KNOWLES, HOST OF “THE MICHAEL KNOWLES SHOW” ON THE DAILY WIRE (2020 LINCOLN FELLOW)

educational programs for ambitious and high-minded young state and local political figures. Claremont Fellows are the political and intellectual leaders of the modern Right. They apply the Founders' principles to our problems today, influencing policy and decision-making at the highest levels

of government, law, media, culture, and academia.

One sense of the word "fellowship" is that of a band of brothers committed to a shared goal of paramount importance. For our Fellowship alumni, that goal is to save American constitutionalism. We are committed to supporting

our alumni materially, intellectually, and strategically to advance our mission and our shared passion for American constitutionalism and decent self-government. We will continue to cultivate an encouraging atmosphere of support and camaraderie among these committed patriots. ■



Guests get their copy of *Rigged* signed by author Mollie Hemingway at a book event hosted by the Claremont Institute on January 25, 2022.

## FELLOWSHIP HIGHLIGHTS



Scholars David Azerrad and Michael Anton leading a Claremont Fellowship lecture.



Fellows conversing at the 2023 Lincoln Fellowship Closing Dinner



2023 Publius Fellows during an afternoon lecture



Scholars and Fellows at the 2022 Publius Fellowship Closing Dinner



A discussion among the 2022 Sheriff's Fellows



2023 Lincoln Fellows during a morning lecture

## 2022 PUBLIUS FELLOWS



### Neil Banerji

Graduate Student at Oxford University,  
Contributor to *The Daily Signal*

### Seamus Brennan

Principal at Wrigley Strategies

### Bradley Devlin

Staff Reporter at *The American Conservative*

### Caroline Downey

Education Reporter at *National Review*

### Joe Guy

Chief of Staff to Representative  
Brandon Williams (NY-22)

### Amanda Klug

Doctoral Candidate in History at the  
University of Tennessee-Knoxville

### Samuel Mangold-Lenett

Weekend Editor at *The Blaze*

### Joel Meng

Law Student at the University of Chicago

### Mary Frances Myler

Research Associate at the Hudson Institute

### Darius Namazi

Law Student at Yale Law School

### Zineb Riboua

Research Assistant at the Claremont Institute's  
Center For the American Way of Life

### John Rigolizzo

Associate Editor at *Campus Reform*

### Breccan Thies

Investigative Reporter at the *Washington Examiner*

### Armen Tooloee

Chief of Staff at American Studio

## 2023 PUBLIUS FELLOWS



### Alina Bulazel

Director of Communications and Operations  
at America First Legal Foundation

### Jeffrey Clark

Associate Editor at Fox News Digital

### Colton Duncan

Student at Hillsdale College

### Gabe Kaminsky

Investigative Reporter at the *Washington Examiner*

### Roy Mathews

Legislative Correspondent for  
Representative Erin Houchin (IN-9)

### Sebastian Neri

Student at Drexel University

### Bryson Piscitelli

Student at the University of North  
Carolina, Chapel Hill

### Jeremiah Poff

Education and Culture Reporter at the  
*Washington Examiner*

### Tom Sarrouf

Associate Programs Officer and Podcast  
Producer at the Intercollegiate Studies Institute

### Jack Schwab

M.R.P. Candidate at Cornell University

### Stephen Sills

Student at Stanford University

### Samuel Smith

Special Assistant to Governor Henry McMaster (SC)

### Patrick Taylor

Press Assistant for U.S. Senator John Kennedy (LA)

## 2022 LINCOLN FELLOWS



### Kayvon Afshari

Producer for *Fox Nation*

### Megan Basham

Culture Reporter at *The Daily Wire*

### Daniel Bieber

Flight Commander, 26<sup>th</sup> Special Tactics Squadron, 24<sup>th</sup> Special Operations Wing, Air Force Special Operations Command

### Clint Brown

Vice President of Government Relations at The Heritage Foundation

### Richard Caster

Chairman and Founder of the Murphy Institute for American Studies

### Alvino-Mario Fantini

Editor-in-Chief and Publisher of *The European Conservative*

### Hugh Fike

Director of Government Relations at the Conservative Partnership Institute

### Jon Gabriel

Editor-in-Chief at *Ricochet*

### Stephen N. Limbaugh III

Composer and Pianist

### Ara Lovitt

Head of Research at Silver Point Capital

### Micah Meadowcroft

Research Director at the Center for Renewing America

### Amanda Milius

CEO and Producer of AMDC Films

### Joshua Steinman

Co-Founder and CEO of Galvanick

## 2023 LINCOLN FELLOWS



### Joshua Abbotoy

Managing Director of the New Founding

### Andrew Beck

Partner at Beck & Stone

### Tiffany Marie Brannon

Head of Social Content and Strategy at AudiencePlus

### David Dewhirst

Senior Advisor to Governor Ron DeSantis (FL)

### Adam Ellwanger

Professor of English at the University of Houston

### Jake Evans

Shareholder at Greenberg Traurig, LLP

### Mike Howell

Director of The Oversight Project at The Heritage Foundation

### Chris Iacovella

CEO and President at the American Securities Association

### Earl G. Matthews

Senior Consultant at Insight Partners, Washington, DC (Private Equity Firm)

### Erica Moshtahedian

Vice President at the 1792 Exchange

### Ryan Neuhaus

Policy Advisor for the U.S. Senate Steering Committee

### Elle Rogers

Law Clerk for Judge James C. Ho of the U.S. Court of Appeals for the Fifth Circuit

### Jared Sichel

Partner at Winning Tuesday

### Will Thibeau

Director of the American Military Project at the Claremont Institute's Center for the American Way of Life

### Daniel Vitagliano

Associate at Consovoy McCarthy PLLC

### Mark Wait

Deputy Chief of Staff for U.S. Senator Mike Lee (UT)

### John J. Waters

Attorney for Fiserv



## 2022 JOHN MARSHALL FELLOWS



### Natalee Allenbaugh

Trial Attorney at the U.S. Department of Justice, Civil Division

### Allison Allman

Litigation Associate at Jackson Walker, L.L.P.

### Kaitlyn Barry

Trial Attorney at U.S. Department of Justice, Antitrust Division

### Zachary Grouev

Law Clerk for Judge Andrew L. Brasher of the U.S. Court of Appeals for the Eleventh Circuit

### Paul Ingrassia

Law Clerk at The McBride Law Firm, PLLC

### Cole Jester

Deputy Chief Legal Counsel for Governor Sarah Huckabee Sanders (AR)

### Razi Lane

Law Clerk for Justice R. Patrick DeWine at the Supreme Court of Ohio

### Christian McGuire

Law Clerk for Judge Edith H. Jones of the U.S. Court of Appeals for the Fifth Circuit

### Jamie McWilliam

Law Clerk for Judge Lawrence VanDyke of the U.S. Court of Appeals for the Ninth Circuit

### David Rosenthal

Associate Consovoy McCarthy PLLC

### Bryan Sohn

Law Clerk for Judge John B. Nalbandian of the U.S. Court of Appeals for the Sixth Circuit

### Isaac Weitzhandler

Trial Attorney at the U.S. Department of Justice, Antitrust Division

## 2023 JOHN MARSHALL FELLOWS



### Joseph Balhoff

Law Clerk for Vinson & Elkins

### Jameson Broggi

Judge Advocate in the U.S. Marine Corps

### Zach Carstens

Litigation Associate at Gibson, Dunn & Crutcher LLP

### Ethan Foster

Litigation Associate at Parsons Behle & Latimer

### Ethan Harper

Student at Harvard Law School

### Daniel Lifton

Associate at Weil, Gotshal & Manges LLP

### Matthew Myatt

Associate at Akin Gump

### Kaitlyn Schiraldi

Attorney at the Mountain States Legal Foundation

### Zack Smith

Legal Fellow and Manager of the Supreme Court and Appellate Advocacy Program at the Heritage Foundation

### Daniel Sweeney

Law Clerk for Judge Barbara Lagoa of the United States Court of Appeals for the Eleventh Circuit

### Brian Walsh

Associate Counsel for the Senate Judiciary Committee

### Daniel Whitehead

Assistant General Counsel for Governor Ron DeSantis (FL)

## 2021 SPEECHWRITERS FELLOWS



### Max Bodach

Associate at Keybridge Communications

### Jordan Duecker

Director of Strategic Initiatives for the Manhattan Institute for Policy Research

### Frank Gorgie

Associate Professor of Political Science at Belmont University

### Wendell Husebo

Political Reporter at *Breitbart News*

### David Keltz

Press Secretary for the Office of the Indiana Attorney General

### Partick MacDonnell

Speechwriter and Legislative Assistant for Senator Tom Cotton

### William Murray

Founder and Principal of the Windy Oak Group

### Jeffrey Naft

Communications Advisor for House Republican Whip Steve Scalise

### Krystina Skurk

Deputy Press Secretary for Congressman Mark Green

### Claire Standaert

Associate Research Director for the Republican National Committee

### Will Vickery

Speechwriter and Editor for the Office of Senator Deb Fischer

## 2022 SPEECHWRITERS FELLOWS



### Kevin Baird

Communications Director for Representative H. Morgan Griffith (VA-9)

### Jackson Berryman

Speechwriter for the House Committee on Education and the Workforce

### Seamus Brennan

Contractor at Pericles, LLC

### Sam Dubke

Deputy Communications Director and Speechwriter for Governor Sarah Huckabee Sanders (AR)

### Tim C. Goeglein

Legislative Assistant to Representative Jim Banks (IN-03)

### Zack Jones

Director of Operations for the U.S. House of Representatives Committee on Homeland Security

### Zach Kahler

Communications Director for Representative Eli Crane (AZ-02)

### Emeline McClellan

Senior Associate at Keybridge Communications

### Macy Mount

Chief of Staff at Moore, a Nonprofit Marketing Firm

### Zachary Rogers

Chief of Staff to the Arkansas Senate President Bart Hester

### Collin Slowey

Deputy Speechwriter for U.S. Senator Marco Rubio (FL)

## 2021 SHERIFFS FELLOWS

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**Chad Bianco**  
Sheriff of Riverside County, California

**Kim Cole**  
Sheriff of Mason County, Michigan

**Brian Heatt**  
Sheriff of Tazewell County, Virginia

**Scott Jenkins**  
Sheriff of Culpepper County, Virginia

**Mark Lamb**  
Sheriff of Pinal County, Arizona

**Michael A. Lewis**  
Sheriff of Wicomico County, Maryland

**Eric Flowers**  
Sheriff of Indian River County, Florida

**Bill E. Waybourn**  
Sheriff of Tarrant County, Texas

## 2022 SHERIFFS FELLOWS

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**Mark Cage**  
Sheriff, Eddy County, New Mexico

**Chip Hughes**  
Sheriff, Craven County, North Carolina

**Darin Leaf**  
Sheriff, Barry County, Michigan

**John McClanahan**  
Sheriff, Buchanan County, Virginia

**David Rhodes**  
Sheriff, Yavapai County, Arizona

**Cory Rink**  
Sheriff, Garfield County, Oklahoma

*Policy victories are essential but not enough. For lasting success,  
we must get to the heart of the matter at the level of ideas.*

**C**laremont Review of Books (CRB) is the Claremont Institute's quarterly journal of politics and statesmanship. Each issue consists of book reviews and essays that illuminate conservatism, political philosophy, western civilization, and above all, the principles of the American Founding, in the context of today's culture and politics.

In its inaugural issue 23 years ago, editor-in-chief Charles R. Kesler explained the purpose of the CRB, in terms equally applicable today. Liberalism's (or progressivism's) drive toward "liberation," he said, "has sought a more comprehensive liberation—from the Declaration of Independence, the Constitution, and the moral principles that inspired and in turn were inspired by them."

By writing articles and essays, publishing books, and founding magazines, Progressives captured the public mind and succeeded over time in transforming the character of American politics. They gave Americans a new way to think and talk about politics, one that sacrificed limited constitutional government in favor of an unlimited bureaucratic state.

Then, having dispensed with the principles of natural rights and natural justice, the old Progressive challenge to the American way of government gave way to an even more comprehensive at-

tack on the American way of life. This new politics of identity, or multiculturalism, has shown it will use any tool at its disposal—politicized courts, socialist economics, immigration policy, social media censorship, environmental panic, even mob violence—to dissolve the bonds that unite us as citizens.

In his essay "Voting Rights and Wrongs" for our Summer 2022 issue, Charles Kesler traced the way in which leading Democrats have reinterpreted and perverted voting rights, dispensing with constitutional majority rule in favor of guaranteed group outcomes.

The cover of our Spring 2023 issue took up the question of "Whatever Happened to Civil Rights?" with Diana Schaub reviewing Pulitzer-Prize-winning historian David Hackett Fisher's magisterial *African Founders: How Enslaved People Expanded American Ideals*, looking at the contributions of African settlers in a colonial America dedicated in principle to equal rights. Myron Magnet evaluated Martin Luther King, Jr.'s efforts to see that principle fully realized, as recounted in Jonathan Eig's absorbing biography, *King: A Life*. And in anticipation of the Supreme Court's decision on affirmative action in higher education, Washington Fellow Jesse Merriam traced in a sweeping essay how racial quotas came to so

dominate academia that, as he put it, "The pursuit of diversity, as opposed to knowledge or truth, now constitutes the essence of what it means for a college or university to exist."

Following the Court's decision in the *Students for Fair Admissions* cases, contributing editor Christopher Caldwell and senior editor William Voegeli each reflected in our Summer 2023 issue on why affirmative action has been so hard to dismantle despite consistent popular opposition. In our Fall 2022 issue, Jeffrey H. Anderson asked a simple but telling question: why are the same elites who so often invoke "our democracy" so hostile to our Constitution?

In "Pandemic Pandemonium" (Summer 2023), Salvatori Research Fellow in the American Founding Glenn Ellmers called for civic accountability in the wake of the failed responses to COVID and looked at where "following the science" may lead us. In that same issue, in the midst of an ongoing strike, regular columnist Martha Bayles reflected on the effects of artificial intelligence on Hollywood and beyond. Earlier, in "Worlds Without End" (Summer 2022), associate editor Spencer A. Klavan explored how the idea of the "multiverse" is not just a fun story hook for popular entertainment, but is designed to replace the natural and divine underpinnings of Western civilization.

*we write*

In anticipation of the Best Picture win the following spring for *Everything Everywhere All at Once* at the Academy Awards, Ross Douthat in his *New York Times* column pointed readers to Klavan's cover story, calling it "the best essay to date on the multiverse as a cultural phenomenon."

**The Claremont Review of Books is one of very few existing publications actually worth hand-distributing via mimeograph in the politically correct police state its enemies would like to see.**

— Peter Thiel, Entrepreneur & Political Activist

In sharp contrast to outdated bipartisan establishment groupthink, the *Claremont Review of Books* has offered searingly original strategic insight into the war in Ukraine, starting in our Spring 2022 issue with senior fellow Mark Helprin's cover essay, "A Tragedy of Errors." We followed this with Christopher Caldwell's "Why Are We in Ukraine?" (Summer 2022), which revealed the tragic bill coming due from years of "democracy promotion" abroad. Former Trump Administration national security spokesman and Claremont Senior Fellow Michael Anton offered his own thoughts on the lessons of the Cold War for the war in Ukraine, leading to a spirited exchange with Mark Helprin in our pages.

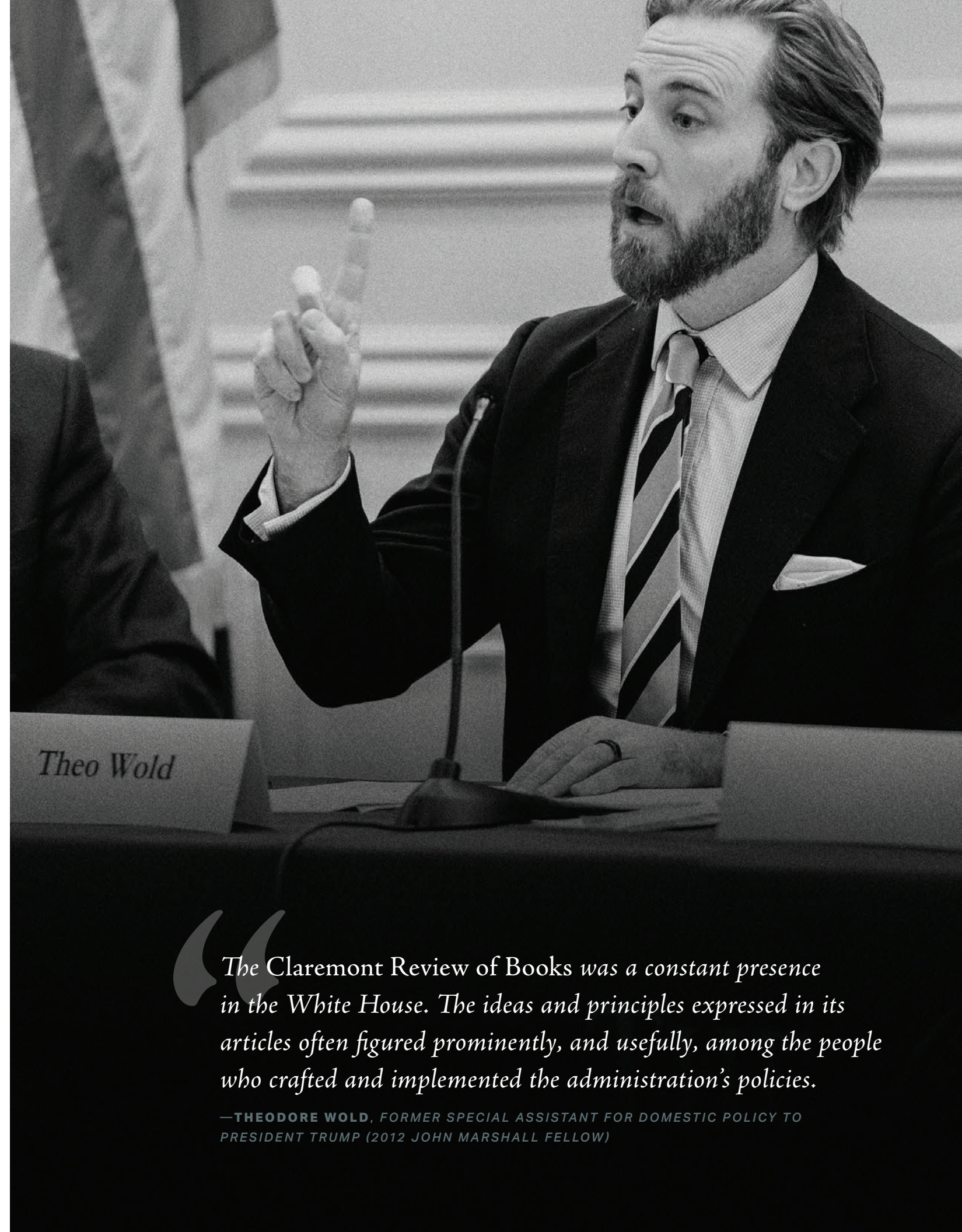
Christopher Caldwell also traveled abroad to report for us on the discord roiling France's politics (Spring 2023) and to analyze India's democratic uprising (Winter 2022/23). And at home, William Voegeli explored the conundrum of economic inequality (Fall 2022) as well as the dilemma rising crime has become for the Democratic Party (Spring 2023).

The CRB's podcast, *The Close Read*, hosted by CRB associate editor Spencer Klavan, has produced 40 episodes and has been downloaded nearly 600,000 times since its launch in March 2020. Without any money budgeted for promotion, it averages 15,000 listeners per episode. The most popular episodes in the past year have been Barry Strauss on Julius Caesar and Michael Knowles on trans ideology, and in the previous year, Nathan Pinkoski on revolutionary socialism and Daniel J. Mahoney on the 1619 Project. The most popular overall include John M. Ellis on higher education after COVID and Robert Royal on Christopher Columbus.

The *Claremont Review of Books* provides a nationwide hearing for the insights and arguments of great minds such as these. Our articles are regularly highlighted at Real Clear Politics, Power Line blog, The Federalist, PJ Media, and elsewhere; they have been discussed in the *Atlantic*, *National Review*, the *New York Review of Books*, the *New York Times*, the *Washington Post*, the *Wall Street Journal*—in fact, wherever conversation on American politics is being shaped.

We're proud to count among our subscribers Congressmen and Supreme Court Justices, as well as leading media figures and commentators. Casey Chalk, a senior contributor to *The Federalist*, put CRB at the top of his list of recommended print magazines, writing: "At a recent small gathering of prominent conservatives, a friend I trust and admire declared the *Claremont Review of Books* to be the best magazine in print today. It's increasingly difficult to argue otherwise. The CRB in recent years has provided intellectual ballast to conservative repudiations of the activist Left's obsession with racial, gender, and sexual identity politics, while providing a plethora of interesting and sometimes surprising book reviews."

The *Claremont Review of Books* has been called a graduate education in itself. Drawing from the deep well of American political thought and Western civilization, each issue takes time to read and digest. There is something more enduring about each of our issues than there is about any of the other good conservative publications. This reflects the fact that there is something enduring about the things we talk about. We aim at something higher and more essential than the daily or weekly or even monthly wrangles over policy and politics. We seek to elevate the public discourse, and in our best moments, we have succeeded. That is our greatest strength and the greatest service we can render. There is no other publication better equipped to do it. ■



*“The Claremont Review of Books was a constant presence in the White House. The ideas and principles expressed in its articles often figured prominently, and usefully, among the people who crafted and implemented the administration’s policies.”*

—THEODORE WOLD, FORMER SPECIAL ASSISTANT FOR DOMESTIC POLICY TO PRESIDENT TRUMP (2012 JOHN MARSHALL FELLOW)

Since its launch in 2018, The American Mind (TAM) has emerged as a leading online publication and podcast offering reported opinion informed by the ideals of the American Founding and the currents of contemporary political life.

TAM attracts readers and listeners starved for incisive commentary and intellectual depth regarding the news cycle—and the ideas that drive the news—without the fluff and flash “clickbait” that animates so much of the online world. It’s no secret that the traditional voices of official conservative thought have lost their relevance over the last decade or so. Their bloodless approach of conciliation and perma-

nent minority status no longer speaks to a population that has been culturally and materially dislocated from their sense of what America stands for.

TAM publishes columns and reportage that seek to reposition the nation’s political agenda. We aim to change the narrative by addressing regime-level questions about citizenship, nationhood, personhood, and culture in an age of digital transformation.

The American Mind has been at the forefront of pushing against “woke” imperatives in education and hiring; against transhumanist boosterism among morally agnostic tech enthusiasts; against densification, energy starvation, and the other fantasies of the planner class;

and for the healthy revitalization of the American ideals of ordered liberty and family formation. TAM is a source of first resort for young and mid-career conservative professionals in politics, media, and law; these are largely the same populations from which Claremont draws its Fellowship applicants.

The site has published notable figures including Mollie Hemingway, Michael Anton, Patrick Deneen, Paul Gottfried, and Chris Rufo, and consistently reaches out to younger conservative voices to promote tomorrow’s thought leaders. The site judiciously and selectively publishes “pseuds,” or writers who must publish under a pen-name lest they risk cancel-

lation in their professional lives. TAM has also run articles by political leaders such as Congressman Jim Banks, Congressman Devin Nunes, Senator Tom Cotton, Senator Marco Rubio, Senator Todd Young, and former Speaker of the House Newt Gingrich.

The reach of The American Mind has grown rapidly, largely by word of mouth, exceeding 160,000 new users per month. Episodes of “The Roundtable,” the American Mind’s editors’ and publisher’s podcast, were downloaded more than half a million times in the past year, solidly in the top one percent of podcasts nationwide.

The American Mind has doubled its output in the last 18 months, generally running eight to ten articles per week, in addition to the Editors’ “Roundtable” podcast. But quality always comes first. TAM reaches thoughtful Americans who recognize that the nation is in the midst of an enormous institutional crisis. Old assumptions about the nature of the polity, education, and our common values are crumbling.

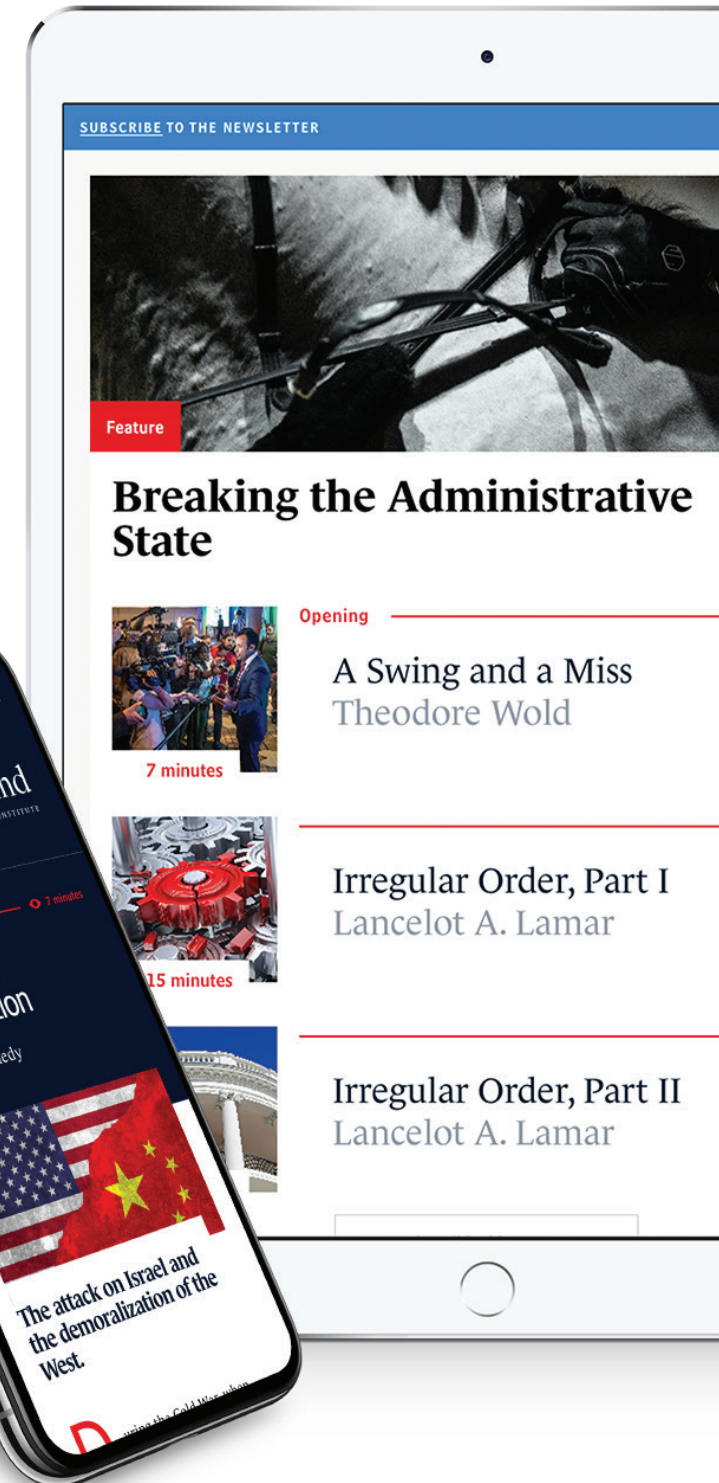
How can America’s enduring and eternal principles be applied to the context of today’s often desperate political realities? The American Mind, informed by the intellectual depth and rigor of the Claremont Institute and its host of Fellows, is working to construct a new roadmap of principled action for an emerging leadership class to use to guide our country through our current bleak landscape and into a brighter future. ■

**The most valuable thing about The American Mind is that it decisively breaks from the stale conservative consensus. It challenges to think beyond those limits, even into territory that is unknown or potentially dangerous.**

— Chris Rufo, Manhattan Institute Senior Fellow (2017 Lincoln Fellow)



Spencer Klavan, Ryan Williams, Matthew Peterson, and James Poulos record an episode of the Editor’s “Roundtable” podcast for The American Mind.



*A new Right is needed to defend the American way of life and restore political liberty. New strategies are needed for a new world.*

**W**e recognized long ago that, in our mission to restore the principles of the American Founding to their rightful preeminence in our national life, it would be necessary to combat the insidious influence of identity politics. In February of 2021, we launched our Center for the American Way of Life (CAWL) in Washington, DC, to do just that.

The Right today finds itself surrounded and outgunned. CAWL works to contest the Left's capture (and the conservative establishment's surrender) of the country's major institutions—ranging from the political bureaucracy, universities, and K-12 education to the military, the press, and Fortune 500 companies.

CAWL's goal is to disrupt the Left's unified front, and boldly attack their doctrine of "wokeism." This includes radical feminism, the identity politics of "anti-racism," and globalism.

The Center is led by Executive Director Arthur Milikh and currently features nine distinguished scholars:

### **David P. Goldman, Ph.D.**

*Noted economist and China expert*

### **Scott Yenor, Ph.D.**

*Senior Director of State Coalitions*

### **Joel Kotkin**

*Presidential Fellow in Urban Futures, Chapman University;  
Executive Director, Center for Opportunity Urbanism (Houston)*

### **Joshua Mitchell, Ph.D.**

*Professor of Political Theory, Georgetown University*

### **Jesse Merriam, Ph.D.**

*Associate Professor of Government and Pre-Law Advisor,  
Patrick Henry College*

### **Carson Holloway, Ph.D.**

*Ralph Wardle Diamond Professor of Arts and Sciences and  
Professor of Political Science, University of Nebraska (Omaha)*

### **Robert Delahunty**

*Former LeJeune Chair and Professor of Law, University of St.  
Thomas School of Law*

### **Theo Wold**

*Former Solicitor General, State of Idaho; Former Deputy  
Assistant to President Trump*

### **Willaim Thibea**

*Former Army Ranger*

Since CAWL's launch, these scholars have delivered over 175 public talks. Some highlights include: lectures at Harvard University, Stanford University, and Hillsdale College; panel presentations at the Federalist Society's national conference, the Association of American Law Schools conference, and Intercollegiate Studies Institute; and interviews on *Tucker Carlson Today*, the Dennis Prager Podcast, and the Ben Shapiro Show. CAWL scholars have also published over 200 original essays in such outlets as the *Wall Street Journal*, *New York Post*, *National Review*, and *The American Mind*; and their work was cited 105 times by outlets such as *The New York Times*.

We are proud to be driving the national dialogue on "wokeness" and the initiative to "de-wokify" the states.

We also recently published a groundbreaking volume, *Up From Conservatism: Revitalizing the Right After a Generation of Decay*, which is essentially a how-to manual for the Right on what to do to restore America. Each essay takes up a national policy issue, shows where the old Right went wrong, and what to do today.

**III**  
*we lead*

A related major project, still in the early stages, targets the ongoing “woki-fication” of science education—a development of potentially devastating impact in matters ranging from economic vitality to national defense to healthcare. CAWL is also producing a report on how federal programs are used in both “blue” and “red” states to subvert state and local control of education systems, as well as subvert parental rights and oversight. Other new endeavors include several investigative reports on reshoring manufacturing, potentially illicit financial dealings of leftist nonprofits, and the ways that Environmental-Social-Governance (ESG) evaluations are used by the Left to conduct corporate “shakedowns.”

But arguably our most exciting and important efforts include the following projects:

## FLORIDA

Scott Yenor, The Center for the American Way of Life’s Senior Director of State Coalitions, has been active in helping shape Florida’s legislative priorities for the past nine months, and his impact has already reverberated across numerous sectors, magnifying both the distinctiveness and significance of CAWL’s work.

In the realm of higher education, Yenor advised closely on the development of higher education reforms which fundamentally reshaped Florida’s state universities away from diversity, equity, and inclusion (DEI). His proactive involvement extended

to assisting with implementing laws, building coalitions, and helping craft new rules for DEI to address universities’ circumvention of DEI bans. Drawing on Claremont’s extended network, Yenor also facilitated appointments to university Boards of Trustees and key administrative positions in the Florida University System. His influence even reached accreditation, redirecting Florida’s strategy from a legalistic approach to a comprehensive approach.

In the arena of K–12 education, Dr. Yenor delivered a detailed report on Florida’s educational landscape, paired with a comparative report of California, and secured a significant publication in the *Wall Street Journal*, which put his argument in front of millions. His proposals for educational reforms, such as curricula changes and altering teacher certifications, promise further innovative transformations if adopted by the state.

Yenor has also been influential in

helping strengthen the family: he has successfully advised on surrogacy and divorce reforms, lending his expertise to the improvement of legislation. He played a pivotal role in transitioning the state from no-fault divorce to divorce by mutual consent.

His work on age verification for pornography and incentives for family formation directly informed new laws. To underscore how effective one of the new anti-pornography laws is, MindGeek, the parent company of Pornhub, disallowed Floridians access to the company’s content.

Beyond specific policy domains, Dr. Yenor crafted agenda-setting proposals, spanning everything from portable nuclear reactors for emergency power sources, an interstate compact for higher education, and a detailed plan to acquire a top Florida law school.

Moreover, his capacity for building relationships with key decision-makers in the Florida executive branch contin-

# CENTER FOR THE AMERICAN WAY OF LIFE



ues to enable him to advocate vigorously for innovative laws and policies, further reinforcing the Claremont Institute’s influence.

## BLACK LIVES MATTER (BLM)

CAWL built the BLM Funding Database, which is a first of its kind database that catalogues and details more than \$99 billion in corporate funding given or pledged to the Left, including

BLM, on account of BLM rioting. The headline-grabbing database garnered tens of millions of online views and generated dozens of news stories. Our goal is to get America’s corporations either to take back their money, or stop their pledges. This work is meant to reform the rules governing corporate giving. Stay tuned, as we are currently working on a similarly unique database on corporate funding of other groups on the Left.

## AMERICAN MILITARY PROJECT

Claremont’s American Military Project, led by Will Thibeau, is reorienting Americans towards the importance of reclaiming genuine civilian control over the military, a project that’s both entirely unique to the Center for the American Way of Life and needed now more than ever, as the tendrils of woke-ness have increasingly trapped military leadership in their vice-grip. Military professionalism and competence must define defense policy, not DEI, gender ideology, or politics.

The Project will introduce multiple pieces of policy recommendations over the coming year. Military leaders must be held accountable themselves, and not exist as a permanent DC institution immune from the will of elected officials. Furthermore, serious change to the architecture of the Pentagon is necessary. The Joint Chiefs of Staff exist independent from politically appointed service secretaries. Conservatives should embrace

meaningful reform of the Pentagon to empower civilian leaders and make military officials accountable to the will of the American people.

## FEDERAL PROGRESSIVE SUBSIDY DATABASE

It’s an open secret that the Left is deeply entrenched in the ever-swelling unelected federal bureaucracy. But what many are unaware of is that the Left *also* funds its many allied groups and projects through federal dollars. That’s right, America is funding its own destruction. The Center for the American Way of Life compiled a one-of-a-kind database tracking billions of dollars spread across hundreds of grants and other forms of funding to far Left causes ranging from the deceptively named “diversity, equity, and inclusion” initiatives, to race politicking, to expanding illegal immigration. This database has become a research tool for members of Congress, conservative Hill staffers, and state government staffers as they navigate the writing of new legislation. It is also a rich target list for a future republican administration.

## ANTI-WOKE CAUCUS

“Wokeness” is a devastating social contagion that has, in recent years, been spreading through once pleasant areas of the country at increasing speeds and turning them into politically created wastelands, ruled by petty tyrants and governed by a creed dedicated to advancing racism, increasing crime,



**The Center for the American Way of Life is doing groundbreaking work to conceive and champion what must be done to save the country. They are one of the few organizations that know what time it is in this country with a clear-headed view of what must be conserved (and destroyed) to have a country that any of us want to live in and pass on to future generations.**

— Russ Vought, Former Director of the Office of Management & Budget



and systematically dismantling the American way of life. In early 2023, Representative Jim Banks founded the Anti-Woke Caucus to combat the spreading contagion and enlisted the help of the Center for the American Way of Life in educating Caucus

members and guiding its policy prescriptions. CAWL scholars and staff now routinely give talks to groups of Caucus members and provide one-on-one consultations to Representatives looking to undo the damage wokeness has been causing. We have developed

an agenda to root out wokeness from the federal bureaucracy, which is being implemented piece by piece. As the Anti-Woke Caucus grows and passes new laws, the Center for the American Way of Life is behind the scenes facilitating much of the work. ■



**The Claremont Institute is incredibly important to the past, present, and future of American Conservatism. Few people, if any, are more important in this generation's work than Arthur Milikh. Arthur and his team are doing incredible work such as the BLM database that is one of the most innovative things I have ever seen an organization on the Right do in quite some time.**

— Kevin Roberts, President of The Heritage Foundation



*The Center for the American Way of Life is on the front lines in the war against anti-Americanism. They have done more than anyone to help Republican policymakers grasp what's at stake, frame the battle we're in, and understand our enemy so we can defeat the radical Leftists trying to tear our country down. They are a key resource for me and the other lawmakers giving shape to the new Right.*

— JIM BANKS, CONGRESSIONAL REPRESENTATIVE FOR INDIANA'S 3RD DISTRICT  
FOUNDING CHAIRMAN, ANTI-WOKE CAUCUS

*The Center for Constitutional Jurisprudence works to restore the natural law jurisprudence of the American Founding—the moral reasoning that makes free government possible.*

The progressive project has used the courts to defend legislative and executive actions that exceed the scope of constitutional authority and to impose policies when they are unable to enact their agenda through the political branches. The Center for Constitutional Jurisprudence (CCJ) counters these moves through targeted litigation, primarily in the Supreme Court, to (1) hold the line against new intrusions on our constitutional order, (2) reverse judicial decisions (regaining lost territory) that are contrary to the Constitution, and (3) set the groundwork for future decisions to return to the original understanding of the Constitution. Over the past two years, we have been successful on all three fronts.

In four cases we were able to “hold the line”—including the new line we helped to establish for religious liberty over the past several years. In *Carson v. Makin*, we helped to cement a precedent won earlier that state governments are not allowed to discriminate against religious schools. The state in Carson grants students scholarships to attend private schools where there are not enough students to support a public school. The state, however, decided that schools operated by religious organizations would not be eligible for the scholarship. The Supreme Court struck

down the restriction, agreeing with our argument that the Constitution forbids discrimination against religion.

A related case, *Kennedy v. Bremerton School District*, upheld the right of public employees to religious expression. In *Kennedy*, a high school coach had a practice, after the game, of praying at midfield. Students often joined him (including players from the opposing teams), but nobody was required to do so. The school suspended the coach when he refused to stop his practice of praying publicly. Agreeing with our arguments, the Supreme Court struck down the school’s attempt to discipline the coach. This was a purely private exercise, and the school had no authority to ban it.

A third case in this category of “holding the line” is *303 Creative LLC v. Elenis*. *303 Creative* is a website design company in Colorado run by a Christian. The company wanted to get involved in the business of making custom websites for weddings, but the owner felt it would violate her religious beliefs to use her creative talents to make such a website for a same-sex wedding. The state, under its nondiscrimination law, ruled that the company must create websites for same-sex couples if it entered the wedding website business. CCJ participated in support of *303 Creative* as amicus

throughout the federal appeal, successfully urged the Supreme Court to take the case, and presented arguments that the Court accepted, holding that the state law at issue violated the Freedom of Speech provisions of the First Amendment. The Court ruled that the state could not force an individual to speak a message with which the individual disagreed.

Finally, and most significantly, CCJ was successful in its arguments that the courts did not have to defer to the EPA’s radical reinterpretation of the Clean Air Act and allow regulations that would have had a devastating impact on the national economy. In *West Virginia v. EPA*, the EPA argued that it could use an obscure provision of the Clean Air Act to set pollution standards at a level that would outlaw both coal and natural gas-powered electrical generation. The regulation would have cost industries billions of dollars and would have put our electrical grid in jeopardy of failing. Noting the economic impact of the regulation, the Supreme Court agreed with our argument that there was no legal basis for “deferring” to the EPA’s radical reinterpretation of the law. The Court further noted that Congress never gave any indication that it intended such a regulation under the Clean Air Act, and

we litigate

thus the agency had no authority to create its own law. Lawmaking is a power reserved to Congress alone under the Constitution.

**It has been a great help to my work and the work of my colleagues to receive scholarly, friendly court briefs in our important constitutional cases. And there are a number of scholars whose briefs I always look forward to, but I am always particularly pleased when I see that a brief has been filed by John Eastman and the Center for Constitutional Jurisprudence.**

— Supreme Court Justice Samuel Alito

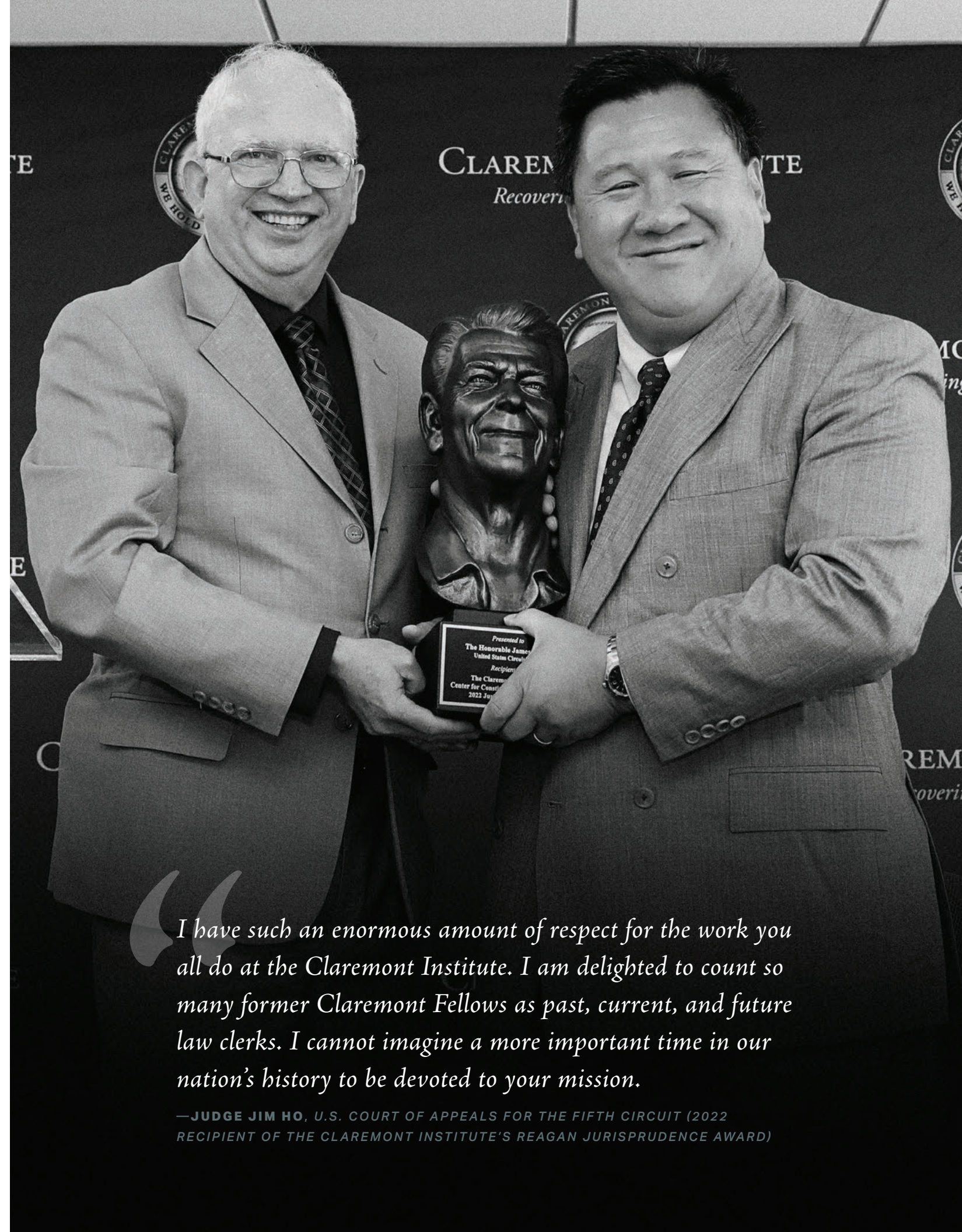
We also regained constitutional ground that had been lost under prior Supreme Court precedents. In *Dobbs v. Jackson Women's Health Organization*, the Court reversed its *Roe v. Wade* experiment of creating constitutional rights where none exist. The Court returned the question of abortion to the states, noting that nothing in the U.S. Constitution created a right to an abortion. And in *Students for Fair Admissions v. President and Fellows of Harvard College*, the Court, agreeing with arguments we submitted, ruled

that race-based admissions to colleges and universities were prohibited by the Equal Protection Clause of the Constitution. Finally, in *New York State Rifle & Pistol Association, Inc. v. Bruen*, the Supreme Court ruled that states could not restrict the Second Amendment rights of citizens to protect themselves by carrying weapons. The Court used a historical approach that tracked the arguments submitted in our brief.

For those who do not think *amicus curiae* briefs have any impact, the decision in *Sackett v. EPA* should change your mind. This is a case where our brief is helping to lay the groundwork for future cases that reinstate the constitutional order. *Sackett* involved a family's attempts to build a home near Priest Lake, Idaho. Although the property was next to several existing homes and was separated by a paved road from the lake, the EPA ruled that the property was part of the "navigable waters of the United States" because it contained "wetlands," and therefore could not be used for construction without EPA approval. The Court rejected that argument and upheld the family's right to build on their property.

CCJ's brief went further and argued that Congress had no power under the Commerce Clause to regulate wetlands. Our brief argued that the Constitution allows Congress to regulate "commerce" between the states, and that gives Congress authority to ensure that "navigable waters" are free from obstructions that would stand in the way of transporting goods between the states. Wet-

lands, however, have nothing to do with "commerce." Justice Thomas, in a separate opinion, picked up our argument and cited our brief. This will encourage other judges (not to mention advocates before the courts) to also pick up our argument and push to confine Congress to the powers granted to it under the Constitution. Our amicus briefs are read by the courts and have an impact on the decisions. ■



*I have such an enormous amount of respect for the work you all do at the Claremont Institute. I am delighted to count so many former Claremont Fellows as past, current, and future law clerks. I cannot imagine a more important time in our nation's history to be devoted to your mission.*

— JUDGE JIM HO, U.S. COURT OF APPEALS FOR THE FIFTH CIRCUIT (2022 RECIPIENT OF THE CLAREMONT INSTITUTE'S REAGAN JURISPRUDENCE AWARD)

## OUR IMPACT

*The Claremont Institute: “A Nerve Center of the American Right”*

This phrase made up part of the title of a *New York Times Magazine* profile of the Claremont Institute in August 2022. Aside from its biological meaning, the secondary definition of nerve center is on target for the role Claremont plays more and more these days on the Right: a source of leadership, energy, collaboration, information, and results.

The Claremont Institute has become the nerve center of the American Right for a simple reason: we

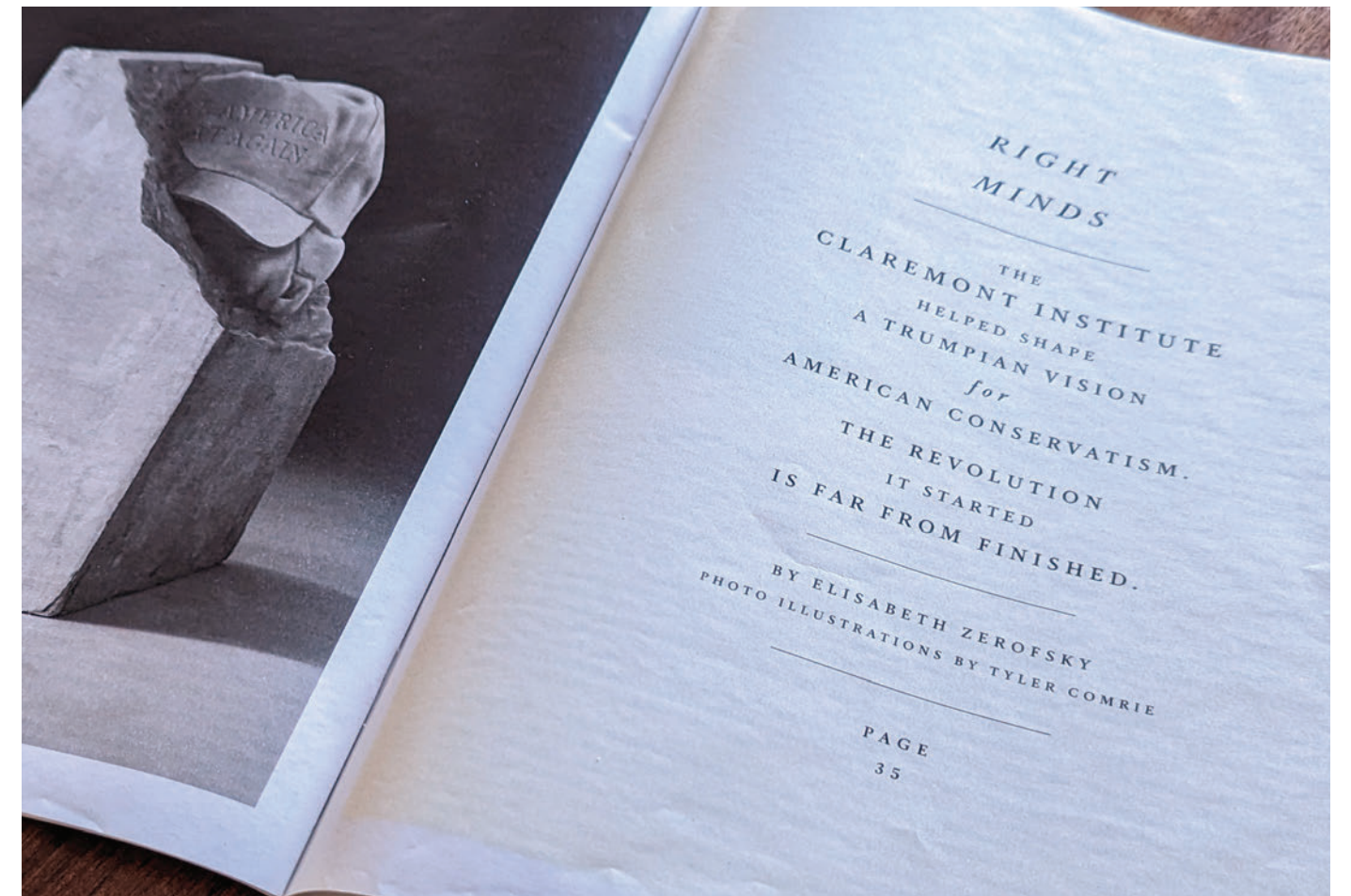
understand best what is needed to defend the American way of life and restore political liberty. And to this we would add a corollary: When we talk, people listen.

When our Center for Constitutional Jurisprudence files amicus briefs in the Supreme Court, they are read by justices and clerks (see previous section). When your favorite senator, governor, industry head, or conservative thought leader needs to get the word out, they publish in our online daily, *The American Mind*

(see page 36). Our *Claremont Review of Books* has earned its reputation as the smartest and most far-seeing publication on the right (see page 33). Many conservatives of note—judges, pundits, writers, professors, lawyers, political players—consider it a rite of passage to join our Fellowship ranks.

Whether it is in our publications or through the life-long bonds created through our Fellowships, the Claremont Institute is *the incubator* for key initiatives in American politics.

our impact



Christopher Rufo, for example, led the early charge against critical race theory in *The American Mind*—and years before that he started his career shift from documentarian to journalist and activist by attending a Claremont Institute Lincoln Fellowship. Our Center for the American Way of Life created the blueprints for dismantling “diversity, equity, and inclusion” (DEI) schemes that are now traded by concerned college trustees across the country. The first-ever meeting of conservatives in the tech world was convened by our organization in 2020. And so on.

We don’t lobby, we don’t believe in pushing out white papers no one will read, and we don’t seek media attention for the sake of empty posturing. And yet our impact is immense—and we are growing. Claremont staff can now be found in over a dozen states. We expanded our brick-and-mortar footprint to Washington, D.C. when we opened the Center for the American Way of Life in 2021. In early 2023 we cut ribbon in Tallahassee, Florida. On the horizon for Summer 2024 is Dallas, Texas. Our detractors in the media like to claim, “Claremont is taking over the United States.” Every now and again they get something right.

♦ ♦ ♦

Many think tanks are fond of claiming victory for every successful conservative policy result in the country. They make sure you read of these “successes” in a barrage of weekly emails. Rarely,

however, do supporters get a behind-the-scenes view of how good work is accomplished. So, to conclude, we would like to present how a small team at the Claremont Institute’s Center for the American Way of Life was able to take down university-mandated DEI initiatives at Texas A&M and get the Texas University System chancellor to issue a similar system-wide ban.

First, one of our scholars, CAWL Washington Fellow Scott Yenor published “How Texas A&M Went Woke” for the Claremont Institute. This was followed by op-eds and spots on influential Texas radio shows. Word started to spread, and the article was shared in the State House. Texas A&M’s administration started scrubbing the most objectionable parts of its Diversity operations from its website. Yenor and Claremont continued to push op-eds and media appearances to name and shame. Next, Texas A&M’s Chancellor John Sharp issued a press release directing “all universities and agencies in The Texas A&M University System to remove Diversity, Equity and Inclusion (DEI) statements from their employment or admission practices.”

The whole process took less than a month.

When it was all said and done, Texas A&M president Kathy Banks had resigned and the Texas State University System chancellor issued a statement that “campuses must remove diversity statements from their hiring process, effective immediately.”

Nerve center, indeed. ■



Staff and scholars of the Claremont Institute at the 2022 Alumni Retreat



Sheriff Mark Lamb receives the 2022 American Sheriff Award



Claremont Scholars brief Florida Governor Ron DeSantis and his staff



2022 Lincoln Fellow Stephen Limbaugh playing for a Claremont event



Harvey Mansfield receives the 2023 Salvatori Prize



Senator Tom Cotton addresses Salvatori Prize dinner in honor of Harvey C. Mansfield

# EVENTS & CONTINUING EDUCATION

events & continuing education

Over the past couple years, the Claremont Institute’s alumni network has continued to grow in size and influence, as has our community of supporters. To keep up with this increased demand, we have also increased our educational offerings across the country, through webinars, book events, formal dinners, panels and roundtable discussions, as well as day-long and multi-day conferences.

Across the country, Claremont is providing the scholarship and platforms necessary to fill in the gaps to help Americans understand the ideas that birthed our great nation—ideas that provide the only sure path to reform and the preservation of the American way of life.

### EVENT HIGHLIGHTS

#### Book Discussion: *Rigged*

January 2022 | Huntington Beach, CA

A review and discussion with Mollie Hemingway (Editor-in-Chief of *The Federalist* and a 2014 Lincoln Fellow) on her new book, *Rigged: How the Media, Big Tech, and the Democrats Seized Our Elections*.

#### Alumni Retreat

April 2022 | Tampa, FL

The Fellowship Alumni Retreat, where the Salvatori Prize was awarded to Dr. Jean Yarborough, Professor of Government and the Gary M. Pendy, Senior Professor of Social Sciences at Bowdoin College.

#### Panels: *The Ruling Class and Its Lies*

May 2022 | Washington, DC

A half-day of panel discussions hosted by the Center for the American Way of Life about the lies of America’s uniparty ruling class, which legitimize its grip on power. Speakers including Michael Anton, Joel Kotkin, David Azerrad, Helen Andrews, Theo Wold, and Jeremy Carl explored the most common lies and helped attendees to think clearly about public affairs and deliberate as responsible citizens.

#### Panel: *State of Our Union*

August 2022 | Newport Beach, CA

A panel discussion held during our Lincoln Fellowship, featuring Michael Anton, John Eastman, David Azerrad, and Arthur Milikh.

#### Constitution Day

September 2022 | Newport Beach, CA

A Constitution Day symposium commemorating the 235th anniversary of the signing of the U.S. Constitution and honoring Judge Jim Ho of the U.S. Court of Appeals for the Fifth Circuit with the 2022 Reagan Jurisprudence Award.



Dr. Jean Yarborough accepts the Salvatori Prize from Claremont President Ryan Williams at the 2022 Alumni Retreat

## Forum: The Great UnWakening

October 2022 | New York, NY

A forum hosted by the *Claremont Review of Books* featuring *CRB* Editor Charles R. Kesler, *CRB* Contributing Editor Christopher Caldwell, and Richard Samuelson, discussing Dr. Samuelson's recent essay from the Summer 2022 issue of the *CRB*, entitled "The Great UnWakening."

## Salvatori Dinner

November 2022 | Los Angeles, CA

A dinner honoring historian and political commentator Victor Davis Hanson with the Salvatori Prize. The Salvatori Prize—named for a stalwart friend and counselor of both Ronald Reagan and the Claremont Institute—is awarded each year to an individual "who has distinguished himself or herself by an understanding of, and actions taken to preserve and foster, the principles upon which the United States was built."

**I am so proud to support the work of the Claremont Institute. In my view, no one is more effective in articulating the principles of America's Founding with brilliant clarity, while challenging each and every conservative leader to live up to them.**

— Victor Davis Hanson, Senior Fellow at the Hoover Institution



President Ryan Williams talking with Victor Davis Hanson at the 2022 Salvatori Prize Dinner

## Conference: What Should the Next Republican Congress Do?

November 2022 | Washington, DC

A day of panel discussions on what the focus of the next Republican Congress should be. The event was co-hosted by Hillsdale College, the Center for Renewing America, the American Conservative, and the Conservative Partnership Institute, and featured speakers such as Judge Janice Rogers Brown; Amy Wax, a professor at the University of Pennsylvania School of Law; and U.S. Representatives Jim Banks (R-IN), Chip Roy (R-TX) and Bob Good (R-VA).

## Fighting Enemies Foreign and Domestic: The Legacy of Angelo Codevilla

May 2023 | Washington, DC

Panelists including Steve Hayward, David Goldman, Dan McCarthy, and Robert Reilly shared insights into the late

Angelo Codevilla's unique thoughts on a broad range of topics, from the trajectory of the CIA and FBI at home, to how best to address Russia and China.

## Digital Statecraft Summit

September 2023 | Miami, FL

A closed-door, off-the-record gathering of 50–75 top leaders from the tech industry, politics, and policy, exploring the problems faced by big tech and responsible solutions.

## Alumni Retreat and Salvatori Dinner

September 2023 | Dallas, TX

The annual Fellowship Alumni Retreat combined with our Salvatori Dinner, where the Salvatori Prize was awarded to Dr. Harvey Mansfield, retired William R. Kenan Professor of Government at Harvard University.

## Panel: The Intractable Affirmative Action Regime

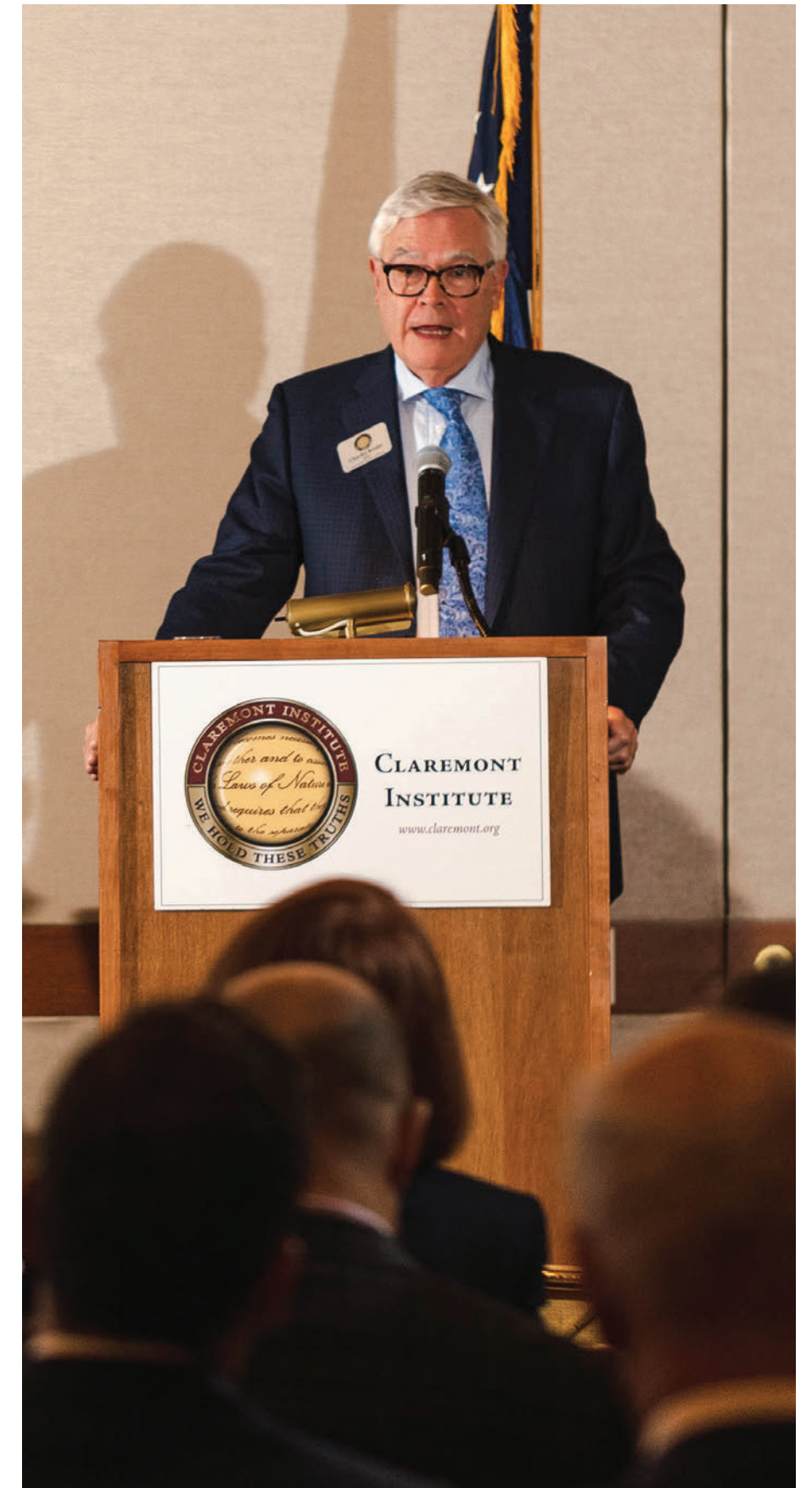
October 2023 | New York, NY

A panel discussion featuring Christopher Caldwell, William Voegeli, and Jesse Merriam about the effects of affirmative action in America today.

## American Sheriffs Dinner

November 2023 | Huntington Beach, CA

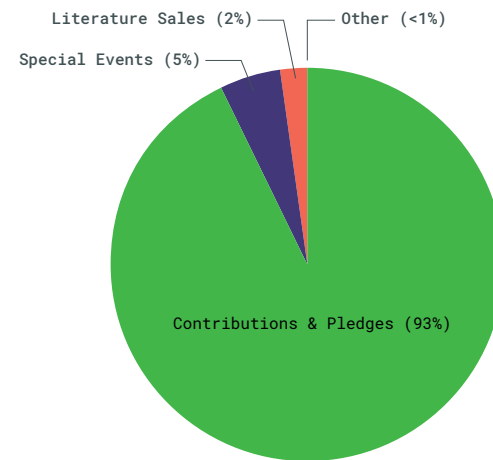
The closing dinner of our Sheriffs Fellowship, where we honored Riverside County Sheriff Chad Bianco with the American Sheriff Award. ■



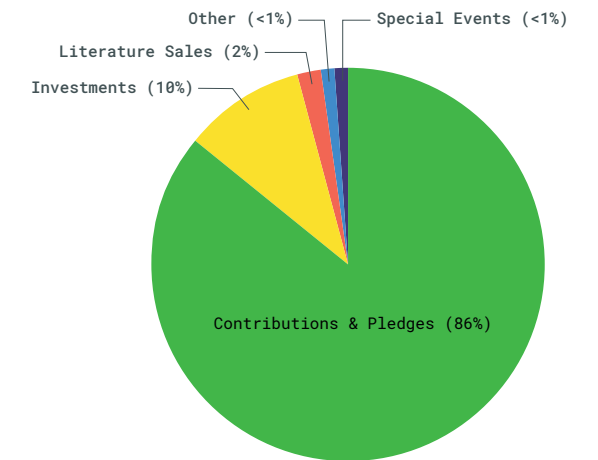
Claremont Review of Books editor Charles R. Kesler speaking at the Harvard Club in New York on modern voting rights law

# FINANCIALS

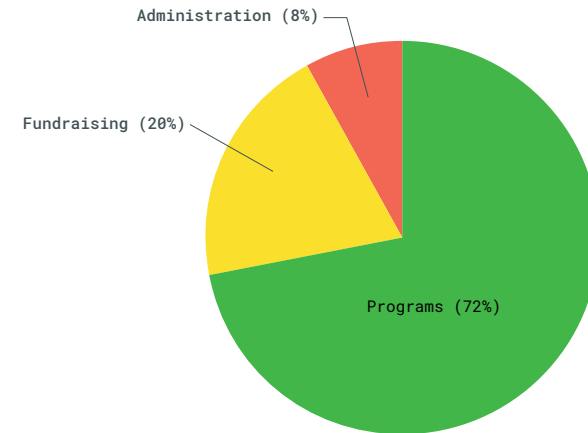
REVENUE	FY 2022
Contributions & Pledges	\$8,531,030
Special Events	\$431,646
Literature Sales	\$200,901
Investments	(\$1,049,348)
Other Revenue	\$3,173
<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>\$8,117,402</b>



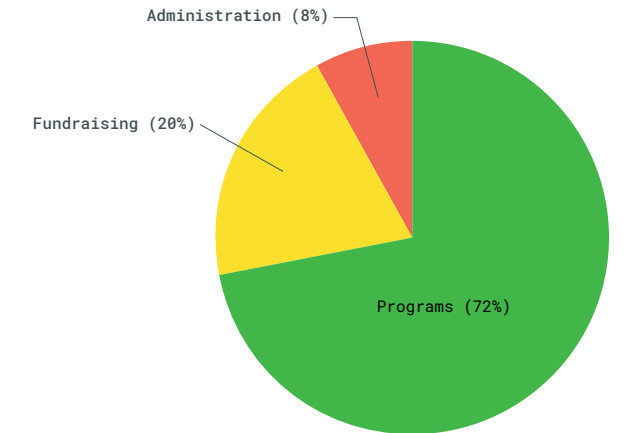
REVENUE	FY 2023 <sup>†</sup>
Contributions & Pledges	\$8,025,028
Special Events	\$37,750
Literature Sales	\$223,999
Investments	\$941,935
Other Revenue	\$57,766
<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>\$9,286,478</b>



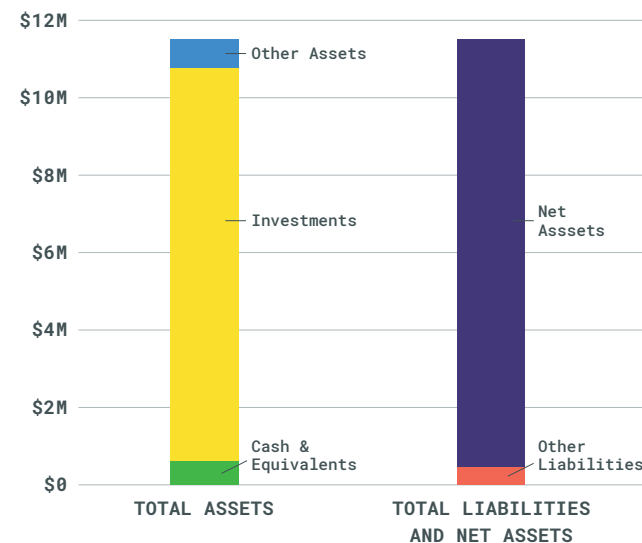
EXPENSES	FY 2022
Programs	\$7,426,013
Fundraising	\$2,035,903
Administration	\$848,663
<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>\$10,310,579</b>



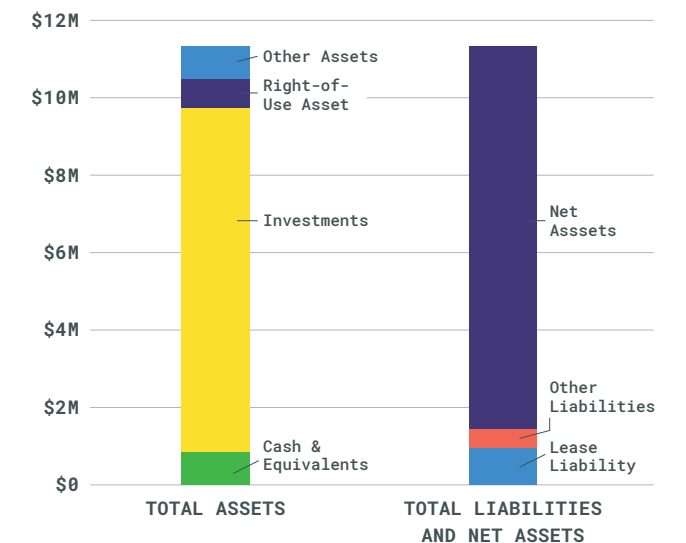
EXPENSES	FY 2023 <sup>†</sup>
Programs	7,385,278
Fundraising	2,046,315
Administration	812,397
<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>\$10,243,990</b>



ASSETS & LIABILITIES	FY 2022
Cash and Equivalents	\$636,447
Investments	\$10,386,191
Right-of-use Asset <sup>†</sup>	--
Other Assets	\$762,395
<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>\$11,785,033</b>
Lease Liability <sup>†</sup>	--
Other Liabilities	\$490,241
Net Assets	\$11,294,792
<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>\$11,785,033</b>



ASSETS & LIABILITIES	FY 2023 <sup>†</sup>
Cash and Equivalents	\$685,993
Investments	\$9,259,832
Right-of-use Asset <sup>†</sup>	\$748,927
Other Assets	\$929,655
<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>\$11,624,407</b>
Lease Liability <sup>†</sup>	\$778,268
Other Liabilities	\$508,858
Net Assets	\$10,337,281
<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>\$11,624,407</b>



<sup>†</sup>Lease liability and right-of-use assets were not required to be included on our balance sheet for fiscal year ends prior to June 30, 2023.

<sup>†</sup>Not yet audited—subject to adjustment.



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