

# America's Outpost in Washington

RIGHT IDEAS. RIGHT FIGHT. RIGHT NOW.



Building
an America
where freedom,
opportunity,
prosperity,
and civil society
flourish.



# America's Outpost in Washington

**2022 ANNUAL REPORT** 

### Heritage by the Numbers



In 2022, Heritage made quite an impression. Our experts were in high demand:

1,248
OP-EDS PLACED
IN MAJOR MEDIA

**OUTLETS** 

6,435

BROADCAST
INTERVIEWS
(RADIO, TV,
PODCAST, ETC)

2,900,000

HERITAGE FOLLOWERS
ON FACEBOOK,
TWITTER, YOUTUBE.

AND INSTAGRAM

5,324
QUOTES IN MAJOR PRINT PUBLICATIONS



Despite the Left's control of Congress and the White House, Heritage had a strong presence on Capitol Hill:

STATE LEGISLATIVE

**TESTIMONIES** 

**25** 

CONGRESSIONAL TESTIMONIES

19

NEW HOUSE MEMBER ORIENTATION ATTENDEES 67

CANDIDATE BRIEFINGS 93

HERITAGE
ON THE HILL
WORKING
GROUP EVENTS



In 2022, we published:

SPECIAL REPORTS

27

LEGAL MEMORANDA 15

FACTSHEETS

58

ISSUE BRIEFS 66

**BACKGROUNDERS** 

MORE THAN 500,000 MEMBERS MAKE ALL OF THIS POSSIBLE.

THANK YOU!

#### **TABLE OF CONTENTS**

LETTER F		E DDEC	IDENT
LEITERF	KOM IN	E PRES	IDENI

- LETTER FROM THE CHAIRMAN
- 3 LETTER FROM THE FOUNDER
- 4 THE RIGHT IDEAS
- 7 THE RIGHT TEAM
- THE RIGHT INNOVATIONS
- THE RIGHT DIRECTION
- 13 THE RIGHT FIGHT
- THE RIGHT TOOLS
- 25 THE RIGHT PLACE
- 29 THE RIGHT CELEBRATION
- 35 THE RIGHT SUPPORTERS

## President

Annual reports are, by definition, backward-looking. It's our opportunity to tell our supporters how we have been stewarding the resources you so generously share.

But this year's annual report is different. Everything we did last year was strategically focused on winning battles for conservatives in the years ahead. I hope you will read this document with that in mind.

One of the first things we did as an organization in 2022, for example, was to set out seven policy priorities that are key to restoring self-governance and human flourishing. We organized the entire institution around those priorities and set out concrete goals for 2023 and beyond. Everything we are doing in 2023 is oriented toward advancing conservative policies in our seven priority areas.

We launched the 2025 Presidential Transition Project, the most ambitious project in Heritage's history. Project 2025 is uniting the conservative movement to arm the next administration with policy prescriptions, recruit and train 10,000 administration staff, and create a 180-day playbook. No conservative organization has ever attempted anything so bold. But if we're going to save this country, this is what we as conservatives must do.

Our forward-looking focus is why we launched research centers on border security, energy policy, and Big Tech in 2022. It's why we created the Innovation Prize to incubate innovative policy solutions across the conservative movement.

That doesn't mean we've given up the fight against today's challenges. Far from it. We are aggressively on offense.



For much of the year, our new Oversight Project flooded the Biden administration with Freedom of Information Act requests and filed multiple lawsuits when the "most transparent administration in history" refused to produce the documents to which we, as taxpayers, are entitled.

We fought and stopped some truly reckless
Biden administration regulations. We attacked
"critical race theory" agendas in our schools and
Leftist "environment, social, and governance"
policies in corporate board rooms. We scored
wins for education freedom and election integrity.
We fought hard against the wildly misnamed
"Inflation Reduction Act" and the "Respect for
Marriage Act." We applied the Reagan principle of
peace through strength to 21st-century threats.

I say this often because it is true—we have a limited window of opportunity to save this country. It is time for an ambitious, audacious, and aspirational vision for America. With your support, we will win. And 50 years from now, we will be able to mark 2022 as the year we started to reclaim America.

Kevin D. Roberts, Ph.D.

Kevin Roberts

President

## Chairman

"Lost time is never found again." —BENJAMIN FRANKLIN

As Heritage commemorates our 50th anniversary, I've been thinking a lot about time. What have we achieved in the time since we opened our doors in the spring of 1973? What do we want to accomplish over the next half-century?

But most importantly, the Heritage board members and I have been asking ourselves: What time are we in right now? If we are out of step with the times, our work will be largely for naught.

Ed Feulner and Paul Weyrich understood this when they started Heritage. They saw a yawning gap between the ideas and policies conservatives were developing and what was actually getting enacted.

To fill it, they set about providing timely research that lawmakers could use to affect policies. This focus on timeliness is what drove them to do something no think tank had ever attempted—produce the breakthrough 1981 "Mandate for Leadership"—which played a significant role in the successes of the Reagan administration.

Today, we are seeing at Heritage a renewal of this spirit. Under the leadership of Dr. Kevin Roberts, guided by my fellow board members, and with



the support of half a million members, this great institution has seized the day. If there's a fight to be had, we are in it. If there's an opportunity to change policies at the federal or state level, we're seizing it. If there's a coalition to be gathered, we are convening it.

In all my years working with Heritage, I have never seen an organization with more passion, more strategic focus, or a greater eagerness to embrace remarkably ambitious goals. Heritage knows what time it is. It's time to fight for the country.

Thanks to you and the support of millions of Americans over the years, I have never been more convinced that Heritage will play a significant role in this.

We have no time to lose.

Barb Van Andel-Gaby

Chairman

#### FROM THE

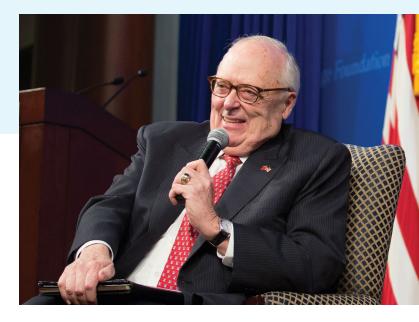
### Founder

In late 1972, Paul Weyrich and I were congressional staff aides eating breakfast in the Capitol. We asked each other why no alternative exists to the many liberal institutions that dominated the Washington public policy scene. From that conversation and many others, and with the extraordinary support of several business leaders, The Heritage Foundation was born.

It took a few years to find our own legs, but with the backing of conservative leaders in the Senate and the House of Representatives and those initial donors who were willing to take a risk on Heritage, we were soon making a real difference. A decade later, we were dubbed "Ronald Reagan's favorite think tank." And now—five decades later—we have gained the trust and financial support of more than 500,000 Americans.

In subsequent years, through conservative and liberal Congresses and administrations, we continued to set the standard for timely, credible policy proposals in Washington, state capitals, and among policymakers around the world.

One of my basic objectives has always been to build the institutions of the conservative movement, and now our annual Resource Bank regularly attracts hundreds of attendees to exchange ideas, learn from each other, and reinforce the conservative policy agenda.



We thrived over the decades because of the capabilities of the incredible team of Heritage Foundation experts and staff.

As we celebrate 50 years of leadership in the conservative movement, it is my honor to have been the president of Heritage for 36 of those years and to have worked with Heritage's supporters on Capitol Hill and around the country building an America where freedom, opportunity, prosperity, and civil society flourish.

And as we begin our second half-century, I know that Heritage will continue to play its leadership role in promoting our shared ideas.

Onward!

Ed Feulner

Founder



### LAYING OUT THE SEVEN POLICY PRIORITIES

As we have all learned from long and bitter experience, winning an election doesn't matter if you don't have a plan to capitalize on the opportunity. If we are going to save this country, we must do more. We have to set the agenda. We have to win a mandate for that agenda. And govern accordingly.

At the start of 2022, to deliver on those goals for you, we got to work. The first step was to identify the most important challenges facing America.

After working with our in-house experts, allies in the movement, and with the input of our donors, we announced at the beginning of the year our seven policy priorities—some familiar and others new.

And to be clear, this list isn't just for show. We are organizing all of Heritage around these priorities. Each of them has specific goals we intend to achieve at the federal and state levels, and dedicated campaign teams to ensure we're making progress.

### 1. Empower Parents to Make Education Choices

Spearhead reforms at the state level to ensure parental rights, expand school choice, and work to narrow the federal government's role, ultimately eliminating the U.S. Department of Education

### 2. Secure America's Borders and Reduce Crime

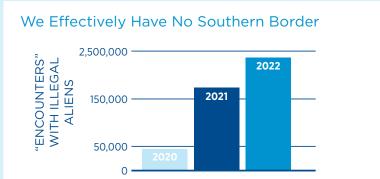
Expose the threats posed by criminals and illegal immigrants and take steps at the federal and state levels to restore the rule of law.

#### 3. Ensure Free and Fair Elections

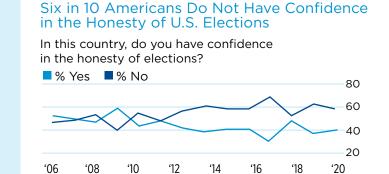
Restore faith in elections, protect the right to vote for all Americans, and oppose a federal takeover of our elections by Washington, D.C., elites.



AYLOR DABNEY



U.S. CUSTOMS AND BORDER PROTECTION



GALLUP WORLD POLL

## 4. Reverse the Growth of Regulations, Spending, and Inflation

Advance a blueprint to reduce the size and scope of the federal government, spend less of our money, and save us from falling off the fiscal cliff.

### 5. Counter the Threat of Communist China

Expose the Chinese Communist Party's aggressive military buildup, growing cyber capabilities, gross violations of human rights, and economic coercion and confront China's attack on American interests and values.

#### 6. Hold Big Tech Accountable

Put power back in your hands by holding Big Tech accountable by using antitrust and other laws and proposing new measures to end its abuses.

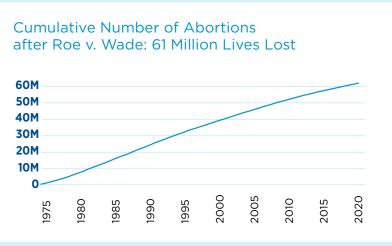
### 7. Protect Unborn Life and Family Formation

Mobilize policies at the state and federal levels to restore the nuclear family to the center of American life and reduce both the demand and supply for abortion at all stages of human development with courage and compassion.

# Gasoline Energy Food 17% All Items 14% 0% 10% 20% 30% 40% 50%







GUTTMACHER INSTITUTE

BUREAU OF LABOR STATISTICS

To learn more about these Seven Policy Priorities, go to: heritage.org/policy-priorities

# The Right Team

Hentage Foundation Hentage Foundation



#### A NEW HERITAGE

hen times change, Heritage must change, too, if we want to be as effective for our supporters as possible.

And times have certainly changed. Who would have thought just a few years ago that we'd be dealing today with runaway inflation, transgender extremism in our schools, a wide-open border, corporate executives pushing woke ideology, and an elite that has little interest in the wants and needs of everyday Americans?

For 50 years, Heritage has been a unique voice in Washington. We don't just give the conservative movement intellectual heft or craft smart policies—we get things done.

So, to confront the challenges we face today, we reviewed every corner of Heritage's operations to make sure we were lined up for today's fights. We launched major projects and new centers (detailed elsewhere in this report), set out a governing agenda focused on seven policy priorities, then aligned Heritage's operations around them (see page 5-6).

Everything we do now has a greater strategic focus, from our scholarly work to our government relations efforts to our best-in-class Young Leaders Program.

We also brought in 90 supremely talented and highly skilled people at every level of the organization. That includes new Executive Vice President Derrick Morgan; new Vice Presidents Clint Brown, Andy Olivastro, Roger Severino, and Eric Teetsel; and Directors Diana Furtchgott-Roth, Paul Ray, and Richard Reinsch. Paul Dans came on board to lead the 2025 Presidential Transition Project, and built out his team to include Trump administration veterans Rick Dearborn, Dennis Kirk, and Spencer Chretien. China expert Michael Pillsbury came on board as a senior fellow. And we added Distinguished Fellows Steve Bradbury and Steve Moore. Paul Winfree moved into a new position as distinguished fellow and Eric Korsvall stepped up to be Chief Operating Officer.

We also hired two outstanding leaders to our foreign policy team from President Trump's National Security Council, Victoria Coates and Erin Walsh, as senior research fellows. We added Research Fellow Delano Squires to the Richard and Helen DeVos Center for Life, Religion, and Family team, and Visiting Fellow Theodore Wold to the Tech Policy Center team.

These are seasoned professionals. Remarkably, 55 of our new experts have held more than 100 different positions in 40 agencies across four presidential administrations!

We also moved experts into areas where they can be most effective. Kara Frederick now heads the Tech Policy Center's fight against Big Tech. Mike Howell drives the Oversight Project. We enlisted Jay Richards to lead the DeVos Center for Life, Religion, and Family. Lora Ries is in charge of the new Border Security and Immigration Center. Jeff Smith now leads our Asian Studies Center.

In many ways, this is a new Heritage. We are energized. We are always on offense. With your help, we are all in for the fights ahead. We are determined to win. And win big.

One thing that hasn't changed is our steadfast commitment to the vision the founders laid down back in 1973: to build an America where freedom, opportunity, prosperity, and civil society flourish.



In many ways, this is a new Heritage. We are energized. We are always on offense. With your help, we are all in for the fights ahead. We are determined to win. And win big.

# The Right Innovations



# LEFT: ERIN GRANZOW; RIGHT: RIVERVIEW PHOTOGRAPHY

## INCUBATING REFORMS ACROSS THE MOVEMENT

"It's about serving the movement and uniting conservatives—particularly outside the Beltway—to defeat the destructive ideology and designs of the radical Left."

> –DR. KEVIN ROBERTS, HERITAGE PRESIDENT

It would be hard, if not impossible, to measure exactly how many conservative leaders and organizations got their start, received help when they needed it, and thrived because of your support of The Heritage Foundation.

This was by design. Now we are turbocharging our efforts to unite and strengthen the movement.

One example of this is the Innovation Prize, which Heritage launched in 2022. Through this prize, we awarded nine organizations with funds to develop innovative, results-oriented solutions to the most pressing issues facing America, with a special focus on the seven priority issues detailed on page 5-6. Think of the Innovation Prize as a sort of venture capital effort. It is intended to spark creative disruption within the conservative movement, with a goal of offering financial rewards totaling \$1 million a year out of reserve funds.

The projects range from a campaign to challenge the Left's environmental, social, and governance agenda to a multistate effort to advance a free enterprise-oriented anti-poverty agenda; from a tool to rank how well Fortune 1000 companies respect religious and ideological diversity, to a campaign to educate the grassroots on how to pass state laws to protect human life.

In 2023, we will be adding another \$200,000 to recognize outstanding conservative academics who have had to fight behind enemy lines with no air support for far too long.

## Winners of the Innovation Prize in 2022:

- Alliance Defending Freedom
- Americans United for Life
- Charlotte Lozier Institute
- Defense of Freedom Institute
- Forge Leadership Network
- Georgia Center for Opportunity, Pelican Institute for Public Policy, and Texas Public Policy Foundation (Alliance for Opportunity)
- Independent Women's Forum
- State Financial Officers Foundation
- Thomas Jefferson Institute







# The Right Direction





















The Hon. Trent Kelly

Brian Cavanaugh

Craig Singleton

Victoria Coates

Dustin Carmack

Dustin Carmack (right), a research fellow in the Border Security and Immigration Center, hosts a panel with Rep. Trent Kelly, R-Miss.; Brian Cavanaugh, senior vice president at American Global Strategies; Craig Singleton, senior fellow at the Foundation for Defense of Democracies; and Victoria Coates, senior research fellow at Heritage. The discussion focused on combating foreign influence campaigns while protecting First Amendment rights.

### CHARTING A THIRD WAY ON FOREIGN POLICY

or far too long those on the Right have acted as though there are only two options when it comes to foreign policy: benign neglect or reckless interventionism. Both of those approaches—which find adherents on the Left and the Right—are recipes for war.

There is a third way, one that bases foreign policy decisions on three criteria:

#### 1. DOES IT INVOLVE A MATTER OF VITAL NATIONAL INTEREST?

Not the nice-to-haves, but the must-haves. What's more, the investment required has to be commensurate with the gain from protecting those interests.

#### 2. DOES IT KEEP AMERICA FREE, SAFE, AND PROSPEROUS?

If it doesn't do those things, we won't support it. If some action helps protect American security but undermines our freedom and prosperity, for example, it's a bad idea.

#### 3. WILL IT ACTUALLY WORK?

Will it achieve concrete goals? Will it change things in a positive way?

If these criteria look familiar, that's because these are the elements that guided President Reagan's peace through strength strategy that led to the dissolution of the Soviet Union.

These guideposts are why we opposed a bi-partisan, but unaccountable, funding bill for Ukraine.

And it's why we brought experts from across Heritage together to develop a comprehensive plan for how we as a nation must confront the existential threat posed by China. We lay out policies that federal and state governments should pursue. This doesn't just involve building up our military capabilities to keep pace with China's aggressive

weapons programs. It also involves undermining China's ability to threaten the West economically.

To that end, our plan will drive public awareness of China's flagrant human rights abuses and attacks on free speech, create a China-resistant economy, and promote unprecedented growth in the U.S. economy.

In 2023, we will draft model legislation that can be used at the federal level, in state legislatures, and even in international agreements. We will operationalize all the policies contained in this plan.

This is the third way. This is peace through strength applied to today's challenges. ■





# The Right Fight



#### ARMING THE NEXT PRESIDENT

hen Trump administration officials first took the reins of government, they struggled to get the right people in the right positions, remove entrenched bureaucrats, eliminate onerous regulations, and implement a conservative agenda.

The conservative movement learned a valuable lesson from this experience. The stakes are higher today than they were in 2016, and the window of

opportunity to save our country has narrowed. We can't allow this to happen again.

That's why Heritage launched the 2025 Presidential Transition Project: a movement-wide coalition focused on delivering a comprehensive transition package for a presidential nominee well in advance of the next election. The project has four components.



#### **The Conservative Promise**

We've enlisted nearly 400 contributors from nearly 50 of the most prominent conservative groups to produce *Mandate for Leadership: The Conservative Promise*, the most comprehensive policy guide ever. This guide will be published in the spring of 2023 to shape the primary debates.



#### **A Custom-Built Personnel Database**

To aid the next presidential transition team in meeting staffing needs, Project 2025 is also building a comprehensive personnel database—a sort of private LinkedIn—with candidates' resumes, recommendations, and vetting documents in one convenient location.



#### **The Presidential Administration Academy**

People are policy, and Project 2025 will recruit, vet, and train 10,000 people for key positions in the next administration. The training program will include more than 40 courses on the ABCs of government work, how federal agencies and bureaucrats operate against conservatives, how to prepare for political appointments, and more.



#### Playbook for the First 180 Days

This action plan will include draft policies that can be implemented within the first six months of the new administration.

This is the most ambitious and most strategically focused project Heritage has ever undertaken. If you want to learn more, visit heritage.org/2025.



### HOLDING THE BIDEN REGIME ACCOUNTABLE FOR BORDER CHAOS

n December, the public learned the shocking truth that so-called non-governmental organizations (NGOs) had been working with the Biden administration to secretly transport illegal aliens to virtually every corner of the United States.

This revelation was the result of a painstaking investigation that involved Heritage's new Border Security and Immigration Center and the Oversight Project. Heritage launched the Border Security and Immigration Center this year to bring together the top border security experts in Washington to grapple with the flood of illegal immigrants.

Lora Ries, the center's director, has over 25 years of experience in immigration and homeland security both in government—she was deputy chief of staff at the Department of Homeland Security—and the private sector as a homeland security industry strategist.

The team includes visiting fellows who were instrumental in implementing border security and immigration integrity policies in the Trump administration: Mark Morgan was the acting commissioner of U.S. Customs and Border Protection; Tom Homan was acting director of Immigration and Customs Enforcement; and Joe Edlow was acting head of U.S. Citizenship and Immigration Services (USCIS).

We launched the Oversight Project this year to demand aggressive and meaningful accountability from the Biden administration. Before the year was out, the project filed more than 350 Freedom of Information Act requests with the Biden administration and was involved in 13 federal lawsuits.

In this case, the two groups worked together to track cell phones from NGO operations along the border into the rest of the country. It found that they ended up in 431 of the 435 congressional districts.

Two months earlier, the Oversight Project uncovered evidence that Homeland Security Secretary Alejandro Mayorkas had lied to the American people when he accused mounted Border Patrol agents of "whipping" illegal border crossers. This generated waves of coverage on Fox News and more than 30 other media outlets, as well as calls for Mayorkas to resign or face impeachment.

Expect more such investigations, on a wide range of topics, from the Oversight Project in 2023. We intend to file and win more than 100 lawsuits, to contract with forensic auditors and investigators to build money-following capabilities, and ultimately to establish the project as the flagship investigations body for the conservative movement.









### SLAYING THE REGULATORY LEVIATHAN

ast year, the Biden administration tried to force health insurers to cover transgender drugs and operations as "essential health benefits." It would have happened, too, were it not for a coordinated effort by Heritage and other groups to flood the Department of Health and Human Services with comments opposing the rule.

We're done complaining about costly federal regulations, and we aren't going to wait around for a conservative administration to eventually repeal the most egregious rules on the books.

We are taking direct aim at this beast, right now.

It starts by coordinating conservatives around the country to file comments against new regulations. Federal agencies must respond to all substantive comments, and flooding agencies with them can stall, weaken, or even stop new rules in their tracks.

We are also developing legislative solutions that would require all federal regulatory agencies to resubmit their rules every few years or have them automatically "sunset."

But the most ambitious goal of this project is to equip the next presidential administration with everything it will need to immediately begin repealing onerous regulations imposed by the Biden and Obama regimes.

This is a huge undertaking that requires the legal and economic skills to draft the precise language and run the economic analyses needed to repeal old regulations.

By planning ahead, we will be able to make a significant difference to your businesses, your prosperity, and your freedoms.









#### WORKING CAPITOL HILL

"Every day, we're fighting on behalf of the tens of millions of forgotten Americans who see that the Swamp has left them behind. That means we need men and women on our team who know how the Swamp works, and more importantly, know how to defeat it."

-DR. KEVIN ROBERTS, HERITAGE PRESIDENT

n 2022, Heritage brought on two Capitol Hill veterans to lead the government relations team. Together, they are bringing greater strategic focus and energy to advancing our seven policy priorities in Congress.

Eric Teetsel was formerly chief of staff to U.S. Sen. Josh Hawley of Missouri. He's also served as the president and executive director of the Family Policy Alliance of Kansas, senior adviser for Sen. Jerry Moran's Senate campaign, and director of faith outreach for Sen. Marco Rubio's presidential campaign.

Clint Brown comes to Heritage from the influential Senate Steering Committee, chaired by Sen. Mike Lee of Utah, where he served as executive director. He also currently serves as an adjunct professor in legislative and political writing for the University of Alabama School of Law.

These two seasoned professionals engage lawmakers on your behalf, representing Heritage interests and perspectives on the key policy fights. They also build successful coalitions of like-minded allies in the conservative movement.









#### PROTECTING HUMAN LIFE

n June, pro-life Americans celebrated a monumental victory when the Supreme Court banished *Roe v. Wade* to the ash heap of history.

The *Dobbs* decision was the result of decades of prayer and sacrifice from pro-lifers across the country. As a supporter of Heritage, you also contributed to this win.



With your support, we played a key role in shaping the Supreme Court by fighting without ceasing for the confirmations of Justices Neil Gorsuch, Samuel Alito, Brett Kavenaugh, and Amy Coney Barrett. You also helped us harness Heritage's greatest strengths to amplify the pro-life message by uniting members of the conservative movement.

This is not the end of the story. Heritage is now leading the charge for pro-life policies at both the federal and state levels. We're exploring various policy routes we can take to implement real protections for unborn babies and their mothers in the post-*Roe* world.

It is clear that the abortion lobby will increasingly turn to abortion pills, including through the mail, in an attempt to sidestep state restrictions. Our analysts are already looking into the ways the federal government can clamp down on the interstate commerce of abortion drugs, and we are making the case for a heartbeat bill at the federal level.



#### **Living Up to Our Promise to You**

One message we delivered loud and clear to you in 2022 is that Heritage will never shy away from a fight if it involves a core principle—even if the odds of victory aren't in our favor.

Case in point: Late in 2022, a dozen Republican senators voted to advance a bill called the "Respect for Marriage Act." While advertised as simply codifying the Supreme Court ruling on same-sex marriage, the bill amounted to an unprecedented attack on religious liberty.

While other conservative groups ignored this threat or remained on the sidelines, we quickly mobilized our forces to fight back. Within a matter of days, we designed, produced, and aired ads exposing what this bill was really about. The ads ran during Thanksgiving weekend's football games in key states and generated 51 million impressions, 11 national media hits, and 22 radio hits.

As a result, three religious liberty amendments received a Senate floor vote, including one by Sen. Mike Lee—the First Amendment Defense Act—that Heritage has long championed.

Even in defeat we can count successes. Two senators cited our efforts on the Senate floor. And none of the religious liberty amendments would have been introduced if it weren't for the pressure we applied to lawmakers. Now, we

have senators on record opposing the bill's overreach, which we can build on in a more friendly Senate.

Afterward, Sen. Kyrsten Sinema, D-Ariz., remarked that "the attempts to derail this piece of legislation were probably more focused and robust than any other bills I've worked on in the last two years."

She was talking about The Heritage Foundation.

Another example: When a \$40 billion Ukraine aid bill was being debated, Heritage came out against it. Why? Because there was no focus or accountability. That prompted a fusillade of attacks from all sides.

Yet after Republicans regained control of the House, Speaker Kevin McCarthy, R-Calif., made a point of stating that there would be no more "blank checks" for Ukraine, and Rep. Michael McCaul, R-Texas, stressed that any future aid would be provided "in an accountable way, with transparency to the American people." These words are almost verbatim from Heritage statements.

The message of both fights is this: When a core principle is at stake, you can count on Heritage to be your champion in Washington, D.C.

#### **Meet Your Deregulation Champion**

PAUL J. RAY served as the administrator of the Office of Information and Regulatory Affairs—the federal "regulations czar"—within the White House's Office of Management and Budget, where he led federal efforts on regulatory reform. Ray also served as counselor to the U.S. secretary of labor and an attorney specializing in administrative appellate law. He clerked for Justice Samuel A. Alito of the U.S. Supreme Court.



#### **Meet Your Accountability Watchdog**

MIKE HOWELL came to Heritage from the Department of Homeland Security general counsel's office, where he was the chief legal point of contact for the department's 3,000-lawyer office for all congressional oversight and investigations that concerned any of the department's headquarters or component offices. There he dealt with congressional staff regarding document requests, transcribed interviews and depositions, legislation, and correspondence.



### **Meet Your Conservative Promise Keeper**

PAUL DANS served in the Trump administration as chief of staff at the U.S. Office of Personnel Management (OPM) where he managed the federal agency in charge of human resources policy for the more than 2 million federal workers. He also served as OPM's White House liaison and worked with the White House Office of Presidential Personnel to staff the approximately 4,000 presidential appointees across the federal government.





# The Right Tools





#### ARMING THE MOVEMENT

#### **Extensive Training Programs**

After two years of having their children locked out of schools and being called domestic terrorists for complaining about Leftist indoctrination, fed-up parents across the country voted in a raft of new school board members aligned with their values.

But these new school board members were in dire need of training. If they were going to succeed, they had to know the ins and outs of how school boards operate. They needed tools to fight for parents' rights. They needed to plug into a network of likeminded board members.

So, movement allies and current school board members turned to Heritage, because they knew we were the only conservative organization that could meet this need. We quickly pulled together a six-week virtual training program, called "Empowering Families and Putting Kids First: A Roadmap for New School Board Members," with resources, tips, and insights from education policy experts and experienced school board members.

Our spring 2022 session trained 400 new board members, and over 300 have already registered for our 2023 session.

This is just one of more than a dozen training programs Heritage operates for conservatives at every stage of their careers.

Our hugely successful Young Leaders Program, for example, gets top conservative talent started on their careers. In 2022, a new program called "Ready, Set, HILL" equipped 300 aspiring Hill staffers with the knowledge and skills they need to be effective on the job. We provide training for judicial clerks and briefings for newly elected members of Congress. The George C. Marshall Fellowship trains mid-career professionals working in national security and foreign policy.

To see the complete list of Heritage's training programs, go to heritage.org/training

#### Scorecards, Report Cards, and Indexes

In the past year, Heritage produced two new tools for arming state and local activists to fight for election integrity and education choice.

#### THE ELECTION INTEGRITY SCORECARD:

While most were taken aback by the problems plaguing the 2020 elections, Heritage wasn't. Our experts had been ringing alarm bells about the mad dash to loosen voting rules during COVID-19, including mass mailing of ballots. That's because Heritage alone has been diligently tracking election fraud for years and compiling a database of proven cases of it. We knew what to look for.

While the rest of the country was debating whether the 2020 election was tainted, we were working with secretaries of state on how they could improve the sanctity of the ballot box. We developed a list of best practices for states charged with running elections, which include sensible steps like voter ID laws, bans on ballot harvesting, and ensuring the accuracy of voter registration lists.

In December 2021, we published our exclusive "Election Integrity Scorecard," which ranks every state against this yardstick.

In the six months after we released that report, state legislatures enacted roughly 190 new bills pertaining to elections, and 14 states improved their election integrity scores. At a hearing in Alaska, legislators grilled the state's election

officials about why the state ranked so low on various categories in our scorecard.

#### THE EDUCATION FREEDOM REPORT

**CARD:** You've probably discussed the need for greater education choice with friends and family. But nobody had a comprehensive ranking of every state on this score. Until Heritage's education experts produced it.

The report card grades states on four broad categories: school choice, transparency, regulatory freedom, and what taxpayers get for their money.

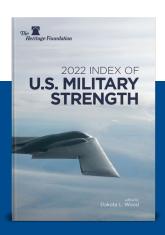
The inaugural report card, published in the fall of 2022, ranked Florida as the state with the most education freedom and New York as the state with the least. The report card received widespread media coverage across the country, and we held an unveiling event with Gov. Ron DeSantis. The goal is to push pro-parent, pro-freedom reforms in every state.

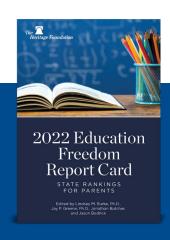
#### THE INDEX OF U.S. MILITARY STRENGTH:

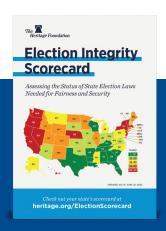
The Index of U.S. Military Strength is the only publication that scores the readiness of each branch of the military. In 2022, for the first time in the index's history, the overall ranking was a disturbing "weak."

#### THE INDEX OF ECONOMIC FREEDOM:

This continues to be the most credible resource on the economic freedom of 184 countries, with rankings on everything from property rights to federal spending, trade policy to tax policy. In 2022, the U.S. dropped to 25th place, thanks largely to policies imposed by the Biden administration.

















#### ADDING AND MULTIPLYING:

## Reaching Out to All Corners of the Movement

Heritage is working in numerous ways to bring the movement together.

RESOURCE BANK: Each year, hundreds of conservatives from around the country gather for Heritage's Resource Bank, where they exchange ideas, learn from each other, and reinforce the conservative policy agenda.

NATCON: In 2022, Heritage decided to be a co-sponsor of that year's National Conservatism Conference, put on by the Edmund Burke Foundation. We don't agree with all of the NatCon positions on issues, but the point of our participation was to showcase the many areas where we do agree.

coalition work: Heritage is unique in our ability to convene the conservative movement through our coalition work. For example, last year we hosted a coalition meeting where participants worked to find common ground on the nation's strengths, weaknesses, opportunities, and threats posed by China.

#### **HOSTING CONSERVATIVE LEADERS:**

Another way we act as a convenor of the conservative movement is by inviting all those interested in higher office to Heritage. The list includes Donald Trump, Mike Pence, Ron DeSantis, Mike Pompeo, Rick Scott, Glenn Youngkin, Ted Cruz, Nikki Haley, and others.

Pictured: Florida Gov. Ron DeSantis, Sen. Ted Cruz, R-Texas, former UN Ambassador Nikki Haley, and former Secretary of State Mike Pompeo are among those being discussed as potential candidates who attended Heritage events in 2022.

# The Right Place



#### A RENEWED PUSH INTO THE STATES

ne of the distinct advantages of The Heritage Foundation is our partnership with Heritage Action for America, which, unlike Heritage, can directly lobby for policies at the federal and state levels.

It's a one-two punch.

Heritage experts develop bullet-proof policy prescriptions that lawmakers can enact, and Heritage Action uses our research to lobby for specific legislation and mobilize a grassroots army to bring change at the state level.

Here are some examples of what we achieved for you in 2022.

#### **Education Choice**

Education is one critical area where Heritage's work is making a profound difference for you and your families at the state level. On our list of policy priorities, it ranks No. 1.

In last year's annual report, we pointed to West Virginia's broad-based "education savings account" (ESA) plan, which Heritage scholars helped develop and popularize. That plan, which was at the time the most expansive ESA program in the country, let

families with students currently in public schools access state education funds to seek other options.

In 2022, Arizona did one better when it adopted a truly universal ESA program. Every parent in the state will be able to use funds that the government spends on education for tuition, tutors, homeschooling, or other choices that suit their own children's educational needs.

And when Texas Gov. Gregg Abbott called for comprehensive education reform that would include education choice options for all Texas families, we showed our support with a billboard campaign in the state. In 2023, we intend to bring real education choice to all families in the Lone Star State.

And beyond that, the Heritage education team, along with Heritage Action, has laid out detailed plans to expand choice in several more states over the next two years. Our goal is to one day have all public education dollars follow the students, instead of the other way around.

#### Critical Race Theory

Heritage's impact can also be felt in the fight against critical race theory (CRT). As soon as we realized that this Marxist-based ideology—which



purposefully pits one race against another in perpetual struggle—was being shoved down our children's throats, we got to work.

Our legal scholars crafted model legislation. We testified before state legislative bodies. We wrote op-eds that appeared in newspapers across the country. We were on television, radio, podcasts, and YouTube, explaining what CRT was and why we had to fight against it.

Heritage Action, meanwhile, trained Sentinels to mobilize their grassroots across the nation to push for legislation that tracks with our model bill.

By the end of the year, 13 states had enacted such CRT laws, with bills pending in three others and introduced in eight more.

See for yourself at our CRT tracker: www.heritage.org/CRT-tracker

#### **ESG**

Or take the "environment, social, and governance" (ESG) agenda being pushed by the Left. ESG sounds innocent enough, but it masks the Left's attempt to take over corporate board rooms by funneling investment dollars only to companies that do the Left's bidding.

To fight back, our legal experts drafted model legislation that blocks state pension funds from using ESG—instead of returns on investment—to guide their investment or contracting decisions.

In August, Heritage and Heritage Action launched ESG Hurts (esghurts.com), a site that provides extensive information and tools to fight back.

Texas, Oklahoma, West Virginia, Kentucky, and Tennessee all now have laws on the books ensuring their states' contracts or investments are based on merit, not the ESG agenda. **☎** 

Portions of this publication were provided by or relate to, and were paid for by, Heritage Action for America.

TAVITS PHOTOGRAPHY



#### Justice Alito Makes News While Speaking at Heritage

In December, Heritage was honored to have Supreme Court Justice Samuel Alito deliver remarks at our Joseph Story Lecture. The event ended up generating a tremendous amount of media coverage when Alito discussed the unprecedented leak of the draft *Dobbs* opinion overturning *Roe v. Wade*. He called it "a grave betrayal of trust" and said that it made the justices who supported overturning *Roe* "targets for assassination, because it gave people a rational reason to think they could prevent that from happening by killing one of us."

When protestors descended on Alito's home, he was forced at one point to be moved to an undisclosed location. Protestors also showed up at the homes of Justices Amy Coney Barrett and Brett Kavanaugh, who also endured an alleged assassination plot. The Daily Signal was one of the only news outlets to cover these illegal protests. A video posted by a Daily Signal reporter generated over a million views and was featured in several newscasts.





# The Right Celebration



#### HERITAGE TO CELEBRATE OUR 50TH ANNIVERSARY IN STYLE—AND SUBSTANCE

hen The Heritage Foundation was formally incorporated on February 16, 1973, the joke was that you could fit the entire conservative movement into a phone booth. Nobody would dare say that now, and you've played a significant role in making the movement the formidable force that it is today.

In April, we will be celebrating with several events for staff, alumni, donors, and special guests, including an evening at Mount Vernon and Leadership Summit and 50th Anniversary Gala at the Gaylord National Harbor Resort.

This will be more than a celebration of the past. This will be an opportunity to come together, focused on the future—unified, energized, and armed with the tools, the vision, and the policies we need to restore

self-governance and rebuild the institutions that can revitalize our great land for generations to come.

Hundreds of donors, partners in the movement, current and rising leaders, policymakers, and influencers will take part in our Leadership Summit. The two-day event will focus on solutions at the federal and state levels and short- and long-term strategies that can halt the onslaught against our institutions—including the policy agenda featured in the 2025 Presidential Transition Project (see page 14).

And 50 years from now, you will be able to say that you played a significant role in ushering in a golden era of conservative governance and in helping America restore the self-governance and human flourishing that were envisioned by our nation's Founders.



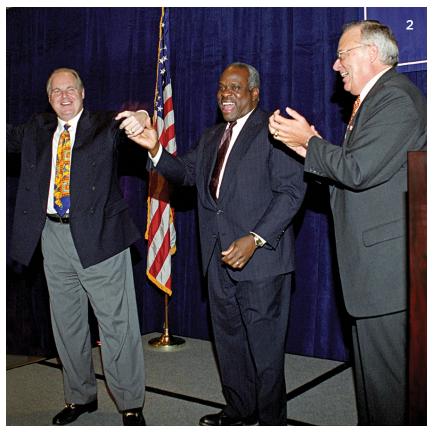
Over the years, Heritage has hosted the world's leading conservatives, including Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher (1), Rush Limbaugh and Justice Clarence Thomas (2). Heritage's Washington, D.C., physical presence in the nation's capital steadily expanded as did its influence (3, 5).







Heritage sponsored a trip to see the Berlin Wall as it was being torn down (4). Former South Carolina Sen. Jim DeMint and Virginia Secretary of the Commonwealth Kay Coles James served as Heritage's fifth and sixth presidents, respectively (6-7).









THE HERITAGE FOUDNDATION

# IN MEMORIAM

eritage lost several towering figures who were instrumental in our growth and influence and patriots of the first order.

#### Phillip N. Truluck

Former Heritage Foundation executive vice president, chief operating officer, and senior advisor

Phillip Truluck first joined Heritage in 1977 as director of research. In the years that followed, Phil built a new kind of research organization that did not then exist in Washington. His hard work soon bore fruit, as Heritage's "Mandate for Leadership" would guide the incoming Reagan administration in 1981 on policy achievements across the federal government.

Phil was also instrumental in expanding Heritage's physical footprint on both sides of Capitol Hill through multiple acquisition and renovation projects, which maximized Heritage's strategic competitive advantage to influence public policy over his 38-year career.

Phil became a member of the Heritage Board of Trustees in 2001, serving on the board until 2015, when he retired from Heritage. He served as chairman of Heritage's Society of Emeritus Trustees until his death.

Without his leadership and vision, Heritage would not be the leading conservative policy organization it is today.

# **David Brown**Surgeon and former chairman

Dr. David Brown, an orthopedic surgeon, served as chairman of the Heritage Board of Trustees for 17 years. After his retirement as chairman in 2019, he was elected chairman emeritus, a title which he held until his passing.

In 2009, Heritage awarded David its highest honor, the Clare Boothe Luce Award.

Throughout his years with Heritage, David maintained a private practice as an orthopedic surgeon in Oklahoma City and was a clinical professor at the University of Oklahoma Health Sciences Center. He was also president of the Oklahoma Chernobyl Bridge Foundation, which provided medical aid to children of the 1986 Chernobyl nuclear disaster.











Heritage founder Ed Feulner said of David that his "foresight and long-term strategic thinking were invaluable to The Heritage Foundation. For more than three decades, he provided guidance that helped us grow from a small policy center to a powerhouse of conservative ideas."

#### **Midge Decter**

# Author, journalist, and former Heritage trustee

Midge Decter's keen intellect was invaluable to the conservative movement. She wrote and lectured incisively on a range of topics, from family values to foreign policy. Not least were her contributions to The Heritage Foundation while

she served as a trustee for more than 30 years, from 1981 until 2015.

Her books included "Liberal Parents, Radical Children," "The New Chastity and Other Arguments Against Women's Liberation," and "Rumsfeld: A Personal Portrait."

The New York Times Book Review encapsulated much truth about Midge in this single phrase: "A woman who keeps her eyes on the big things and the small ones and makes the connection between the two."

She also helped found the Independent Women's Forum and was a senior fellow at the Institute on Religion and Public Life in her beloved New York City. Liberty has lost a great thinker and a great champion.

# **Jerry Hume**Businessman and former Heritage trustee

In January 2023, Heritage also lost Jerry Hume, who served as a member of The Heritage Foundation's Board of Trustees for three decades and on Heritage Action for America's board of directors. Jerry had built a family business, Basic American Inc., into an international food service company. A proud Navy veteran, he devoted his time and talents to improving education standards, serving on the boards of the California State Board of Education, the Foundation for Teaching Economics, and other organizations, while spearheading initiatives to expand school choice and improve literacy for young Americans.

Jerry was known as a caring, deeply committed patriot with a staunch commitment to the principles of economic freedom, federalism, the rule of law, and entrepreneurship.

Heritage Foundation Board Chairman Barb Van Andel-Gaby and Heritage Action Board Chairman Nersi Nazari honored Jerry's outstanding service to the conservative cause:

"Many people have worked behind the scenes to make The Heritage Foundation a world-class

# **Thomas A. Saunders III**Former chairman of The Heritage Foundation's Board of Trustees

Tough-minded and principled, Thomas Saunders was a hugely successful businessman. He was also one of the most deeply patriotic men we've ever known. And he never missed an opportunity to exercise that patriotism.

He provided years of loyal leadership to The Heritage Foundation. He was elected to our Board of Trustees in 2005. He would go on to serve as chairman of the board for a decade, during which time he helped with the formation of Heritage Action for America.

Tom continued to serve on the board as chairman emeritus until 2022. Heritage recognized Tom with its highest honor, the prestigious Clare Boothe Luce Award, in 2018.

Among his many other achievements, as chairman of the Thomas Jefferson Foundation, he brought Jefferson's Monticello up to world standards for historic sites.

His wisdom, his humor, and his willingness to go the extra mile for the sake of a cause made him a joy to work with.

# **Ambassador Frank Shakespeare**Former chairman of the Heritage Board of Trustees

In addition to serving as chairman of The Heritage Foundation's Board of Trustees from 1981 to 1985, Frank Shakespeare served as U.S. ambassador to both Portugal and the Holy See.

Frank's belief in the power of ideas was best exemplified by his role as chairman of the Board for International Broadcasting during the Reagan administration when Radio Free Europe and Radio Liberty carried the message of freedom behind the Iron Curtain and helped bring the Cold War to an end. Frank was also president of RKO General





Inc., director of the U.S. Information Agency, and president of CBS Television Services.

His wise counsel guided The Heritage Foundation at a critical period of growth and ascendence during President Reagan's first term. He was a fount of knowledge and wisdom. Our organization benefited greatly from his leadership of our Board of Trustees and his longtime service as an honorary trustee.



We are thankful for these patriots and their great contributions to The Heritage Foundation.



# The Right Supporters





# **MEET ARVID ANDERSON**

s Heritage celebrates its 50th anniversary, we can't help thinking about those who have been with us almost since the beginning. Arvid Anderson of New Kensington, Pennsylvania, is one of these special people. In fact, having made his first gift to Heritage in 1977, he has the distinction of being our longest-supporting member.

Arvid, who spent a long and successful career in the field of metallurgical engineering, is a self-described "nitpicker" with a penchant for detail. This also happens to be one of the qualities he appreciates most about Heritage. "I value Heritage's ability to examine all the facts, thoughtfully consider different perspectives, and deliver intelligent solutions," says Arvid. "I've always trusted Heritage's ability to discern the truth, no matter how complex the problem."

Heritage's facts-based approach isn't the only reason Arvid has supported our work for more than four decades. His strong Christian faith and Depressionera upbringing helped forge the conservative values he counts on Heritage to defend. "Heritage is one of the last lines of defense against the slow chipping away of our society," says Arvid.

"At the core of my faith is the principle of fellowship and the belief that every individual is endowed with special gifts," he says.



"I guess you can say I believe in people's God-given potential to do great things, and Heritage is in the business of making it possible."

-ARVID ANDERSON

# So That Future Generations May Live in Freedom

ur Founders sacrificed their lives, their fortunes, and their sacred honor to secure the freedoms Americans enjoy today, but they understood that the solemn duty of preserving them would ultimately rest on future generations.

Members of our Heritage Legacy Society—modern-day patriots who have remembered Heritage in their wills, trusts, or other planned gifts—are helping safeguard our Founders' vision for America so that our children and grandchildren can flourish in a nation built on freedom, opportunity, prosperity, and civil society.

#### The Heritage Legacy Society was honored to welcome these new members in 2022.

Mr. Luz Abin

Mr. Norman R. Adams

Mr. Charles G. Ambov

Dr. and Mrs. Gilbert F. Amelio

Mr. George L. Andersen

Mr. Carl W. Anderson

Ms. Cindy Andrews

Mr. Chris Angelos

Mr. Robert C. Armour

Mr. Donald B. Ayres, Jr.

Mr. and Mrs. John F. Babbitt

Dr. Barbara J. Bashein

Mr. Charles D. Becher

Mr. Adrian Belkin

Mr. James Bell

Mr. Gene Bengtson

Mr. Esteban M. Beruvides

Ms. Lisa Binse

Mr. Gary Boe Mr. David C. Bowen

Mr. and Mrs. Bayard Boyle, Jr.

Mr. David Brown

Mr. Barry Campbell

Ms. Mary S. Carnegie

Ms. Esther Castillon

Mr. Luke Cates

Mr. and Mrs. Robert Chamberlin

Mr. and Mrs. George Chandler

Mr. Doug Chapman

Mr. Darryl Clark

Mr. David B. Coblitz

Mr. Douglas Comstock

Mrs. Beverly A. Connolly

Mr. William L. Cooper, Jr.

Mr. Kyran J. Costello

Mr. Eugene Crawford

Ms. Sandra Crippen

Ms. Diana Crockett

Mr. Harry Cruzado

Mr. Richard M. Cummings

Mr. Robert P. Dean

Ms. Mary Denna

Mr. David Dennis

Mr. and Mrs. Richard C. Depew

Mr. Bernard Depinto

Mr. Ben Ditosti

Mr. Conrad Donahue

Mrs. Karen M. Dormer

Mr. James Dyer

Mrs. Eilene Ehrhardt

Ms. Bertie J. Enslow

Mr. Jairus D. Flora

Mr. Marisol Fragoso

Mr. Mark Friedman

Ms. Geneva Garber

Mr. and Mrs. Glenn Gehring

Mr. Roy Glickman

Mr. Robert Gold

Mr. John Goodrich

Mr. Gregory R. Gores Ms. Mary E. Gottler

Mr. Charles E. Graham

Mr. Mike Grampo

Mr. and Mrs. Neal Greenfield

Mrs. Mary Greenlee

Mr. and Mrs. Richard G. Gross

Ms. Jenny Gruber

Mr. Frank Gugino

Ms. Nancy Hadley

Dr. John C. Hagan III

Ms. Elrene Hamann

Mr. and Mrs. James R. Harris

Ms. Joan B. Harry

Mr. William Hashem, Jr.

Mr. and Mrs. Gordon S. Hassing

Mr. Peter J. Hecker

Mr. Ed Heritage

Mr. Alvin R. Herr, Jr.

Mr. and Mrs. Glenn Hersch

Mr. C. William Hocke

Mr. and Mrs. David B. Holland

Ms. Jana B. Holt

Mr. Bryon Hotzler

Mr. Randall J. Hough

Mr. William T. Hughes

Mrs. Michelina D. Hurd

Mr. Robert R. Jankelson

Mr. Arthur Johnson

Mr. John D. Johnson

Mrs. Martha Johnson

Ms. Carol L. Johnson

Ms. Irene J. Johnson

Mr. Allan F. Jones Mr. Richard Kachel

Mr. Oleta Kadleck

Mr. and Mrs. Charles Keen

Ms. Mary B. King

Mr. and Mrs. William A. Klein

Ms. Janet Knorr-Stonska

Mr. Sven F. Kraemer

Mr. and Mrs. Clint C. Kyme

Ms. Carol J. Langlev

Mr. Charles Larimore

Mr. Raymond H. Laub Mr. Abraham Lee

Dr. Kathy Leonard

Mr. Steve Levy

Mr. Gordon Lillge

Ms. Thomas E. Linhard

Mr. and Mrs. Patrick O. Little

Mr. and Mrs. Frank Lorev Mr. and Mrs. Michael Lozon

Mr. Joel C. Mandelman

Mr. Joseph Marsala

Dr. Philip R. Martin

Mr. Wade McKenzie

Ms. Patricia J. McWethy

Ms. Pamela J. Meyer

Ms. Virginia M. Meyer

Mrs. Carolyn S. Miller

Mrs. Cross Montagement

Mrs. Greg Montgomery

Mr. Ted Morbach

Mr. Quentin Morris

Mr. Gary L. Munson

Ms. Margaret Murguia

Mr. Liam Neary

Mr. and Mrs. Larry H. Nebel

Mr. and Mrs. Leonard C. Neely, Jr.

Mr. and Mrs. Philip Neiman

Ms. Marie Neiswender

Mrs. Patrica A. Nelson

Mr. Edward R. Newman

Mr. Hoa Nguyen

Mr. and Mrs. Peter I. Pavel

Mr. Jacquy C. Pearson

Mr. and Mrs. Donald Pemberton

Mr. Bob B. Peterson

Mrs. Katie Peterson

Ms. Cynthia Pfaff

Mr. and Mrs. Steven C. Pinard

Mr. Robert Powell

Ms. Shauvon Powell

Ms. Sophia Ranglas

Mrs. Joan E. Reid

Dr. and Mrs. Michael E. Reif

Mr. Richard D. Reome

Mr. Fred D. Reynolds

Mr. Edward J. Rifkin

Ms. Maureen N. Rogers

Mr. Michael P. Rose

Mr. Maxwell Rosenbaum

Dr. Jeffrey Rothstein

Mr. Raymond A. Rowe

Mrs. Anita D. Rozell

Mr. Steven A. Ruether

Mr. Thomas Ruggles

Mr. John Rust

Mr. Christophe Salvo

Mr. Edward Schade

Ms. Gretchen G. Schade

Mr. David Schirmer

Mrs. Janet Schreck

Mrs. Janet Schreck

Ms. Linda Scott Mr. Robert Sells

Mr. Michael A. Serluco

Mr. Burnie Shadoan

Mr. David M. Shafto Mrs. Adell Sievers

Manual Sievers

Ms. Nancy Simpson

Mr. Willett R. Smith Ms. Victoria Smith

Mr. Michael Snater

Mr. Edward Speed

Mr. Hermie Stern

Ms. Linda Sullivan

Mr. Joseph Tagliavia

Mr. David Taylor

Mr. William Teran

Dr. John A. Thomas

Mr. Robert Thompson

Mr. Bobby Turner

Mr. and Mrs. William Voigt

Mrs. Delma L. Wagstaff

Mr. and Mrs. Harold E. Wake

Mrs. Sandra H. Waldman

Mr. Frank H. Walker

Mr. Jerry Waxman

Mr. Albert N. Weidhas, Jr.

Mr. Richard J. Weinmann

Mr. James Westby

Mrs. Edna S. Wiker

Mr. Brian K. Williams

Ms. Lorraine M. Wilson

Mark L. Winter, Ph.D.

Mr. Sal Yang

Ms. Marilyn Yazzie

Ms. Charlotte Zahn

Ten Heritage Legacy Society members wish to remain anonymous.

Heritage's Annual Leadership Conference, held in Amelia Island, Florida, welcomed now-Arkansas Gov. Sarah Huckabee Sanders (lower right, with Kevin Roberts) and President Donald Trump. Heritage also sponsored Awakening in Sea Island, Georgia. Awakening is an annual retreat for families to exchange ideas, examine trends, and learn from leading experts. Pictured to the right are (left to right) Katharine Gorka, former director of Heritage's Civil Society and the American Dialogue, Rep. Byron Donalds, R-Fla., and Erika Donalds, president and CEO of The Optima Foundation.







At the 2022 Resource Bank event, held in Nashville, Tenn., attendees heard from diverse speakers, including Kirk Cameron (below left) and former NFL quarterbacks Matt and Tim Hasselback (right). Jeremy Tedesco, senior counsel of the Alliance Defending Freedom (below right), talks about his group's "Viewpoint **Diversity Score Business** Index" project, which received one of Heritage's first Innovation Prize awards at Resource Bank.







JEFF WESTCOTT PHOTO

### With Gratitude

We honor the memory of these Heritage Legacy Society members whose gifts we received in 2022.

Mr. Rafael Ahlgren Dr. George N. Asai

Mr. Jerry J. Batchelder

Mr. and Mrs. T. F. Beresford

Mr. Thomas J. Billings

Mrs. Joyce Blackmun Cottrell

Mr. Martin A. Booye

Ms. Nell M. Bowen

Mr. Kenneth R. Brady

Mrs. Doris Broderick

Mr. John C. Bryan

Mr. John F. Campbell

Mr. Don E. Carter

Mr. Gary Coats

Mr. J. L. Cronin Jr.

Ms. Rebecca Sue H. De Shazo

Mr. James H. Dible

Ms. Nancy Lew Durbin

Mr. Chas V. Eckert III

Ms. Alice Endslev

Mr. William K. Engel

Mrs. Virginia H. Everett

Mrs. Jean Fenn Farwell

Mrs. Noni J. Fischer

Reverend D. James Fitzhugh Mrs. Martha Lee Foster-Skiles Dr. Janice J. Gabbert

Mr. Alexander Gaston

Mr. and Mrs. Edward D. Gorton

Mr. Lynn Hall

Ms. Trudy Hendershott

Mr. John Henderson

Mr. Kenneth C. Hill

Ms. Rosemary Hoehn

Ms. Ann Hyden

Mrs. Carol A. Irwin

Mr. Edmund B. Jenkins

Mrs. Ethel F. Jordan

Mrs. Jo Anne Jozoff

Mr. Herbert Kameon

Mr. and Mrs. Fred G. Koehler

Mrs. Charlotte Kowalewski

Mr. Brad I. Kuchan

Mr. Carl R. Lezius

Ms. Elizabeth C. Machhold

Mr. Terry McGrath

Ms. Geraldine M. Mertens

Mr. Gary F. Miller

Mr. Sam M. Monson

Ms. Henriette Morris

Mr. Quentin Nesbitt Mr. Norman Novello Mrs. Joanne L. O'Kane

Mr. William D. Peace

Mrs. Katharine Philbrook

Mrs. Eileen Pratt-Pringle

Miss Lenora Raia

Mr. Lance Ralston Mr. Victor L. Sanko

Mr. and Mrs. Charles A. Sarahan

Mr. and Mrs. Glenn Scharp

Mr. Walter Schmid

Mr. John J. Sieffert Jr.

Mr. Henry D. Smith

Mr. Mark J. Smith

Mr. and Mrs. Stephen H. Smith

Mr. William R. Snyder

Ms. Marilyn S. Soisson

Mr. John L. Sprock

Mr. Lowell F. Steusloff

Mr. E. R. Turner

Mr. Charles W. Walton

Mr. Edward C. Wilson

Ms. Maria Woodward

Mr. Robert K. Zelle

Four Heritage Legacy Society members asked that their gifts remain anonymous. **ERIN GRANZOW** 

John and Cynthia Clough open the Clough Family Center on the main floor of Heritage headquarters. They were accompanied by friends and family and Heritage's Kevin Roberts, Andrew McIndoe, and Rob Bluey. The state-ofthe-art Clough Family Center is now used regularly for media events, gatherings, and other functions.



# The Heritage Foundation's 2022 Founders

#### **CHAIRMAN'S CIRCLE**

The Diana Davis Spencer Foundation Mr. and Mrs. Richard Gaby The Lloyd & Vivian Noble Foundation Pharos Foundation Mr. and Mrs. Len Robinson Sarah Scaife Foundation Mr. Henry D. Smith Mr. and Mrs. Lloyd H. Smith

#### TRUSTEES' CIRCLE

Mr. Gary Coats Mrs. Noni J. Fischer Mr. Kenneth C. Hill Mr. Mark A. Kolokotrones Mrs. Katharine Philbrook Dr. and Mrs. Michael E. Reif The Roe Foundation Searle Freedom Trust Mr. and Mrs. Daryl D. Smith Mr. Ray Stata Lillian S. Wells Foundation

**FOUNDER** W.L. Amos, Sr. Foundation Amway Joseph C. and Elizabeth A. Anderlik Charitable Trust Dr. Patricia Bilden and Mr. Philip M. Bilden Lynde & Harry Bradley Foundation Inc. Mr. and Mrs. Theodore W. Brickman Dr. and Mrs. John H. Bruning Mr. and Mrs. David W. Caldwell Challenge Foundation Mr. and Mrs. Gary Cooper Dr. Garner H. Downey and Mrs. Mae Frances Mr. William K. Engel William Howard Flowers, Jr. Foundation, Inc. Mr. Robert G. Fuller, Jr. Mr. Alexander Gaston

Mr. and Mrs. Robert S. Giles

Gleason Family Foundation

The Gardner Grout Foundation Mr. Lynn Hall The Haller Foundation Mr. and Mrs. John N. Hanson Dr. and Mrs. Hal B. Holmes Mr. and Mrs. Ronald Holten Ms. Ann Hyden Mr. and Mrs. Hank Kuchta Dr. and Mrs. Charles Lederer T.W. Lewis Foundation Mr. and Mrs. George L. Mayer Martin and Janet Michel Mr. and Mrs. David Moore Samuel Roberts Noble Foundation, Inc. Mr. Norman Novello Dian Graves Owen Foundation Mr. and Mrs. Tassos Paphites Charles Maxfield and Gloria F. Parrish Foundation Mr. Jack Perrin John William Pope Foundation Mrs. Eileen Pratt-Pringle Miss Lenora Raia Mrs. Carolyn Randall Mr. Jerry S. Rawls Mrs. Barbara Richardson Dr. Patrice Richardson Mr. and Mrs. John Rigsby Mr. and Mrs. Henry Saad Mr. and Mrs. Anthony J. Saliba, Sr. Mr. Steven M. Sass Mr. Walter Schmid Mr. Robert W. Schneebeck Mr. Richard Schulze Mr. John J. Sieffert. Jr. Mr. Mark J. Smith

Sorenson Legacy Foundation

Mr. and Mrs. Clifford L. Thomson

Twenty-five Founders have asked

Mr. James E. Stephenson

Mr. Stephen D. Weiss

Ms. Maria Woodward

to remain anonymous.

Mr. John L. Sprock

#### MEMBERSHIP **LEVELS**

Our range of membership levels and benefits can accommodate all.

#### Level starting at:

• Basic\$25
■ Stars and Stripes Club\$100
Young President's Club \$250
• President's Club
■ Executive Committee <b>\$2,500</b>
Premier President's Club \$5,000
Associate\$10,000
Executive Associate \$25,000
Premier Associate \$50,000
• Founder\$100,000
■ Trustees' Circle\$500,000
• Chairman's Circle <b>\$1,000,000</b>

For details on the benefits attached to each level, please call (800) 546-2843 or visit

heritage.org/donate.



Heritage donors Joseph and Mary Slawek met President Donald Trump at Heritage's Annual Leadership Conference (ALC) held on Amelia Island, Florida, in April. Trump was a featured speaker. (Heritage has welcomed all the likely 2024 candidates to Heritage events over the past year. See page 24.)

# The Heritage Foundation's 2022 Associates

#### PREMIER ASSOCIATE

Mr. Jerry S. Amber

Mr. and Mrs. Robert A. Anderson

Mr. and Mrs. Caesar Arredondo

William S. and Ann Atherton Foundation

**Bader Family Foundation** 

Dr. Barbara J. Bashein

Mr. and Mrs. T. F. Beresford

Mr. and Mrs. Lawrence J. Blanford

Mr. and Mrs. Drew Boersma

Mr. and Mrs. Bayard Boyle, Jr.

Mrs. Doris Broderick

Mr. John C. Bryan

Mrs. Sheila Carlton

Mr. Don E. Carter

Mr. and Mrs. David L. Coffey

Adolph Coors Foundation

Lesley and John Davis

Mr. and Mrs. Myles P. Dempsey, Jr.

The D F Dillon Foundation

The Doherty Foundation

Herbert H. and Barbara C. Dow Foundation

Mr. Chas V. Eckert III

Mr. William S. Edgerly

Mrs. Jean Fenn Farwell

Mrs. Martha Lee Foster-Skiles

The Alta and John Franks Foundation

Mr. and Mrs. Philip M. Friedmann

Dr. Janice J. Gabbert

Mr. and Mrs. Richard Grant

Mr. Thomas Gutshall

Mr. John Henderson

Albert and Ethel Herzstein

Charitable Foundation

The Holman Foundation, Inc.

Ms. Irene J. Johnson

Mr. and Mrs. James R. Johnston

Mr. Herbert Kameon

Mr. John F. Kearns

Mr. and Mrs. Michael Keiser (Donor Advised Fund at The Chicago Community

Foundation)

Mr. Tracy L. Knisely

Peter and Ann Lambertus Family Foundation Inc.

Mr. Donald M. Leebern III

Mr. Jeffrey B. Lewis

Mr. and Mrs. William Lowndes III

Mr. Mark R. Loyd

The David & Elaine Lozier Foundation

Mr. and Mrs. Shane S. McCullar

Ms. Patricia J. McWethy

Mr. Aaron McWhorter

Mr. Gary F. Miller

Mr. and Mrs. Adam Milstein Mr. and Mrs. Michael T. Monahan

Mr. and Mrs. Paul Neuhoff

Mr. and Mrs. Thomas C. Patterson

Pepperdine University

The Dr. P. Phillips Foundation

Mr. and Mrs. Robert M. Rosenthal

Arthur N. Rupe Foundation

The Shanley Family Foundation

Mrs. Lola Shearer

B.K. Simon Family Charitable Foundation

Mr. Lowell F. Steusloff

Stiles-Nicholson Foundation

Mr. and Mrs. Brian S. Tracy

Mr. and Mrs. Wallace E. Volwiler

 $\mbox{Mr.}$  and  $\mbox{Mrs.}$  Howard N. Watrous

Mr. and Mrs. Richard Weiss

Mr. and Mrs. Thomas W. Wiley

Mr. Thomas R. Zucker

#### **EXECUTIVE ASSOCIATE**

Mr. and Mrs. Peter Alpaugh

Apex Foundation

The Armstrong Foundation

George N. Asai, Ph.D.

Mrs. Martha J. Asplundh

David S. Baum Foundation

Mr. and Mrs. George T. Beck

Mr. Sture R. Bengtson

Mrs. Jane J. Bradley

Ambassador and Mrs. Stephen F. Brauer

Mr. and Mrs. John R. Brown

Mrs. Betsy P. Burgett

Mr. Neil J. Burmeister Mr. Carl Canaparo Cedar Branch Foundation

Mr. and Mrs. Bill Chapin

Mr. James C. Day

Mr. James H. Dible

The Ben & Mary Doskocil Family Foundation

The Bernard A. Egan Foundation

El Pomar Foundation (Colorado Support)

Mr. and Mrs. George W. Etheridge, Jr.

Mrs. Grace Evenstad

**FWG Foundation** 

Mr. and Mrs. Scott Glass

Mr. and Mrs. Jerry Grossman

Mr. and Mrs. Price Harding

Mr. and Mrs. Ron J. Hazlett

Tracv Hill

Mr. and Mrs. David Holland

Mr. and Mrs. Edson P. Holland

Mr. Glenn Huddleston

Mr. and Mrs. J. C. Huizenga

The Kay Family Foundation

Mr. Morton D. Kirsch

Mr. Gunnar Klarr

Mr. Brad I. Kuchan

Mr. James Lathren

Mr. Robert A. LeCompte

Mr. and Mrs. Harold Levy

Dr. and Mrs. Robert T. Lewit

Mr. Mack C. Lindsey

Mr. and Mrs. Kim A. Lopdrup

Mr. Richard E. Lunquist

Mr. Guy Mabee, Jr.

The Markkula Foundation

Mr. T. Arthur Mashburn, Jr.

Mr. Steve Maye

Mr. and Mrs. Patrick W. McKinney

Mrs. Carolyn McVey

McWethy Foundation

Mr. Harvey L. Miller

The Montreal Economic Institute

Mrs. Mary Moreton

Philip and Patricia Muck

Charitable Foundation

Melvin J. and Harriet H. Naser Charitable Trust

Mr. and Mrs. Leonard C. Neely, Jr.

The Negaunee Foundation Mr. Quentin Nesbitt Oarsmen Foundation Mr. Donald A. Oeters Mrs. Joanne L. O'Kane Norma Pace Foundation Mr. William D. Peace Mr. and Mrs. Randall Powers Mr. and Mrs. Vivek Ramaswamy Ray Foundation

Mrs. Cecelia Regis Mr. and Mrs. Wayne J. Rose Mr. Raymond A. Rowe Mr. Mike Rydin

Mr. and Mrs. Howard Sadkin Mr. and Mrs. Sanzone

Mr. and Mrs. Roger L. Schaller

Mr. Steve D. Scheel Mr. and Mrs. LaRue Schock

Mr. Mickey Seeman

Mr. and Mrs. Joseph J. Slawek

Mr. Byron W. Smith

Mr. and Mrs. John V. Stevens, Jr. John and Bonnie Strauss Foundation Mr. and Mrs. Larry J. Sundquist Mr. and Mrs. Michael Tarwater Mr. and Mrs. Chris J. Taylor Triad Foundation Inc. Mr. and Mrs. James R. Venner The Walker Foundation Mr. and Mrs. Charles R. Walle Mr. Peter C. Wasilkoff Ms. Ronna L. Whiteside

Mr. and Mrs. Dan Zimmerman

#### **ASSOCIATE**

Mr. Robert K. Zelle

Ms. Jane R. Abel The Aletheia Foundation Alliance Defending Freedom Mr. and Mrs. Andy Anderson Mr. and Mrs. Eldon E. Anderson Mr. Alfred A. Angelo

Ms. Patricia E. Armatis **Armstrong Family Foundation** Dr. and Mrs. Larry P. Arnn Mr. Henry G. Ash, Jr. Mr. Richard M. Baker III Mr. and Mrs. Richard O. Bard Mr. and Mrs. Robert E. Barkei Mr. and Mrs. Rick Barrett Mr. and Mrs. John T. Bassett Mr. Jerry J. Batchelder Mr. John G. Bauer

Mr. and Mrs. Ronald O. Baukol Ms. Lorraine L. Becker

Mr. and Mrs. Thomas F. Beddow Mr. and Mrs. Edward G. Benton

Mr. Thomas J. Billings Mr. John H. Bond Mr. Martin A. Booye Mr. and Mrs. James Borel Mr. and Mrs. Michael K. Boren

Mr. Elroy Bourgraf

Mr. and Mrs. Norman H. Bouton, Jr.

Ms. Mary Bowen Ms. Nell M. Bowen Mr. Paul Boyle

Mr. and Mrs. C. L. Bradford

Bradley Impact Fund Mr. and Mrs. Michael Brickner Mr. and Mrs. Bart J. Broadman Mr. Stanley Brock

Mr. Mikel Buckmaster Mr. and Mrs. David M. Burckel Mr. John T. Burgess

Ms. Pamela Burke Mrs. Adelia Burris

Lavern T. Busse & Audrey Busse Foundation

Mr. Kim A. Caldwell Mr. Ronald M. Cameron Mr. John F. Campbell

The Ruth Camp Campbell Foundation

Mr. and Mrs. Lee Carlson Mr. Ronald L. Carter

The Eugene B. Casey Foundation Mr. and Mrs. Jon L. Christianson Mr. and Mrs. Daniel M. Cislo

Mr. Thomas E. Clark Mr. James K. Cluverius Mrs. Charla Collings B & E Collins Foundation Mr. Robert F. Cook, Sr. Mr. and Mrs. Ronald Cooper Ms. Darden K. Coors Mr. Malcolm E. Craig Dr. Richard V. Cronk Mr. Sam Croom

J. A. Daley III Foundation Mrs. Janice Dalton Mr. Richard E. Davis

Mr. and Mrs. William L. Davis III Ken W. Davis Foundation

John R. and M. Margrite Davis Foundation

Mr. and Mrs. Bruce G. Deckinga Mr. Laurence W. Demuth. Jr. Mr. Russell and Mrs. Stephanie Devo Gladys M. Dickson Charitable Trust

Mr. Marsilio DiGiovanni Mr. Louis Divers

Donahue Family Foundation, Inc. The William H. Donner Foundation. Inc.

Mr. and Mrs. Paul N. Douthat Mr. W. Frank Dowd IV Mr. and Mrs. John M. Draper Mr. and Mrs. Bruce C. Dunbar, Jr. Mr. and Mrs. James Dykstra Mr. and Mrs. George T. Eastment III

Mr. Richard Eitel

The Honorable Gordon R. England Fairchild-Martindale Foundation

Mr. Paul J. Faraci Mrs. Pamela H. Farmer Mr. and Mrs. David N. Farr Dr. Peter C. Farrell Mr. A. Doug Ferris

The Lundy Fetterman Foundation Mr. and Mrs. Robert P. Fettig Mrs. Suzanne I. Fightmaster

Mr. Jay H. Floyd, Jr. Floyd Foundation Mr. Robert Foelber

Foundation for a Better World

Mr. Richard Frain. Jr. Mr. Gary Fredrickson Ms. Denise A. Funk Mr. Gregory Gaich, Ph.D. Mr. Warren B. Galkin Mrs. Anne Gardner

Mr. and Mrs. Bob Garthwait, Jr. Mr. and Ms. Louis Gentine Rollin M. Gerstacker Foundation

Mr. David L. Gibbs Mr. and Mrs. Yale Gieszl Mr. and Mrs. Ed W. Gilbertson Mr. Adam M. Gimbel Mr. and Mrs. Glen Ginter Mr. and Mrs. Edward D. Gorton Ms. Kimberley B. Granger Mr. and Mrs. Jerome Green Ms. Mozelle Griffith

Dr. Ken G. Gross and Dr. Leslie Mark Mr. Sidney Grossman, Jr. Mr. and Mrs. Jack E. Guenther Mr. and Mrs. Michael H. Guetz

Mrs Ian Hair

Mr. and Mrs. Charles Hall Miriam Lloyd Halsey Foundation

Mr. J. W. Hamman Ms. Jean D. Harrington Mr. Peter J. Harrison

Mr. and Mrs. Gordon S. Hassing Mr. and Mrs. Kenneth E. Haughton

Ms. Jennifer A. Hawks Mrs. Marilyn Hayden Dr. Michael R. Heaphy Mr. and Mrs. John W. Hedberg Mr. Mark S. Henderson

Mr. Gilbert C. Hine, Jr. Mr. Rick D. Hollev Mrs. Patricia Houston Mr. William T. Hughes Mr. William D. Humphreys Mr. and Mrs. Neal Hunt Mr. and Mrs. Gregory Hurst

The Huston Foundation

Mrs. Mary Hyde Mr. and Mrs. Ike M. Iacovetta Mr. Thomas N. Iovino Mr. and Mrs. Paul J. Isaac Mr. and Mrs. Ralph E. Janes III Mr. and Mrs. David M. Jellison Dr. and Mrs. Paul Jepson Mr. and Mrs. Charles B. Johnson

Reverend Gerald T. Johnson Dr. and Mrs. Stewart Johnson Colonel and Mrs. Fred E. Johnston III Mr. and Mrs. G. L. Johnston

Mr. and Mrs. Richard E. Jones Mr. and Mrs. Timothy Kachuriak Mr. and Mrs. Paul Kalmbach

Mr. and Mrs. George W. Karpus Mrs. Mary Kauppila Ms. Sandra Kellner Mr. and Mrs. David Kelly Mr. and Mrs. John Kerian Mr. and Mrs. C. B. Kern II Mr. and Mrs. James J. Kerr Mr. and Mrs. Scott W. Kilrea Mr. Charles B. Kimball Mr. and Mrs. Mike Kline

Mr. Thomas D. Klingenstein Mr. and Mrs. Robert A. Knoll Mr. and Mrs. Vince A. Kolber Koroluk Foundation Dr. and Mrs. David L. Lacey

Mr. Robert Lamb

Dr. and Mrs. Peter Lamelas Mr. Stephen S. Lange

Mrs. Chrystalla Larson Mr. and Mrs. Robert B. Lau Mr. and Mrs. Richard T. Lee Mr. and Mrs. John F. Lehman Mr. and Mrs. Zane Leininger Mr. and Mrs. David W. Light III Mrs. Dorothy K. Light

Mrs. Dorothy K. Light Mr. Robert L. Lockwood Ms. Joan T. Loos Mr. Glen L. Ludwig

Ms. Elizabeth C. Machhold

Mr. and Mrs. George R. Mahoney, Jr.

Dr. Anne Marshall Huston Mr. John C. McAvoy Mr. William McCormick Mr. Robert McDaniel Mr. Terry McGrath

Dr. and Mrs. Warren D. McKelvy Mr. and Mrs. James McLaughlin Mr. and Mrs. Richard Merillat

Mr. William Meyer Ms. Cheryl J. Miller Ms. Lois Minor Mr. David D. Mirabito Mr. Sam M. Monson

Mr. and Mrs. J. Michael Moore Mr. and Mrs. Ralph Morera Ms. Henriette Morris Dr. Phillip G. Mosbaugh

Mr. and Mrs. Ronald H. Muhlenkamp

Mr. Ted H. Muhs

Mr. and Mrs. Joe P. Murphy Mr. Douglas L. Murray New World Somewhere Mr. and Mrs. Peter C. Newell Mr. and Mrs. David J. S. Nicholson The Ed Noble Family Advised Fund

Mrs. Dolores M. Nostrand Mr. and Mrs. Michael E. Novelli

Mr. Tom O'Connor Mr. Robert E. Parker

Mr. and Mrs. Douglas Parsons Mr. William L. Pascoe Mr. and Mrs. Solon P. Patterson Mr. and Mrs. Peter I. Pavel William Penn Foundation Mr. David C. Perdue Mr. Bruce W. Peterson Mr. Leroy D. Peterson

Mr. and Mrs. Steven C. Pinard

M. Piuze Foundation
Dr. and Mrs. David A. Porter
Mr. and Mrs. Reinhold Preik
Mr. and Mrs. Robert C. Puff, Jr.
Mr. and Mrs. James Pursley
Mr. Robert Purvy

Mr. Ronald W. Pyle, USN (Ret.) Mr. and Mrs. Terry Quam

Mr. and Mrs. Richard M. Quesenberry Mr. and Mrs. Lawrence F. Rakunas Mr. and Mrs. Edward L. Ramsay Mr. and Mrs. John B. Reese Capt. and Mrs. Henry S. Reinke Mr. James A. Remington Mr. and Mrs. Dennis Rethmeier

**RHS** Foundation

Mr. and Mrs. Rick J. Rodell Mr. John E. Rodgers Mr. Thomas M. Rosato Ms. Kit Saliba

Dr. N. Richard Sanders and Dr. Elizabeth L. Murphy

Mr. Charles H. Sanford and Mrs. Linda A. Elliott

Mr. Victor L. Sanko

Mr. and Mrs. Camillo Santomero Mr. and Mrs. Charles A. Sarahan

Mr. Tom Saucier

Mr. and Mrs. Glenn Scharp Mr. and Mrs. Joseph Schell Mr. and Mrs. Richard F. Schimbor

Ms. Joan Schoeff Mr. William Scott Mr. Paul R. Seegers Ms. Mary E. Shaull Louis and Nellie Sieg Fund

Mrs. Lynn Siegel

Mr. and Mrs. Donald L. Simons The B. Sloane Family Foundation

Mr. David Smith
Mr. Donald V. Smith
Dr. and Mrs. William B. Smith
Mrs. Carol Spape-Brinton

Mrs. Carol Snapp-Brinton Mr. William R. Snyder The Solstice Fund Mrs. Diana D. Spencer Mr. and Mrs. Dan Stark Mr. John W. Stein

Mr. and Mrs. Larry E. Stockline Mr. Gerald Strickland Strong Foundation Trust Ms. Laura Swan Mr. Duane Swanson Mr. Michael R. Swartz Mr. and Mrs. Gary E. Swenson

Mr. Gary L. Tepas Mr. Ralph J. Tingle Tippins Foundation Mr. and Mrs. John R. Todd Town Branch Foundation Mr. and Mrs. Ronald Trzcinski Mr. and Mrs. Donald F. Turano

Mr. E. R. Turner

Mr. and Mrs. Richard E. Uihlein

Mr. Joseph Umbach

The Steve & Amy Van Andel Foundation

Mr. and Mrs. Tom Vande Guchte Mr. and Mrs. William Vogel Mr. James R. Voss Mr. and Mrs. Harold E. Wake Mr. George C. Walther, Jr. Mr. Charles W. Walton Mr. Joseph Wambold Ms. Ingrid G. Warshaw

Mr. and Mrs. Charles R. Watkins, Jr. Mr. and Mrs. James F. Webert Mr. and Mrs. Ronald B. Weinel Dr. and Mrs. Donald R. West Mr. and Mrs. Stephen West Samuel L. Westerman Foundation

Westmeath Foundation Mr. Bruce Wetzel Mr. James L. Weymouth Mr. Kurt C. Wheeler Mr. and Mrs. Paul H. Wick Mr. Allan P. Wilcox

Williamsen Family Foundation Ms. Dorothy Williamson Mr. James Wintersteen Mr. Frank E. Witt Mr. Dennis C. Wong Mr. J. W. Wood

Woodhouse Family Foundation Mr. and Mrs. Harvey E. Yates, Jr. Mr. and Mrs. Albert C. Yeh Fred and Sandra Young Mr. William M. Young, Jr. Mr. Richard Zemke

Mr. and Mrs. Price Zimmerman
Forty-four Associates have asked
to remain anonymous.



## **Ambassador J. William Middendorf II**

Throughout his life, Bill Middendorf has fought to advance the principles of American freedom both here and abroad. He did so as a naval officer in World War II and, later, as the nation's 62nd secretary of the Navy, during which time he sharply increased the Navy's budget at a critical juncture in the Cold War. Middendorf continued the fight for freedom in Europe and South America while serving as ambassador to the European Union and the Organization of American States. He was also a driving force behind The Heritage Foundation for many years, where he served as a trustee from 1989 to 2022.

In a fitting tribute to this lifetime of service, Heritage Foundation supporters Philip and Patricia Bilden offered a generous gift in 2022 to dedicate the Navy section of Heritage's Index of U.S. Military Strength to Middendorf for the next five years. This is the first time any section of this seminal and highly influential index has been so dedicated. The Bilden family is grateful for Middendorf's steadfast public service and

example that continued into his late nineties as a national security authority and advocate of the U.S. Navy.

Philip Bilden, chairman of the Naval War College Foundation, had the honor of presenting Middendorf the foundation's highest award in 2021, fittingly, Sentinel of the Sea, for his many years of distinguished service to the nation. The Bildens are parents to two sons presently serving in the U.S. Navy, Lts. Philip and Andrew Bilden, who had the benefit of Amb. Middendorf's leadership example, encouragement, and mentorship years before commissioning from the U.S. Naval Academy and throughout their naval careers.

Our thanks go out to the Bilden family for the opportunity to celebrate the many contributions Middendorf has made on behalf of individual freedom, traditional American values, and a strong national defense anchored in maritime dominance.

# THE HERITAGE FOUNDATION'S 2022 NAMED FELLOWS



MARK A. KOLOKOTRONES FELLOW IN EDUCATION Lindsay M. Burke



WILL SKILLMAN FELLOW IN EDUCATION

Jonathan Butcher



E.W. RICHARDSON FELLOW

James Carafano



CHUNG JU-YUNG FELLOW FOR FOREIGN POLICY STUDIES

Edwin J. Feulner



HERBERT AND JOYCE MORGAN FELLOW IN ENERGY AND ENVIROMENTAL POLICY

Diana Furchtgott-Roth



BERNARD AND BARBARA LOMAS FELLOW Nile Gardiner, Ph.D.



ANGELES T. ARREDONDO E PLURIBUS UNUM FELLOW **Mike Gonzalez** 



MARGARET THATCHER FELLOW **Steven Groves** 



PRESTON A. WELLS, JR.
SENIOR RESEARCH FELLOW
Edmund F. Haislmaier



JAY VAN ANDEL SENIOR ANALYST IN TRADE POLICY **Andrew James Hale-Byrne** 



JOHN, BARBARA, AND VICTORIA RUMPEL SENIOR LEGAL FELLOW **Paul Larkin Jr.** 



ED GILBERTSON AND SHERRY LINDBERG GILBERTSON SENIOR LEGAL FELLOW John Malcolm



MARILYN AND FRED GUARDABASSI FELLOW IN MEDIA AND PUBLIC POLICY **Ken McIntyre** 



AWC FAMILY FOUNDATION FELLOW
Richard Reinsch II



WILLIAM E. SIMON SENIOR RESEARCH FELLOW IN AMERICAN PRINCIPLES AND PUBLIC POLICY Jay Richards



JOSEPH C. AND ELIZABETH A. ANDERLIK FELLOW Roger Severino

Brett D. Schaefer



JAY KINGHAM SENIOR RESEARCH FELLOW IN INTERNATIONAL REGULATORY AFFAIRS



MARK A. KOLOKOTRONES FELLOW IN ECONOMIC FREEDOM

Peter St. Onge



JOHN VON KANNON
FELLOW IN PHILANTHROPY
Carsten Walter

# THE HERITAGE FOUNDATION'S 2022 DISTINGUISHED FELLOWS



DISTINGUISHED FELLOW **Steven Bradbury** 



DISTINGUISHED FELLOW IN ECONOMICS

Stephen Moore



RONALD REAGAN DISTINGUISHED FELLOW EMERITUS

Becky Dunlop



DISTINGUISHED VISITING FELLOW Vice President Mike Pence



DISTINGUISHED FELLOW IN CONSERVATIVE THOUGHT Lee Edwards



DISTINGUISHED FELLOW IN ECONOMIC POLICY AND PUBLIC LEADERSHIP

Paul Winfree



RONALD REAGAN DISTINGUISHED FELLOW EMERITUS

Edwin Meese

# THE HERITAGE FOUNDATION'S 2022 VISITING FELLOWS

2025 PRESIDENTIAL TRANSITION PROJECT Rick A. Dearborn

B. KENNETH SIMON CENTER FOR AMERICAN STUDIES

Rachel Alexander Richard Garnett Samuel Gregg, Ph.D. Catherine Pakaluk Joseph Postell

BORDER SECURITY AND IMMIGRATION CENTER

Joe Edlow Tom Homan Mark Morgan

CENTER FOR EDUCATION POLICY

Virginia Ford Adam Kissel

CENTER FOR ENERGY, CLIMATE, AND ENVIRONMENT

Mandy Gunasekara

CENTER FOR HEALTH AND WELFARE POLICY

Leslie Ford

**COALITION RELATIONS** 

Andrew Puzder

DOUGLAS AND SARAH ALLISON CENTER FOR FOREIGN POLICY STUDIES

David Calhoun

EDWIN MEESE III CENTER FOR LEGAL AND JUDICIAL STUDIES

Michael J. Ellis Adam Mossoff

KATHRYN AND SHELBY CULLOM DAVIS INSTITUTE FOR NATIONAL SECURITY AND FOREIGN POLICY

Kiron K. Skinner, Ph.D.

PHILLIP N. TRULUCK CENTER FOR LEADERSHIP DEVELOPMENT

Steven P. Bucci, Ph.D

RICHARD AND HELEN DEVOS CENTER FOR LIFE, RELIGION, AND FAMILY

Emilie Kao

MARGARET THATCHER CENTER FOR FREEDOM

**Ambassador Terry Miller** 

**TECH POLICY CENTER** 

Theodore Wold





### **NAMED INTERNS 2022**

#### THE OSCAR ANCIRA INTERN

Jenna DiCarlo.

University of California, Davis

#### **ANDERSON FAMILY INTERN IN HONOR OF TAYLOR ANDERSON**

Wallace White,

American University

#### **CAESAR ARREDONDO INTERN**

Colin Agostisi,

The Catholic University of America Jacob Montoya,

Patrick Henry College

Indira Morales,

Florida International University Iliana Owen-Alcala.

University of California, Santa Barbara

Braden Spurlock,

Southern Virginia University

Francisco Torrealba,

University of Pittsburgh

#### **H.N. AND FRANCES C. BERGER FOUNDATION INTERN**

Jack Kilkenny-Smith,

George Mason University

Matias Mauviel,

Kenyon College

Camryn Smith,

Brigham Young University

Debby Torres,

Liberty University

Noah Vehafric,

American University

Nathan Waite.

Liberty University

#### JOHN AND BARBARA BRUNING INTERN

Lauren Kessler,

Saint Louis University

#### **DAVID V. BURGETT INTERN**

Greyson Hoye,

Pacific Lutheran University

Alexander Knorr,

Willamette University

Joshua Willis,

Kansas State University

#### THE MARIONLOU P. AND **DAVID J. BURKE INTERN**

Louis Pham,

Georgetown University

#### **MARY H. CAMPBELL FOUNDATION INTERN**

Ryan Davies,

American University

Brinley Koenig,

Brigham Young University

#### **CARTER AND MOYERS INTERN**

Alexander Eid,

Georgetown University

Ben Tardiff,

Duke University

#### **RICHARD EARL CARTER MEESE CENTER INTERN**

Bradyn Lawrence,

Georgia Southern University

#### **CLOUGH FAMILY INTERN**

Patrick Eustace,

Christopher Newport University

#### **B&E COLLINS FOUNDATION INTERN**

Emma Rarde.

University of Colorado, at Colorado Springs

#### **GENE D'AGOSTINO MEESE CENTER INTERN**

Holden Edwards,

University of Maine, Orono

#### JOHN R. AND M. MARGRITE **DAVIS FOUNDATION INTERN**

Jordan Lamb,

University of Texas at Austin

#### **GARY L. DAWSON INTERN**

Jordan Embree,

Wheaton College

Cullen Geahigan,

University of Notre Dame

#### THE REBECCA EDDY DE BROEKERT INTERN

Austin Hardman,

Hampden-Sydney College

#### THE PAUL N. AND LYNN J. DOUTHAT INTERN

Arno Sandoval.

Cedarville University

#### FRANK G. AND GERTRUDE **DUNLAP FUND INTERN**

Gabrielle Dankanich,

The Catholic University of America

#### **FRANKLET INTERN**

Jack Eliot.

Liberty University

#### BERNIECE AND WILLIAM GREWCOCK INTERN

Elizabeth Dickinson,

Hillsdale College

Alex Gage,

University of Colorado at Boulder

Evalyn Homoelle,

Hillsdale College

Maggie Hroncich,

Hillsdale College

David Swegle,

Hillsdale College

#### **LINDA BOYCE HALLER INTERN**

Rafi Levitt,

George Mason University

#### **MARJORIE W. HERRICK INTERN**

Peyton Meyer,

University of Alabama

#### **PATRICIA HOUSTON INTERN**

Matthew Lobel,

The George Washington University

#### THE HUSTON FOUNDATION INTERN

Caleb Broyles,

Auburn University

#### **DAVID KING INTERN**

Alvson Buckner.

University of Virginia

Skyler Silbey,

Purdue University

#### **KEVIN KLINE INTERN**

Miles Pollard,

Pepperdine University

## KEVIN KOOKOGEY MEESE CENTER INTERN

Meaghen McManus, Hillsdale College

#### **KUCHTA FAMILY INTERN**

Moriah Woodall, Cedarville University

#### **SANDY AND BRUCE LANG INTERN**

Stephanie Gross, Colorado State University

## THE DAVID AND REBECCA LASCHINGER INTERN

Emma-Sofia Mull, Hillsdale College

# ROBERT MAIR MEESE CENTER INTERN

Isaac Bock, Patrick Henry College Ben Oyer, Patrick Henry College

#### **MAYER INTERN**

Mary McCloskey, Christendom College

# THE MARTIN AND JANET MICHEL INTERN

Grace Hermanson, Wheaton College

# ROBERT S. AND JANET L. MILLER FOUNDATION INTERN

Joshua Beauchamp, University of North Texas William Brundage, The George Washington University Spencer Chan, Arizona State University

Dominic Girard, Norwich University

Ryan Jang,

Gwynedd Mercy University Michael Love, Grove City College

Spencer Sibley, Miami University

Ava Swanson, *Harvard University* Daniel Vaynshteyn,

American University
Frank Yang,

Georgetown University

# CHARLIE MORSE FAMILY FUND INTERN

Ashley Wilson, American University Washington College of Law

#### **PILGRIM FOUNDATION INTERN**

Mariah Gaudet, Georgia Institute of Technology Joshua Loucks, Virginia Tech

# DORIS AND RICHARD PISTOLE INTERN

Caroline Wack, University of Virginia

#### **RAY FOUNDATION INTERN**

Octavian Miller, Georgetown University John Walker, Marquette University Gabrielle Wiggins, Florida State University

#### **HASKELL ROBINSON INTERN**

Nicholas Armstrong, *University of Southern Mississippi* Anna Galvin, *The Catholic University of America* Maddie Katz

George Washington University

# THE HOWARD AND JILL SADKIN INTERN

Emilee Miranda, *Arizona State University* 

#### **JORDAN SAUNDERS INTERN**

Sharon Higel, Liberty University

# GREG SHEEHAN MEESE CENTER INTERN

Abby Kassal, *University of Texas at San Antonio* Matt Rumsey, *Penn State University* 

#### **SHINING CITY ON A HILL INTERN**

Samuel Bellet, George Mason University

Antonin Scalia Law School

Dominic Fatzinger,

University of Maryland, College

*University of Maryland, College Park* Kurt Gmunder,

George Mason University Brad Robertson,

Penn State University Juliana Struyk,

Hope College Sophia Tomlinson,

Washtenaw Community College

# THE HARRY E. SIMS CONGRESSIONAL PROGRAMS INTERN

Benedict Connelly,

College of the Holy Cross

# THE HARRY SIMS AND SHARON BRIMHALL INTERN

Anthony Truisi, University of California, Berkeley

# THE LLOYD AND BEA SMITH INTERN

Gillian Richards, The Catholic University of America

# COL. CHARLES B. AND SALLY G. STEVENSON INTERN

Aaron Eudaimon, *Harvard University* 

## SYDNEY A. SWENSRUD FOUNDATION INTERN

Jonathin Hatzistefanou, *University of South Florida* Scott Sipchen, *San Diego State University* 

#### **GEORGE W. TIPPINS INTERN**

Genevieve Mohr, Villanova University

#### **TOM TRACY INTERN**

Mary Schwartz, The Catholic University of America

# THE HOWARD AND MARY ANN JOSEPH WAMBOLD INTERN

Andrzej Wieciorkowski, College of the Holy Cross

#### **WATROUS INTERN**

Vincent Bellomo, American University Marleigh Kerr, Hillsdale College

# THE RONALD AND DOROTHY WEINEL INTERN

Holden Foster, Liberty University

#### **RON WEINEL INTERN**

Gideon Fernald, University of Georgia

# JAMES A. WEST NATIONAL SECURITY INTERN

Julianna Lee, Liberty University

# SAMUEL L. WESTERMAN FOUNDATION INTERN

Katherine Birch,

The University of Texas at Austin
Conner Bolanos,

Hillsdale College

#### **WINZENRIED INTERN**

Patrick Stanton, College of the Holy Cross

#### **WILLIAM M. YOUNG MEESE CENTER INTERN**

Ross Van Farowe, Biola University

"I have always wanted to get into political journalism ... and I had the opportunity to expose one of the worst (required) classes at my university, which was, in essence, Leftism 101 and 102.

"It had always rubbed me the wrong way how propagandistic it was, and The Daily Signal gave me the tools and guidance I needed to cover it in the best way."

—Excerpts from a letter from Wallace White, fall 2022 Anderson Family Intern in honor of Taylor Anderson, to Mr. and Mrs. Andy Anderson.





Our mission: to formulate and promote conservative public policies based on the principles of free enterprise, limited government, individual freedom, traditional American values, and a strong national defense.

#### **BOARD OF TRUSTEES**

Barb Van Andel-Gaby, Chairman Michael W. Gleba, Vice Chairman Larry P. Arnn, Ph.D. John Coleman Edwin J. Feulner, Ph.D. Robert P. George, D.Phil. Ryan Haggerty Price Harding Virginia Heckman Jerry Hume\* Mark A. Kolokotrones The Hon. Edwin Meese III Rebekah A. Mercer Abby Spencer Moffat Nersi Nazari, Ph.D. Anthony J. Saliba **Brian Tracy** 

#### **SOCIETY OF EMERITUS TRUSTEES**

Belden H. Bell Steve Forbes The Hon. Kay Coles James The Hon. J. William Middendorf II Robert Pennington J. Frederic "Fritz" Rench William E. Simon, Jr.

#### **SENIOR MANAGEMENT**

Kevin D. Roberts, Ph.D., President
Derrick D. Morgan, Executive Vice President
Eric Korsvall, Chief Operating Officer
John P. Backiel, Vice President, Finance
and Accounting, and Treasurer
Robert B. Bluey, Vice President, Communications,
and Executive Editor, The Daily Signal
Clint Brown, Vice President,
Government Relations
Christopher G. Byrnes, General Counsel
and Secretary

James Jay Carafano, Ph.D., Vice President, The Kathryn and Shelby Cullom Davis Institute for National Security and Foreign Policy, and the E. W. Richardson Fellow John Malcolm, Vice President, Institute for Constitutional Government, Director of the Meese Center, and the Ed and Sherry Gilbertson Senior Legal Fellow

Andrew P. McIndoe, *Vice President, Development* 

Andrew Olivastro, *Vice President, Outreach* 

Roger Severino, *Vice President,*Domestic Policy, and the Joseph C.

and Elizabeth A. Anderlik Fellow

Eric Teetsel, Vice President, Government Relations

Bridgett G. Wagner, Executive Director, Edwin J. Feulner Institute

\*Passed away January 2023 Lists as of Dec. 31, 2022

As a nonprofit 501(c)(3) organization, we rely on the financial contributions of the general public: individuals, foundations, and corporations. We accept no government funds and perform no contract work. We welcome your support.



Our audited financial information for 2022 will be available in summer 2023.

Please visit heritage.org/financial for our full audit report starting in July.



For 50 years, The Heritage Foundation has been proud to partner with countless patriots to stand ready, willing, and able to reclaim this great nation. We have a plan. We have the experts. We can unite conservatives to achieve what might seem like an impossible victory—to realize the dream our Founders had of true self-governance.

We are your outpost in Washington.

Always fighting for you against the Leviathan federal government.

Always working to build a country where freedom,

prosperity, and civil society flourish.

# Right ideas. Right fight. Right now.







# What they're saying about The Heritage Foundation:

"For nearly 50 years, this legendary institution has been at the forefront of the conservative movement, helping lead the fight to defend our cherished American history, culture, and traditions."

-FORMER PRESIDENT DONALD TRUMP

"I want to thank The Heritage Foundation for doing this analysis and producing [the Education Freedom Report Card], which not only honors Florida with the No. 1 ranking, which we are very proud of, but gives other states something to strive for. We are going to be working hard to make sure we're doing even better going forward."

-FLORIDA GOV. RON DESANTIS

"I want to thank Dr. Kevin Roberts and The Heritage Foundation. ...
If you ever want to know the institutions that are actually putting
points on the board for conservatives, these are the good guys."

-ERICK ERICKSON, HOST OF THE ERICK ERICKSON SHOW

"A conservative think tank is taking the lead in the fight against the Biden administration."

-FOX NEWS

