



— RECLAIM —  
AMERICA



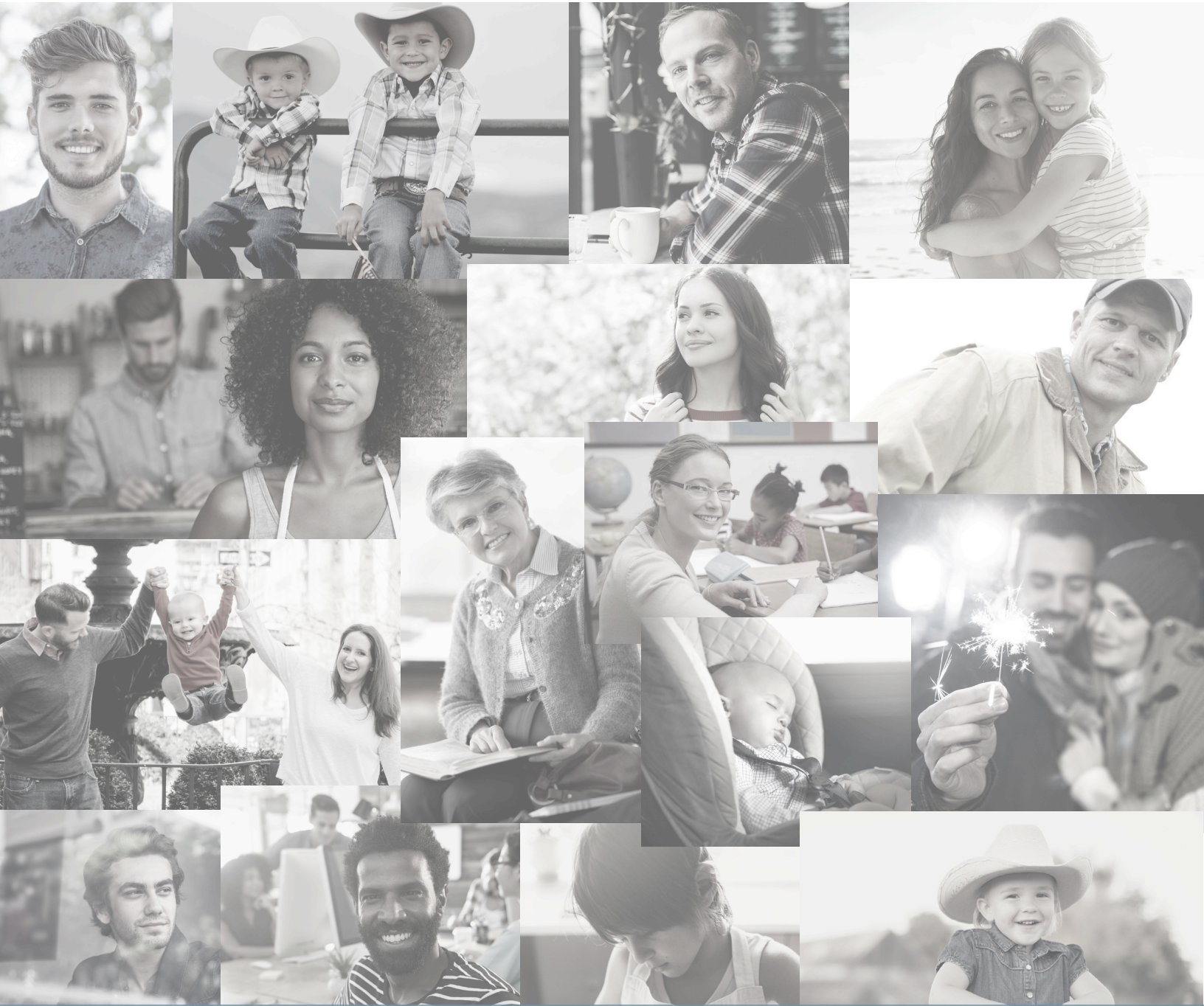
*Washington's power **grows at the expense** of individual freedom.*

*But Heritage is fighting back ...*

*By standing on principle and aggressively advancing **conservative policies**, we can reclaim America's greatness and spark a new birth of **freedom and opportunity** for all.*



— RECLAIM —  
AMERICA



# RECLAIM AMERICA

A MESSAGE FROM  
THE CHAIRMAN AND PRESIDENT

It was a year when many conservatives threw up their hands in disgust with Washington. And there was plenty to be frustrated about.

The mid-term election created Republican majorities in both chambers of Congress, and many conservatives expected them to pursue a vigorous reform agenda, one that would cut back the size and reach of government and give a still sluggish economy room to recover. Yet as the months wore on, nothing much seemed to change.

Winners in the “wave” election of 2014 had promised to repeal Obamacare, fight cronyism, rein in spending and regain control of our borders. Yet Congressional leadership repeatedly delayed votes on these issues or watered down reforms beyond recognition. And all the time, the bureaucracy kept churning out costly, job-killing regulations.

While many reformers grew discouraged, the Heritage Foundation never quit. Day after day, we promoted solid, conservative solutions for the problems facing our great nation. Day after day, our colleagues at Heritage Action pressed lawmakers to support the best possible legislation, rather than preemptively surrender.

By year’s end, we had accomplished much, and set the stage for even more success in 2016.

## FILLING THE LEADERSHIP VOID

What do you do when government leaders refuse to lead? If you’re the Heritage Foundation, you fill the vacuum. Teaming with Heritage Action for America, we mapped out the road to American renewal in “Opportunity for All, Favoritism to None,” a 289-page policy agenda for 2015. ABC News captured the agenda’s essence, observing that Heritage advocates “placing the interests of the middle class above big business and emphasizing local governments over the powers of Washington, D.C.”

Of course, America needs clear-sighted leadership beyond 2015 or 2016. And so we determined to assure that the presidential primary cycle included a truly substantive discussion of the issues. Heritage Action organized “Take Back America,” the Sept. 18 Candidate Forum in Greenville, S.C. The event drew 10 major Republican presidential candidates, more than 10,000 attendees, and live coverage from every national TV network. Most importantly, it inserted our “Opportunity for All, Favoritism to None” message straight into the heart of the campaign cycle.

COVER, LEFT: ISTOCKPHOTO.COM

## LAYING THE POLICY GROUNDWORK FOR THE NEXT ADMINISTRATION



*A Primer for the Next President on Reducing  
Washington’s Role in Agriculture*

—Daren Bakst

*Reform Primer for the 2016 Presidential Candidates*

—Curtis Dubay and David Burton (tax reform)

*An Environmental Policy Primer for the Next President*

—Diane Katz

*Energy Policy Agenda for the Next Administration  
and Congress*

—Nicolas Loris

*Five Latin American Priorities for the Next  
U.S. President*

—Ana Quintana

*The Iran Nuclear Deal:  
What the Next President Should Do*

—James Phillips

*Defense Reform by the Numbers:  
Four Crucial Priorities for the Next Administration*

—James Jay Carafano

*Meager Ground Forces, Extensive Global Challenges:  
A Primer for the U.S. President in 2017*

—James Jay Carafano, et al.

*The Challenge for the Next President:  
Reversing the Decline in U.S. Power*

—James Jay Carafano, et al.

Meanwhile, researchers at Heritage, looking forward to a changing of the guard at the White House, published a series of policy primers outlining what the next president should do to get the economy back on track and to tamp down rising international instability. [See sidebar.] Members of our Policy Services team also arranged briefings for the policy directors of every presidential candidate open to hearing conservative ideas.

And Heritage went beyond “just” analyzing the nation’s challenges, developing solutions, and briefing leaders. We



STEVEN E. PURCELL/WILLIS BRETZ

also led by example, modeling the actions that government leaders *should* take. At Heritage, that meant fostering rapprochement between allies—as we did by bringing together the Ambassadors from Japan and South Korea to pursue reconciliation (see p. 19).

It also meant teaming up with like-minded foreign think tanks to advance new international initiatives. That's what we did, for example, in a Nov. 5 event advocating the "Quad"—a four-way security dialogue among the U.S., India, Australia, and Japan to ensure freedom of the seas, peaceful resolution of territorial claims, and improved cyber security in the face of an increasingly belligerent China.

Similarly, on Dec. 8 our Asian Studies Center hosted "Strategic Consensus in the Indo-Pacific: A Security Partner Dialogue." The all-day seminar assembled a stellar lineup of retired U.S. and foreign military officers and civilian officials to discuss "the China challenge." In providing a platform for substantive policy discussions among friends and allies no longer in government, we hope to inspire similar, continuing discussions among their counterparts still in government.

## BATTLES WON

The one-two punch of Heritage and Heritage Action scored significant policy wins throughout the year. They included suppression of an internet sales tax proposal, the temporary closure (and indefinite crippling) of the welfare program for



DAVID HILLS PHOTOGRAPHY/FRASIER PHOTO



STEVEN E. PURCELL/SAM HOLLAND/WILLIS BRETZ

mega-corporations known as the Export-Import Bank, and revocation of the decades-old ban on oil exports.

We won changes in how the House and Senate will “score” future legislative proposals—changes that will accurately credit tax cuts for their positive effects on economic growth. A new law embraced our nimble, voluntary approach to strengthening cybersecurity. And the nation’s cash-starved military gained sorely needed resources, as well as cost-effective reforms long advocated by Heritage defense and budget analysts.

Our policy recommendations were embraced at the state level, as well. School choice became a reality for virtually every child in Nevada. Michigan embraced legal reform, enacting a *mens*

*rea* law that requires prosecutors in regulatory cases to prove that defendants actually intended to commit a crime. Maine placed meaningful work requirements on able-bodied food stamp recipients—and saw its non-parent caseload plunge by 80 percent. Wisconsin enacted a right-to-work bill that banned forcing non-union workers in the private sector to pay union fees—and union membership fell by more than a quarter.

## BATTLES AHEAD

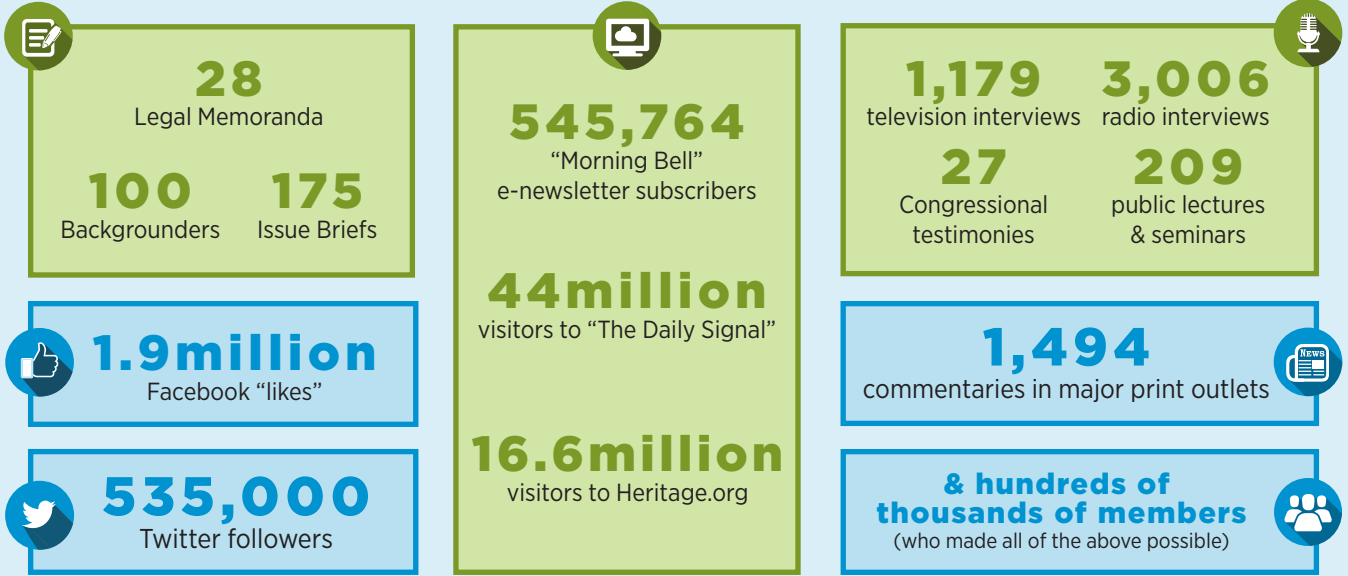
Groundwork laid in 2015 raises the prospect of even greater success in 2016. Frustrated by his refusal to press hard for conservative priorities, the House Freedom Caucus engineered the forced retirement of Speaker John Boehner. He was replaced by Paul Ryan. In his first address to the full House as Speaker,



## THE HERITAGE FOUNDATION BOARD OF TRUSTEES

(From left): Anthony J. Saliba, Chicago, Ill.; Meg Allen, Geneva, Switzerland; Robert Pennington, Darien, Conn.; Larry P. Arnn, Hillsdale, Mich.; Brian Tracy, Solana Beach, Calif.; Kay Coles James, Fairfax Station, Va.; Nersi Nazari, Atherton, Calif.; Edwin J. Feulner, Alexandria, Va.; Thomas A. Saunders III, Chairman, Palm Beach, Fla.; Jim DeMint, Greenville, S.C.; Jerry Hume, San Francisco, Calif.; Mark A. Kolokotronis, La Canada, Calif.; J. William Middendorf II, Little Compton, R.I.; Abby Moffat, Bethesda, Md.; Belden H. Bell, Marshall, Va.; Barb Van Andel-Gaby, Duluth, Ga.; Todd W. Herrick, Bay Harbor, Mich.; Marion G. Wells, Ft. Lauderdale, Fla.; Steve Forbes, New York, N.Y.; William L. Walton, Washington, Va. (Not pictured: Michael W. Gleba, Pittsburgh, Penn.; Rebekah A. Mercer, New York, N.Y.)

# HERITAGE BY THE NUMBERS



Ryan proclaimed: "No more favors for the few. Opportunity for all. That is our motto."

"Opportunity for all." It sounds familiar... and very sweet coming from the lips of a Speaker of the House.

On Jan. 6, 2016, Ryan did something his predecessor refused to do: He sent a bill to the President's desk that would gut Obamacare, defund Planned Parenthood for a year, and trim the deficit by \$516 billion over 10 years.

Yes, it was vetoed, as everyone knew it would be. But moving that bill delivered a strong message. It showed the American people that Congress had the will—and the votes—to repeal Obamacare. All that's needed now is a new President.

Throughout 2016, you can count on Heritage to continue pressing the fight to reclaim America. Our research and communications teams remain committed to developing and promoting the free-market, limited-government solutions needed to increase freedom, opportunity, and prosperity for all. And our friends at Heritage Action will keep the pressure on lawmakers to make sure they live up to the conservative principles and promises they proclaimed on the campaign trail.

We are keenly aware that what sustains all of our operations is the generosity of our members. We draw daily inspiration from your steadfast dedication to reviving our great nation and restoring the American Dream.

Our members are the soul of The Heritage Foundation. For all that you do for us and with us, we extend our most sincere thanks. 🙏



**THOMAS A. SAUNDERS III**  
Chairman



**JIM DEMINT**  
President





**THE SALVATORI PRIZE FOR AMERICAN CITIZENSHIP**

Presented May 7 (*above*) to the American Council of Trustees and Alumni (ACTA) for its “What Will They Learn” project, working to restore rigorous academic standards in higher education.

**THE CLARE BOOTHE LUCE AWARD**

Heritage’s highest honor, presented May 28 to John Von Kannon, Heritage Vice President and Senior Counselor, in recognition of his 30+ years of outstanding leadership and dedication to the conservative cause.

**THE DEFENDER OF THE CONSTITUTION AWARD**

Presented Oct. 21 to the Hon. Carlos T. Bea, judge for the Ninth Circuit Court of Appeals.



The Alliance of European Conservatives and Reformists presented (*above*) their first-ever **Edmund Burke Award** to Heritage President Jim DeMint for his work to advance conservative principles.

The Institute for Corean American Studies gave Heritage Founder Edwin J. Feulner its annual **Liberty Award** for “outstanding professional achievements..., distinguished service to the nation... and his exemplary leadership advancing... Life, Liberty and the Pursuit of Happiness”

Vice President Becky Norton Dunlop was named Chairman of the **Conservative Action Project**, a group of more than 100 top leaders of the conservative movement that works to build unity and coordinated action on key national issues.

The American Library Association named the **Index of Economic Freedom** a top reference Website for 2015.



**COMINGS AND GOINGS**

After many years of faithful service, Heritage bid a partial farewell to two stellar Trustees: William E. Simon, Jr., and Midge Decter. The Board has appointed them to the Society of Emeritus Trustees. The Board then welcomed a new member: Michael W. Gleba, Chairman and Chief Executive Officer of the Sarah Scaife Foundation.



Heritage also said goodbye to two valued members of our Senior Management Team. Phillip Truluck (*left in picture above*), longtime Executive Vice President and COO, retired April 1. To honor his 38 years of service and his dedication to developing the talent of our staff, we renamed our Recruitment and Training Center the Phillip N. Truluck Center for Leadership Development. And on Sept. 6, John Von Kannon (*right, above*), a Vice President and Senior Counselor, succumbed to cancer. See p. 37 for a memorial of this good and great man.

A portrait of Paul Winfree, a man with short, wavy brown hair and blue eyes, wearing a dark pinstriped suit jacket, a white shirt, and a purple tie. He is smiling slightly and looking directly at the camera. The background is a blurred cityscape at dusk or night.

**Paul Winfree**

*Director, Thomas A Roe Institute  
for Economic Policy Studies  
and Richard F. Aster Fellow*

## INSTITUTE FOR ECONOMIC FREEDOM & OPPORTUNITY

“PAUL WINFREE IS DANGEROUS”  
—*THE MORNING CONSULT*, OCT. 1

*The Morning Consult* has Paul Winfree's number. "He has a boyish face... [and] dresses like a Sunday School teacher," the policy and politics news site noted. "But," it added, "if you're a Republican appropriator... you should be very, very afraid" of the Director of our Thomas A. Roe Institute of Economic Policy Studies.

Why? Because "[f]rom his seat at Heritage, Winfree uses his inhuman grasp of the budgetary process to attack those who would appropriate it for political ends—especially if it means committing the cardinal sin of deficit spending."

Winfree and his colleagues in the Institute for Economic Freedom & Opportunity weren't able to bring federal spending back to the ground in 2015, but they logged some important victories and laid the groundwork for even greater success down the line.

For years, analysts in the Roe Institute and our Center for Data Analysis have urged Congress to use "dynamic scoring" to assess the economic impact of legislative or regulatory proposals. The 2015 Congressional budget resolution requires the Congressional Budget Office and the Joint Committee on Taxation to do just that.

Now, when Congress takes up pro-growth economic proposals, those offices will have to credit those policies with the additional, real-world revenue they would produce. It's the first time both chambers of Congress have required dynamic scoring and a huge boost for free-market, small-government policy-making.

In late summer, with no appropriations bills passed and momentum gathering for Congress to adopt yet another budget-busting "omnibus" appropriations bill. A team of Heritage experts mapped out a responsible approach for shaping government finances in 2016.

In September, that team—consisting of Roe Deputy Director and Grover M. Hermann Research Fellow Romina Boccia, Senior Tax Policy Analyst Curtis Dubay, Research Associate Michael Sargent, and Winfree—worked with experts across Heritage to produce *Blueprint for Congressional Fiscal Action in the Remainder of 2015*.

It identified the opportunities still available for Congress to cap and cut spending, advance growth-oriented tax reform and move toward a balanced budget. Unfortunately, rather than tackle real fiscal reform, lawmakers chose "business as usual,"



On MSNBC's Morning Joe, Heritage's Jim DeMint made the case against President Obama's budget while introducing *The Budget Book: 106 Ways to Reduce the Size and Scope of Government*. He urged lawmakers to follow Heritage recommendations to cut spending and bolster America's national defense.

passing an irresponsible omnibus bill before scurrying home for Christmas.

Still, Heritage notched some significant victories. Research by Institute analysts Nicolas Loris, David Kreutzer, and Kevin Dayaratna established the economic and intellectual rationale for repealing the decades-old federal ban on oil exports. Those restrictions lifted immediately upon President Obama's signing of the bill on Dec. 18.

The free-market move is expected to cut gas pump prices by 1.3- to 13-cents per gallon. Over the next five years, it should also boost GDP by more than \$38 billion and create 300,000 new jobs. Abroad, it will limit Russia's ability to strong-arm our allies by threatening to cut off their oil supplies.

And Diane Katz, Roe's Senior Research Fellow in Regulatory Policy, secured a temporary victory in Heritage's on-going campaign against D.C. cronyism. Nothing exemplifies cronyism and the culture of corporate welfare better than the Export-Import Bank. Sometimes known as "The Bank of Boeing," Ex-Im doles out hundreds of millions each year in taxpayer-backed loan guarantees for mega-corporations that would have no trouble getting favorable financing from private lenders. And Ex-Im lending leaves taxpayers on the hook if a deal with their foreign customers goes south.



*House Speaker Paul Ryan  
keynotes the launch of  
the 2015 Index of  
Economic Freedom.*

Congress had uncritically renewed the Bank's charter since its founding in 1934. But that changed in 2015, when Katz teamed with investigative reporters at The Daily Signal in a massive effort to get Congress to think before reflexively green-lighting the Bank yet again.

Katz issued a series of reports deflating Ex-Im attempts to justify its existence. She noted, for instance, that the self-proclaimed servant of small business steered more than two-thirds of its loan guarantees and nearly half of all its financing to just one company—Boeing. As for the bank's claim that it never cost taxpayers a penny, the title of Katz's May 22 commentary, "Oops: The Export-Import Bank Is Actually Losing Taxpayer Money," said it all.

The mounting arguments for axing the bank were too much for lawmakers to withstand—at least for a while. On June 30, Congress allowed Ex-Im's charter to expire. The mega-corporations managed to slip a charter renewal in the year-end omnibus bill, but the bank remains a shell of its former self. The bank is prohibited from making loans in excess of \$10 million dollars until vacancies on its Board of Directors are filled. And Heritage Action and our allies are keeping pressure on Congress in the hope that those vacancies stay open... indefinitely.

## CENTER FOR TRADE AND ECONOMICS

On Jan. 27, Heritage's Center for Trade and Economics issued the 21<sup>st</sup> annual edition of our "Index of Economic Freedom." The 492-page book-release event featured an introduction by Rep. Paul Ryan (R-Wis.), the man who now serves as Speaker of the House.

Edited by Center Director Terry Miller and Index Research Manager Anthony Kim, the Index remains the gold standard of studies assessing the relative freedom of economies around the world. Its publication was a truly international event in 2015, with "launch" events in Taipei, Seoul, and Manila, as well as Washington, D.C.

Taiwanese President Ma Ying-jeou, Paraguayan President Horacio Cartes, and Estonian Prime Minister Taavi Roivas were among the heads of state requesting and receiving private briefings on the Index by Heritage scholars. James Roberts, our Research Fellow for Economic Freedom and Growth, promoted the Index among members of the European Parliament.

The 2015 Index was a huge hit online, as well. It was the top traffic driver for Heritage throughout the spring. By year's end, it had attracted over 4 million individual readers and been downloaded more than 150,000 times. In March, the Reference and User Services section of the American Library Association named the Index a top reference website in recognition of its: "quality, depth, and usefulness of content; ready reference; uniqueness of content; currency of content; authority of the producer; ease of use; customer service; efficiency; and appropriate use of the Web as a medium."

The Center played a major role in another important battle over international economic policy: the proposed trans-Pacific trade deal. Bryan Riley, our Jay Van Andel Senior Policy Analyst, emerged as the leading advocate for genuine trade freedom, arguing forcefully that it would benefit everyday Americans, not just well-connected special interests.

## CENTER FOR DATA ANALYSIS

In our Center for Data Analysis, Research Fellow James Sherk continued campaigning for workplace freedom, both in print (e.g., *Union Membership and Compulsory Dues Do Not Increase Workers' Overall Living Standards*) and in testimony before lawmakers in Missouri, West Virginia, and Wisconsin. Within weeks of his testimony, the Wisconsin legislature approved a right-to-work bill that banned requiring private-sector workers to pay union fees.

Gov. Scott Walker signed the measure in March, and union membership in the Badger State quickly collapsed. At year's end, the *Milwaukee Journal-Sentinel* reported that the number of dues-paying union members had plummeted 27 percent since the law took effect.

Sherk also testified before the Indiana legislature, documenting the economic cost of the state's "prevailing wage" requirement on public works. Lawmakers subsequently repealed that requirement—saving taxpayers tens of millions of dollars. A similar bill passed the Missouri Legislature, but was vetoed by Democratic Gov. Jay Nixon.

CDA, led by Salim Furth, responded to a fiscal crisis in Puerto Rico with timely research and a high-profile event featuring influential economist Anne Krueger. Many conservative offices in Congress reversed their initial pro-bankruptcy positions after reading Heritage research on the crisis.

Drew Gonshorowski's sophisticated statistical analyses of health care costs and the impact of Medicaid expansion helped energize the continuing movement to repeal Obamacare. And Rachel Greszler's innovative proposals for reforming the financially failing Social Security Disability Insurance Program captured the eye of Sen. Mike Lee (R-Utah). This led to a series of consultations with his staff and, ultimately, introduction of a bill to implement an optional, private disability insurance program much like that laid out in Greszler's original research paper.

Dr. David Muhlhausen, our Research Fellow in Empirical Policy Analysis, wrote forcefully on the federal government's bad habit of funding programs long after objective evaluations have shown that they just aren't working. The Ways and Means Subcommittee on Human Resources heard his testimony and recommendations for addressing the problem—twice! Four days after his second turn before the Subcommittee, the full House passed the Evidence-Based Policymaking Act (H.R. 1831), aimed at keeping lawmakers from throwing good money after bad. 🐼



*Diane Katz discusses the problem of "too-big-to-fail" financial institutions at a July panel discussion.*



*Nicolas D. Loris speaks during the November panel discussion, A Preview of the Paris Climate Change Conference.*



*Rachel Greszler explains reforms needed to keep the Social Security Disability Insurance program from imploding.*



**Ryan T. Anderson, Ph.D.**  
*William E. Simon Senior Research  
Fellow in American Principles  
and Public Policy*

## INSTITUTE FOR FAMILY, COMMUNITY & OPPORTUNITY

“A FRESH VOICE ON SAME-SEX MARRIAGE...”  
—*THE WASHINGTON POST*, APRIL 15, 2015

“Smart, likable, very well-educated... an ideal spokesperson...” That’s how Harvard University Law Professor Michael Klarman described Heritage’s Ryan Anderson. And that was *after* Klarman had squared off against Anderson in debate.

Anderson has a way of winning the respect of his adversaries, even as he scores debating points. It’s made him, in the words of *The Washington Post*, “a leading voice for those believing that marriage should be only between a man and a woman.”

It’s a role our William E. Simon Senior Research Fellow in American Principles and Public Policy has filled since 2013, when Supreme Court Justice Samuel Alito cited his work twice in dissenting from the court’s decision to strike down part of the federal Defense of Marriage Act.

Preparing for another landmark marriage case in 2015, Anderson briefed participants at Heritage’s January retreat for conservative Members of Congress. He outlined why government has a vested interest in supporting traditional marriage and how recent decisions promoting same-sex marriage are starting to infringe upon Americans’ religious liberty.

He made many of the same points in testimony before the U.S. Commission on Civil Rights opposing proposed sexual orientation and “gender-identity” regulations. And throughout the year he fought the Left’s attempt to mischaracterize state religious freedom laws as expressions of bigotry and homophobia.

Unfortunately, the Supreme Court’s June 26 ruling on *Obergefell v. Hodges* essentially imposed same-sex marriage on all 50 states. But Anderson was undaunted. “The Supreme Court has issued its decision, but that doesn’t end the debate,” he said.

That same day, he briefed more than 20 congressional offices and 240 coalition allies on the rulings’ ramifications and the steps needed to protect the rights of Americans to speak and act consistent with their religious beliefs. He then paired with Distinguished Fellow Edwin Meese to write a *Washington Post* column warning of the growing threat to religious liberty.

And, certainly, the debate wasn’t over. Just three weeks after the Court’s ruling, an Associated Press poll found that support for same-sex marriage had fallen six points; indeed, more Americans opposed the ruling than favored it.

Anderson ramped up his already heavy speaking schedule. Anderson championed religious liberty at campuses and conferences

## FIRST PRINCIPLES: WHO WE ARE AND WHAT WE STAND FOR



In 2006, what is now the B. Kenneth Simon Center for Principles and Politics launched its “First Principles” series of essays, dedicated to advancing a principled account of the ideas and statesmen who have decisively shaped America from the Founding until today. Since then, the Center has published **57 essays** by leading political scientists and historians. The essays have been **downloaded more than 1.3 million times** and several have been incorporated into college syllabi. New in 2015:

*Federalism and Freedom: Orestes Brownson’s Case for the Federal Constitution*  
—Robert E. Moffit, Ph.D.

*Alexander Hamilton and American Progressivism*  
—Carson Holloway, Ph.D.

*Poverty and Welfare in the American Founding*  
—Thomas G. West, Ph.D.

*Understanding Tyranny and Terror: From the French Revolution to Modern Islamism*  
—Waller R. Newell, Ph.D.

*Champion of Liberty: Winston Churchill and His Message to America*  
—Justin D. Lyons

*Hamiltonian Constitutional Interpretation: In Defense of Energetic and Limited Government*  
—Carson Holloway, Ph.D.

*Alexander Hamilton and American Foreign Policy*  
—Carson Holloway, Ph.D.

across the country—from a Harvard Law School symposium to *The Atlantic*’s LGBT summit (where he was the sole dissenting presenter). “This is no time to surrender, no time to retreat into a shell,” Anderson says. “Our basic freedoms are being threatened, and we must fight for them in every arena we can find.”

In August he published “Truth Overruled: The Future of Marriage and Religious Liberty,” the first book responding to the Court’s decision.



Sen. Ben Sasse (R-Neb.) addresses the crowd at Heritage's 5th Annual AntiPoverty Forum on Nov. 19.

Elsewhere in the DeVos Center for Religion and Civil Society, Director Roger Severino and Policy Analyst Sarah Torre wrote extensively on the merits of withdrawing taxpayer funding from Planned Parenthood. Lawmakers truly interested in promoting women's health, they argued, should divert that money to clinics providing full-service health care for women.

A provision to do just that was included in the year-end budget reconciliation bill, but President Obama vetoed the measure, which also contained many Heritage-backed provisions to cut Obamacare spending and taxes.

## INDEX OF CULTURE AND OPPORTUNITY

The Institute released the second annual "Index of Culture and Opportunity" in July. It presents 10-year data trends for 31 cultural and economic indicators, tracking whether the factors affecting every American's opportunity for success are headed in the right—or wrong—direction.

Most indicators revealed unfavorable trajectories, from a declining marriage rate, to a jump in average student loan debt, to a drop in volunteerism. But not all were headed in the wrong direction. The abortion rate continues to decline, while the

number of students participating in school-choice programs has more than tripled in the past decade.

## DOMESTIC POLICY STUDIES

Heritage continued to fight both poverty and the crippling weight of government dependency which only perpetuates it. In September, the Census Bureau issued its annual report on poverty, which the Left always uses to demand greater welfare spending.

Enter Robert Rector. His telling analysis, *Poverty and the Social Welfare State in the United States and Other Nations*, demonstrated that the U.S. already has one of the highest levels of social welfare spending, per capita, among affluent nations. Contrary to the typical liberal argument, Rector explained that the poverty rate in the U.S. is lower than or nearly identical to these other nations.. To reduce poverty, he argued, the goal should be to promote self-sufficiency and true well-being, not to outdo other governments in spending.

At Heritage's 5<sup>th</sup> Annual AntiPoverty Forum in November, Sens. Tim Scott (R-S.C.) and Ben Sasse (R-Neb.) addressed the gathering of policymakers and practitioners seeking more effective ways to help Americans overcome poverty and social breakdown. Moderated by Vice President Jennifer Marshall, this year's forum focused on state initiatives that are working and featured presentations by welfare commissioners from Arizona and Maine.

Lindsey Burke, our Will Skillman Fellow in Education, continued to provide national leadership in the school-choice movement. She travelled from Nevada to Iowa, from Washington State to Massachusetts explaining the virtues of Education Savings Accounts. Nevada lawmakers heard her loud and clear. The Silver State became the fifth overall to approve ESAs and the first state to enact a school-choice program open to virtually every child.

## CENTER FOR HEALTH POLICY STUDIES

In the run-up to the Supreme Court ruling in *King v. Burwell* (the case challenging unauthorized federal subsidies of Obamacare exchanges), our Center for Health Policy Studies and our Center for Data Analysis (CDA) planned for success. They penned a series of five reports. One of those reports, co-authored by Center Director Nina Owcharenko and Senior Research Fellow Edmund Haislmaier, explained how Congress and the states could move to improve the nation's health





*Robert L. Woodson Sr. and Lindsey Burke  
at the launch of the 2015 Index of  
Culture and Opportunity.*

system, should the lawsuit succeed. It was a compelling road-map to patient-centered, market-based health care.

This series was followed with state-specific analysis from Haislmaier and CDA's Drew Gonshorowski exposing how the subsidies were masking the true costs of Obamacare regulations. In *Responding to King v. Burwell: Congress's First Step Should Be to Remove Costly Mandates*, they showed how repealing those regulations would reduce premiums by an average of 44 percent for young adults and 7 percent for near retirees in the affected states.

The team presented and briefed Members of Congress, congressional staff, as well as state officials and policymakers. Their work led Rep. Paul Gosar, R-Ariz., to introduce the Premium Reduction and Insurance Market Reform Act of 2015 (HR 2819).

Unfortunately, the Court ruled to keep the subsidies on life support. Heritage responded quickly. Owcharenko was the first to be quoted in *USA Today* following the decision. Back at the office, she and Haislmaier immediately turned to the next phase in the fight for repeal—providing a guide to help state officials prepare for the inevitable collapse of Obamacare. In *States Should Start Planning Now for the Post-ACA World*, they laid out an action plan for state lawmakers looking to reduce

their state's exposure to incurring catastrophic expenses and recommended reforms to guide them to a soft landing when the Obamacare scheme crashes to the ground.

## **B. KENNETH SIMON CENTER FOR PRINCIPLES AND POLITICS**

The Simon Center issued that the second, revised edition of "The Heritage Guide to the Constitution" in September 2014. In 2015, they made sure it got into the hands of those who need it most.

A definitive, clause-by-clause explanation of Constitution as envisioned by the Framers and as since interpreted by the judiciary, the Guide was distributed to every U.S. Representative and Senator, every Governor, every State Attorney General, every Circuit Court Judge, and every Supreme Court Justice (and their clerks). Nearly 200 law school libraries received two copies each.

Simon Center Director David Azerrad received dozens of thank-you notes from members of both parties, some requesting additional copies for staff. The online edition proved quite popular as well, attracting 5.6 million unique visitors in 2015, up from 3.1 million the previous year. By year's end, book sales were approaching 10,000. 📖

**Dakota Wood**  
*Senior Research Fellow,  
Center for National Defense*

**DAVIS INSTITUTE FOR  
NATIONAL SECURITY  
& FOREIGN POLICY**

A TALE OF TWO INDICES

“US Army forced to borrow British helicopters amid budget cuts.” Thus began *The Telegraph’s* Oct. 19 news report that the U.S. had to rely on equipment loaned by other NATO members to conduct military exercises. “America no longer has any tanks in Europe,” the report continued, “and the number of US troops stationed there has decreased by more than a third since 2012.”

The story shocked many, but came as no surprise to Dakota Wood, lead editor of Heritage’s “Index of U.S. Military Strength.” A Senior Research Fellow in our Center for National Defense, Wood knew full well the horrible toll 15 years of combat and inadequate funding had taken on our armed forces. He had just put the finishing touches on the 2016 Index when the *Telegraph* story broke.

The 317-page Index revealed the severe challenges facing all four branches of our military. It rated the Army’s ability to contribute adequate combat power as “weak.” The Navy, Air Force and Marines made out little better.

of the House Homeland Security Committee, called the 2016 Index “the most comprehensive and authoritative assessment of the state of the armed forces.” Sen. John McCain (R-Ariz.), Chairman of the Senate Armed Services Committee, said that, in view of the report, “it should be Congress’s top priority to repeal defense sequestration once and for all.”

And that was Woods’ *second* Index. The inaugural “Index of U.S. Military Strength” debuted in February. Like its successor, it was an instant smash, leading Sen. McCain to declare: “Every Member of Congress needs to have this index on their desk as a reference for whenever they have a vote on military matters.”

The publications received considerable media attention as well. The 2015 Index gained nationwide coverage via the Associated Press and was featured prominently on The Drudge Report, the nation’s leading news aggregator. Pre-release background briefings to key defense publications garnered prominent coverage in that niche and tremendous “buzz” among the Pentagon press corps.

“...there isn’t a single index measuring America’s military power against the threats it is asked to defend the country from. Or at least, there didn’t used to be.”

—*The Diplomat*, March 7, 2015

The report documented an Army at only half its usual readiness levels and—like the Marine Corps—meeting only 64 percent of its manpower needs. Meanwhile, inadequate modernization and equipment-replacement programs plague both the Navy and Air Force. This has led to repeated gaps in aircraft carrier coverage and an Air Force with 26 percent fewer aircraft than it had on 9/11.

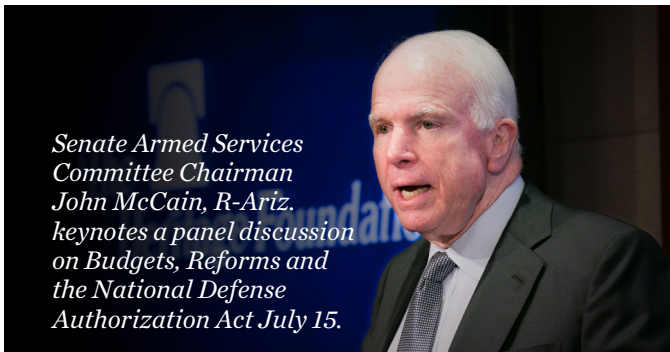
The Index plainly identified the primary cause of the continued deterioration in America’s hard power: inadequate funding. Wood summarized the situation this way: “The national defense budget has been cut 15 percent over the last four years. That has led to a shrinking military force operating aging equipment and a reduced ability to train, lowering combat readiness levels in every branch of the service.”

Heritage’s detailed analysis won praise on Capitol Hill and sparked calls for action. Rep. Mark Walker (R-N.C.), a member

The 2016 edition made a big media splash, too, with news stories and columns in dozens of publications including *Politico*, the *Washington Examiner*, *Military.com*, *Defense One* and *The National Interest*.

## CENTER FOR NATIONAL DEFENSE

In addition to assessing the state of our armed forces, Heritage’s Center for National Defense pushed for Pentagon reforms that would improve efficiency while advancing our security interests. Our analysts’ efforts bore fruit when the National Defense Authorization Act incorporated several of their recommendations. Enacted in mid-December, the Act included Heritage-inspired provisions that: require reductions in the civilian defense workforce to be driven by consideration of employee performance rather than seniority; adjust the military retirement system to reward service properly, and authorize \$50 million in weapons aid to Ukraine.



*Senate Armed Services Committee Chairman John McCain, R-Ariz., keynotes a panel discussion on Budgets, Reforms and the National Defense Authorization Act July 15.*

“The Heritage Foundation’s *2016 Index of U.S. Military Strength* confirms what every top military commander has warned: mindless, across-the-board spending cuts under sequestration are crippling America’s military readiness and capability...”

—Sen. John McCain, R-Ariz.

Similarly, the Cybersecurity Information Sharing Act followed the path Heritage has been recommending for the last four years. Eschewing Washington’s usual approach to problem-solving (“Regulate, regulate, regulate”), the act incentivizes voluntary information-sharing among public and private entities subject to cyberattacks. It’s a far more nimble way to counter a constantly evolving threat.

## ASIAN STUDIES CENTER

Asian Studies Center Director Walter Lohman was the driving force behind February’s Quad-Plus Dialogue in Bali. With China’s increasing assertiveness in the South China Sea threatening U.S. interests and raising hackles among our friends and allies, the conference gathered leading experts and officials from Australia, Japan, India, and Indonesia to discuss regional security issues and develop appropriate responses.

Heritage co-hosted with meeting with four top Asian think tanks: The Tokyo Foundation, Vivekananda International Foundation, The Habibie Center, and The Australian Strategic

Policy Institute. Lohman hopes that the meeting and the policy papers flowing from those discussions will spark leaders of the four nations to resume the Quadrilateral Security Dialogue, discontinued in 2009.

A few months later, Lohman and Senior Research Fellow Bruce Klingner were in Seoul, convening the first joint conference with South Korea’s Institute for National Security Strategy. These high-level discussions focused on Northeast Asian security challenges. Shortly thereafter, Klingner published a highly influential paper, *South Korea Needs THAAD Missile Defense*, which drew favorable reaction from the U.S. National Security Council staff, the Commander of U.S. Forces in Korea, and the U.S. Ambassador to Korea.


The Center’s biggest triumph came in December, when its long-term advocacy of selling defensive weapons to Taiwan met success. The Obama Administration—ever wary of offending China—finally offered Taipei a \$1.8 billion arms package—not all that we’d hoped for, but a start.

## MARGARET THATCHER CENTER FOR FREEDOM

Steven Groves, our Bernard and Barbara Lomas Senior Research Fellow, penned perhaps the most prescient paper of the year. In *Obama’s Plan to Avoid Senate Review of the Paris Protocol*, he pulled together media reports and statements from White House officials to forecast the administration’s plan to bind the U.S. to an international climate treaty without ever submitting it to the Upper Chamber for review and approval.

Sen. Mike Lee, R-Utah, called it “a compelling case” and promptly recommended that everyone on the Hill read it. Let’s hope they did. Hindsight proves that Groves was spot on with his warning about the President attempting an end-run around Congress.

If implemented, the agreement signed by international delegates in December would impose severe costs on the U.S. economy and all but destroy the energy sector. It also erodes our rights as a sovereign nation, taking critical policy and economic decisions out of the hands of our elected officials and vesting that power in unaccountable international organizations.

Heritage will continue to oppose this one-sided treaty and encourage the U.S. Senate to claim and exercise its constitutional “advice and consent” power to block implementation of the pact. 

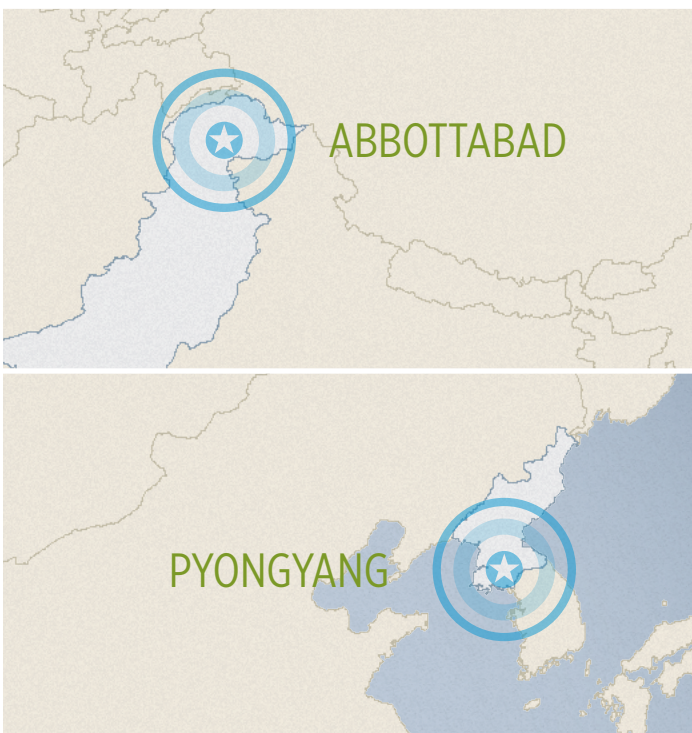


## BRINGING ESTRANGED ALLIES TOGETHER

**B**ruce Klingner (*above, left*), Heritage’s Senior Research Fellow for Northeast Asia, not only wrote about the need for the U.S. to encourage reconciliation between Japan and South Korea, he led by example.

In July, he moderated a public dialogue in Allison Auditorium among the U.S. Deputy Assistant Secretary of State for Korea and Japan and the U.S. Ambassadors from both of those nations. It was the first time South Korean and Japanese ambassadors had shared a stage in 30 years.

At year’s end, the two nations reached an agreement over the long-standing issue of Japanese abuse of Korean “comfort women” during World War II. South Korean Foreign Minister Yun Byung-se said his country now considers the long-festered issue “irreversibly” resolved.



## A TRULY INTERNATIONAL— AND DIVERSE—AUDIENCE

**H**eritage research has long been required reading among the movers and shakers in Washington. Our work has also been influential in spreading free-market principles around the world. But sometimes even we are surprised at how widely read our work is.

For example, in 2015 the Pentagon revealed that among the documents found on Osama Bin Laden’s computer in Abbottabad was Heritage Senior Research Fellow James Phillips’ 2006 lecture on *The Evolving Al-Qaeda Threat*.

And in a February meeting with a North Korean defector, Asian Studies Center Director Walter Lohman learned that senior officials in Pyongyang read Heritage papers frequently.

Not only does Heritage know our enemies, it appears as though they are getting to know us!

**John Malcolm**

*Director, Edwin Meese III Center  
for Legal and Judicial Studies,  
and the Ed Gilbertson and  
Sherry Lindberg Gilbertson  
Senior Legal Fellow*

A portrait of John Malcolm, a middle-aged man with grey hair and a goatee, smiling. He is wearing a dark grey suit jacket, a light blue striped shirt, and a red tie with a repeating pattern of small white figures. The background is a blurred office setting with a colorful abstract painting on the left.

## EDWIN MEESE III CENTER FOR LEGAL AND JUDICIAL STUDIES

FIGHTING INJUSTICE IN THE  
CRIMINAL JUSTICE SYSTEM

John Malcolm, Director of the Edwin Meese III Center for Legal and Judicial Studies, led Heritage’s team of legal experts in their continuing fight to advance meaningful reforms to our criminal justice system. A signature issue: reversing the trend to make almost every offense a federal crime (literally).

Throughout 2015, he travelled the country, speaking at dozens of legal conferences and law school forums, from Federalist Society Chapters in Indianapolis and Los Angeles, to the Charles Koch Institute’s Advancing Justice Summit in New Orleans, to the national Bipartisan Summit on Criminal Justice Reform in D.C. He oversaw publication of an influential Heritage Legal Memorandum—*The Perils of Overcriminalization*—co-authored by our Senior Legal Research Fellow Paul Larkin and former U.S. Attorney General Michael Mukasey.

He also contributed a Legal Memorandum of his own: *The Pressing Need for Mens Rea Reform*. Latin for “guilty mind,” *mens rea* refers to the traditional legal requirement that held a criminal conviction required showing that the accused *intended* to break the law. Today, however, the *mens rea* concept is often disregarded. People are convicted—and sentenced to hard time—even though they had no intent to offend and unwittingly ended up committing acts that turned out to be crimes.

“Buried within the [52] titles of the United States Code and the far more voluminous Code of Federal Regulations, there are approximately 4,500 statutes and another 300,000 implementing regulations with potential criminal penalties for violations...”

—John Malcolm, testifying before the Sensenbrenner Over-Criminalization Task Force

To help rectify this injustice, the House Judiciary Committee and Sen. Orrin Hatch (R-Utah) have proposed that, when federal criminal laws lack an intent requirement, a default standard should automatically be inserted into the law. Malcolm also testified in support of *mens rea* reform before the House Oversight and Government Reform Committee. While the House and the Senate continue to hammer out the details of any comprehensive reform package, these steps show how far we have come and how the dialogue has shifted in our favor.

Another breakthrough came in December, in Michigan. That’s when Gov. Rick Snyder signed into law a bill that requires prosecutors to prove that a defendant intended to commit a

crime—unless a law explicitly states otherwise. Written by State Rep. Ed McBroom (R-Vulcan), the reform measure deals almost exclusively with cases dealing with regulatory infractions. “People can’t follow or keep up with all these regulatory burdens,” explains McBroom, a dairy farmer. How did he build support for his bill? He used Malcolm’s paper on *mens rea* reform to educate his fellow lawmakers on the problem.

## CIVIL ASSET FORFEITURE IN THE STATES...

In Creek County, Okla., the Sheriff’s Department conducted a drug raid at the home of Linda and Donald Goss. While the Gosses spent three nights in jail, deputies seized their pick-up truck and boat—even though they found no drugs. It turned out that they had raided the wrong house. Though the charges were dropped, the elderly couple still lost their truck because they couldn’t pay the impound fees.

The Gosses are not alone.

In most states, law enforcement officials can seize property—cars, money, homes, you name it—on the mere suspicion of criminal activity. They don’t even have to charge the owners with a crime, much less gain a conviction.

It’s a power that’s ripe for abuse. And Heritage has been fighting for reasonable restrictions on the practice at both state and federal levels. Jessica Kline teamed with Jason Snead to produce *Arresting Your Property: How Civil Asset Forfeiture Turns Police Into Profiteers*, a publication endorsed by a bipartisan coalition of reformers from across the ideological spectrum, ranging from the Institute for Justice to the American Civil Liberties Union.

Oklahoma State Sen. Kyle Loveless (R-Oklahoma City) used the booklet to build support for his reform bill, The Personal Asset Protection Act, a sweeping overhaul of Oklahoma’s civil asset forfeiture laws. He also used Heritage’s “process map” to



Edwin Meese (left) presents the Defender of the Constitution award to the Hon. Carlos T. Bea, Ninth Circuit Court of Appeals, on Oct. 21.

## GOING PUBLIC WITH THE CONSERVATIVE LEGAL CASE

Meese Center scholars participated in **89 speeches and debates**, hosted **27 lectures and seminars**, and **testified before Congress 11 times** during the year. They maintained a near daily presence in the mass media as well, doing more than **100 radio and TV interviews**, writing **over 200 articles** for The Daily Signal, and penning another **130 commentaries** for outside print and online publications.

Among the most important seminars they hosted were the two national meetings of the Legal Strategy Forum. Forty-five CEOs of the nation's leading freedom-based, public interest legal organizations attended the spring conference in Seattle. Breakout sessions covered litigation developments in religious liberty, property rights, free speech and voting, and more. The fall Forum, held at Heritage headquarters, included sessions on environmental regulation, economic liberties and equal protection.

Perhaps the most talked-about Meese Center event was the all-day symposium on the Second Amendment. Convened at the Georgetown Law Center, the event featured 15 top legal scholars and a keynote address by former National Rifle Association President David Keene. Not surprisingly, it drew a huge audience. The *Georgetown Journal of Law and Public Policy* will publish a special issue containing all the speakers' papers in spring 2016.

illustrate how hard it is to fight forfeiture seizures. Heritage legal scholars testified at committee hearings on the issue in Oklahoma as well as in California, Iowa and Pennsylvania.

### ...AND IN D.C.

Throughout the year, Meese Center scholars kept the spotlight shining on the need for civil forfeiture reform, producing a series of news columns highlighting egregious examples of abuse, as well as in-depth policy reports, such as Malcolm's Legal Memorandum, *Civil Asset Forfeiture: Good Intentions Gone Awry and the Need for Reform*.

In December, the Justice Department announced it was suspending payouts under the federal "equitable sharing" program—one of the largest civil forfeiture programs in the

country. The program encouraged state and local law enforcement agencies to seize property, transfer it to the feds for forfeiture under federal law, and then receive up to 80 percent of the proceeds. This tidy arrangement enabled police departments and sheriffs to generate forfeiture revenue even if their states banned or restricted the practice. In 2013 alone, "equitable sharing" payments totaled an incredible \$657 million.

But Congress "rescinded"—essentially, withdrew—more than \$1.2 billion from the federal Assets Forfeiture Fund (AFF) as part of the 2015 Bipartisan Budget Act and the 2016 Consolidated Appropriations Act. Lawmakers used the funds to offset spending increases elsewhere in the federal budget. To keep the depleted fund from going insolvent, Justice had no choice but to suspend payments. 🗣️





*Hans von Spakovsky is greeted by Rep. Jim Jordan, R-Ohio, prior to testifying Feb. 12 on the President's Executive Actions on immigration and their impact on federal and state elections.*



*Paul Larkin testifying on Feb. 12 before the House Subcommittee on Regulatory Reform, Commercial and Antitrust Law about third-party payment requirements in government settlement agreements.*

## THE MEESE CENTER: MORE THAN MEETS THE EYE

In addition to their very public works, the Meese Center staff toil very hard "behind the scenes." For example, they organized 20 "amicus conferences" to coordinate friend-of-the-court briefs in cases important to the conservative movement. The Center also hosted 21 moot court sessions to prepare oral advocates in important cases before the U.S. Supreme Court and Courts of Appeal. An attorney who went through one of these rigorous training exercises in 2015 later took the time to write these kind words on behalf of his client and his entire legal team:

...[W]e would like to extend our sincerest gratitude and appreciation to you for your support.... The decision, as it turns out, was a close one, and undoubtedly your support helped carry the five votes at the end of the day. We cannot express how valuable we found your moot to be and how much we gained from that experience.

**Kelsey Harkness**  
*News Producer,  
The Daily Signal*

# COMMUNICATIONS

MAKING A DIFFERENCE WITH  
THE ART OF STORY-TELLING

In April, Daily Signal News Producer Kelsey Harkness travelled to Gresham, Ore., to give America an inside look at the ordeal of Melissa and Aaron Klein. The Christian couple, owners of Sweet Cakes by Melissa, had been forced to close their bakery after a lesbian couple accused them of illegal discrimination. Their crime: declining to bake a cake for the couple's same-sex wedding celebration.

Self-appointed Social Justice Warriors made it a *cause célèbre*—mounting sidewalk demonstrations outside the bakery, pressuring clients and business associates to cut their ties to Sweet Cakes, and inundating the Kleins with hate-filled phone calls and emails.

But Harkness gave the Kleins a chance to tell their side of the story. She heard no hate—just the shock and anguish of a family vilified for trying to live out their faith in their daily lives, off the job and on. It was the kind of story not often told by the mainstream media—and Harkness's video of the family recounting its ordeal went viral almost immediately.

*FOX News Sunday* and *The O'Reilly Factor* picked up the story, using clips from Harkness's interview. By year's end, her video had logged more than 4,725,000 viewings on Facebook.

It was only the first of several stories Harkness filed on the case. On June 1, she revealed a series of questionable communications between the Oregon Bureau of Labor and Industries (the agency that fine the Kleins \$135,000) and Basic Rights Oregon (the state's largest LGBT advocacy group).

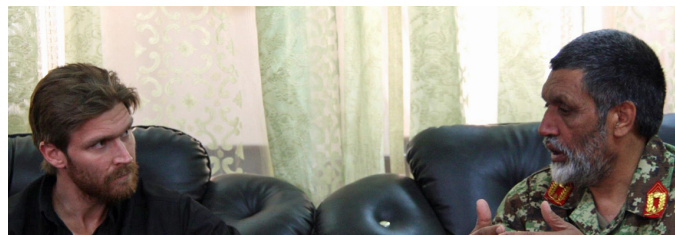
Harkness had obtained the communications through a public records request. They documented a close relationship between bureau employees and the advocacy group, raising questions about potential bias in the state's decision to charge the Kleins with discrimination.

In July, a Bureau Commissioner affirmed the fine—and also slapped the bakers with a gag order. Apparently, their story was being told too well! Harkness exposed that gambit as well, generating a groundswell of sympathy and support for the beleaguered couple. Donations far exceeding the fine poured in, leaving the Kleins able to get on with their lives.

## HAPPY BIRTHDAY, DAILY SIGNAL

Harkness's scoop on the cozy relationship between the Oregon bureau and the LGBT group appeared the same week that The Daily Signal celebrated its first anniversary. And the staff had *lots* to celebrate.

THE DAILY SIGNAL



### NOLAN PETERSON: NEWS FROM THE FRONT

In June, reporter Nolan Peterson (*left, above*) embedded with the Ukrainian army. He was the first American journalist to do so—and he did it for The Daily Signal.

Peterson is no stranger to combat. Before getting a master's degree in journalism, he fought in Iraq and Afghanistan as a special ops pilot. In February, our Vice President of Publishing, Robert Bluey, hired Peterson to be The Daily Signal's first foreign correspondent.

His front-line reporting revealed bloody, World War II-style combat—gritty warfare that was getting precious little notice in the U.S. But his skilled journalism is starting to open eyes. While his work still debuts on The Daily Signal, *Newsweek* is syndicating his Ukraine stories to the Mainstream Media.

"It's great to see Daily Signal reporting and commentaries carried by other news organizations," Bluey says. "And in 2015, that started happening week after week after week."

In that first year, the multimedia news organization had attracted 32.7 million unique visitors, enrolled more than a half-million subscribers to its daily e-mail newsletter, and garnered two Emmy nominations. Daily Signal news stories and commentaries were being picked up by traditional print outlets such as the *Philadelphia Inquirer*, *Providence Journal* and *Newsweek*. And cable news networks were running Daily Signal video and interviewing Daily Signal reporters.

To keep up with the growing demand for our content, we hired additional staff to beef up our congressional reporting and to expand our coverage to foreign hot spots.

Not yet two years old, The Daily Signal is already fulfilling its mission: to expose Heritage's research and solutions to a wide audience; to become a news source for other news media, and to make conservative concerns part of the national conversation.

THE DAILY SIGNAL

SEARCH CONNECT MENU

SOCIETY / NEWS

## Meet the 38 Companies That Donate to Planned Parenthood

Melissa Quinn / @MelissaQuinn97 / July 21, 2015 / 1091 comments



ExxonMobil, along with 38 other companies, donates directly to Planned Parenthood. The group is under fire after two videos were released showing top Planned Parenthood executives allegedly discussing the sale of aborted fetal body parts. (Photo: Sebastien Piret/Reuters/Newscom)



**Melissa Quinn**

Melissa Quinn is a news reporter for The Daily Signal.  
[Send an email to Melissa.](#)

152k

### AND THEN THERE WERE 40... NO 37... WAIT, NONE!

**U**ndercover video showing Planned Parenthood officials discussing the sale of fetal organs sparked national outrage. At the height of the scandal, Daily Signal reporter Melissa Quinn released a list of 41 companies that Planned Parenthood claimed as corporate donors.

It struck a nerve. Within an hour, her story was pulling in more readers than the entire site usually gets. Then Drudge linked to it, and traffic doubled.

Her story gained so much traction that Xerox, one of the 41 companies named, called to deny that they had ever contributed to Planned Parenthood and to let us know they were demanding that America's largest abortion provider remove their name from its donor list. Two other companies—Coca-Cola and Ford—quickly followed suit. Shortly thereafter, Planned Parenthood expunged the entire list of corporate donors from its website.

against our policy recommendations and how we can best gain their understanding and support. These findings help us write and talk in the terms best calculated to win majority support for our positions—to set the terms of the debate and then win it.





Under the direction of Vice President Matthew Streit, API research delved deeply into more than a dozen policy areas, including two of the most divisive issues in America today: same-sex marriage and abortion. The research yielded numerous insights into the American mind. For instance, it revealed that, despite the Supreme Court's decision to redefine marriage, a majority of Americans do not wish to give gay activists *carte blanche*. Additionally, most felt that religious liberties were increasingly under threat and would support legislation to protect their right to live their lives according to their faith, without fear of persecution for their beliefs.

Those findings informed the thinking and writing of Heritage scholars Jennifer Marshall and Ryan Anderson in the lead-up to and following the Supreme Court's unfortunate decision in *Obergefell v. Hodges*. The messaging derived from API research helped Anderson become what even his opponents now call "an ideal spokesperson" for religious freedom. And he and Marshall regularly share the insights gleaned from API with our hundreds of coalition allies on the issue.

Federal funding for Planned Parenthood is another issue where API research changed the terms of the debate. Having branded itself as "a woman's health care provider," the organization enjoyed broad public support. But API research discovered most people didn't know how limited that care was: no mammograms, for example, are taken at Planned Parenthood clinics. Indeed, their "services" consist of little more than abortion and birth control.

When acquainted with the facts, people had second thoughts about the organization. So Heritage made sure they got the facts by describing the outfit, accurately, as "the nation's largest abortion provider" every time we and our allies talked about the issue.

The research also helped shape the legislative remedy for the problem. People on the Hill and off marketed the defunding bill as a reform that would "redirect funding to full-service community health centers." API research had identified that as a feature supported by three of every four Americans.

Informed messaging got the reform proposal all the way to the President's desk. And API-informed marketing is now advancing conservative policy in more than a dozen issue areas.    

## AMERICAN PERCEPTIONS

One reason The Daily Signal's content has been so impactful is because its writers—like Heritage's expert analysts—benefit from the findings of our American Perceptions Initiative (API). An ongoing market research project, API systematically explores the views of the American public—conservatives and non-conservatives alike—to determine how they interpret arguments for and

## API RESEARCH: 2015 AT A GLANCE



*American Attitudes and Support for Tax Reform*

*Americans to Congress:*

*Do Your Job. Don't Cave Over Veto Threat.*

*Building Support for Entitlement Reform*

*Employee Health Care Coverage  
and the "War on Women"*

*Export-Import Bank Reauthorization*

*Iran Nuclear Deal Messaging*

*King vs. Burwell*

*Majority Expect and Want Congress  
to Not Increase Spending*

*Obamacare: Majority Oppose Partial Repeal*

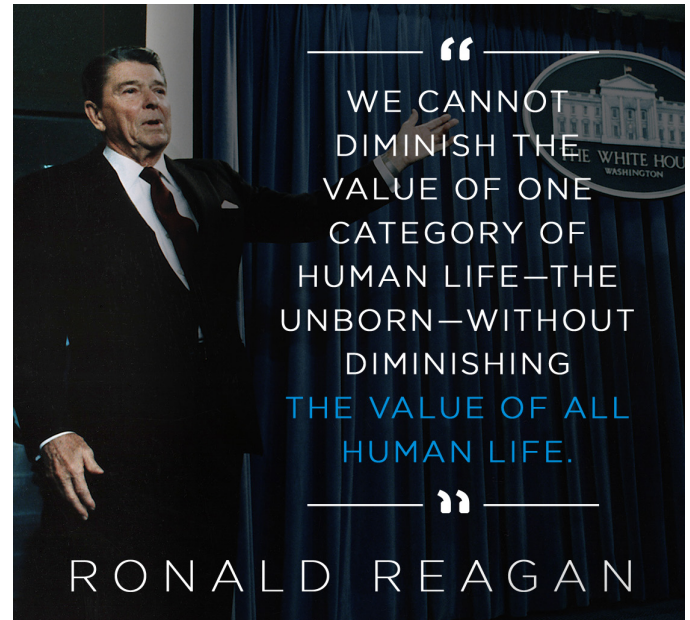
*Opportunity for All, Favoritism to None*

*Redirecting Planned Parenthood Funding*

*Religious Liberty After the SCOTUS Marriage Ruling*

*The Price of the Paris Protocol*

*Two-Thirds Say Lawmakers Should  
Follow Through on Promises*



During the national debate over Planned Parenthood funding, this Heritage Foundation graphic quoting Ronald Reagan on the value of life reached more than 850,000 views on Facebook.



**Sarah Torre**  
The Heritage Foundation

EWTN News Nightly

On EWTN, Heritage's Sarah Torre discusses the Supreme Court's refusal to hear an appeal to revive a pro-life North Carolina law.



**STEVEN BUCCI**  
DIR. OF FOREIGN POLICY, HERITAGE FOUNDATION  
CALLS ON ALL COUNTRIES TO "REDOUBLE AND C"

National Security expert Steven Buccì discusses how to handle the Syrian refugee crisis on FOXNews's "The O'Reilly Factor."

**Sarah Stevens**

*Chief of Staff for Congressman  
Steve King (R-Iowa)*



## PREPARING THE NEXT GENERATION OF CONSERVATIVE LEADERS

SARAH STEVENS: FROM HERITAGE INTERN TO  
“QUEEN OF THE HILL” IN THREE SHORT YEARS.

*She's still a few weeks shy of her 25th birthday and only three years into her congressional career. But Iowa Republican Steve King has given House staffer Sarah Stevens the ultimate vote of confidence: naming her chief of staff.*

So began the Sept. 15 *Roll Call* article “Steve King Crowns 24-Year-Old Queen of the Hill.”

“The training I received at Heritage really helped prepare me for my career in Washington. It provided structure, graduate-level lectures, seminars and discussion groups, and a wide spectrum of hands-on learning experiences. I know of no better internship program in DC.”

—Sarah Stevens

Stevens may be the youngest top aide on Capitol Hill, but she's well-prepared for the job. She's already worked as King's press assistant, press secretary and communications director. But her grounding in how Washington works—and how to fight for conservative principles and policies in Congress—can be traced back to her senior year in college, when she interned with Heritage through Liberty University's Washington Fellowship program.

In 2015, Heritage's Young Leaders Program welcomed 190 college students to work shoulder-to-shoulder with our researchers, legal scholars, and communications and marketing professionals. In addition to lectures and study programs led by Heritage scholars, they had the opportunity to hear from foreign leaders, Members of Congress, and leading political scientists.

Our intern program shapes and sharpens promising young conservatives so the rising generation can help reclaim America as a land “where freedom, opportunity, prosperity, and civil society flourish.” But Heritage is also committed to “missionary work”—introducing young people to conservative principles, regardless of where they may be on the ideological spectrum.

During the year, our Young Leaders Program hosted briefings for 62 groups of high-schoolers, college students, and young professionals. And our Strategic Outreach team spoke at more than 100 on-campus events at colleges and universities throughout the country. They provided a principled, conservative voice on issues of the day—a voice all too rarely heard in today's rigidly “progressive” quads.

Heritage helped spread the message of freedom well beyond our shores, too. One of the year's great successes was the Jerusalem Policy Summit, organized by Heritage Senior Advisor Joel Anand Samy. The summit focused on the value of rule of law, a strong defense and economic freedom. Israeli media coverage was extensive.

## POST-GRADUATE TRAINING FOR HILL STAFFERS... AND MORE

The Heritage Congressional Fellows (HCF) Program is a year-long, 24-installment lecture and discussion series hosted by our Center for Principles and Politics and our Policy Promotion team. It gives junior congressional staffers a firm grounding in First Principles and how they apply to modern policy debates. In 2015, the program attracted staff from more than 130 congressional offices, with attendance averaging nearly 70 participants per session. In October, the program graduated 57 legislative and communications staffers.

For senior Hill staffers committed to advancing the conservative agenda, Heritage—in conjunction with Hillsdale College—offers continuing education via the Madison Fellows Program. Madison Fellows meet monthly for roundtable discussions with national policy, political, and opinion leaders. In 2015, 130 people participated in the program.

The Davis Institute runs the George C. Marshall Fellowship program to prepare selected young professionals—both on the Hill and off—to fill future leadership roles in national security and foreign policy. Running from March to September, the program incorporates lectures, field trips, and social networking events. Highlights included a two-day simulation of the Yalta Conference (to practice international negotiating skills) and the Gettysburg Staff Ride (to learn the historic battle's lessons on strategic leadership). The program graduated 16 Fellows in 2015.

At year's end, our Policy Outreach team was poised to launch a new leadership development program for 2016. Designed for

senior staff on Capitol Hill, the Feulner-Weyrich Fellowship Program will offer advanced lessons on policy, process, and politics from veterans of the Conservative Movement

In addition to the formal development programs, Policy Services and Outreach also arranges *ad hoc* policy briefings for Members of Congress, their policy directors, and legislative assistants throughout the year. Marching to the tempo of

what's happening on the floors of the House and Senate, we conducted more than 200 of these one-on-one or small-group meetings in 2015.

We also briefed a much more select group of politicians: those who would be President. By year's end, Heritage experts had briefed policy directors for every Republican presidential campaign—and quite a few of the candidates, themselves. 🇺🇸



*Davis Institute's Ana Quintana moderates a Q&A session with former President of Mexico Vicente Fox on March 31.*



*Sen. Mike Lee (R-Utah) speaks on the conservative case for criminal justice reform on Oct. 7*



*John Hilboldt introduces one of the more than 200 lectures and seminars offered by Heritage in 2015.*



*Paris Climate Change Panel on Nov. 10.*

## HERITAGE LECTURE HALLS: SRO AGAIN AND AGAIN

Lectures and Seminars Director John Hilboldt knows how to draw a crowd. In 2015, he did it **209** times.

In total, more than 12,000 people filled our lecture halls last year. There, they heard national and foreign leaders as well as first-class intellectuals from the private sector. Speakers included **15 U.S. Senators**, **24 U.S. Representatives**, **17 foreign dignitaries**, and luminaries such as former **Solicitor General Paul Clement**, economists **Walter E. Williams** and **Arthur Laffer**, and author/educator **Paul Kengor**.

Hilboldt's programs reach far beyond Allison and Lehrman auditoriums. **CSPAN** broadcast 12 events live and aired another 17 on tape. **CNN**, **FOX Television**, and **NBC** covered six events each, while **ABC** and **CBS** sent cameras three times each.

And then there's our international audience. **Voice of America** covered 34 of our events. And foreign networks sent cameras to 61 presentations. At Heritage, **the world really is watching**.





*Heritage Vice President Jennifer Marshall heads a panel discussion of social policy reforms at the Conservative Members Retreat, Jan. 28.*

## PREPARING TO ADVANCE

Heritage started the New Year with our annual Conservative Members Retreat in Middleburg, Va. Fifty-one Members of Congress participated in the two-day workshop devoted to policy and communications briefings—all structured around Heritage’s policy handbook, “Opportunity for All, Favoritism to None.”

Topics included education and health care reform, religious freedom, and the future of conservatism. Participating

lawmakers thanked Heritage for giving them “new ideas,” “a clear vision,” and a renewed appetite for fighting for positive change.

A timid leadership held that appetite in check for most of the Congressional session, until conservative members finally declared “enough is enough.” House Speaker John Boehner was ousted, replaced by a decidedly-more-conservative Paul Ryan (R-Wis.).



## THE ANNUAL CONVENTION OF THE CONSERVATIVE MOVEMENT

More than 400 leaders of the conservative movement gathered in Bellevue, Wash., May 6-8 for Heritage’s 38th annual Resource Bank Meeting. Its theme: “Out of Bounds and Out of Control: Time to Bring Government Closer to Home.”

Organized by Coalition Relations Director Bridgett Wagner, this year’s meeting featured a new format that allowed participants to attend more sessions—and do more

networking. In addition to the policy discussions and how-to management and advocacy workshops, highlights included an off-the-record dinner with state think-tank CEOs and two keynote speeches: one by publisher and Heritage Board Member Steve Forbes (*right, above*, with Heritage Distinguished Visiting Fellow Stephen Moore) the other by historian, columnist, and Hoover Institution Senior Fellow Victor Davis Hanson.



DAVID AZERRAD



J.B. HORTON



JENNIFER MARSHALL

## THE BRIGHTEST MINDS IN EVERY FIELD

Heritage established three new fellowships in 2015. David Azerrad, Director of our B. Kenneth Simon Center for Principles and Politics, became Heritage's first **AWC Family Foundation Fellow**. Adreas Waitt Carlton, the Foundation's Founder and Trustee and a passionate proponent of our country's founding principles, endowed the fellowship to ensure that Heritage can keep inculcating the next generation of conservative leaders with those same beliefs.

A million-dollar endowment from a Board Member who wishes to remain anonymous, along with additional gifts from friends and admirers, allowed us to establish the position of **John Von Kannon Fellow in Philanthropy**. Senior Counselor J.B. Horton is the inaugural Von Kannon Fellow. He was a

natural pick: Like JVK [See p. 37.], Horton upholds the highest standards of professional integrity and fiercely advocates that all non-profits honor donor intent.

The generosity of Betty Anderlik allowed Heritage to name Jennifer Marshall, Vice President of our Institute for Family, Community, and Opportunity, as our first **Joseph C. and Elizabeth A. Anderlik Fellow**. Marshall is the lead editor of the *Index of Culture and Opportunity* and a leading expert on issues such as religious freedom, marriage, and the right to life.

We are proud to add Azerrad, Horton and Marshall to our growing roster of Named Fellows, below.



RICHARD F. ASTER  
FELLOW  
Paul Winfree



MARK A. KOLOKOTRONIS  
FELLOW IN ECONOMIC FREEDOM  
Ambassador Terry Miller



HENRY SALVATORI  
VISITING FELLOW  
Matthew Spalding, Ph.D.



CHUNG JU-YUNG FELLOW FOR  
FOREIGN POLICY STUDIES  
Edwin J. Feulner, Ph.D.



BERNARD AND BARBARA  
LOMAS SENIOR RESEARCH  
FELLOW  
Steven Groves



WILLIAM E. SIMON SENIOR  
RESEARCH FELLOW IN  
AMERICAN PRINCIPLES  
AND PUBLIC POLICY  
Ryan T. Anderson, Ph.D.



ED GILBERTSON AND SHERRY  
LINDBERG GILBERTSON SENIOR  
LEGAL FELLOW  
John Malcolm



HERBERT AND JOYCE  
MORGAN FELLOW  
Nicolas Loris



WILL SKILLMAN FELLOW  
IN EDUCATION  
Lindsey Burke



MARILYN AND FRED  
GUARDABASSI FELLOW IN  
MEDIA AND PUBLIC POLICY  
Kenneth McIntyre



E.W. RICHARDSON  
FELLOW  
James Jay Carafano, Ph.D.



MARGARET THATCHER  
FELLOW  
Luke Coffey



GROVER M. HERMANN  
FELLOW IN FEDERAL  
BUDGETARY AFFAIRS  
Romina Boccia



PRESTON A. WELLS, JR.  
FELLOW IN HEALTH POLICY  
Nina Owcharenko



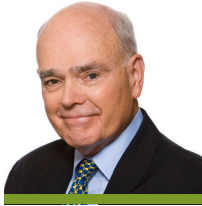
JAY VAN ANDEL SENIOR  
ANALYST IN TRADE POLICY  
Bryan Riley



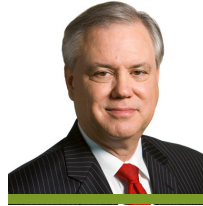
JAY KINGHAM SENIOR  
FELLOW IN INTERNATIONAL  
REGULATORY AFFAIRS  
Brett D. Schaefer



JOHN, BARBARA, AND VICTORIA  
RUMPEL SENIOR LEGAL FELLOW  
Alden Abbott



**LEE EDWARDS, PH.D.**  
*Distinguished Fellow in  
Conservative Thought*



**KIM R. HOLMES, PH.D.**  
*Distinguished Fellow*



**STEPHEN MOORE**  
*Visiting  
Distinguished Fellow*



**ELAINE CHAO**  
*Distinguished Fellow*



**EDWIN MEESE III**  
*Ronald Reagan Distinguished  
Fellow Emeritus*



**DAVID R. SHEDD**  
*Visiting  
Distinguished Fellow*

## DISTINGUISHED FELLOWS, ALL

Heritage gives a special designation to those scholars who have combined outstanding academic work with outstanding service to our nation and the conservative movement. For years, we have benefited from the scholarship, experience, and insights of four truly Distinguished Fellows: Lee Edwards, Elaine Chao, Kim Holmes, and Edwin Meese III. In 2015, we added two Visiting Distinguished Fellows: **Stephen Moore** and **David R. Shedd**.

Stephen Moore heads our Project for Economic Growth, advancing policies to expand opportunity for all Americans and help the U.S. remain an economic superpower.

In addition to making frequent TV appearances, Moore writes a nationally-syndicated column. On July 9, he engaged in the year's most anticipated economic policy debate, facing off against *New York Times* columnist Paul Krugman at FreedomFest. The clash of free-market economics vs. Keynesian Obamanomics ended in a walk-over for Moore.

A former Acting Director of the Defense Intelligence Agency, Shedd has also held top positions in the Central Intelligence Agency, the Office of Director of National Intelligence and the National Security Council. At Heritage, he now focuses on national intelligence, cyber-security and defense issues. He also made invaluable contributions to the "2016 Index of U.S. Military Strength," including his excellent monograph on *Intelligence and National Defense*.

**Lee Edwards, Ph.D.**—The leading historian of the conservative movement, Dr. Edwards is Heritage's Distinguished Fellow in Conservative Thought. In addition to his duties here, he heads up the Victims of Communism Memorial Foundation. A prolific writer, Edwards has authored or edited more than 25 books. His latest, co-authored by Phyllis Schlafly, is "Goldwater: The Man Who Made a Revolution." It was published in July.

**Elaine Chao**—A former Secretary of the U.S. Department of Labor, President and CEO of United Way of America, and Peace Corps Director, Ms. Chao now concentrates on trade, job creation, and workforce issues.

**Kim R. Holmes, Ph.D.**—A former Assistant Secretary of State and member of the Defense Policy Board, Dr. Holmes was a founding editor of our annual "Index of Economic Freedom" and oversaw our defense and foreign policy team for more than two decades. In 2015 he completed his fourth book, "The Closing of the Liberal Mind: How Groupthink and Intolerance Define the Left," slated for publication in April 2016.

**Edwin Meese III**—A former U.S. Attorney General and Counselor to President Reagan, Mr. Meese is our Ronald Reagan Distinguished Fellow Emeritus. Having chaired our Center for Legal and Judicial Studies for more than a decade, he now concentrates on coordinating the work of conservative public interest legal groups.



Mike Needham  
HAFA Presidential Forum

## HERITAGE ACTION FOR AMERICA

### MIKE NEEDHAM: CONSERVATIVE INSURGENT

When Heritage Action unveiled its first book, “Opportunity for All, Favoritism to None,” in January, few political pundits would have imagined it would become the Republican Party’s motto. Over the course of the year, the government favoritism and special-interest politics that all too often stifle conservative reform efforts came under assault, both from an increasingly organized and unified conservative movement and the party’s political leadership that sensed the sand shifting beneath its collective feet.

And Heritage Action, along with The Heritage Foundation, was at the very center of it all. *The New York Times* observed the two organizations had “emerged in recent years as a newly powerful political force on the right, pushing congressional Republicans to oppose what it sees as excessive federal spending and policies that benefit specific industries.”

Although the incentive structure was beginning to change in Washington, it was difficult to dislodge the well-entrenched special interests that benefit and thrive from the status quo.

That led Heritage Action to shift its attention to the increasingly crowded and contested presidential primary process.

## PRESIDENTIAL CANDIDATES FORUM

Not only did Heritage Action release the most comprehensive evaluation of the presidential candidates and their platforms, it partnered with South Carolina Gov. Nikki Haley to host the most substantive presidential forum of the cycle.

On Sept. 18, 10 Republican presidential candidates entered a sold-out hockey arena in Greenville, S.C. One by one, the candidates fielded questions from Gov. Haley and Heritage Action’s Chief Executive Officer Michael A. Needham, revealing their priorities and top policy proposals in detail.

The event prompted the Associated Press to write: “Setting aside personality clashes for a night, the Republican Party’s 2016 contest shifted to substance” as candidates “jockey[ed] for conservative credibility.”

SAM HOLLAND

## OUR MOTTO

Shortly after the Candidate Forum, House Speaker John Boehner negotiated a ruinous spending agreement with President Obama, then tendered his resignation from Congress. The price was high, but suddenly the conservative policy agenda breathed fresh air on Capitol Hill.

Newly elected Speaker Paul D. Ryan, R-Wis., left no doubt that he saw Heritage Action's agenda as the type of platform that could unite the party and produce results. In his acceptance speech, he talked about the need to push for bold reform and issued a clarion call: "No more favors for the few. Opportunity for all—that is our motto."

By fall of 2015, Heritage Action's message had become an integral part of the party's rebranding.

**"This nation was built on the promise of opportunity for all, favoritism to none."**

—Carly Fiorina

## STYMYING CRONYISM

For the first time in generations, conservatives managed to shutter a federal agency—one created by Franklin D. Roosevelt, no less. Three years earlier, Heritage Action began making the case to lawmakers, reporters, activists, and anyone else who would listen that conservatives could take the moral high ground by fighting against corporate welfare.

In July 2015, the previously non-controversial Export-Import Bank was forced to shut its doors. Lawmakers finally relented, renewing its charter after more than five months of pleading from President Obama and the handful of mega-corporations who marinate in the bank's easy-money subsidies. But the prolonged legislative battle cost the corporations millions in lobbying fees, set a new course for the future, and fundamentally altered the political reality surrounding corporate welfare.

## OBAMACARE REPEAL NOW WE KNOW

For years, congressional Republicans cast important but mostly symbolic votes against Obamacare. After the 2012 election, many in Washington were content to throw in the towel. Heritage Action remained steadfast in its position that the next president would have the ability and opportunity to repeal the law.

WILLIS BRETZ



*Menda Stevens shares some of her experiences as a Hafa Sentinel at our President's Club Meeting.*

## AN ACTIVIST'S JOURNEY TO LEADERSHIP

**M**enda Stevens, a Heritage Action Sentinel based in Atlanta, Ga., has been active in the program since 2013. She hadn't always been politically active. But when Obama took office in 2009, she saw how the direction of the country was changing and she began calling her Representatives and Senators about issues that mattered to her.

During her early stages of activism, she learned of Sen. Jim DeMint and the work he was doing with the Senate Conservatives Fund to support conservative issues. After DeMint left Congress to head up The Heritage Foundation, Menda went to hear him speak at an event in Atlanta.

It was there that she was introduced to Heritage Action. When she heard about the Sentinel program, she signed up on the spot. "I was already working to promote conservatism," she says. "The Sentinel program offered a way for me to do that more effectively."

Since becoming a Sentinel, Menda has taken her activism to the next level. Today, she is a conservative leader who has overcome her initial nervousness over interacting with Congressmen. Now she works directly with their offices on a regular basis.

And she's working more efficiently, too. Instead of spending time and energy conducting in-depth legislative research on her own, Menda uses The Heritage Foundation's robust research and Heritage Action's weekly strategy calls to find great information on key issues all in one place.

"Being a Sentinel keeps me motivated," Menda says. "It inspires me to continue fighting for conservatism and doing the hard work of keeping Congress accountable."



*Rep. Mark Meadows  
(R-N.C.) at Heritage  
Action's 2015  
Conservative Policy  
Summit in Jan.*

In 2015, Heritage Action and congressional conservatives put forward a blueprint to make full repeal a reality come 2017. The legislative process was messy, and opponents made multiple attempts to derail the effort, but the end result shocked even the most jaded Washington pundits. It prompted one *New York Times* reporter to note: “For those convinced that Obamacare is here to stay, a repeal bill will reach Obama for a veto. Posturing? Maybe. But a GOP pres[ident] would sign.”

From the early days of the discharge petition in 2010, through the defunding effort, and now with the reconciliation effort, Heritage Action has led the fight—often alone—to ensure full repeal of Obamacare remains an achievable priority come 2017.

## HERITAGE SENTINELS RISE TO THE NEXT LEVEL

In 2015, Heritage Action’s team of Sentinels grew to over 13,000 committed activists. They are armed with critical facts regarding politics as well as policy—distributed via confidential Sentinel “strategy calls,” Sentinel briefs and fact sheets, and individual conversations with staff based in DC and in offices throughout the country. Our 13 Regional Coordinators are deployed in critical states to work with Sentinels and develop an effective strategy of leadership and influence in targeted legislative districts.

Sentinels have developed their own grassroots networks. They now comprise 1.8 million individuals, in regular contact with our Sentinels about policy opportunities and political actions presenting themselves at the federal, state, and local levels.

All of the networks rely on policy analysis from The Heritage Foundation and political strategy advice from Heritage Action.

The conservative movement is full of Americans who are leaders in their respective occupations. Heritage Action wants to give these conservative professionals the chance to parlay their professional interest and expertise into the Sentinel mission of accountability. Heritage Action formed these professional teams in order to deepen Sentinels’ understanding of political issues associated with their profession to increase their lobbying power in D.C.

Whether Sentinels engage with their profession or in boots-on-the-ground activism, these grassroots activists are the key power brokers in their local communities and legislative districts.

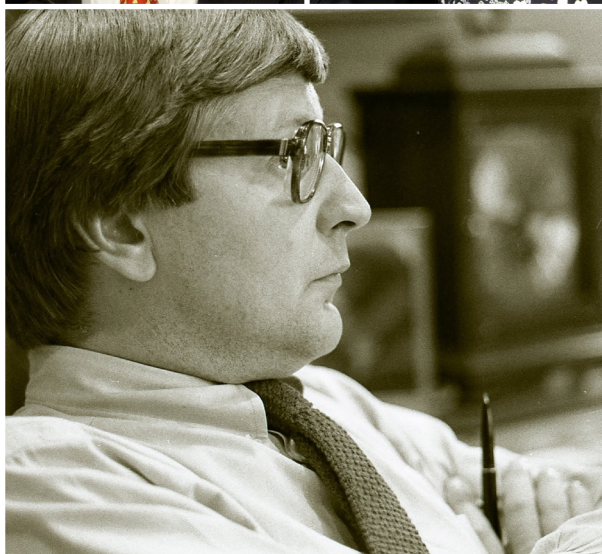
## LEVERAGING DATA FOR CONSERVATIVE REFORM

The world of politics is changing with the ability to “leverage” data—making sure the right message reaches the right people at the right time. Last year Heritage Action launched a new department focused on audience engagement. Its mission: to use cutting-edge technology and tactics to reach conservatives with the “Opportunity for All, Favoritism to None” message.

Those efforts have paid off. Heritage Action nearly doubled the size of its email file. We now can send policy updates, action alerts, and rebuttals to establishment talking points to hundreds of thousands of committed conservatives—all in a matter of minutes.

Through testing and socio-demographic modeling, Heritage Action tripled the size of its Facebook audience, giving the organization an average reach of 1.5 million people every week. The digital team ran over 120 different tests to attract right-minded readers to our Facebook page. As a result, rates of engagement skyrocketed. On any given week, some 20 percent of Heritage Action’s readers are actively engaged—liking, sharing, and commenting on our posts. That’s well above industry average.

Not only did Heritage Action grow the size of its email file, Facebook following and Twitter audience, it increased the complexity in which those channels are leveraged. Heritage Action now routinely runs targeted, multi-channel campaigns into specific congressional districts, urging wavering members of Congress to vote correctly on legislation. This in-house capacity ensures Heritage Action can move rapidly, making a difference on key legislative initiatives in an ever-changing world. 📌



## IN MEMORIAM: JOHN VON KANNON

In September Heritage lost a dear friend: John Von Kannon. John was not only one of our most loyal and effective colleagues, he was an inspirational mentor to young conservatives in public policy organizations across the country. Plainly put, he was a titan of the Conservative Movement.

During his 35 years as a Heritage Vice President and Senior Counselor, John raised more than \$1 billion for Heritage and other conservative causes. And yet he never considered himself a “fundraiser.” In John’s view, his job was to forge partnerships with our members.

Whenever John met with prospective donors, his first concern was always to listen to *their* concerns, so he could understand their core values. If their values could be better served by another conservative group, he never hesitated to refer them and even make introductions.

“Tell stories; always keep the donor first, and do the work.”

—John Von Kannon

As for those other groups, John was instrumental in bringing many of them into existence—helping them hone their vision statements, write business plans, structure fundraising efforts, and grow their organizations. A remarkably generous man, he constantly strove to give a little more to the cause to which he was passionately dedicated. As a consequence, his efforts broadly benefited organizations that form the institutional backbone of the Conservative Movement.

In addition to his “day job,” John was perpetually mentoring. Countless junior staffers grew and matured in their work because of his patience and unmatched talent for teaching. But if anything set John apart from others in the Heritage family, it was his sparkling and sometimes outrageous wit. A day never passed when John didn’t have a few jokes and stories to put smiles on our faces.

A member of our Board of Trustees has generously provided a seven-figure gift to endow the John Von Kannon Fellowship in Philanthropy, a permanent memorial to a happy warrior who will always hold a special place in the hearts of those blessed to have known him. 🏠



Class of '15 Fall interns

## 2015 NAMED INTERNS

### H.N. AND FRANCES C. BERGER FOUNDATION INTERNS

Robert Batista, *Yale University*  
 Pranav Bethala, *Princeton University*  
 Hannah Haley, *University of Mississippi*  
 Peter Hinman, *University of New Hampshire*  
 Lauren McCue, *Virginia Tech*

### JOHN AND BARBARA BRUNING INTERN

Haley Barinowski, *Clemson University*  
 Carolyn Farrar, *Berry College*  
 Max Lies, *College of the Holy Cross*

### DAVID JOSEPH BURKE INTERN

Blair Kacynski, *Pepperdine University*

### MARY H. CAMPBELL INTERN

Andrew Block, *Michigan State University*

### CARTER & MOYER INTERN

Gloria Taylor, *Furman University*

### RICHARD EARL CARTER MEESE CENTER INTERN

Rachel Miller, *University of Texas, Austin*

### GENE D'AGOSTINO MEESE CENTER INTERN

Thomas Ranieri, *Institute of World Politics*

### JOHN R. AND MARGARITE DAVIS FOUNDATION INTERN

Siyao Li, *Baylor University*

### BERNICE AND WILLIAM GREWCOCK INTERNS

Emily El Sanadi, *Grove City College*  
 Molly Field, *Trinity College*  
 John Flo, *Hillsdale College*  
 Jason Long, *Patrick Henry College*  
 Ashley Traficant, *Liberty University*

### DAVID A. KING INTERNS

Wade Leach, *Davidson College*  
 Thayer Wade, *Harvard University*

### KEVIN KLINE INTERN

Jeremiah Moore, *John Brown University*

### KEVIN KOOKOGY MEESE CENTER INTERN

Mariza Smajlaj, *The Catholic University of America*  
 Hope Steffensen, *University of Texas, Dallas*

### ROBERT MAIR MEESE CENTER INTERNS

Kyser Blakely, *Sonoma State University*  
 Rachel Landsman, *Rice University*

### ROBERT S. AND JANET L. MILLER FOUNDATION INTERNS

Amber Athey, *Georgetown University*  
 Lori Ebenstein, *Brown University*  
 Kevin Kane, *Boston College*  
 Vijay Menon, *University of Virginia*  
 Jonathan Reich, *Penn State University*  
 Diana Stancy, *Elon University*

### NICHOLSON FAMILY INTERN

Danielle Jack, *University of Northwestern, St. Paul*

### MR. AND MRS. MICHAEL NOVELLI INTERN

Donnie Pulliam, *Morehouse College*

### FULA AND ENRICO PELLITI INTERN

Andrea Palermo, *Florida State University*  
 Daniel Shaffer, *University of Florida*

### PILGRIM FOUNDATION INTERN

Candice Merrill, *Brigham-Young University - Idaho*  
 Caitlin Thomas, *Christendom College*

### DORIS AND RICHARD PISTOLE INTERN

Isabel Nelson, *Villanova University*

### RAY FOUNDATION INTERNS

Addison Arnold, *University of Alabama*  
 Connor Matisoo, *University of Florida*  
 Marshal Wilson, *New Mexico State University*

### JORDAN SAUNDERS INTERN

Jessi Rapelje, *Regent University*

### ELBERT "SKIPPER" SCALES INTERN

Aaron Strickland, *Liberty University*

### GREG SHEEHAN MEESE CENTER INTERN

Micah Wallen, *Carnegie Mellon University*

### SHINING CITY ON A HILL INTERNS

Bailey Arlinghaus, *Hillsdale College*  
 Chris Caprarese, *Tiffin University*  
 Jennifer DeMarco, *Providence College*  
 Zachary Goldberg, *Harvard College*  
 Astrid Gonzalez, *Brigham Young University, Idaho*  
 Gabrielle Hanley, *George Mason University*  
 Josiah Lippincott, *Hillsdale College*  
 Cooper Nye, *Michigan State University*  
 Jonathan Tallman, *George Mason University*

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

Jocelyn Lamb, *Virginia Tech*

### GEORGE W. TIPPINS INTERN

Chelsea Scism, *Vanderbilt University*

### TOM TRACY INTERN

Robbi Riggs, *Lyon College*

### RON WEINEL INTERN

Andrew Ireland, *Indiana University*

### SAMUEL L. WESTERMAN FOUNDATION INTERNS

Todd Swathwood, *Liberty University*  
 Megan Reithmiller, *University of Michigan*

### WILLIAM M. YOUNG MEESE CENTER INTERN

Elijah Coryell, *Grove City College*

### ROBERT ZINSER MEESE CENTER INTERN

Joseph Tabor, *Embry Riddle Aeronautical University*





# A CONTINUAL SOURCE OF IDEAS AND INSPIRATION

“Heritage is its people.” That saying is ingrained in our institutional culture. And you, our more than 500,000 members, form our very heart and soul. It’s a wonderful partnership that allows us to serve as your voice in Washington, defending the principles and advancing the ideals that made America the greatest nation the world has ever known.

In 2015, you gave from your hearts as well, contributing over \$129 million in cash, pledges, and commitments. Heritage Action received an additional \$10.5 million.

Increasingly, you expressed your generosity in the form of modest, monthly donations. In 2015, the more than 45,000 members of Heritage Leaders Club members and 3,000 members of Heritage Action’s Liberty Brigade “made a difference every month.” Combined, those contributions tallied an impressive \$8 million. We appreciate every one of these gifts, just as we appreciate the truly spectacular donations.

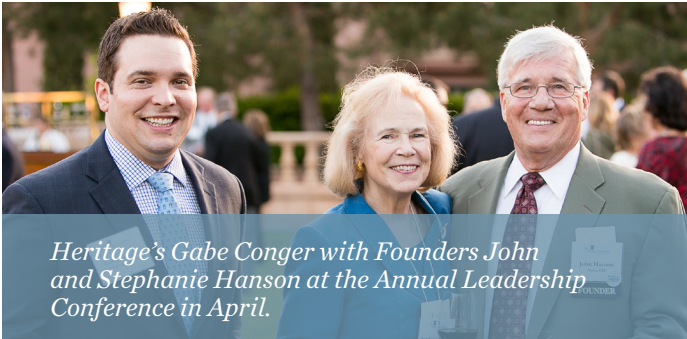
One of the latter arrived at year’s end, courtesy of Dawn Potter. Mrs. Potter started off small. Over a six-year period, she

entrusted us with a total of \$490. Then, in 2011, she informed us of plans to leave Heritage something in her will. Her rationale? She knew that we “could get things done and restore America to its founding principles.” Mrs. Potter passed away in 2015. In December, we received her bequest: \$4.7 million.

December also marked the halfway point of our six-year Reclaim America Campaign. Thus far, campaign contributions total \$476 million—putting us nearly two-thirds along the way toward our goal of \$750 million. Your support has already made it possible to upgrade and expand our facilities on Capitol Hill. Over the next several years, we will dedicate the Atherton Foundation Learning Center Classroom, the William. D. Mounger Conference Room, and dozens of new intern apartments.

Last year our team met one-on-one with more than 1,600 Heritage members. We interacted with thousands more at Heritage events, on teleconferences, and online. We relish these exchanges, as you are a continual source of ideas and inspiration.

You *are* We the People. And we thank you. 🙏



*Heritage's Gabe Conger with Founders John and Stephanie Hanson at the Annual Leadership Conference in April.*



*Jim DeMint with Heritage Founder and Legacy Society Member Thomas Colbert at our President's Club Meeting in October.*

## 2015 HERITAGE FOUNDATION FOUNDERS

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Dian Graves Owen Foundation  
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Gloria F. Parrish Foundation  
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Mr. Robert W. Rust  
Searle Freedom Trust  
B.K. Simon Family Charitable Foundation

Mr. and Mrs. James A. Smith  
Thomas W. Smith Foundation  
Ms. Corinne Spence  
Mr. Michael S. Turner  
Mr. and Mrs. Richard E. Uihlein  
Mrs. Marion G. Wells  
Mr. Richard Wells  
Lillian S. Wells Foundation

*14 Founders have asked to remain anonymous*

### TRUSTEES' CIRCLE

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Mr. and Mrs. Thomas W. Colbert, Sr.  
The Richard and Helen DeVos  
Foundation  
Mr. Willi Fenske  
Mr. and Mrs. Dick J. Randall  
Sarah Scaife Foundation  
Mr. and Mrs. Sanford G. Scheller  
Sorenson Legacy Foundation  
Mr. Pike H. Sullivan  
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Amway  
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Atherton Foundation  
Bell Charitable Foundation  
Helen W. Bell Charitable Foundation  
Mr. James D. Bourbonnais  
The Lynde and Harry Bradley  
Foundation  
Mr. and Mrs. Theodore Brickman  
Mr. and Mrs. John Bruning

### HONORING DONOR INTENT

When giving to any nonprofit, you should be able to rely on the organization to do three things:

- use your gift to advance its mission;
- honor any restrictions you place on the gift, and
- treat you with respect.

Unfortunately, many philanthropic organizations have broken faith with their donors.

At The Heritage Foundation, we regard your support as a trust. We hold ourselves strictly accountable to you, and we pledge always to respect your philanthropic intent. Indeed, our Articles of Incorporation demand it.

Should any major donor desire a written contract clearly stating the purpose and intent of the donation and how it shall be spent, we will gladly sign it. Moreover, we make the President of Heritage personally responsible for answering donor questions and reporting expenditures of donor funds.

This is our solemn pledge to you: When you contribute to The Heritage Foundation, your intent as a donor is always honored, never forgotten.



*Heritage Action for America COO Tim Chapman (left) with Founders and Legacy Society Members John and Barbara Bruning and their son, Richard, at our President's Club Meeting in October.*



*Heritage Action's Sondra Clark and Founder George Mayer at our President's Club Meeting.*



*Left to right: Kenneth D. Robinson, President of The Dr. P. Phillips Foundation; Heritage Action Trustee Rick Gaby and Heritage Trustee Barb Gaby; Heritage EVP Bret Bernhardt and Ellie Bernhardt at the Leadership Conference.*



*Founders Lawrence Simon and Carol Miller at our President's Club Meeting.*



*Jim DeMint congratulates Fern Randall upon winning Heritage's first Founders Award.*



*Von Kannon Patriot Award winner Bill Amos shares a moment with John's beloved wife, Cindy Von Kannon.*

PRESIDENT'S CLUB: JEFFREY MALET; ANNUAL LEADERSHIP CONFERENCE: BAUJIAN PHOTOGRAPHERS

**O**n Oct. 15, Heritage honored two well-deserving members at our President's Club Meeting. President's Club Member **Fern S. Randall** of Palm City, Fla., received the Coors, Noble, Scaife Founders Award recognizing her steadfast (20-year) support of our work and mission.

Founder **Bill Amos** of Amelia Island, Fla., received the John Von Kannon Patriot Award for Associate-level Members who best reflect John's spirit as a steadfast conservative and a happy warrior. Heritage Vice President John Fogarty presented both awards.



*Left to right: Associate Jan DeVries, guest Lee Ann Trees, Ellie Bernhardt and Heritage EVP Bret Bernhardt, and Associates and Legacy Society Members Skip and Martha Ann Hunter at our President's Club Meeting in October.*



*Associate Richard Bard and Premier Associate and Legacy Society Member Jerry Grossman at the Annual Leadership Conference in April.*



*Executive Associates Robert and Nancy Bruce with Carly Fiorina (center) at the Annual Leadership Conference.*



*Capt. Michael C. Haden with Associate William Middlemas at the President's Club Meeting.*



*Associate Members Gilbert and Charlene Amelio at the Annual Leadership Conference.*

# 2015 HERITAGE FOUNDATION ASSOCIATES

## PREMIER ASSOCIATES

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 Mr. and Mrs. Howard W. Arnold  
 Mr. Richard F. Aster, Jr.  
 H.N. and Frances C. Berger Foundation  
 Ms. Margo Blades  
 Mr. and Mrs. Robert Burroughs  
 Mr. and Mrs. John E. Butler  
 Mr. James F. Causley, Jr.  
 Cedar Branch Foundation  
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 The D'Avella Family  
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 Herbert H. and Barbara C. Dow Foundation  
 Mr. Donald G. Drasen  
 Ms. Patty A. Edwards  
 Mr. Sean M. Fieler  
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Jim DeMint and  
Betty Anderlik

## MEET BETTY ANDERLIK

Betty Anderlik knows how very important family is. She and her husband Joseph were married for 48 years. They raised three children—now grown, with five children of their own. Since Joseph’s passing in 2005, Betty has continued to act as her family’s guiding light.

It’s no surprise, then, that stories about families in crisis touch Betty’s heart. In fact, she understands that the breakdown of the family is a main cause of America’s current troubles:

“I see all these families dissolving, and it’s not good for the country. Family is the most important issue.”

—Betty Anderlik

In 2015, Betty took a major step in promoting healthy families by creating a named fellowship in Heritage’s Institute for Family, Community, and Opportunity. As vice president of the Institute and Heritage’s first-ever Joseph C. and

Elizabeth A. Anderlik Fellow, Jennifer A. Marshall leads a respected team of researchers in promoting and defending the pillars of America’s civil society—life, marriage, family, and religious liberty.

Marshall and her team tackle tough issues that affect opportunity in America, such as welfare, education, and health care. It’s the same team that produces Heritage’s annual *Index of Culture and Opportunity*. The *Index* identifies the societal and economic factors that determine the health of American culture and charts how they are trending—down either the right or the wrong path. Most importantly, the *Index* reveals what folks like Betty Anderlik already know: the collapse of society’s fundamental building block, the family, has far-reaching, seriously debilitating consequences.

On Oct. 6, 2015, Heritage formally dedicated the 2015 *Index* to the Anderlik family and hosted Betty and her family here in D.C. Henceforth, Heritage will always celebrate Oct. 6 as “Betty Anderlik Day” in recognition of an exceptional friend who, as Jennifer Marshall put it, “is a happy warrior—always ready for a laugh, deeply committed to the causes that bring us all the most joy: family, new life, faith.”

## MEMBERSHIP LEVELS

Heritage welcomed more than **60,000** new members in 2015. Our range of membership levels and benefits can accommodate all.

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*Associate James R. Voss meets Texas Gov. Rick Perry at the Annual Leadership Conference in April.*



*Associate Members Robert and Pat Stichweh at our President's Club Meeting in October.*

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*36 Associates have asked to remain anonymous*

# SAFEGUARDING OUR FOUNDING PRINCIPLES FOR FUTURE GENERATIONS

*“It should be the highest ambition of every American to extend his views beyond himself, and to bear in mind that his conduct will not only affect himself, his country, and his immediate posterity; but that its influence may be co-extensive with the world, and stamp political happiness or misery on ages yet unborn.”*

These solemn words, written by George Washington in 1789, are reflected today in the selfless spirit displayed by the members of the Heritage Legacy Society. In 2015, 252 forward-looking conservatives joined the Legacy Society, pledging to remember Heritage in their estate plans or other

planned gifts. Their commitments represent more than \$72 million in current and future donations. Legacy Society leaders Rae and Belden Bell of Marshall, Va., and Marion Wells of Ft. Lauderdale, Fla., are pleased to welcome the following new members:

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Mr. Arthur C. Rider





*Glenn Beck (left) with Associates and Legacy Society Members Bonnie and Kevin Kookogey at the Annual Leadership Conference in April.*



*Associates and Legacy Society Members Sophie and Mike Rydin at the Annual Leadership Conference.*



*Sean Hannity (center) with Premier Associates and Legacy Society Members Robert and Shirley Giles at our President's Club Meeting in October.*

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- Mrs. Margaret A. Ruiz
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- Mr. Vladimir V. Yegorov
- Ms. Leslie D. Young
- Mrs. Patricia J. Zeah
- Dr. Ken Zienkiewicz

*Seven new members wish to remain anonymous.*

## WITH GRATITUDE, WE HONOR THE MEMORY OF THOSE HERITAGE LEGACY SOCIETY MEMBERS WHOSE GIFTS WE RECEIVED IN 2015:

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- Mrs. Doris J. Menser
- Ms. Barbara G. Myers
- Mr. Rodney M. Norris

- Mr. Carmen Pecorino
- Mrs. Dawn H. Potter
- Ms. Marguerite Potter
- Mr. Manson Reedal
- Mrs. Connie Reeder
- Mr. and Mrs. Richard A. Robinson
- Mrs. Marjorie Sage
- Mr. Richard M. Scaife
- Mr. and Mrs. Sanford G. Scheller
- Mr. John Schiller
- Mr. A. F. Smith
- Ms. Lynn Smith

- Mr. and Mrs. Roger M. Smith
- Mr. Edward H. Souders
- Mrs. Robert S. Spears, Sr.
- Ms. Minnie Lou Stephens
- Mr. Lowell F. Steusloff
- Mr. and Ms. Pike H. Sullivan
- Mr. Joseph D. Trombetta
- Mr. Jacques Vinmont, Jr.
- Mr. Charles W. Walton
- Mrs. Sydney Wilson
- Mr. and Mrs. James T. Wynne
- Mr. Thomas R. Zucker

*Four members wished that their gifts remain anonymous.*



*Suzanna Thieblot of Baltimore, Md., receives The Heritage Foundation's George Washington Generations Yet Unborn Award at our President's Club Meeting in October. Presenting the award: Jim DeMint (right) and Heritage Senior Advisor Jeffrey Trimbath.*

## MEET SUZIE THIEBLOT

Like many members, Baltimore resident Suzanna Thieblot and her late husband, Robert, first become acquainted with Heritage through a mailing. “I remember asking Bob what he thought,” says Suzie, “and he agreed it sounded like a noble cause.”

The rest, as they say, is history.

In fact, it was a profound love for American history that ultimately drew Suzie and Bob—an accomplished attorney, historian, and author—closer to Heritage. “Bob cherished the moral, commonsense perspective behind our founding principles and how it affects our future,” Suzie recalls, “He loved that Heritage was a guardian of those principles.”

Over time the couple became more involved with Heritage, regularly attending member meetings in Washington. The more they learned, the more they thought about including Heritage in their estate plans and becoming members of the Heritage Legacy Society.

Their lives took a terrible turn when Bob was diagnosed with terminal cancer. “Bob never lost his sense of humor and optimism,” recalls

Suzie, “He managed to remain upbeat despite the circumstances and felt he had been incredibly lucky in life. Together, we made the decision to look toward the future. We wanted to make sure the legacy commitment we had talked about would be carried out.”

Twenty-five years after that first mailing, Suzie is a committed member of our Legacy Society as well as our President's Club. This year we turned the tables and honored her, presenting her with the inaugural *George Washington Generations Yet Unborn Legacy Award* at the President's Club Meeting. The award, a bronze bust of Washington, recognizes outstanding members of the Legacy Society who, like our first president, “make it their highest ambition to secure the blessings of liberty for generations yet unborn.”

“This country has been a wonderful experiment in freedom,” says Suzie. “I don't want to see it destroyed. For us, it was always the intellectual side of Heritage that we appreciated most. The research, the ideas, the consistent and principled work over a long period—that is so important. We want to make sure this work continues beyond our lifetimes.” 🗣️

# 2015 FINANCIAL STATEMENTS

## STATEMENT OF FINANCIAL POSITION\*

As of December 31, 2015

### ASSETS

Cash and cash equivalents	\$4,660,363
Receivables	8,135,992
Prepayments and other assets	608,933
<b>TOTAL CURRENT ASSETS</b>	<b>13,405,288</b>

Investments	184,538,301
Receivables, net	3,387,863
Property and equipment, net	67,554,256
Other assets	720,900
<b>TOTAL LONG-TERM ASSETS</b>	<b>256,201,320</b>

<b>TOTAL ASSETS</b>	<b>\$269,606,608</b>
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### LIABILITIES AND NET ASSETS

Accounts payable and accrued expenses	\$9,219,012
Notes payable	533,072
<b>TOTAL CURRENT LIABILITIES</b>	<b>9,752,084</b>

Notes payable	18,320,831
Deferred obligations and planned gifts	15,250,578
<b>TOTAL LONG-TERM LIABILITIES</b>	<b>33,571,409</b>

<b>TOTAL LIABILITIES</b>	<b>\$43,323,493</b>
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Unrestricted net assets:	
Board designated	107,094,213
Undesignated	73,802,723
Temporarily restricted net assets	40,779,219
Permanently restricted net assets	4,606,960
<b>TOTAL NET ASSETS</b>	<b>226,283,115</b>

<b>TOTAL LIABILITIES AND NET ASSETS</b>	<b>\$269,606,608</b>
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\*Preliminary results for The Heritage Foundation only. Heritage Action reports its financials separately. Final audited financial statements will be available on or after July 31, 2016

## STATEMENT OF ACTIVITIES\*

Year ended December 31, 2015

### OPERATING REVENUES

Contributions:	
Individuals	\$74,492,835
Foundations	11,173,738
Corporations	3,456,235
<b>TOTAL OPERATING CONTRIBUTIONS</b>	<b>89,122,808</b>

Investment withdrawal	8,122,596
Program revenue	119,585
Rental and other income	2,140,004
<b>TOTAL OTHER OPERATING INCOME</b>	<b>10,382,185</b>

<b>TOTAL OPERATING REVENUES</b>	<b>\$99,504,993</b>
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### OPERATING EXPENSES

Research	\$22,197,193
Education	26,934,959
Media and government relations	7,874,229
<b>TOTAL PROGRAM SERVICES</b>	<b>57,006,381</b>

Fundraising	16,567,280
Management and general	2,342,387
<b>TOTAL SUPPORTING SERVICES</b>	<b>18,909,667</b>

<b>TOTAL OPERATING EXPENSES</b>	<b>\$75,916,048</b>
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<b>NET GAIN FROM OPERATIONS</b>	<b>\$23,588,945</b>
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### NON-OPERATING ACTIVITIES

+ Restricted contributions	\$12,708,393
(-) Net investment loss	388,287
(-) Depreciation	4,071,115
(-) Interest Expense	637,523
(-) Investment withdrawal	8,122,596
(-) Change in restricted net assets	13,936,378

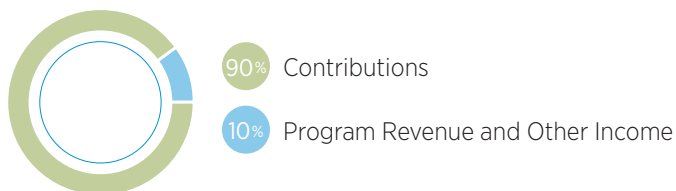
<b>TOTAL NON-OPERATING ACTIVITIES</b>	<b>(\$14,447,506)</b>
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<b>CHANGE IN NET ASSETS</b>	<b>\$9,141,439</b>
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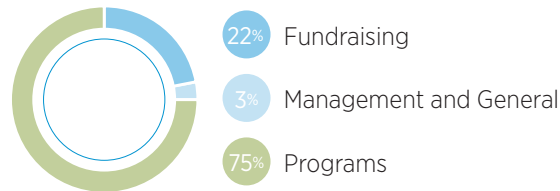
<b>NET ASSETS</b> —Beginning of year	\$217,141,676
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<b>NET ASSETS</b> —End of year	<b>\$226,283,115</b>
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## 2015 OPERATING REVENUES



## 2015 OPERATING EXPENSES



# THE HERITAGE FOUNDATION

OPPORTUNITY FOR ALL, FAVORITISM TO NONE

**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.*

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## WHAT THEY'RE SAYING ABOUT HERITAGE

*"...a beating heart of insurgency in Washington"*

—ROLLING STONE, OCT. 6, 2015

*"Over its forty-odd years of existence, it's held the ear of every Republican president and had an outsize presence on Capitol Hill, doing much of the intellectual heavy-lifting behind conservative policymaking. ...[I]ts longevity, history, and Capitol Hill clout have long distinguished it from the rest of the policymaking pack."*

—THE DAILY BEAST, OCT. 6, 2015

*"Presidential candidates like to talk about leadership, but whom do they follow?...2016 Republicans really, really like Jim DeMint. Nearly every 2016 Republican follows either the Tea Party godfather or his Heritage Foundation."*

—BLOOMBERG POLITICS, MARCH 19, 2015

*"The Heritage Foundation, long known as a font of conservative ideas, ...has emerged in recent years as a newly powerful political force on the right, pushing congressional Republicans to oppose what it sees as excessive federal spending and policies that benefit specific industries."*

—NEW YORK TIMES, JAN. 9, 2015

## WHAT THEY'RE SAYING ABOUT HERITAGE ACTION

*"...the most prominent conservative activist group"*

—THE WASHINGTON POST, SEPT. 30, 2015

*"The group gets much credit for the 2013 government shutdown, and it has been influential in keeping the Export-Import Bank from being reauthorized and in getting a committee named to probe the Benghazi, Libya, attacks. Heritage Action also had much to do with the initial defeat of trade legislation last month—and it celebrated as Boehner abandoned his attempt to punish lawmakers who voted against it."*

—THE WASHINGTON POST, JULY 10, 2015

*"D.C.'s toughest arbiter of conservatism... Heritage Action's scorecard is, in fact, very difficult to get a passing grade on. In fact, it's the toughest of its kind."*

—THE WASHINGTON POST, JAN. 28, 2015

