

# ALWAYS ON OFFENSE

BUILDING  
AN AMERICA  
WHERE FREEDOM,  
OPPORTUNITY,  
PROSPERITY,  
AND CIVIL SOCIETY  
FLOURISH.

**ALWAYS  
ON  
OFFENSE**

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2021 IMPACT

# HERITAGE BY THE NUMBERS

In 2021, Heritage made quite an impression. Our experts were in high demand:

**1,924**

COMMENTARIES  
PLACED IN  
MAJOR  
PUBLICATIONS

**2,920**

ARTICLES  
PUBLISHED  
IN THE  
DAILY SIGNAL

**5,324**

BROADCAST  
INTERVIEWS  
(RADIO, TV,  
PODCAST, ETC)

**28,725**

QUOTES OR  
MENTIONS  
IN MAJOR  
PUBLICATIONS

**71.1M**

VISITS TO  
HERITAGE.ORG  
AND  
DAILYSIGNAL.COM

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

**30**

CONGRESSIONAL  
TESTIMONIES

**47**

CANDIDATE  
BRIEFINGS

**80**

HERITAGE ALUMNI  
SERVING ON THE HILL

**168**

HERITAGE ON THE HILL  
WORKING GROUP EVENTS

Heritage hosted **more than 400 meetings** with congressional staff and **more than 120 meetings** with members of Congress.

In 2021, we published:

**8**

SPECIAL  
REPORTS

**19**

LEGAL  
MEMORANDA

**30**

FACTSHEETS

**106**

ISSUE  
BRIEFS

**107**

BACKGROUNDERS

**More than 525,000 members make all of this possible.**

**THANK YOU!**

# FROM THE CHAIRMAN

The past year has been one of transition in the country, little of it good.

We saw the left take over the White House and Congress and bungle everything they touched. We have an economy in the grip of rising inflation and chronic shortages, a nation weakened internationally by the disastrous retreat from Afghanistan, a border in chaos, and draconian COVID mandates that inflict more harm than good. The left tried to make election fraud easier (in the guise of voting rights), to vastly expand the soul-destroying welfare state (under the cheery label of Build Back Better), and to push Marxist critical race theory on our kids (in the name of fighting racism).

It was also a year of transition at The Heritage Foundation, as President Kay C. James and Executive Vice President Kim R. Holmes announced they were stepping down and passing the torch to new leaders. In her nearly four years as president, Kay guided Heritage to greater levels of prestige and influence. She expanded our reach and improved the efficiency and effectiveness of our operations. Shortly after leaving Heritage, Virginia Gov. Glenn Youngkin appointed Kay to his Cabinet as secretary of the commonwealth. We wish her and Kim well in their new endeavors.

The members of Heritage's board and I knew we had a tall order to fill in finding the right person to build on the momentum and take Heritage to new heights. We found that, and more, in Dr. Kevin D. Roberts.

Kevin brings the right mix of experience, passion, entrepreneurial spirit, proven leadership, plus a "D.C. outsider" perspective. His absolute commitment to Heritage's vision and mission, the fact that he's from a working-class family, and the fact that he'd lived and worked almost his entire life far from the swamp, gives Kevin exactly the right perspective to take on the challenges the country faces.

Under his leadership, the Texas Public Policy Foundation doubled in size and became the most

influential think tank in the state and the largest state-based think tank in the nation. Kevin embraces the belief that Heritage must lead not only conservatives but America with an optimistic vision for the future. As an educator—he founded a private K-12 school in Louisiana and ran a private college in Wyoming—he has a passion for educating the next generation of Americans.

The entire board shared Kay's and my enthusiasm for Kevin and voted unanimously in favor of naming him Heritage's seventh president.

Kevin likes to call Heritage the mothership of the conservative movement and says that he plans to put rocket boosters on it. You can expect that under his leadership Heritage will aggressively pursue the things that are important to you. We will fight to restore power and responsibility to the states, local governments, community organizations, and families. To that end, you can expect Heritage to have a bigger presence at the state level. You've already seen what we can do with the success of our state election integrity efforts and our fight against critical race theory in schools.

The challenges this country faces have never been greater, and the radical left has never been more emboldened. But I've never been more optimistic about the future of our country than I've been since Kevin accepted the challenge of leading this wonderful institution.



Barb Van Andel-Gaby  
*Chairman*





Outgoing President Kay C. James talks with incoming President Kevin Roberts about his vision for Heritage at Heritage's President's Club Summit in Orlando, Fla.

# FROM THE PRESIDENT

When I was in eighth grade, my family relocated from Louisiana to the D.C. area in the wake of the 1980s oil bust. That was the first time I encountered The Heritage Foundation.

As a brash teenager from a working-class family, I'd gotten into a debate with my left-of-center civics teacher. I've long forgotten what it was about, but I never forgot what he said to me, because it

had such a profound effect on my life. "You might make something of yourself," he said, "if you attach evidence to your opinions." My mother recommended we go to The Heritage Foundation,

which had established itself as the go-to resource for conservatives, to gather up materials they put together.

From that moment on, I'd never again offer an opinion on any topic without the facts to back it up. I grew up trusting the unimpeachable quality of Heritage's scholarship, which would serve me well throughout my life as a historian, founder of a private K-12 school in Louisiana, president of Wyoming Catholic College, and head of the Texas Public Policy Foundation.

Now, I'm blessed beyond measure with the opportunity to lead a great institution that was so instrumental in my intellectual formation.

Annual reports are, of course, about the past—the goals we set and what we achieved. And Heritage had many in 2021, so many that a complete listing would turn this into an encyclopedia. In this annual report, you will read about our biggest and most direct impacts in 2021—on education, election integrity, the Supreme Court, and more. These are evidence of how Heritage differs from so many other “think tanks.” We've never been satisfied with just providing the intellectual heft for conservatism. We've always strived to put our policies and our ideas into action. I'm certain that when you read about these achievements, you will be as proud as I am.

But I also want to use this opportunity to talk about my vision for Heritage's future, because the need for Heritage has never been greater. When I look out in the country—at the turmoil in our city streets, critical race theory indoctrination in our schools, “woke” corporations and the cancel culture, the toxic political environment, a federal government with powers that stretch beyond anything our Founders would approve—I truly believe that we have a limited window of opportunity to save this nation. And I believe that Heritage must play a significant role in making that happen.

One way we'll do that is by working to unite our center-right movement and develop a unified plan to govern our country. Conservatives need to stop shooting at one another and remember that our focus must remain on the radical left. Spirited debate is welcome, but it should be aimed at making us all better soldiers for freedom, not tearing each other down in Twitter tirades. Crafting

such a unified plan is a top Heritage priority now and will continue to be as 2024 approaches.

Just as important, Heritage is going to be far more active at the state level. We're going to look outside Washington, D.C., for answers. We're going to open up the conservative movement to the fresh American air outside the swamp, from sea to shining sea. Heritage will still be based inside the Beltway, but we're going to focus more of our resources and attention on empowering conservatives outside the Beltway, where the real power to make change resides. The goal of every conservative should be to reduce the size and influence of the federal government and return power to smaller units of society, whether it's state and local government, community centers, churches, neighborhoods, or your own family.

Because of the amazing work done by my predecessors and the incredible team of scholars, researchers, media experts, government relations team, and the rest of Heritage's excellent staff—plus the might of our lobbying organization, Heritage Action for America—I believe with all my heart that The Heritage Foundation is the one institution best equipped to bring about a golden age of conservatism.

With your support, we will not only enable Heritage to flourish, we will, as the title of the annual report says, always be on offense. Every single day.

By going on offense, by uniting the conservative movement, by energizing Americans everywhere, by serving one another, we are going to save this country!

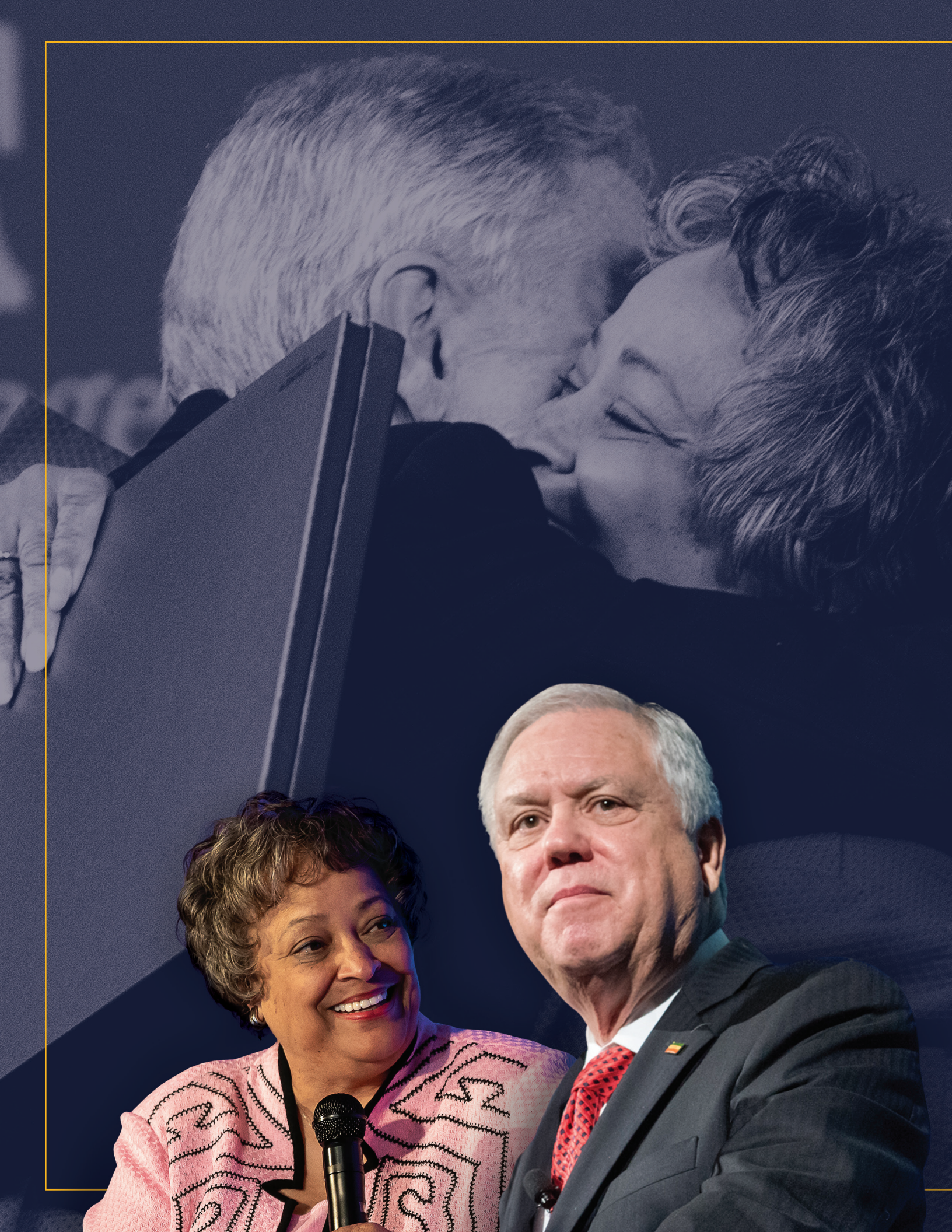
God bless you and God bless America.



Kevin D. Roberts, Ph.D.  
*President*







# A POWERHOUSE TEAM LEAVES THE STAGE

When Heritage was searching for a new president in 2017, the Board of Trustees tapped Kay C. James to lead the search.

But James' lifetime of experience, her boundless optimism, her unbridled passion for Heritage and conservatism so impressed the board that they asked her to serve as Heritage's sixth president.

After a career in the private sector, government, and philanthropy, James agreed to take the job—with the specific goal of positioning Heritage for far greater success in the future. Over the course of nearly four years, James proved the board's judgment absolutely correct.

As president, James led the organization to a period of influence over public policy and brought her private sector experience to strengthen Heritage's operations, putting in place a multi-year strategic plan, zero-based budgeting, enterprise-wide risk management, customer service training, and much more.

One of James' great passions was reaching out and sharing Heritage's message with young people, minorities, and women who don't necessarily consider themselves conservative but who practice conservative principles in their daily lives.

When COVID sent the nation into a tailspin, James organized the National Coronavirus Recovery Commission, giving states a roadmap to successfully reopening their economies. At the same time, she offered other conservative organizations assistance on fundraising, communications, and managing during times of crisis to help them weather the COVID storm.

In all of this, James was aided by Kim Holmes, who served as her executive vice president. Holmes joined Heritage in 1985 and rose to vice president in 1991. He managed the defense and foreign policy team for more than two decades and was a founding editor of the influential Index of Economic Freedom (see page 27).

During President George W. Bush's first term, Holmes served as assistant secretary of state for international organization affairs at the U.S. State Department. When he returned to Heritage in 2005, he wrote the book "Liberty's Best Hope" and followed up with "Rebound," a roadmap for the nation to bounce back from a perceived decline by reconnecting with the roots of its greatness.

"As a historian, diplomat, policy expert, author, and skilled manager, Kim Holmes has served The Heritage Foundation, the conservative movement, and our nation with distinction," James said when Holmes retired. "His wise counsel and institutional experience were invaluable to me."

On the news that this powerhouse team would step down to make way for new leadership at Heritage, Barb Van Andel-Gaby said, "Their tireless dedication to Heritage has taken the organization to new heights, led to numerous accomplishments, and positioned the Heritage team to be ready for the battles ahead." 📖



## NEW ADDITIONS TO HERITAGE'S LEADERSHIP TEAM

President Kevin Roberts moved quickly to rebuild Heritage's leadership team, naming a new executive vice president, chief operating officer, and vice president of domestic policy.

Derrick Morgan returned to Heritage as the organization's executive vice president. Prior to this role, Morgan served as senior vice president for federal and regulatory affairs at American Fuel & Petrochemical Manufacturers (AFPM), where he oversaw government relations, regulatory affairs, and petrochemical departments. A Heritage alum, Morgan was vice president of Heritage's Institute for Economic Freedom and chief of staff to former Heritage President Ed Feulner. Before joining AFPM, Morgan served as Sen. Ben Sasse's chief of staff.

Eric Korsvall, who has been with Heritage for more than two decades, is Heritage's chief operating officer. In this newly established role, Korsvall manages day-to-day operations, as well as all aspects of Heritage's workforce. Korsvall's leadership has been critical in expanding Heritage's strategic presence and capabilities on Capitol Hill, and ensuring Heritage influence on public policy through timely and impactful events and public programs. As COO, Korsvall continues to manage these daily operations, while also working

to grow and expand the conservative movement by increasing Heritage's investment in the next generation of conservative leaders.

Roger Severino rejoined Heritage as the vice president of domestic policy. Severino was previously the director of Heritage's DeVos Center for Religion and Civil Society from 2015-2017, where he led research and policy efforts on pro-life, family, and religious freedom issues. He joined the Trump administration in 2017 as director of the Office for Civil Rights at the U.S. Department of Health and Human Services, leading a team of 250 individuals charged with enforcing U.S. civil rights, religious freedom, and health information privacy laws. Most recently, Severino was a senior fellow at the Ethics and Public Policy Center (EPPC).

"As Heritage's esteemed founder and former president Ed Feulner so often said, people are policy," Roberts said. "The core of Heritage's strength is not just the ideas and values we espouse, but the men and women who live them out on a daily basis." 🗣️



**TACKLING  
AMERICA'S  
BIGGEST  
ISSUES**



heritage.org

Hans von Spakovsky, manager of the Election Law Reform Initiative and senior legal fellow in the Edwin Meese III Center for Legal and Judicial Studies, speaks on how states can bolster their election process. Von Spakovsky has been active on election reform across the country. His 582 media hits alone in 2021 is just a small sampling of how he has promoted more secure elections.

ERIN GRANZOW

# MAKING OUR ELECTIONS MORE SECURE

In early January 2022, House Speaker Nancy Pelosi decried efforts by state governments to protect voters from election fraud, likening them to the protest at the U.S. Capitol the year before.

“What the Republicans are doing across the country,” she said, “is really a legislative continuation of what they did on Jan. 6, which is to undermine our democracy, to undermine the integrity of our elections, to undermine the voting power, which is the essence of a democracy.”

None of what Pelosi said is true. What is true is that Heritage played a key role in providing the data and the policy proposals behind those bills, educating state leaders on their merits, and defending them against unfair attacks like those uttered by Pelosi. As the New York Times reported early in 2021, “Of the 68 bills pertaining to voting, at least 23 had similar language or were firmly rooted in

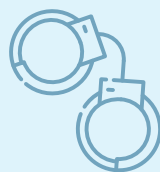
the principles laid out in the Heritage group’s ... extensive report.” The sponsor of an Arizona reform bill, the Times went on, thanked Heritage “in a Facebook post after it passed.”

Election integrity is a prime example of how we put ideas into action. For years, Heritage has led the charge both in exposing the reality of election fraud—our comprehensive Election Fraud Database includes more than 1,300 proven cases of it—and in promoting solutions. Our experts meet regularly with secretaries of state, are interviewed widely by the mainstream press, and publish extensively on the topic. Heritage’s lobbying organization, Heritage Action for America, has



1,340

PROVEN CASES OF VOTER FRAUD AS OF FEB. 2022

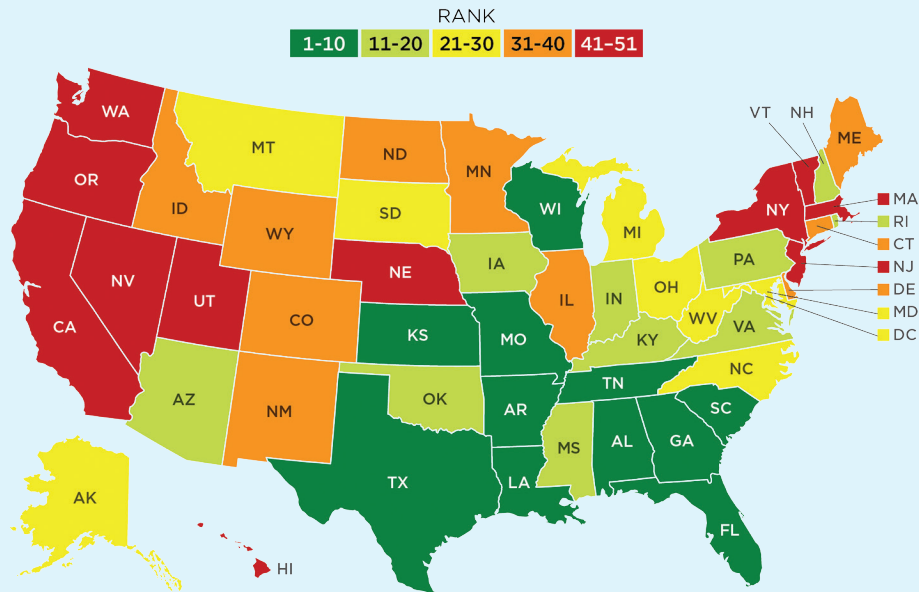


1,152

CRIMINAL CONVICTIONS AS OF FEB. 2022



# The Election Integrity Scorecard



Every citizen's vote is sacred. Voting is how we guarantee that our government remains of the people, by the people, and for the people. In order to help voters, state legislators, election officials, and all Americans who are interested in ensuring a fair and secure election process, The Heritage Foundation published the Election Integrity Scorecard, which compares the election laws and regulations of each state that affect the security and integrity of the process to Heritage's best-practices recommendations.

Find out where your state ranks at [heritage.org/ElectionScorecard/](https://heritage.org/ElectionScorecard/)

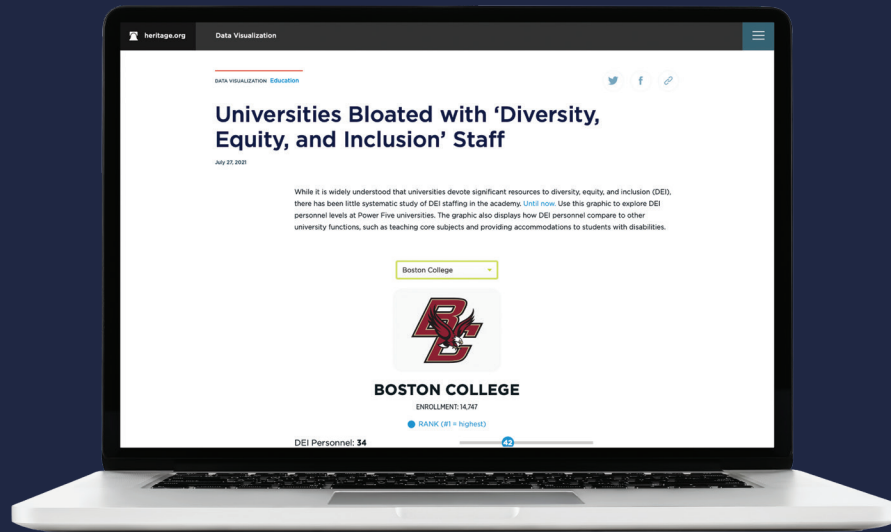
been extremely active lobbying for reforms in key battleground states where the temptation to commit fraud is greatest.

At the end of 2021, your support helped us take our fight to the next level with the first-ever Election Integrity Scorecard—one of the most important research products Heritage has published. This interactive tool ranks all 50 states and the District of Columbia on how well their election laws protect the sanctity of votes. The scorecard reflects all stages of the electoral cycle from registration to voter/electoral certification. Importantly, it also includes model bills for shoring up election vulnerabilities under 12 identified categories.

As it turns out, almost all of the states at the bottom of the election integrity list are left-leaning ones, which might help explain why the left is so adamant that election fraud is a myth.

Hans von Spakovsky, manager of the Election Law Reform Initiative and senior legal fellow in the Edwin Meese III Center for Legal and Judicial Studies, put it best: "Americans need and deserve a system in which it is easy to vote and hard to cheat."

That's a sentiment that everyone—left, right, and center—should agree on. With the scorecard, we are providing the lever to grassroots activists, state legislators, and to you and your neighbors to fix your state election laws. 🗳️



## The Diversity Delusion at Schools

Schools at all levels have been on a hiring binge lately. No, they aren't hiring more teachers or professors. To keep up with the never-ending demands of the "woke" crowd, educators have been adding "diversity, equity, and inclusion" staff.

Jay Greene, Ph.D., a senior research fellow at the Center for Education Policy, documented this trend with research showing how many DEI staff are employed by colleges and K-12 schools around the country, and what, exactly, this bureaucratic bloat accomplishes.

The results have been nothing short of jaw-dropping. At the 65 universities Greene studied, DEI staff outnumbered history professors by almost 2 to 1. The University of Michigan has 5.8 diversity officials for every 100 faculty members.

Greene turned all this data into an interactive database that lets you see just how much DEI bloat there is at your alma mater.

Greene followed this up with a study looking at "chief diversity officers" at public K-12 schools and found that 79 percent of school districts with 100,000 or more students now have a CDO.

But all this DEI bloat is doing nothing to improve student satisfaction at colleges or reduce gaps between black and white children in public schools, Greene found.

“

Kudos to The Heritage Foundation worker who pinned down crystal-clear evidence of ugly bias among those pushing 'diversity, equity, and inclusion.'

—THE NEW YORK POST

Worse still, Greene found a shockingly high degree of antisemitism among the very people whose job it is to make these institutions more tolerant and more inclusive.

Greene's work sparked a wave of news coverage, with the New York Post's editorial board saying: "Kudos to the Heritage Foundation worker who pinned down crystal-clear evidence of ugly bias among those pushing 'diversity, equity, and inclusion.'"

You can read more about Greene's work exposing DEI bloat at [herit.ag/3rBOnTX](https://heritageworks.org/3rBOnTX).





ERIN GRANZOW

# DRIVING FREEDOM OF CHOICE IN EDUCATION

Last year was eye-opening for anyone who cares about the future of this nation, as COVID exposed to millions of parents—and grandparents—just how callous public schools had become.

They saw how indifferent schools were to the needs of children, how beholden to teachers' unions they were, and, worst of all, how many were run by leftist bureaucrats who'd turned schools into indoctrination camps bent on undermining your values.

This realization led to a widely covered revolt in Virginia, where parents elected a Republican governor for the first time in 12 years, and it caused parents across the country who could afford it to put their children in private schools or homeschool them.

But it also prompted a sweeping education reform in West Virginia that got much less attention, yet will empower every family in the state to fight back. It's a reform that your support of Heritage was directly responsible for making a reality.

Here, briefly, is how it came about.

In 2016, Jonathan Butcher, the Will Skillman Fellow in education, published the first report to ever make the case for a reform in West Virginia, called education savings accounts. He followed that report

up with additional research and testimony before the West Virginia House of Delegates. Butcher continued to actively work with the Cardinal Institute, a conservative think tank in the state, to promote the idea.

ESAs—an idea that originated with Heritage scholars—aren't like school vouchers, which parents can only use at another school. These savings accounts bring true freedom to families, because they can use the funds to pay tutors, cover homeschooling costs, and other education services specific to their child.

In the spring of 2021, all that spadework paid off. West Virginia Gov. Jim Justice signed a bill enacting the most sweeping education choice plan in the country. Starting this fall, all families with students currently enrolled in public schools will be able to access up to \$4,600 of state education funds if they decide to seek other options.

That means starting in the fall of 2022, no West Virginia child will have to remain stuck in a school that fails to meet their needs. No parent will be forced to watch their tax dollars used to undermine their values. Teachers' unions will no longer be able to hold West Virginia families hostage.

“Parents have a right to be in control of their children’s education,” says Lindsey Burke, Ph.D., director of Heritage’s Center for Education Policy and the Mark A. Kolokotronis fellow in education. “West Virginia has shown that this can be a reality.”

So how do we expand education freedom to the rest of the country?

With your support, Heritage in 2022 is undertaking a game-changing product, tentatively called the Index of Education Freedom, which will rank states based on several measures of freedom, from school choice opportunities, state regulations, open enrollment at public schools, and more.

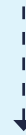
With this publication, we will be arming you, your neighbors, and parents across the country with the unassailable facts they need to demand change. 📌



## Pathway to School Choice

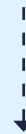
**SEP. 2016**

Published the first report making the case for ESAs in West Virginia



**DEC. 2016**

Testified before the West Virginia House of Delegates



**2016 - 2021**

Worked with conservative partners to build support for ESAs in West Virginia



**MARCH 2021**

The most sweeping education choice plan in the country is signed into law



Walter Lohman, director of the Asian Studies Center, Heritage's oldest research center, and Dean Cheng, senior research fellow, speak out about the threat of the Chinese Communist Party.

# ENDING THE THREAT OF COMMUNIST CHINA

While the left kept its head buried in the sand, The Heritage Foundation was actively working on your behalf to expose the increasing threats posed by Communist China to its own people, to the region, to the United States, and to freedom-loving people everywhere.

“China represents the single biggest challenge to American interests in the world,” said Asian Studies Center Director Walter Lohman. By the end of the year, China’s malignant behavior was apparent to everyone with eyes to see.

You helped us point out the fact that Chinese Communist Party (CCP) members had infiltrated a host of U.S. universities and businesses and that supposedly private Chinese companies were effectively arms of the CCP. You kept the public aware of China’s increasingly aggressive and belligerent actions in the region, particularly against Taiwan, and its serial lies about COVID-19.

Your support also produced a vital new resource last year called the China Transparency Report. This comprehensive guide helps policymakers assess the current state of the CCP’s global ambitions. China’s lack of transparency in these areas is a significant problem, one that isn’t likely to change. So, to help fill this gap, the report collects data from dozens of partner organizations worldwide.

“To address China effectively,” Lohman explained, “policymakers—as well as the public—need the best information available. We’ve worked with dozens of organizations around the world to bring it all under one cover.”



## PASSED

UYGHUR FORCED LABOR  
PREVENTION ACT

# Saving Lives, Halfway Around the World

At Heritage, having an impact on events doesn't just mean advancing the right public policies. It can also mean using our talent, skills, and experience to save lives—literally. In his new book, “Winning in a Socially Networked World,” James Carafano, vice president of the Kathryn and Shelby Cullom Davis Institute for National Security and Foreign Policy and the E.W. Richardson fellow, recounts how he leveraged his long list of worldwide contacts to help hundreds who were desperately trying to flee Afghanistan after the Taliban took over. The following is excerpted from the book's prologue.

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*It all started with an email from an old friend and mentor who served on the board of the Center for International Private Enterprise. His request was, “Help.”*

*Afghanistan was a half-a-world away in an opposite time zone, mired in absolute chaos and conflict. Helping from a computer in Washington, D.C., seemed a forlorn hope. But, when friends ask—you answer.*

*Riffling through my Outlook contact list produced about a half-dozen email addresses of non-governmental organization representatives, former government officials, journalists, policy analysts, activists, and retired military—a wish list of folks who I figured might know something, someone, or have a clue of whom to ask.*

*To my great surprise, the emails triggered a small hyperactive network, folks rushing to save lives before it was too late.*

*In less than a day, what became a global network of volunteers, many of whom didn't know each other before the crisis, effectively linked federal agencies, foreign governments, NGOs like Spirit of America, commercial charter plane companies, special forces veterans, a former yoga instructor, philanthropists, journalists, random do-gooders, a well-known writer of spy and political thrillers,*



James Carafano, vice president of the Kathryn and Shelby Cullom Davis Institute for National Security and Foreign Policy and the E.W. Richardson fellow, was also the most sought-after Heritage expert in 2021, with a whopping 775 media hits between his many TV appearances, radio spots, and podcast interviews.

*and all kinds of other folks from all over the country, all over the world.*

*What these folks achieved was extraordinary. The collapse of Afghanistan, the resurgence of the Taliban, and the haphazard withdrawal were a humiliating setback for the U.S. government. If not, however, for the incredible individual efforts of so many, from so many countries, assisting in the evacuation, the disaster could have been far worse.*

*There is no question that some people got help who likely would now be dead if not for the chance connections of emails flying across the internet.*



## China Uncovered

As China continues its rise, the actions of the Chinese Communist Party have implications across the globe. The need for transparency is increasingly important. Even before the COVID-19 pandemic, the CCP has often withheld, obfuscated, and falsified data for its own purposes. In this podcast, Heritage Senior Policy Analyst Olivia Enos hosts representatives of world-class data projects to discuss how their projects are shining a spotlight on the CCP's actions and emerging trends from their data.

Find “China Uncovered” and other Heritage Podcast Network shows at [apple.co/3gPVwtQ](https://apple.co/3gPVwtQ)

Above all, where you clearly had an influence was on the issue of China's horrific abuse of the Uyghur people and the need for the U.S. to forcefully respond to it. Few experts wrote as widely or as passionately about the plight of the Uyghurs as Olivia Enos, senior policy analyst at the Asian Studies Center. Last spring, the U.S. Commission on International Freedom called on Enos to testify about the horrific human rights abuses and genocide facing the Uyghurs, and in October, she testified again—this time before the Congressional-Executive Commission on China.

In part because of her work, Rep. James McGovern, D-Mass., introduced the bipartisan “Uyghur Forced Labor Prevention Act” in the House last year, and Sen. Marco Rubio, R-Fla., introduced a version of that bill in the Senate. At Rubio's urging, the bill passed both houses, despite the deplorable efforts by the Biden administration to block it. The president didn't want the bill to disrupt its climate talks with Beijing. Enos called the new law “a direct, necessary response to some of the CCP's most evil behavior, and also to the lackluster use of existing tools by the Biden administration.” 🇺🇸



Heritage President Kevin Roberts joins Young Leaders Program interns before the March for Life in Washington, D.C., on Jan. 21, 2022. Heritage opened its doors to marchers affected by D.C.'s aggressive vaccine mandates.

ERIN GRANZOW

# STANDING UP FOR LIFE

**A** bortion is an issue that many public policy organizations—including some that identify as conservative—would prefer to ignore.

However, at Heritage, we recognize that every human life, born and unborn, has innate dignity and value and is worthy of protection. To ignore the plight of the most innocent in our society is simply unconscionable.

With your support, The Heritage Foundation has spoken out boldly in defense of life and fought for policies that protect both mothers and their babies.

One area in the fight for life where your efforts have made considerable impact is in the courts. For the first time since 1973 (when the unjust and misguided Roe v. Wade decision was handed down), America has a chance to right the many wrongs abortion-on-demand has brought to our country. The Dobbs case, currently being considered by the court, is the most significant chance to shift pro-life policy in over four decades.

This is only possible because you were instrumental in getting Justice Amy Coney Barrett confirmed to the Supreme Court, replacing the liberal Ruth Bader Ginsburg and giving conservatives a clear majority on the court. Our legal experts recommended Barrett as a potential candidate to President Trump. Following her nomination, Heritage worked to educate the public and Congress on Barrett's character and judicial beliefs and expose the lies told by her critics. Heritage experts produced dozens of op-eds, held events, and even launched a seven-figure ad campaign to promote her confirmation. Without your advocacy for conservative justices, it is unlikely the Dobbs case would have ever been heard by the court.

No matter the outcome of the Dobbs case, which at this writing still hasn't been decided, we will continue your fight for life on a multitude of fronts, especially at the state level. Heritage Policy Analyst Melanie Israel spoke at a rally for Dobbs outside the Supreme Court in December. Heritage saw a bill introduced in Congress that reflected our work—Protecting Life on College Campus Act of 2021 (H.R.4607). Meanwhile, seven states (Montana, Texas, Oklahoma, Indiana, North Dakota, Arizona, and Arkansas) took steps administratively or legislatively to strengthen regulation of abortion pills, an issue you helped bring to life and on which we worked with a national coalition to develop model legislation.

The right to life is precious and inalienable, and you can trust that The Heritage Foundation will not rest until it is protected in law. 🇺🇸

## Former Heritage Intern Leads the Fight to Protect the Unborn

When the Supreme Court heard arguments in the Dobbs case, it was thanks in part to one woman who has been a key figure leading the charge to overturn Roe v. Wade: Marjorie Dannenfelser, president of the Susan B. Anthony List (SBA). Marjorie got her start as a Heritage intern.

The SBA List is a nationally renowned political group dedicated to ending abortion by electing national leaders and advocating for laws that save lives. The SBA List has helped elect more than 100 pro-life leaders to Congress and dozens to statewide offices.

Marjorie was an intern in Heritage's Young Leaders Program, which recruits and trains promising young people and has launched the careers of many prominent conservative leaders.

Her internship, Marjorie says, directly influenced the course her life and work took. She says that when she entered the YLP back in 1986, she was firmly pro-choice, but opened her heart to the unborn after the education she received and the people she met at Heritage.

"The consequence of that deep change," she says, "led to the founding of the Susan B. Anthony List."

Marjorie is one of our country's premier pro-life advocates. She has been named one of Newsmax's Top 25 Influential Republican Women, one of Politico Magazine's Top 50 Influencers, and served as national co-chair of Pro-Life Voices for Trump.

By investing in Heritage's Young Leaders Program, you are helping to build a better future for generations of Americans and providing the leaders who, like Marjorie, are guiding America back to our core principles.





2021

Mike Gonzalez, the Angeles T. Arredondo E Pluribus Unum fellow, challenged the liberal narrative on critical race theory in schools and pushed back against identity politics in the media, with 247 appearances on TV, radio, and podcast shows. In 2021, he published his third book, "BLM: A New Marxist Revolution."

# COMBATTING CRITICAL RACE THEORY

Imagine an ideology that tells your child that, simply because of their skin color, they are an oppressor, who is guilty of serious injustices against groups of people going back generations.

Or, this ideology might tell your child that, because of their skin color, they are a victim, destined to fail because an unfair society will never let them succeed.

If this ideology sounds familiar to you, it's because it has already spread throughout our country. It's called critical race theory (CRT), and you are helping The Heritage Foundation to defeat it wherever we can.

At its core, CRT is a Marxist ideology that has seeped into many of America's public institutions. It's especially pervasive in America's schools, where the campaign to rewrite history and depict the U.S. as irredeemably racist is the fiercest. Its goal isn't to end racism but to remake our society to fit the leftist agenda and reintroduce racial discrimination into our culture.

By supporting Heritage, you were an early and outspoken opponent of critical race theory, and you fearlessly fought back with the truth. Together, we used the breadth of our expertise in law, education policy, history, policy formulation, storytelling, convening, and investigative reporting to expose CRT for what it really is.

You also went on offense in this fight and took the battle right to the states. Over the past year, Heritage policy experts helped draft model legislation to protect state institutions and K-12 schools from CRT.

In 2021, Heritage senior fellows Jonathan Butcher and Mike Gonzalez both testified about the nature of CRT before the Louisiana state legislature while Gonzalez also testified before the Subcommittee on



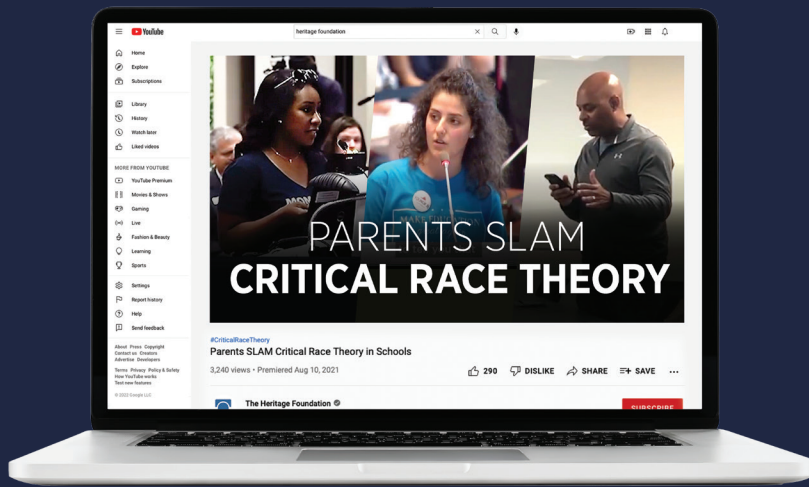
164

RELATED BROADCAST  
HITS IN 2021



336

RELATED PRINT  
MENTIONS IN 2021



## On Offense Against CRT in the Media

As part of Heritage, you were a leader in the fight against CRT, especially through a creative, sustained, and aggressive media strategy.

When NBC's Brandy Zadrozny attacked Heritage for our role in supporting the anti-CRT movement and criticized parents for filing FOIA requests with their school districts, we executed a rapid-response campaign on social media, tweeting the video in a comprehensive thread taking down her claims.

The video and our response received hundreds of thousands of views and generated numerous stories, including in Fox News, The Federalist, and Daily Wire. The response was critical in showing the elitism of CRT proponents.

The National Education Association also attacked Heritage by name because of our CRT work, to which we hit back with social media posts that drew massive media attention, including coverage on Education Week, Newsmax, Ben Shapiro Show, Fox News, National Review, Epoch Times, Daily Caller, and more. It also prompted several days of negative coverage for the teachers' union.

And when the NEA tried to scrub the item from its website, we caught them red-handed and made another news cycle out of it.

These initiatives alone resulted in 164 broadcast hits and 336 print mentions in 2021. It's a case study in how, with Heritage, you are always on offense against the radical left's agenda.

Civil Rights and Civil Liberties in the U.S. House of Representatives. Butcher and Gonzalez crisscrossed the country speaking on this issue to legislators, universities, conservative allies, education associations, and parent groups.

The Heritage Foundation also hosted a major event highlighting the dangers of CRT, "The New Intolerance: Critical Race Theory and Its Grip on America," and Butcher published a new book, "Splintered: Critical Race Theory and the

Progressive War on Truth," which makes clear how CRT has hijacked the U.S. education system.

As of this writing, 26 state legislatures have introduced bills to remove critical race theory from their state institutions and K-12 schools.

We also published an e-book on CRT, and thanks to your help, we have distributed thousands of copies of this e-book to educate voters on how to spot CRT in their communities: [bit.ly/3oS5u1X](https://bit.ly/3oS5u1X). 📖

A man in a dark suit and tie is speaking at a podium in a radio studio. He is gesturing with his hands. In front of him is a large microphone on a stand. To his left, a computer monitor displays a video feed. In the background, a sign reads "THE DAILY SIGN" with a logo to the left. The entire scene is overlaid with a semi-transparent orange filter.

THE DAILY SIGN

# HERITAGE'S REACH



Congressional Communications Outreach Manager Scott Zipperle interviews a protestor at the Defeat the Mandates Rally on Jan. 23, 2022 for *The Daily Signal's* coverage of the rally.

TAYLOR DABNEY

# SCORING A MAJOR WIN FOR FREEDOM

When we say “always on offense,” you can believe that we mean it, and nothing showcases this better than Heritage’s first-ever lawsuit against the federal government to block the Biden administration’s draconian—and illegal—vaccine mandate on employers.

Heritage’s legal scholars had already done yeoman’s work on your behalf explaining how the Occupational Safety and Health Administration

(OSHA) had no legal authority to enforce this mandate, including a report in the peer-reviewed *Administrative Law Review*.

But implications of this mandate were too profound to simply complain about it and hope for the best. If left standing, President Biden's mandate would have opened the floodgates to federal intervention in every corner of our lives. If the government can force Americans to undergo a medical procedure of uncertain merit, what can't they do? This is why, in a Nov. 29 statement announcing the lawsuit, Heritage President Kevin Roberts called the Biden mandate "a deadly serious threat to our individual liberty and the values that make America great."

Heritage retained the American Center for Law and Justice to represent us in this matter, whose chief counsel, Jay Sekulow, defended President Trump during his first impeachment trial.

Our case, along with many others filed to block this mandate, ended up in the 6th U.S. Circuit Court of Appeals, which denied the stay. So, we appealed to the U.S. Supreme Court to keep the mandate from going into effect until there was a final ruling on its legal merits.

On Jan. 13, 2022, the Supreme Court did the right thing and kept the mandate from going into effect, suggesting that the mandate would not likely survive a ruling on the merits because Congress had never given OSHA the power to mandate "vaccination of 84 million Americans, selected simply because they work for employers with more than 100 employees."

In his appearance on the "Jay Sekulow Live" show, Roberts responded to this major victory by saying, "We're ecstatic because it is a line in the sand against the Biden regime that they better not cross again."

Your influence on this case extends beyond Heritage's scholarly work and litigation to the fact that you helped tilt the balance of the Supreme Court in favor of justices who see their job as interpreting the Constitution as written, not imposing a liberal agenda from the bench. There's no telling how this mandate would have ended up if conservatives didn't have a majority on the court. 🇺🇸



## Defeating the OSHA Vaccine Mandate

**SEP. 9, 2021**

President Joe Biden announces plan for a vaccine mandate for large employers



**NOV. 29, 2021**

Heritage files first-ever lawsuit asking the courts to halt the illegal mandate



**DEC. 17, 2021**

The 6th Circuit denies the stay, prompting Heritage to appeal to the U.S. Supreme Court



**JAN. 13, 2022**

The U.S. Supreme Court halts the OSHA vaccine mandate for private employers



Rep. Mike Rogers, R-Ala., speaks on the readiness of the U.S. military at the launch of the 2022 Index of U.S. Military Strength.

# RESEARCH THAT REVERBERATES AROUND THE WORLD

One of the great strengths of The Heritage Foundation that you make possible is the ability to pull together vast amounts of data on the most important issues of the day and present them in highly influential reports.

Two of these are the Index of Economic Freedom and the Index of U.S. Military Strength.

The Index of Economic Freedom collects data on 12 measures of economic freedom from 184 countries, analyzes this data, and ranks these nations based on the results. The index provides definitive proof of the benefits of limited government, free markets, the rule of law, and prudent fiscal policies because it consistently shows a direct connection between freedom and prosperity.

The index doesn't just influence policy debates here in the U.S.; its rankings can rankle the leaders of nations.

Such was the case when the index dropped Hong Kong as a separate country. Hong Kong had held the No. 1 spot in the world in every one of the index's 25 years, until it fell into second place behind Singapore in 2020. The next year, the editors removed Hong Kong altogether from the list in the wake of Communist China's increased interference.

That didn't sit well with Hong Kong officials. In fact, Hong Kong's finance secretary, Paul Chan, attacked our decision to remove Hong Kong's standalone ranking.

"When they arrived at that decision, they must have been clouded by their ideological inclination and



## 2.6 MILLION

USERS VISITED THE INDEX OF ECONOMIC FREEDOM WEBSITE IN 2021





political bias,” Chan said, according to Radio Television Hong Kong.

Another highly influential publication you make possible is the Index of U.S. Military Strength, which provides a detailed assessment of the readiness of every branch of the military. It is without question the most authoritative unclassified reference for information on the U.S. military.

The eighth edition, which runs 587 pages and was published in October, notes storm clouds on the horizon as President Biden proposes to underfund several key capabilities. It also includes a new chapter on cyber security and brand-new scoring for the U.S. Space Force. Asia, and the China threat in particular, figures prominently in the report.

The launch event featured Rep. Mike Rogers, R-Ala., who is the ranking member of the House Armed Services Committee and one of the leading voices in Congress for a strong national defense. At that event, Rogers said, “The 2022 Index of U.S. Military Strength could not have come at a better time. As a policymaker, I rely on the insights of experts such as the scholars here at Heritage. With the index, I can contemplate what some of the best thinkers have to say about the U.S. military. I’m constantly looking for conservative insights into how Congress can further strengthen our national defense. Please know that the work you produce will help shape the policy that I will put forward and the oversight that I will conduct as chairman of the House Armed Services Committee after next November.”

“ The 2022 *Index of U.S. Military Strength* could not have come at a better time... The work you produce will help shape the policy that I will put forward and the oversight that I will conduct. —REP. MIKE ROGERS, R-ALA.

Added to this list of publications is the China Transparency Report, the first of which was published last year and measures China’s transparency across eight different sectors.

“The Chinese government has a history of withholding, manipulating, and falsifying data for its own purposes,” says Walter Lohman, director of The Heritage Foundation’s Asian Studies Center. He adds that this independent data “exposes areas where China poses the greatest threat to U.S. interests, and examines where threats are overstated.”

Also added to the list of major publications in 2021 was the Election Integrity Scorecard (see page 10). We also brought forth the interactive “Essential Constitution” e-book, which explores the U.S. Constitution’s origins, busts myths, examines threats, and includes a primer on how to interpret this seminal document. An accompanying website includes a host of resources for anyone wanting to understand America’s founding: [heritage.org/the-essential-constitution](https://heritage.org/the-essential-constitution). 📖

# Reaching Audiences Where They Are

A big part of staying on offense is adapting to changes on the field. That's nowhere more important than in communications, where there has been an absolute upheaval in how people get information. When not fighting Big Tech, you're helping us expand our reach on social media, whether it's Twitter, Facebook, YouTube, or other platforms.

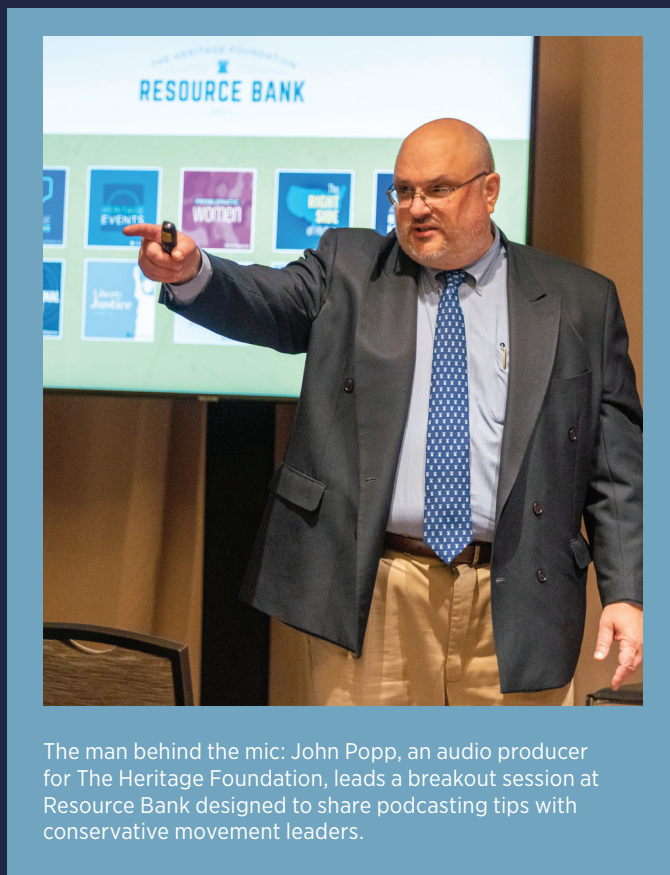
One big way you're reaching new audiences is through our growing stable of influential podcasts, which now features "The Kevin Roberts Show," hosted by our new president.

Another increasingly popular show is "The Daily Signal Podcast," hosted by Virginia Allen, Doug Blair, and Rob Bluey. Each weekday, the podcast shares leading headlines being covered in Heritage's news outlet, The Daily Signal, and provides smart and sophisticated commentary on what's important.

Last year, "The Daily Signal Podcast" generated more than 2 million listens. The most popular episode of the year focused on former New York Gov. Andrew Cuomo's attempt to cover up the vast number of COVID deaths in nursing homes in his state. The second most popular was on the plight of overwhelmed Border Patrol agents.

"The Daily Signal Podcast" guest list is a veritable who's who of lawmakers, leaders in the conservative movement, and scholars inside and outside Heritage.

JIM STONE



The man behind the mic: John Popp, an audio producer for The Heritage Foundation, leads a breakout session at Resource Bank designed to share podcasting tips with conservative movement leaders.

Check out all the shows at [heritage.org/podcasts](https://heritage.org/podcasts), and share them with your friends and family.

- › The Daily Signal Podcast
- › The Kevin Roberts Show
- › Heritage Explains
- › SCOTUS 101
- › Heritage Events
- › Problematic Women
- › China Uncovered
- › America's Biggest Issues

That's how we stay on offense. That's how we change minds and win the war of ideas.

Podcasts aren't the only place you can find us online.

Between the Heritage and Daily Signal accounts, our content was popular in 2021:

**3.08M**  
PODCAST  
LISTENS

**2.87M**  
FACEBOOK  
FOLLOWERS

**696.9K**  
TWITTER  
FOLLOWERS

**319.6K**  
YOUTUBE  
SUBSCRIBERS

**190.7K**  
INSTAGRAM  
FOLLOWERS



ERIN GRANZOW

Kara Frederick, former Facebook employee and Heritage research fellow in technology policy, authored Heritage's definitive report for taking on Big Tech, "Combating Big Tech's Totalitarianism: A Road Map."

# TAKING ON BIG TECH

It's no secret that Big Tech companies actively discriminate against conservative voices and viewpoints.

While conservatives used to be hard pressed to present hard evidence of this discrimination, Heritage has done major work to shine a light on the truth—arming you in the battle against the dangerous, politically motivated censorship by these behemoths.

In her testimony before a U.S. House committee recently, Heritage research fellow and former Facebook employee Kara Frederick put it bluntly, calling Big Tech “an enemy of the people.” In May 2021, Heritage signed a pledge along with other

conservative leaders calling out Big Tech censorship and refusing to accept contributions from them.

Addressing this threat has been and will continue to be a priority for Heritage going forward. We are recommending that Congress update Section 230 of the 26-year-old Communications Decency Act, which currently provides Big Tech with blanket liability immunity. Lawmakers wanted to incentivize these platforms to improve communication, not silence political dissent.

We are also helping to shape state legislation regarding Big Tech censorship. And since the public helped grow these tech platforms into what they are, it makes sense that the public ought to be the ones to bring them back in line. You need to be able to see—and understand—the platforms’ rules and terms of service. And you need to know your rights. What recourse do you have if your account is taken down or labeled? And most importantly, are these monopolists even following their own rules?

Heritage is taking your fight for free expression to the next level. Thanks to your support, Frederick has been able to gather up hard data on how malicious these companies have become. You deserve better. The nation deserves better.

#### FROM THE REPORT:

- › A 2019 study found that Twitter suspended users in the “conservative” category at a ratio of 21-to-1 compared to “liberals.”
- › Twitter and Facebook censor Republican members of Congress at a rate of 53-to-1 compared to Democrats in Congress.
- › In 2020, Google suppressed conservative-leaning outlets such as the Daily Caller, Breitbart, and The Federalist. For instance, Breitbart’s Google search visibility shrank by 99 percent during the 2020 presidential election cycle compared to the same period in 2016.
- › Facebook created and used two internal tools in the aftermath of Donald Trump’s 2016 electoral victory that suppressed right-wing content, media traffic, and reach on the site. One of these tools was still in use by Facebook as of October 2021. 🇺🇸

## Heritage Feels Big Tech’s Sting

Stories of Big Tech censorship of conservative content and conservative politicians are legion. Heritage is not immune from their efforts to squelch speech they don’t like.

Examples from the past year include:

- › In September 2021, Amazon prohibited ads promoting Heritage scholar Mike Gonzalez’s book criticizing the Black Lives Matter organization and its relationship to Marxism.
- › In March 2021, Amazon revealed that it removed scholar Ryan T. Anderson’s book on gender dysphoria, written while he was a senior research fellow at Heritage. Amazon banned the book, “When Harry Became Sally,” three years after publication because it allegedly violated Amazon’s content policy.
- › In September 2021, Twitter censored a Daily Signal video documenting the work of mounted Border Patrol agents. The video, shot and published in 2017, highlights how horses help the U.S. Border Patrol secure the border. When we reposted the video in the wake of a debunked story about agents on horseback whipping illegal immigrants, Twitter slapped a warning label on it: “The following media includes potentially sensitive content.”

We had the media clout to get the tech giants to respond and in some cases back off, but not every conservative does. That’s why in early 2022, Heritage released a comprehensive list of reforms needed to rein in Big Tech.



Heritage Director Lora Ries and visiting fellows Ken Cuccinelli, former deputy secretary of Homeland Security, and Mark Morgan, former commissioner of U.S. Customs and Border Protection, helped Heritage broadcast the crisis at the border while the liberal media ignored it.

# CHANGING THE MEDIA NARRATIVE ON THE BORDER CRISIS

Soon after Joe Biden took office, the border was overrun by illegal immigrants, a story that the administration and the liberal media were happy to downplay or ignore.

But that was impossible thanks to you and your support of The Heritage Foundation.

Together, we were able to mount a media blitz that kept the story alive, exposed the dire humanitarian crisis the Biden administration had unleashed, and held the current leadership to account for this unprecedented crisis.

You knew as well as we did that illegal immigrants would flood across the border if the open-borders crowd gained control of Congress and the White House. In anticipation of that, we recruited three veterans of the Trump administration who have unmatched expertise

on border security: Chad Wolf, secretary of the U.S. Department of Homeland Security; Ken Cuccinelli, deputy secretary of the U.S. Department of Homeland Security; and Mark Morgan, commissioner of U.S. Customs and Border Protection.

Between the three of them, they made nearly 500 national broadcast segments in 2021, including nearly 200 in their first three months as Heritage visiting fellows.

Their constant media presence helped build and expand the border crisis narrative, which was a constant story throughout 2021.



784

RELATED BROADCAST  
HITS IN 2021



260

RELATED PRINT  
MENTIONS IN 2021

# Making It Personal

Despite the left's control of the White House and Congress, the Institute for Economic Freedom scored several victories in 2021.

The Institute's research, op-eds, media presence, and close relations on Capitol Hill, for example, were instrumental in blocking President Biden's \$4 trillion "Build Back Better" disaster. Our work exposed this bill for what it was—a radical leftist ploy to vastly expand the federal welfare state that no Republican or centrist Democrat should support.

We were also key in keeping another policy disaster—the \$15 minimum wage—out of Biden's "American Rescue Plan." This success comes not just through the quality of our research, but our ability to show the real-world impact of the left's policies.

Rachel Greszler, a research fellow in economics, budget, and entitlements in the Institute for Economic Freedom, knows how effective this is. So, when she's making her case, she doesn't just gather the data, she does the hard work of finding real people to share their stories.

For example, Greszler hosted a public event featuring restaurant owners and workers (most of whom were liberal) about why doubling the federal minimum wage was a bad idea. When she testified before Congress on the issue, she shared the views of several business owners, one of whom told her, "I am a staunch supporter of

In tandem with this, Heritage's media and public relations team released regular statements in response to Border Patrol's monthly reports on border crossings, which were skyrocketing throughout the year. They hosted two national press briefings on the crisis and produced five fact-checks of Biden administration officials' statements that were well-received in the media, including a plug on Sean Hannity's show and his website: "[The] Heritage Foundation fact-checked Biden's bogus claim about the border when he said the expulsion of single adults did not pose an operational challenge for the Border Patrol."



Rachel Greszler, research fellow at the Grover M. Hermann Center for the Federal Budget, testifies before Congress on the harm raising the minimum wage would do to business owners and workers.

Joe Biden and voted for him to save this country. Now I ask him to save my restaurant from the good intentions of progressive policymakers."

To explain why the federal COVID unemployment bonus discouraged people from returning to work, she produced a video with The Daily Signal about how the resulting worker shortage was harming a person with disabilities.

To fight the PRO Act, a union-backed bill that would harm independent contractors, Greszler shared stories about working women who would be harmed by the bill, including a "Mercedes-driving grandmother in San Antonio, [who] was driving an Uber as a way to earn extra money to help send her grandchildren to parochial school."

This is what you are accomplishing. Real stories. Real impact.

We also used social media to advance the border crisis narrative, doing rapid response when Press Secretary Jen Psaki accidentally called the border crisis a "crisis," and sharing photos of overcrowded Border Patrol facilities.

All told, Heritage experts were featured in 784 total broadcast segments about the border, roughly 15 percent of all Heritage broadcast hits for the year, and secured more than 260 print mentions on the issue, as well.

Simply put, you forced the press to pay attention. ■



**OUR  
STRONGEST  
ASSET:  
YOU**



# SO THAT FUTURE GENERATIONS MAY LIVE IN FREEDOM

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

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

## The Heritage Legacy Society was honored to welcome these new members in 2021.

Mr. Jozephus J. Aarts  
Mr. Nicholas P. Alban  
Mr. John E. Alley  
Mr. and Mrs. Philip Allor  
Mr. Alfred Alvarez  
Mr. Jerome S. Amber  
Mr. Morris Armstrong  
Mr. and Mrs. John J. Atherton  
Ms. Sue Augenstein  
Mr. Dan Baerthel  
Miss Catherine Baker  
Ms. Joyce Ballard  
Mr. Bruce Barner  
Mr. and Mrs. Richard B. Barnhart  
Mrs. Gayle E. Bartos-Pool  
Dr. William Benson  
Mr. and Mrs. Frederick L. Berta  
Mr. James L. Bertram  
Mr. Ron Bildstein  
Mr. Steve Bjorkman  
Mrs. Joann Bjorkman  
Mr. Ronald Blaauboer  
Mr. Scott Alan Blanchard  
Mr. T. E. Blanchard  
Mr. David Blazensky  
Mr. Phillip R. Boyce  
Mr. Dennis L. Briggs  
Mr. John L. Brouillette  
Miss Nadine M. Brown  
Dr. Eugene Bruder  
Ms. Loralee Burnett  
Mr. Steven Buyers  
Mr. Randy Calk  
Mr. David T. Caputo  
Mr. and Mrs. Louis Cardon  
Mr. and Mrs. Stanley Carlson  
Mr. Richard Carr

Mr. and Mrs. Dennis L. Carter  
Mrs. Kathie Casey  
Ms. Christine Certo  
Mr. Ku Chin  
Mr. Steve Christophersen  
Miss Sharon L. Clarke  
Mr. Truman R. Coble, Jr.  
Ms. Lynn M. Cochran  
Mrs. Patricia Coffey  
Mrs. Eleanor C. Colburn  
Ms. Arlyne Cornelsen  
Mr. Lawrence M. Costa  
Mr. Mark Cunningham  
Mr. and Mrs. Anthony J. Czerwinski  
Mr. Michael J. Dahms  
Mr. Ron Daley  
Mr. Gary Davis  
Dr. and Mrs. J. Michael DeCenzo  
Mr. Donald D. Dennis, Sr.  
Mr. Richard Deters  
Mr. Prayong Dhammasiri  
Mrs. Joan Dinse  
Mr. and Mrs. Aaron Dumont  
Dr. Philip E. Eaton  
Mr. David Ellis  
Mr. and Mrs. Steven Ercole  
Mr. William C. Erwin, Jr.  
Mr. Natividad Escobedo  
Mr. Gordon Evans  
Mr. Joseph Falanga  
Ms. Suzan Fender  
Mr. Jeff Fischer  
Ms. Lauranne Fisher  
Ms. Victoria I. Ford  
Mr. Clyde Kingdon French  
Dr. Robert H. Friedman  
Mr. William Frye

Mr. Paul E. Fulbright  
Mr. J. L. Fuller  
Mr. Robert G. Fuller, Jr.  
Mr. Thomas E. Futcher  
Mr. Lyle W. Gansko  
Mr. Dennis Garlock  
Mr. Peter D. Gianino  
Mr. Joe Gillen  
Ms. Patricia Gilroy  
Mr. Wally Glasgow  
Mr. Howard D. Goldstein  
Ms. Bonita J. Gorbaty  
Mr. Dennis Greenia  
Mr. and Mrs. Hal K. Grimshaw  
Ms. Andrea Grossman  
Mr. Kieu Ha  
Mr. Jon W. Hachfeld  
Mrs. Elyse Hall  
Mr. Dean Hampton  
Mr. John F. B. Haney  
Mr. Gerald H. Hardesty  
Mr. Joseph Hardy  
Mr. Glenn Harney  
Mr. Guy Harriman  
Mr. Tyrell W. Haynes  
Mr. and Mrs. Thomas Hazelton  
Mr. Roger Heins  
Mr. William Hembree  
Ms. Carrie Henderson  
Ms. Marjorie R. Hess  
Mr. Gregory Hesse  
Mr. and Mrs. Kenneth O. Heusser  
Mr. John Hirschberger  
Mrs. Bonnie Hocker  
Mrs. Pat Hoffmeier  
Mr. Ronald Holl  
Mr. David B. Holland

Ms. Darlyne Horn  
 Mrs. Jean Hunter  
 Mr. Edgar Huntington  
 Mr. Steven F. Hurst  
 Mrs. Carlos Jaureguizar  
 Ms. Camille Jeanbaptiste  
 Ms. Anne Jenkins  
 Ms. Doris D. Jerman  
 Dr. and Mrs. Stewart Johnson  
 Mr. and Mrs. Kenneth W. Johnson  
 Mr. Hubert Johnson  
 Mr. Jacob K. Johnson  
 Mr. Ron Kauffman  
 Mrs. Marlene A. Kautz  
 Mr. Lewis Kayes  
 Mr. David Kelly  
 Mr. Rodney A. Klein  
 Mr. WI Klein  
 Mr. Andrew Kluger  
 Mr. Larry Knoebel  
 Mr. Marvin C. Koeper  
 Mr. Robert D. Kopisch  
 Mr. Bert Krages  
 Mrs. Mary Kretschmer  
 Mr. Michael Kuehn  
 Ms. Patricia Labranche  
 Mr. Larry Ladd  
 Mr. Donald H. Laidlaw  
 Ms. Karen Lampert  
 Mr. Robert P. Lewis  
 Mr. Emory Liggett  
 Mr. Joseph L. Ligos  
 Mr. Cornelius Link  
 Mr. and Mrs. Patrick O. Little  
 Mr. Hugh Littrell  
 Mr. Stewart W. Long  
 Ms. Anita Lopes  
 Mr. Jose Lora  
 Mr. Harold Lowry  
 Mr. Robert L. Lowry  
 Mr. and Mrs. William E. Lutz  
 Mr. Mark Macconnell  
 Mr. and Mrs. David Majernik  
 Mr. John F. Malin, Sr.  
 Ms. Helen Maret  
 Ms. Suzanne M. Maridon-Crites  
 Mr. William H. Marshall, Jr.  
 Mrs. Lucille Marshall  
 Mr. and Mrs. Ken Marts  
 Mr. and Mrs. Ray Masayko  
 Mr. and Mrs. Michael A. McCabe  
 Mr. Terrence E. McCracken  
 Ms. Rebecca McNamara  
 Mr. and Mrs. Dennis G. Meader  
 Mr. Dave G. Meadows  
 Mr. Richard Melcher  
 Mr. and Mrs. Laurence D. Mendenhall  
 Mr. Robert W. Mercer  
 Mr. Dave Messinger  
 Mr. Doug Metten  
 Mr. Albert D. Meyer  
 Mr. and Mrs. John H. Meyer  
 Mr. Ben Miler  
 Mrs. Joanne Miller  
 Mr. Gregory Mitchell  
 Mr. Victor Mitchell  
 Mr. Stephen C. Mohler  
 Mr. Baxter Moore  
 Ms. Carolyn S. Mueller  
 Mr. Jess A. Muniz



The 2021 President's  
 Club Summit was  
 held in Orlando,  
 Fla., featuring a  
 conversation with Rep.  
 Jim Banks, R-Ind., and  
 a dinner with special  
 guest Vann Morris and  
 keynote speaker  
 Gov. Ron DeSantis.



The 2021 Annual  
 Leadership Conference,  
 held in Arizona,  
 featured former Vice  
 President and Heritage  
 Distinguished Fellow  
 Mike Pence and former  
 Ambassador to the UN  
 Nikki Haley.

## LEGACY SOCIETY (CONTINUED)

Mr. Nicolas Nelson  
Mr. Paul L. New  
Mr. Dennis Nicolette  
Mr. Mike A. Nielsen  
Mr. Robert Nisley  
Mr. and Mrs. Tom Nixon  
Mr. Vernon R. Nygren  
Mr. Dan J. O'Brien  
Dr. and Mrs. Robert O'Bryan  
Mr. Tom O'Connor  
Mr. James Oliver  
Mr. Herb Overstreet  
Mr. Bruce Owens  
Mr. Claudio Padres  
Mr. John M. Paroubek  
Ms. Camille Parra  
Mrs. Janet A. Parrott  
Mr. Kenneth W. Payauys  
Ms. Barbara Peck  
Mr. and Mrs. Gary L. Perry  
Mr. Philip F. Peterson, Jr.  
Mr. Keith I. Pfeifle  
Mr. Ronald C. Phillips  
Mr. Daniel Pless  
Mr. Rafael Pondoc  
Mr. Nicholas Ponzio  
Mrs. Carol L. Pride  
Ms. Susan T. Priest  
Mr. and Mrs. Alan Z. Priven  
Mrs. Carol Radkins  
Mr. William J. Rankin  
Mrs. Mildred Rea

Mr. Jeffrey A. Reise  
Mr. Wayne Rentfro  
Mr. Jerry Rij  
Mr. Richard A. Ringo  
Mr. James A. Rivello  
Mrs. Shirley W. Roe  
Mr. Richard J. Rolwing  
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*Twelve Heritage Legacy Society members wish to remain anonymous.*

## With Gratitude

We honor the memory of these Heritage Legacy Society members whose gifts we received in 2021.

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

Heritage President Kay C. James and Vice President of Development Andrew McIndoe present the **George Washington Generations Yet Unborn Award** to Joy and Henry Kutchta. The award recognizes Heritage members who, like our first president, regard it as their highest ambition to secure the blessing of liberty for generations yet unborn.



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*Twenty-nine Founders have asked to remain anonymous.*

## MEMBERSHIP LEVELS

Heritage welcomed **more than 120,000** new members in 2021. Our range of membership levels and benefits can accommodate all.

### Level starting at:

- › Basic ..... **\$25**
- › Stars and Stripes Club..... **\$100**
- › Young President's Club..... **\$250**
- › President's Club ..... **\$1,000**
- › Executive Committee ..... **\$2,500**
- › Premier President's Club.. **\$5,000**
- › Associate..... **\$10,000**
- › Executive Associate..... **\$25,000**
- › Premier Associate ..... **\$50,000**
- › Founder ..... **\$100,000**
- › Trustees' Circle ..... **\$500,000**
- › Chairman's Circle.... **\$1,000,000**

For details on the benefits attached to each level, please call **(800) 546-2843** or visit **heritage.org/donate**.



Heritage President Kay C. James presents **The Robin and Jocelyn Martin Young Leaders Distinguished Intern Alumni Award** to John Coleman, who is now a managing partner at Sovereign's Capital, a North Carolina firm that matches values-motivated entrepreneurs with aligned investors.

PREVIEW PHOTOGRAPHY

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# Meet Heritage Member David Winston Caldwell

Understanding America's past is essential to defending its future. Few people understand that better than Heritage member David Winston Caldwell. Named for Winston Churchill and President Dwight David Eisenhower, David has spent his life exemplifying principles worthy of his name's sakes.

With tenacity, grit, and hard work, he translated his passion for bowling into founding Gran Prix Bowling Supply with his wife Patricia in 1981. Their business is now one of America's largest distributors of bowling supplies.

David and Patricia's greatest passion, however, is preserving America's founding ideals through educating others about its history.

David once said The Heritage Foundation's "biggest impact is in (its) name ... preserving this country's great heritage."

In 2021, Heritage presented David and Patricia with the George Washington Generations Yet Unborn Award in recognition of their vision to preserve America's Founding principles for future generations.

Through their ardent support of the Feulner Institute and their direct influence in making



David Winston Caldwell was able to roll his Heritage Foundation bowling ball at the White House bowling alley during the 2019 President's Club Meeting.

historical education a beloved cornerstone of Heritage programming, David and Patricia Caldwell have established themselves as leaders among the Heritage family and the conservative movement.

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We believe our  
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 Thanks for all  
 your hard work.

—PETER & MARY BURGESS,  
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*Fifty-two Associates have asked  
 to remain anonymous.*



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# Mike Gonzalez: Your Warrior Against Identity Politics

**M**ike Gonzalez, the Angeles T. Arredondo E Pluribus Unum senior fellow, is a powerhouse at The Heritage Foundation. A widely respected writer, speaker, and scholar, Gonzalez produces work that covers a multitude of topics including critical race theory, identity politics, diversity, multiculturalism, assimilation, and nationalism, as well as foreign policy in general.

Gonzalez, who joined Heritage in 2009 after a long career in journalism—often reporting from Europe, Asia, and Latin American—and a stint in the George W. Bush administration, has become well known through his extensive writing and public appearances for his willingness to challenge destructive ideologies that undermine American principles.

His third book, “BLM: A New Marxist Revolution,” lays bare the ideology behind the Black Lives



Mike Gonzalez, Heritage’s Angeles T. Arredondo E Pluribus Unum senior fellow, was presented the Patriot Award from the College of the Ozarks on Sept. 17, 2021. The award recognizes “his commitment to advocating for patriotic and civic education in our nation, participation in the 1776 Commission, and willingness to courageously challenge destructive ideologies that undermine historic American values and virtues.”

Matter organization and exposes the radical agenda of its founders.

With Gonzalez, you have an uncompromising defender of a free and just America.

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DISTINGUISHED FELLOW  
**Becky Norton Dunlop**



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DAVID HILLS



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Katherine Gonzalez  
*Florida International University*  
Nickolas Gonzalez  
*James Madison University*  
Christina Molina  
*Florida International University*  
Natalia Vasquez-Pavichevich  
*University of Alabama*

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Sydi Hall  
*Brigham Young University-Idaho*

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*Liberty University*  
Eric Feely  
*Florida State University*  
Lindsay Murch  
*Cedarville University*  
Quinne Naegeli  
*Cedarville University*  
Yash Nagpal  
*Duke University*  
Nick Storz  
*Patrick Henry College*

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Emma Nitzsche  
*Grove City College*

### JOHN AND BARBARA BRUNING INTERN

Tonianne Zottoli  
*The Franciscan University of Steubenville*

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*University of Michigan*  
Maxwell Kmak  
*University of Michigan-Dearborn*  
Ryan Williams  
*Georgetown University*

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*Christopher Newport University*

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*University of Texas at Dallas*

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Hance Wininghman  
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*Brigham Young University*

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My hope for future generations is that they will appreciate America's uniqueness, and our founding principles. There's only so much I can do as an individual, which is why an organization like Heritage is so important.

—JEAN BOCK, HERITAGE MEMBER

# 2021 FINANCIALS

As of Dec. 31, 2021

## FINANCIAL POSITION\*

Cash	\$15,590,558
Receivables, net	8,568,708
Investments	293,719,896
Property & equipment, net	96,132,450
Prepaid expenses and other assets	2,210,190
<b>Total assets</b>	<b>\$416,221,802</b>
Accounts payable & accrued expenses	\$9,493,728
Notes payable	31,526,352
Deferred obligations	12,571,442
<b>Total liabilities</b>	<b>53,591,522</b>
Net assets without donor restrictions	265,264,751
Net assets with donor restrictions	97,365,529
<b>Total net assets</b>	<b>362,630,280</b>
<b>TOTAL LIABILITIES &amp; NET ASSETS</b>	<b>\$416,221,802</b>

\*Amounts are preliminary and unaudited. Audited financial statements are expected to be available for review on or after June 30, 2022.

## REVENUES\*\*

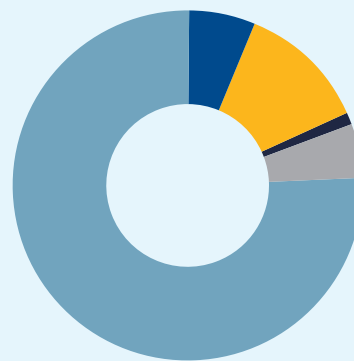
Contributions	
Individual	\$64,558,897
Individual—restricted	5,003,489
Foundation	9,926,711
Corporation	1,403,234
Program and other	4,109,894
<b>TOTAL REVENUES</b>	<b>\$85,002,225</b>

## EXPENSES\*\*

Program	\$66,056,503
Management & general	1,651,413
Fundraising	14,862,713
<b>TOTAL EXPENSES</b>	<b>\$82,570,629</b>

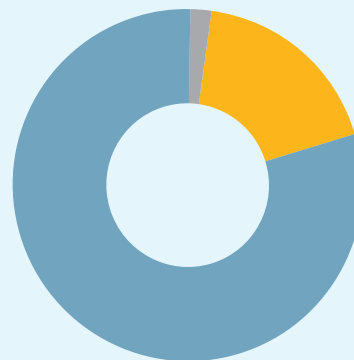
\*\*Amounts are preliminary and unaudited. Certain non-operating amounts including but not limited to investment returns, depreciation, and interest expense are excluded.

## REVENUES \$85,002,225



76% Individual  
6% Individual—Restricted  
12% Foundation  
1% Corporation  
5% Program and Other

## EXPENSES \$82,570,629



80% Programs  
18% Fundraising  
2% Management and General



# ALL GAS, NO BRAKES

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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### IN MEMORIAM

Dr. David Brown, an orthopedic surgeon who promoted the well-being of America and its principles as chairman of Heritage’s Board of Trustees, died March 2, 2022. Brown joined the board in 1978. He was elected chairman in 1992 and served in that capacity for the next 17 years. Heritage honors Dr. Brown for his lifelong service to the conservative movement and America.

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

## WHAT THEY'RE SAYING ABOUT HERITAGE:

“ First as a private citizen, then as a member of Congress, and even today, The Heritage Foundation has shaped my thinking on matters of the world and public policy, so I am grateful for that excellent work.

—MIKE POMPEO, FORMER SECRETARY OF STATE

“ The Heritage Foundation is ... a fantastic organization ... one of the oldest and most respected think tanks in Washington.

—MARK LEVIN, HOST OF THE MARK LEVIN SHOW

## WHAT THEY'RE SAYING ABOUT DR. KEVIN ROBERTS:

“ Congratulations to Kevin Roberts on being named president of The Heritage Foundation! It's great to have another Texan in D.C.! I look forward to continuing to work with you to advance conservative principles.

—SEN. TED CRUZ, R-TEXAS

“ Heritage chose the right person in Kevin Roberts. His leadership will be an asset to the conservative movement ... and the fight to preserve our country.

—MARK MEADOWS, FORMER WHITE HOUSE CHIEF OF STAFF



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