America’s Outpost in Washington

RIGHT IDEAS. RIGHT FIGHT. RIGHT NOW.

2022 ANNUAL REPORT
Building an America where freedom, opportunity, prosperity, and civil society flourish.
America’s Outpost in Washington

2022 ANNUAL REPORT
Despite the Left’s control of Congress and the White House, Heritage had a strong presence on Capitol Hill:

- 9 State Legislative Testimonies
- 25 Congressional Testimonies
- 19 New House Member Orientation Attendees
- 67 Candidate Briefings
- 93 Heritage on the Hill Working Group Events

In 2022, we published:

- 12 Special Reports
- 27 Legal Memoranda
- 15 Factsheets
- 58 Issue Briefs
- 66 Backgrounders

More than 500,000 members make all of this possible.

Thank you!
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Page</th>
<th>Section Title</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>LETTER FROM THE PRESIDENT</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>LETTER FROM THE CHAIRMAN</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>LETTER FROM THE FOUNDER</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>THE RIGHT IDEAS</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>THE RIGHT TEAM</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td>THE RIGHT INNOVATIONS</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11</td>
<td>THE RIGHT DIRECTION</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13</td>
<td>THE RIGHT FIGHT</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>21</td>
<td>THE RIGHT TOOLS</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>25</td>
<td>THE RIGHT PLACE</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>29</td>
<td>THE RIGHT CELEBRATION</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>35</td>
<td>THE RIGHT SUPPORTERS</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
LETTER FROM THE 

President

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

We fought and stopped some truly reckless Biden administration regulations. We attacked “critical race theory” agendas in our schools and Leftist “environment, social, and governance” policies in corporate board rooms. We scored wins for education freedom and election integrity.

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

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

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

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

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

Today, we are seeing at Heritage a renewal of this spirit. Under the leadership of Dr. Kevin Roberts, guided by my fellow board members, and with the support of half a million members, this great institution has seized the day. If there’s a fight to be had, we are in it. If there’s an opportunity to change policies at the federal or state level, we’re seizing it. If there’s a coalition to be gathered, we are convening it.

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

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

We have no time to lose.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Onward!

Ed Feulner
Founder
The Right Ideas
LAYING OUT THE SEVEN POLICY PRIORITIES

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

At the start of 2022, to deliver on those goals for you, we got to work. The first step was to identify the most important challenges facing America. After working with our in-house experts, allies in the movement, and with the input of our donors, we announced at the beginning of the year our seven policy priorities—some familiar and others new.

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

1. Empower Parents to Make Education Choices

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

2. Secure America’s Borders and Reduce Crime

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

3. Ensure Free and Fair Elections

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

We Effectively Have No Southern Border

Six in 10 Americans Do Not Have Confidence in the Honesty of U.S. Elections
4. Reverse the Growth of Regulations, Spending, and Inflation

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

5. Counter the Threat of Communist China

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

6. Hold Big Tech Accountable

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

7. Protect Unborn Life and Family Formation

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

To learn more about these Seven Policy Priorities, go to: heritage.org/policy-priorities
Lindsey Burke, director of the Center for Education Policy; Crystal Bonham, senior advisor for communications; and Eric Teetsel, vice president of government relations, talk with Executive Vice President Derrick Morgan at an all-staff meeting about how Heritage is aligning its efforts behind the seven policy priorities.
A NEW HERITAGE

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

One thing that hasn’t changed is our steadfast commitment to the vision the founders laid down back in 1973: to build an America where freedom, opportunity, prosperity, and civil society flourish.
The Right Innovations
INCUBATING REFORMS ACROSS THE MOVEMENT

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

—DR. KEVIN ROBERTS, HERITAGE PRESIDENT

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

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

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

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

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

Winners of the Innovation Prize in 2022:
- Alliance Defending Freedom
- Americans United for Life
- Charlotte Lozier Institute
- Defense of Freedom Institute
- Forge Leadership Network
- Georgia Center for Opportunity, Pelican Institute for Public Policy, and Texas Public Policy Foundation (Alliance for Opportunity)
- Independent Women’s Forum
- State Financial Officers Foundation
- Thomas Jefferson Institute
The Right Direction

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

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

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

1. DOES IT INVOLVE A MATTER OF VITAL NATIONAL INTEREST?
   Not the nice-to-haves, but the must-haves. What’s more, the investment required has to be commensurate with the gain from protecting those interests.

2. DOES IT KEEP AMERICA FREE, SAFE, AND PROSPEROUS?
   If it doesn’t do those things, we won’t support it. If some action helps protect American security but undermines our freedom and prosperity, for example, it’s a bad idea.

3. WILL IT ACTUALLY WORK?
   Will it achieve concrete goals? Will it change things in a positive way?

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

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

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

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

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

This is the third way. This is peace through strength applied to today’s challenges. 🇺🇸
Paul Dans, director of the 2025 Presidential Transition Project, describes the scale and importance of this effort at its launch in early 2022.
ARMING THE NEXT PRESIDENT

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

The conservative movement learned a valuable lesson from this experience. The stakes are higher today than they were in 2016, and the window of opportunity to save our country has narrowed. We can’t allow this to happen again.

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

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

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

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

Playbook for the First 180 Days
This action plan will include draft policies that can be implemented within the first six months of the new administration.

This is the most ambitious and most strategically focused project Heritage has ever undertaken. If you want to learn more, visit heritage.org/2025.
In December, the public learned the shocking truth that so-called non-governmental organizations (NGOs) had been working with the Biden administration to secretly transport illegal aliens to virtually every corner of the United States.

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

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

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

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

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

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

Expect more such investigations, on a wide range of topics, from the Oversight Project in 2023. We intend to file and win more than 100 lawsuits, to contract with forensic auditors and investigators to build money-following capabilities, and ultimately to establish the project as the flagship investigations body for the conservative movement.
Last year, the Biden administration tried to force health insurers to cover transgender drugs and operations as “essential health benefits.” It would have happened, too, were it not for a coordinated effort by Heritage and other groups to flood the Department of Health and Human Services with comments opposing the rule.

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

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

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

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

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

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

By planning ahead, we will be able to make a significant difference to your businesses, your prosperity, and your freedoms.
“Every day, we’re fighting on behalf of the tens of millions of forgotten Americans who see that the Swamp has left them behind. That means we need men and women on our team who know how the Swamp works, and more importantly, know how to defeat it.”

—DR. KEVIN ROBERTS, HERITAGE PRESIDENT

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

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

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

These two seasoned professionals engage lawmakers on your behalf, representing Heritage interests and perspectives on the key policy fights. They also build successful coalitions of like-minded allies in the conservative movement.
In June, pro-life Americans celebrated a monumental victory when the Supreme Court banished *Roe v. Wade* to the ash heap of history.

With your support, we played a key role in shaping the Supreme Court by fighting without ceasing for the confirmations of Justices Neil Gorsuch, Samuel Alito, Brett Kavanaugh, and Amy Coney Barrett.

You also helped us harness Heritage’s greatest strengths to amplify the pro-life message by uniting members of the conservative movement.

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

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

The *Dobbs* decision was the result of decades of prayer and sacrifice from pro-lifers across the country. As a supporter of Heritage, you also contributed to this win.
One message we delivered loud and clear to you in 2022 is that Heritage will never shy away from a fight if it involves a core principle—even if the odds of victory aren’t in our favor.

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

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

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

Even in defeat we can count successes. Two senators cited our efforts on the Senate floor. And none of the religious liberty amendments would have been introduced if it weren’t for the pressure we applied to lawmakers. Now, we have senators on record opposing the bill’s overreach, which we can build on in a more friendly Senate.

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

She was talking about The Heritage Foundation.

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

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

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

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

Meet Your Accountability Watchdog

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

Meet Your Conservative Promise Keeper

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

The Heritage Congressional Fellowship is the premier Hill staff education program. It teaches congressional staff about first principles and key issues and helps them develop a broader conservative network.

ARMING THE MOVEMENT
Scorecards, Report Cards, and Indexes

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

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

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

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

In the six months after we released that report, state legislatures enacted roughly 190 new bills pertaining to elections, and 14 states improved their election integrity scores. At a hearing in Alaska, legislators grilled the state’s election officials about why the state ranked so low on various categories in our scorecard.

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

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

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

**THE INDEX OF U.S. MILITARY STRENGTH:**
The Index of U.S. Military Strength is the only publication that scores the readiness of each branch of the military. In 2022, for the first time in the index’s history, the overall ranking was a disturbing “weak.”

**THE INDEX OF ECONOMIC FREEDOM:**
This continues to be the most credible resource on the economic freedom of 184 countries, with rankings on everything from property rights to federal spending, trade policy to tax policy. In 2022, the U.S. dropped to 25th place, thanks largely to policies imposed by the Biden administration. ❌
ADDING AND MULTIPLYING:

Reaching Out to All Corners of the Movement

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

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

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

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

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

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

Families need more education options. Thank you, Gov. Abbott.

heritage.org/KidsFirst
A RENEWED PUSH INTO THE STATES

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

It’s a one-two punch.

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

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

Education Choice

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

In last year’s annual report, we pointed to West Virginia’s broad-based “education savings account” (ESA) plan, which Heritage scholars helped develop and popularize. That plan, which was at the time the most expansive ESA program in the country, let families with students currently in public schools access state education funds to seek other options.

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

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

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

Critical Race Theory

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

As part of our increased focus on the states, Heritage hosted Indiana’s Diversity Leadership Series, a program geared toward increasing civic engagement with minority Republican leaders in that state. Heritage President Kevin Roberts and others from senior management talked about our plans for the year ahead.
purposefully pits one race against another in perpetual struggle—was being shoved down our children’s throats, we got to work.

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

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

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

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

ESG

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

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

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

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

Portions of this publication were provided by or relate to, and were paid for by, Heritage Action for America.
Justice Alito Makes News While Speaking at Heritage

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

When protestors descended on Alito’s home, he was forced at one point to be moved to an undisclosed location. Protestors also showed up at the homes of Justices Amy Coney Barrett and Brett Kavanaugh, who also endured an alleged assassination plot. The Daily Signal was one of the only news outlets to cover these illegal protests. A video posted by a Daily Signal reporter generated over a million views and was featured in several newscasts.
The Right Celebration
HERITAGE TO CELEBRATE OUR 50TH ANNIVERSARY IN STYLE—AND SUBSTANCE

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

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

This will be more than a celebration of the past. This will be an opportunity to come together, focused on the future—unified, energized, and armed with the tools, the vision, and the policies we need to restore self-governance and rebuild the institutions that can revitalize our great land for generations to come.

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

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

President Ronald Reagan was the guest of honor at Heritage’s 10th anniversary celebration in 1983.
Over the years, Heritage has hosted the world’s leading conservatives, including Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher (1), Rush Limbaugh and Justice Clarence Thomas (2). Heritage’s Washington, D.C., physical presence in the nation’s capital steadily expanded as did its influence (3, 5).

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

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

**Phillip N. Truluck**  
Former Heritage Foundation executive vice president, chief operating officer, and senior advisor

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

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

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

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

**David Brown**  
Surgeon and former chairman

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

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

Throughout his years with Heritage, David maintained a private practice as an orthopedic surgeon in Oklahoma City and was a clinical professor at the University of Oklahoma Health Sciences Center. He was also president of the Oklahoma Chernobyl Bridge Foundation, which provided medical aid to children of the 1986 Chernobyl nuclear disaster.
Heritage founder Ed Feulner said of David that his “foresight and long-term strategic thinking were invaluable to The Heritage Foundation. For more than three decades, he provided guidance that helped us grow from a small policy center to a powerhouse of conservative ideas.”

Midge Decter  
Author, journalist, and former Heritage trustee

Midge Decter’s keen intellect was invaluable to the conservative movement. She wrote and lectured incisively on a range of topics, from family values to foreign policy. Not least were her contributions to The Heritage Foundation while she served as a trustee for more than 30 years, from 1981 until 2015.

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

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

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

Jerry Hume  
Businessman and former Heritage trustee

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

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

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

“Many people have worked behind the scenes to make The Heritage Foundation a world-class...
think tank, but few have contributed more than Jerry Hume.”

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Frank’s belief in the power of ideas was best exemplified by his role as chairman of the Board for International Broadcasting during the Reagan administration when Radio Free Europe and Radio Liberty carried the message of freedom behind the Iron Curtain and helped bring the Cold War to an end. Frank was also president of RKO General Inc., director of the U.S. Information Agency, and president of CBS Television Services.

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

We are thankful for these patriots and their great contributions to The Heritage Foundation.
Heritage supporters John and Barbara Bruning and Bea and Lloyd Smith take time to enjoy the splendor of Saratoga, Wyoming, during an exclusive event at the Brush Creek Ranch. The event featured a dinner with Mike Pompeo.
MEET ARVID ANDERSON

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

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

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

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

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

—ARVID ANDERSON
So That Future Generations May Live in Freedom

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, prosperity, and civil society.

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

Mr. Luz Abin
Mr. Norman R. Adams
Mr. Charles G. Amboy
Dr. and Mrs. Gilbert F. Amelio
Mr. George L. Andersen
Mr. Carl W. Anderson
Ms. Cindy Andrews
Mr. Chris Angelos
Mr. Robert C. Armour
Mr. Donald B. Ayres, Jr.
Mr. and Mrs. John F. Babbitt
Dr. Barbara J. Bashein
Mr. Charles D. Becher
Mr. Adrian Belkin
Mr. James Bell
Mr. Gene Bengtson
Mr. Esteban M. Beruvides
Ms. Lisa Binse
Mr. Gary Boe
Mr. David C. Bowen
Mr. and Mrs. Bayard Boyle, Jr.
Mr. David Brown
Mr. Barry Campbell
Ms. Mary S. Carnegie
Ms. Esther Castilion
Mr. Luke Cates
Mr. and Mrs. Robert Chamberlin
Mr. and Mrs. George Chandler
Mr. Doug Chapman
Mr. Darryl Clark
Mr. David B. Coblitz
Mr. Douglas Comstock
Mrs. Beverly A. Connolly
Mr. William L. Cooper, Jr.
Mr. Kyran J. Costello
Mr. Eugene Crawford
Ms. Sandra Crippen
Ms. Diana Crockett

Mr. Harry Cruzado
Mr. Richard M. Cummings
Mr. Robert P. Dean
Ms. Mary Denna
Mr. David Dennis
Mr. and Mrs. Richard C. Depew
Mr. Bernard Depinto
Mr. Ben Ditosti
Mr. Conrad Donahue
Mrs. Karen M. Dorman
Mr. James Dyer
Mrs. Eileen Ehrhardt
Ms. Bertie J. Enslow
Mr. Jairus D. Flora
Mr. Marisol Fragosso
Mr. Mark Friedman
Ms. Geneva Garber
Mr. and Mrs. Glenn Gehring
Mr. Roy Glickman
Mr. Robert Gold
Mr. John Goodrich
Mr. Gregory R. Gores
Ms. Mary E. Gottler
Mr. Charles E. Graham
Mr. Mike Grampo
Mr. and Mrs. Neal Greenfield
Mrs. Mary Greenlee
Mr. and Mrs. Richard G. Gross
Ms. Jenny Gruber
Mr. Frank Gugino
Ms. Nancy Hadley
Dr. John C. Hagan III
Ms. Elrene Hamann
Mr. and Mrs. James R. Harris
Ms. Joan B. Harry
Mr. William Hashem, Jr.
Mr. and Mrs. Gordon S. Hassing
Mr. Peter J. Hecker

Mr. Ed Heritage
Mr. Alvin R. Herr, Jr.
Mr. and Mrs. Glenn Hersch
Mr. C. William Hocke
Mr. and Mrs. David B. Holland
Ms. Jana B. Holt
Mr. Bryon Hotzler
Mr. Randall J. Hough
Mr. William T. Hughes
Mrs. Michelina D. Hurd
Mr. Robert R. Jankelson
Mr. Arthur Johnson
Mr. John D. Johnson
Mrs. Martha Johnson
Ms. Carol L. Johnson
Ms. Irene J. Johnson
Mr. Allan F. Jones
Mr. Richard Kachel
Mr. Oleta Kadleck
Mr. and Mrs. Charles Keen
Ms. Mary B. King
Mr. and Mrs. William A. Klein
Ms. Janet Knorr-Stonska
Mr. Sven F. Kraemer
Mr. and Mrs. Clint C. Kyme
Ms. Carol J. Langley
Mr. Charles Larimore
Mr. Raymond H. Laub
Mr. Abraham Lee
Dr. Kathy Leonard
Mr. Steve Levy
Mr. Gordon Lillge
Ms. Thomas E. Linhard
Mr. and Mrs. Patrick O. Little
Mr. and Mrs. Frank Lorey
Mr. and Mrs. Michael Lozon
Mr. Joel C. Mandelman
Mr. Joseph Marsala
Heritage’s Annual Leadership Conference, held in Amelia Island, Florida, welcomed now-Arkansas Gov. Sarah Huckabee Sanders (lower right, with Kevin Roberts) and President Donald Trump. Heritage also sponsored Awakening in Sea Island, Georgia. Awakening is an annual retreat for families to exchange ideas, examine trends, and learn from leading experts. Pictured to the right are (left to right) Katharine Gorka, former director of Heritage’s Civil Society and the American Dialogue, Rep. Byron Donalds, R-Fla., and Erika Donalds, president and CEO of The Optima Foundation.
With Gratitude
We honor the memory of these Heritage Legacy Society members whose gifts we received in 2022.

Mr. Rafael Ahlgren
Dr. George N. Asai
Mr. Jerry J. Batchelder
Mr. and Mrs. T. F. Beresford
Mr. Thomas J. Billings
Mrs. Joyce Blackmun Cottrell
Mr. Martin A. Booye
Ms. Nell M. Bowen
Mr. Kenneth R. Brady
Mrs. Doris Broderick
Mr. John C. Bryan
Mr. John F. Campbell
Mr. Don E. Carter
Mr. Gary Coats
Mr. J. L. Cronin Jr.
Ms. Rebecca Sue H. De Shazo
Mr. James H. Dible
Ms. Nancy Lew Durbin
Mr. Chas V. Eckert III
Ms. Alice Endsley
Mr. William K. Engel
Mrs. Virginia H. Everett
Mrs. Jean Fenn Farwell
Mrs. Noni J. Fischer
Reverend D. James Fitzhugh
Mrs. Martha Lee Foster-Skiles
Dr. Janice J. Gabbert
Mr. Alexander Gaston
Mr. and Mrs. Edward D. Gorton
Mr. Lynn Hall
Ms. Trudy Hendershott
Mr. John Henderson
Mr. Kenneth C. Hill
Ms. Rosemary Hoehn
Ms. Ann Hyden
Mrs. Carol A. Irwin
Mr. Edmund B. Jenkins
Mrs. Ethel F. Jordan
Mrs. Jo Anne Joyoff
Mr. Herbert Kameon
Mr. and Mrs. Fred G. Koehler
Mrs. Charlotte Kowalewski
Mr. Brad I. Kuchan
Mr. Carl R. Lezias
Ms. Elizabeth C. Machhold
Mr. Terry McGrath
Ms. Geraldine M. Mertens
Mr. Gary F. Miller
Mr. Sam M. Monson
Ms. Henriette Morris
Mr. Quentin Nesbitt
Mr. Norman Novello
Mrs. Joanne L. O’Kane
Mr. William D. Peace
Mrs. Katharine Philbrook
Mrs. Eileen Pratt-Pringle
Miss Lenora Raia
Mr. Lance Ralston
Mr. Victor L. Sanko
Mr. and Mrs. Charles A. Sarahan
Mr. and Mrs. Glenn Scharp
Mr. Walter Schmid
Mr. John J. Sieffert Jr.
Mr. Henry D. Smith
Mr. Mark J. Smith
Mr. and Mrs. Stephen H. Smith
Mr. William R. Snyder
Ms. Marilyn S. Soisson
Mr. John L. Sprock
Mr. Lowell F. Steusloff
Mr. E. R. Turner
Mr. Charles W. Walton
Mr. Edward C. Wilson
Ms. Maria Woodward
Mr. Robert K. Zelle

Four Heritage Legacy Society members asked that their gifts remain anonymous.
John and Cynthia Clough open the Clough Family Center on the main floor of Heritage headquarters. They were accompanied by friends and family and Heritage’s Kevin Roberts, Andrew McIndoe, and Rob Bluey. The state-of-the-art Clough Family Center is now used regularly for media events, gatherings, and other functions.

The Heritage Foundation’s 2022 Founders

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

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

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

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

Twenty-five Founders have asked to remain anonymous.

**MEMBERSHIP LEVELS**

Our range of membership levels and benefits can accommodate all.

**Level starting at:**
- Basic........................................ $25
- Stars and Stripes Club...........$100
- Young President’s Club........$250
- President’s Club..............$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.
The Heritage Foundation’s 2022 Associates

PREMIER ASSOCIATE
Mr. Jerry S. Amber
Mr. and Mrs. Robert A. Anderson
Mr. and Mrs. Caesar Arredondo
William S. and Ann Atherton Foundation
Bader Family Foundation
Dr. Barbara J. Bashein
Mr. and Mrs. T. F. Beresford
Mr. and Mrs. Lawrence J. Blanford
Mr. and Mrs. Drew Boersma
Mr. and Mrs. Bayard Boyle, Jr.
Mrs. Doris Broderick
Mr. John C. Bryan
Mrs. Sheila Carlton
Mr. Don E. Carter
Mr. and Mrs. David L. Coffey
Adolph Coors Foundation
Lesley and John Davis
Mr. and Mrs. Myles P. Dempsey, Jr.
The D F Dillon Foundation
The Doherty Foundation
Herbert H. and Barbara C. Dow Foundation
Mr. Chas V. Eckert III
Mr. William S. Edgerly
Mrs. Jean Fenn Farwell
Mrs. Martha Lee Foster-Skiles
The Alta and John Franks Foundation
Mr. and Mrs. Philip M. Friedmann
Dr. Janice J. Gabbert
Mr. and Mrs. Richard Grant
Mr. Thomas Gutshall
Mr. John Henderson
Albert and Ethel Herzstein Charitable Foundation
The Holman Foundation, Inc.
Ms. Irene J. Johnson
Mr. and Mrs. James R. Johnston
Mr. Herbert Kameon
Mr. John F. Kearns
Mr. and Mrs. Michael Keiser (Donor Advised Fund at The Chicago Community Foundation)
Mr. Tracy L. Knisely
Peter and Ann Lambertos Family Foundation Inc.
Mr. Donald M. Leebern III
Mr. Jeffrey B. Lewis
Mr. and Mrs. William Lowndes III
Mr. Mark R. Loyd
The David & Elaine Lozier Foundation
Mr. and Mrs. Shane S. McCullar
Ms. Patricia J. McWethy
Mr. Aaron McWhorter
Mr. Gary F. Miller
Mr. and Mrs. Adam Milstein
Mr. and Mrs. Michael T. Monahan
Mr. and Mrs. Paul Neuhoff
Mr. and Mrs. Thomas C. Patterson
Pepperdine University
The Dr. P. Phillips Foundation
Mr. and Mrs. Robert M. Rosenthal
Arthur N. Rupe Foundation
The Shanley Family Foundation
Mrs. Lola Shearer
B.K. Simon Family Charitable Foundation
Mr. Lowell F. Steusloff
Stiles-Nicholson Foundation
Mr. and Mrs. Brian S. Tracy
Mr. and Mrs. Wallace E. Volwiler
Mr. and Mrs. Howard N. Watrous
Mr. and Mrs. Richard Weiss
Mr. and Mrs. Thomas W. Wiley
Mr. Thomas R. Zucker

EXECUTIVE ASSOCIATE
Mr. and Mrs. Peter Alpaugh
Apex Foundation
The Armstrong Foundation
George N. Asai, Ph.D.
Mrs. Martha J. Asplundh
David S. Baum Foundation
Mr. and Mrs. George T. Beck
Mr. Sture R. Bengston
Mrs. Jane J. Bradley
Ambassador and Mrs. Stephen F. Brauer
Mr. and Mrs. John R. Brown
Mrs. Betsy P. Burgett
Mr. Neil J. Burmeister
Mr. Carl Canapar
Cedar Branch Foundation
Mr. and Mrs. Bill Chapin
Mr. James C. Day
Mr. James H. Dible
The Ben & Mary Doskocil Family Foundation
The Bernard A. Egan Foundation
El Pomar Foundation (Colorado Support)
Mr. and Mrs. George W. Etheridge, Jr.
Mrs. Grace Evenstad
FWG Foundation
Mr. and Mrs. Scott Glass
Mr. and Mrs. Jerry Grossman
Mr. and Mrs. Price Harding
Mr. and Mrs. Ron J. Hazlett
Tracy Hill
Mr. and Mrs. David Holland
Mr. and Mrs. Edson P. Holland
Mr. Glenn Huddleston
Mr. and Mrs. J. C. Huizenga
The Kay Family Foundation
Mr. Morton D. Kirsch
Mr. Gunnar Klarer
Mr. Brad L. Kuchan
Mr. James Lathren
Mr. Robert A. LeCompte
Mr. and Mrs. Harold Levy
Dr. and Mrs. Robert T. Lewit
Mr. Mack C. Lindsey
Mr. and Mrs. Kim A. Lopdrup
Mr. Richard E. Lunoquist
Mr. Guy Mabee, Jr.
The Markkula Foundation
Mr. T. Arthur Mashburn, Jr.
Mr. Steve Maye
Mr. and Mrs. Patrick W. McKinney
Mrs. Carolyn McVey
McWethy Foundation
Mr. Harvey L. Miller
The Montreal Economic Institute
Mrs. Mary Moreton
Philip and Patricia Muck Charitable Foundation
Melvin J. and Harriet H. Naser Charitable Trust
Mr. and Mrs. Leonard C. Neely, Jr.
The Negaunee Foundation
Mr. and Mrs. Quentin Nesbitt
Oarsmen Foundation
Mr. Donald A. Oeters
Mrs. Joanne L. O’Kane
Norma Pace Foundation
Mr. William D. Peace
Mr. and Mrs. Randall Powers
Mr. and Mrs. Vivek Ramaswamy
Ray Foundation
Mrs. Cecelia Regis
Mr. and Mrs. Wayne J. Rose
Mr. Raymond A. Rowe
Mr. Mike Rydin
Mr. and Mrs. Howard Sadkin
Mr. and Mrs. Sanzone
Mr. and Mrs. Roger L. Schaller
Mr. Steve D. Scheel
Mr. and Mrs. LaRue Schock
Mr. Mickey Seeman
Mr. and Mrs. Joseph J. Slawek
Mr. Byron W. Smith
Mr. and Mrs. John V. Stevens, Jr.
John and Bonnie Strauss Foundation
Mr. and Mrs. Larry J. Sundquist
Mr. and Mrs. Michael Tarwater
Mr. and Mrs. Chris J. Taylor
Triad Foundation Inc.
Mr. and Mrs. James R. Venner
The Walker Foundation
Mr. and Mrs. Charles R. Walle
Mr. Peter C. Wasilkoff
Ms. Ronna L. Whiteside
Mr. Peter C. Wasilkoff
Mr. and Mrs. Dan Zimmerman

ASSOCIATE
Ms. Jane R. Abel
The Aletheia Foundation
Alliance Defending Freedom
Mr. and Mrs. Andy Anderson
Mr. and Mrs. Eldon E. Anderson
Mr. Alfred A. Angelo
Ms. Patricia E. Armatis
Armstrong Family Foundation
Dr. and Mrs. Larry P. Arnn
Mr. Henry G. Ash, Jr.
Mr. Richard M. Baker III
Mr. and Mrs. Richard O. Bard
Mr. and Mrs. Robert E. Barkei
Mr. and Mrs. Rick Barrett
Mr. and Mrs. John T. Bassett
Mr. Jerry J. Batchelder
Mr. John G. Bauer
Mr. and Mrs. Ronald O. Baukol
Ms. Lorraine L. Becker
Mr. and Mrs. Thomas F. Beddow
Mr. and Mrs. Edward G. Benton
Mr. Thomas J. Billings
Mr. John H. Bond
Mr. Martin A. Booye
Mr. and Mrs. James Borel
Mr. and Mrs. Michael K. Boren
Mr. Elroy Bourgraf
Mr. and Mrs. Norman H. Bouton, Jr.
Ms. Mary Bowen
Ms. Nell M. Bowen
Mr. Paul Boyle
Mr. and Mrs. C. L. Bradford
Bradley Impact Fund
Mr. and Mrs. Michael Brickner
Mr. and Mrs. Bart J. Broadman
Mr. Stanley Brock
Mr. Mikel Buckmaster
Mr. and Mrs. David M. Burckel
Mr. John T. Burgess
Ms. Pamela Burke
Mrs. Adelia Burris
Lavern T. Busse & Audrey Busse Foundation
Mr. Kim A. Caldwell
Mr. Ronald M. Cameron
Mr. John F. Campbell
The Ruth Camp Campbell Foundation
Mr. and Mrs. Lee Carlson
Mr. Ronald L. Carter
The Eugene B. Casey Foundation
Mr. and Mrs. Jon L. Christianson
Mr. and Mrs. Daniel M. Cislo
Mr. Thomas E. Clark
Mr. James K. Cluverius
Mrs. Charla Collings
B & E Collins Foundation
Mr. Robert F. Cook, Sr.
Mr. and Mrs. Ronald Cooper
Ms. Darden K. Coors
Mr. Malcolm E. Craig
Dr. Richard V. Cronk
Mr. Sam Croom
J. A. Daley III Foundation
Mrs. Janice Dalton
Mr. Richard E. Davis
Mr. and Mrs. William L. Davis III
Ken W. Davis Foundation
John R. and Margrit Davis Foundation
Mr. and Mrs. Bruce G. Deckinga
Mr. Laurence W. Demuth, Jr.
Mr. Russell and Ms. Stephanie Deyo
Gladys M. Dickson Charitable Trust
Mr. Marsilio DiGiovanni
Mr. Louis Divers
Donahue Family Foundation, Inc.
The William H. Donner Foundation, Inc.
Mr. and Mrs. Paul N. Douthat
Mr. W. Frank Dowd IV
Mr. and Mrs. John M. Draper
Mr. and Mrs. Bruce C. Dunbar, Jr.
Mr. and Mrs. James Dykstra
Mr. and Mrs. George T. Eastment III
Mr. Richard Eitel
The Honorable Gordon R. England
Fairchild-Martindale Foundation
Mr. Paul J. Faraci
Mrs. Pamela H. Farmer
Mr. and Mrs. David N. Farr
Dr. Peter C. Farrell
Mr. A. Doug Ferris
The Lundy Fetterman Foundation
Mr. and Mrs. Robert P. Fettig
Mrs. Suzanne I. Fightmaster
Mr. Jay H. Floyd, Jr.
Floyd Foundation
Mr. Robert Foelber
Foundation for a Better World
Mr. Richard A. Frain, Jr.
Mr. Gary Fredrickson
Ms. Denise A. Funk
Mr. Gregory Gaich, Ph.D.
Mr. Warren B. Galkin
Mrs. Anne Gardner
Mr. and Mrs. Bob Garthwait, Jr.
Mr. and Ms. Louis Gentine
Rollin M. Gerstacker Foundation
Mr. David L. Gibbs
Mr. and Mrs. Yale Giesz
Mr. and Mrs. Ed W. Gilbertson
Mr. Adam M. Gimbel
Mr. and Mrs. Glen Ginter
Mr. and Mrs. Edward D. Gorton
Ms. Kimberley B. Granger
Mr. and Mrs. Jerome Green
Ms. Mozelie Griffith
Dr. Ken G. Gross and Dr. Leslie Mark
Mr. Sidney Grossman, Jr.
Mr. and Mrs. Jack E. Guenther
Mr. and Mrs. Michael H. Guetz
Mrs. Jan Hair
Mr. and Mrs. Charles Hall
Miriam Lloyd Halsey Foundation
Mr. J. W. Hamman
Ms. Jean D. Harrington
Mr. Peter J. Harrison
Mr. and Mrs. Gordon S. Hassing
Mr. and Mrs. Kenneth E. Haughton
Ms. Jennifer A. Hawks
Mrs. Marilyn Hayden
Dr. Michael R. Heaphy
Mr. and Mrs. John W. Hedberg
Mr. Mark S. Henderson
Mr. Gilbert C. Hine, Jr.
Mr. Rick D. Holley
Mrs. Patricia Houston
Mr. William T. Hughes
Mr. William D. Humphreys
Mr. and Mrs. Neal Hunt
Mr. and Mrs. Gregory Hurst
The Huston Foundation
Mrs. Mary Hyde
Mr. and Mrs. Ike M. Iacovetta
Mr. Thomas N. Iovino
Mr. and Mrs. Paul J. Isaac
Mr. and Mrs. Ralph E. Janes III
Mr. and Mrs. David M. Jellison
Dr. and Mrs. Paul Jepson
Mr. and Mrs. Charles B. Johnson
Reverend Gerald T. Johnson
Dr. and Mrs. Stewart Johnson
Colonel and Mrs. Fred E. Johnston III
Mr. and Mrs. G. L. Johnston
Mr. and Mrs. Richard E. Jones
Mr. and Mrs. Timothy Kachuriak
Mr. and Mrs. Paul Kalmbach
Mr. and Mrs. George W. Karpus
Mrs. Mary Kauppila
Ms. Sandra Kellner
Mr. and Mrs. David Kelly
Mr. and Mrs. John Kerian
Mr. and Mrs. C. B. Kern II
Mr. and Mrs. James J. Kerr
Mr. and Mrs. Scott W. Kilrea
Mr. Charles B. Kimball
Mr. and Mrs. Mike Kline
Mr. Thomas D. Klingenstein
Mr. and Mrs. Robert A. Knoll
Mr. and Mrs. Vince A. Kolber
Koroluk Foundation
Dr. and Mrs. David L. Lacey
Mr. Robert Lamb
Dr. and Mrs. Peter Lamelas
Mr. Stephen S. Lange
Mrs. Chrystalla Larson
Mr. and Mrs. Robert B. Lau
Mr. and Mrs. Richard T. Lee
Mr. and Mrs. John F. Lehman
Mr. and Mrs. Zane Leininger
Mr. and Mrs. David W. Light Ill
Mrs. Dorothy K. Light
Mr. Robert L. Lockwood
Ms. Joan T. Loos
Mr. Glen L. Ludvig
Ms. Elizabeth C. Machhold
Mr. and Mrs. George R. Mahoney, Jr.
Dr. Anne Marshall Huston
Mr. John C. McAvoy
Mr. William McCormick
Mr. Robert McDaniel
Mr. Terry McGrath
Dr. and Mrs. Warren D. McKelvy
Mr. and Mrs. James McLaughlin
Mr. and Mrs. Richard Merillat
Mr. William Meyer
Ms. Cheryl J. Miller
Ms. Lois Minor
Mr. David D. Mirabito
Mr. Sam M. Monson
Mr. and Mrs. J. Michael Moore
Mr. and Mrs. Ralph Morera
Ms. Henriette Morris
Dr. Phillip G. Mosbaugh
Mr. and Mrs. Ronald H. Muhlenkamp
Mr. Ted H. Muhs
Mr. and Mrs. Joe P. Murphy
Mr. Douglas L. Murray
New World Somewhere
Mr. and Mrs. Peter C. Newell
Mr. and Mrs. David J. S. Nicholson
The Ed Noble Family Advised Fund
Mrs. Dolores M. Nostrand
Mr. and Mrs. Michael E. Novelli
Mr. Tom O’Connor
Mr. Robert E. Parker
Mr. and Mrs. Douglas Parsons
Mr. William L. Pascoe
Mr. and Mrs. Solon P. Patterson
Mr. and Mrs. Peter I. Pavel
William Penn Foundation
Mr. David C. Perdue
Mr. Bruce W. Peterson
Mr. Leroy D. Peterson
Mr. and Mrs. Steven C. Pinard
M. Piuze Foundation
Dr. and Mrs. David A. Porter
Mr. and Mrs. Reinhold Preik
Mr. and Mrs. Robert C. Puff, Jr.
Mr. and Mrs. James Pursley
Mr. Robert Purvy
Mr. Ronald W. Pyle, USN (Ret.)
Mr. and Mrs. Terry Quam
Mr. and Mrs. Richard M. Quesenberry
Mr. and Mrs. Lawrence F. Rakunas
Mr. and Mrs. Edward L. Ramsay
Mr. and Mrs. John B. Reese
Capt. and Mrs. Henry S. Reinke
Mr. James A. Remington
Mr. and Mrs. Dennis Rethmeier
RHS Foundation
Mr. and Mrs. Rick J. Rodell
Mr. John E. Rodgers
Mr. Thomas M. Rosato
Ms. Kit Saliba
Dr. N. Richard Sanders and
Dr. Elizabeth L. Murphy
Mr. Charles H. Sanford and Mrs. Linda A. Elliott
Mr. Victor L. Sanko
Mr. and Mrs. Camillo Santomero
Mr. and Mrs. Charles A. Sarahan
Mr. Tom Saucier
Mr. and Mrs. Glenn Scharp
Mr. and Mrs. Joseph Schell
Mr. and Mrs. Richard F. Schimbor
Ms. Joan Schoeff
Mr. William Scott
Mr. Paul R. Seegers
Ms. Mary E. Shaull
Louis and Nellie Sieg Fund
Mrs. Lynn Siegel
Mr. and Mrs. Donald L. Simons
The B. Sloane Family Foundation
Mr. David Smith
Mr. Donald V. Smith
Dr. and Mrs. William B. Smith
Mrs. Carol Snapp-Brinton
Mr. William R. Snyder
The Solstice Fund
Mrs. Diana D. Spencer
Mr. and Mrs. Dan Stark
Mr. John W. Stein
Mr. and Mrs. Larry E. Stockline
Mr. Gerald Strickland
Strong Foundation Trust
Ms. Laura Swan
Mr. Duane Swanson
Mr. Michael R. Swartz
Mr. and Mrs. Gary E. Swenson
Mr. Gary L. Tepas
Mr. Ralph J. Tingle
Tippins Foundation
Mr. and Mrs. John R. Todd
Town Branch Foundation
Mr. and Mrs. Ronald Trzcinski
Mr. and Mrs. Donald F. Turano
Mr. E. R. Turner
Mr. and Mrs. Richard E. Uihlein
Mr. Joseph Umbach
The Steve & Amy Van Andel Foundation
Mr. and Mrs. Tom Vande Guchte
Mr. and Mrs. William Vogel
Mr. James R. Voss
Mr. and Mrs. Harold E. Wake
Mr. George C. Walther, Jr.
Mr. Charles W. Walton
Mr. Joseph Warnbold
Ms. Ingrid G. Warshaw
Mr. and Mrs. Charles R. Watkins, Jr.
Mr. and Mrs. James F. Webert
Mr. and Mrs. Ronald B. Weinle
Dr. and Mrs. Donald R. West
Mr. and Mrs. Stephen West
Samuel L. Westerman Foundation
Westmeath Foundation
Mr. Bruce Wetzel
Mr. James L. Weymouth
Mr. Kurt C. Wheeler
Mr. and Mrs. Paul H. Wick
Mr. Allan P. Wilcox
Williamsen Family Foundation
Ms. Dorothy Williamson
Mr. James Wintersteen
Mr. Frank E. Witt
Mr. Dennis C. Wong
Mr. J. W. Wood
Woodhouse Family Foundation
Mr. and Mrs. Harvey E. Yates, Jr.
Mr. and Mrs. Albert C. Yeh
Fred and Sandra Young
Mr. William M. Young, Jr.
Mr. Richard Zemke
Mr. and Mrs. Price Zimmerman

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

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

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

Our thanks go out to the Bilden family for the opportunity to celebrate the many contributions Middendorf has made on behalf of individual freedom, traditional American values, and a strong national defense anchored in maritime dominance.
THE HERITAGE FOUNDATION’S 2022 NAMED FELLows

MARK A. KOLOKOTRONES FELLOW IN EDUCATION
Lindsay M. Burke

WILL SKILLMAN FELLOW IN EDUCATION
Jonathan Butcher

E.W. RICHARDSON FELLOW
James Carafano

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

HERBERT AND JOYCE MORGAN FELLOW IN ENERGY AND ENVIRONMENTAL POLICY
Diana Furchtgott-Roth

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

ANGELES T. ARREDONDO E PLURIBUS UNUM FELLOW
Mike Gonzalez

MARGARET THATCHER FELLOW
Steven Groves

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

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

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

ED GILBERTSON AND SHERRY LINDBERG GILBERTSON SENIOR LEGAL FELLOW
John Malcolm

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

AWC FAMILY FOUNDATION FELLOW
Richard Reinsch II

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

JOSEPH C. AND ELIZABETH A. ANDERLIK FELLOW
Roger Severino

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

MARK A. KOLOKOTRONES FELLOW IN ECONOMIC FREEDOM
Peter St. Onge

JOHN VON KANNON FELLOW IN PHILANTHROPY
Carsten Walter
THE HERITAGE FOUNDATION’S 2022 DISTINGUISHED FELLOWS

DISTINGUISHED FELLOW
Steven Bradbury

RONALD REAGAN DISTINGUISHED FELLOW EMERITUS
Becky Dunlop

DISTINGUISHED FELLOW IN CONSERVATIVE THOUGHT
Lee Edwards

RONALD REAGAN DISTINGUISHED FELLOW EMERITUS
Edwin Meese

DISTINGUISHED FELLOW IN ECONOMICS
Stephen Moore

DISTINGUISHED VISITING FELLOW
Vice President Mike Pence

DISTINGUISHED FELLOW IN ECONOMIC POLICY AND PUBLIC LEADERSHIP
Paul Winfree

THE HERITAGE FOUNDATION’S 2022 VISITING FELLOWS

2025 PRESIDENTIAL TRANSITION PROJECT
Rick A. Dearborn

B. KENNETH SIMON CENTER FOR AMERICAN STUDIES
Rachel Alexander
Richard Garnett
Samuel Gregg, Ph.D.
Catherine Pakaluk
Joseph Postell

BORDER SECURITY AND IMMIGRATION CENTER
Joe Edlow
Tom Homan
Mark Morgan

CENTER FOR EDUCATION POLICY
Virginia Ford
Adam Kissel

CENTER FOR ENERGY, CLIMATE, AND ENVIRONMENT
Mandy Gunasekara

CENTER FOR HEALTH AND WELFARE POLICY
Leslie Ford

COALITION RELATIONS
Andrew Puzder

DOUGLAS AND SARAH ALLISON CENTER FOR FOREIGN POLICY STUDIES
David Calhoun

EDWIN MEESE III CENTER FOR LEGAL AND JUDICIAL STUDIES
Michael J. Ellis
Adam Mossoff

KATHRYN AND SHELBY CULLOM DAVIS INSTITUTE FOR NATIONAL SECURITY AND FOREIGN POLICY
Kiron K. Skinner, Ph.D.

PHILLIP N. TRULUCK CENTER FOR LEADERSHIP DEVELOPMENT
Steven P. Bucci, Ph.D.

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

MARGARET THATCHER CENTER FOR FREEDOM
Ambassador Terry Miller

TECH POLICY CENTER
Theodore Wold
NAMED INTERNS 2022

THE OSCAR ANCIRA INTERN
Jenna DiCarlo, University of California, Davis

ANDERSON FAMILY INTERN IN HONOR OF TAYLOR ANDERSON
Wallace White, American University

CAESAR ARREDONDO INTERN
Colin Agostisi, The Catholic University of America
Jacob Montoya, Patrick Henry College
Iliana Owen-Alcala, University of California, Santa Barbara
Francisco Torrealba, University of Pittsburgh

H.N. AND FRANCES C. BERGER FOUNDATION INTERN
Jack Kilkenny-Smith, George Mason University
Matias Mauvel, Kenyon College
Camryn Smith, Brigham Young University
Debby Torres, Liberty University
Noah Vehafic, American University
Nathan Waite, Liberty University

JOHN AND BARBARA BRUNING INTERN
Lauren Kessler, Saint Louis University

DAVID V. BURGETT INTERN
Greyson Hoye, Pacific Lutheran University
Alexander Knorr, Willamette University
Joshua Willis, Kansas State University

THE MARIONLOU P. AND DAVID J. BURKE INTERN
Louis Pham, Georgetown University

MARY H. CAMPBELL FOUNDATION INTERN
Ryan Davies, American University
Brinley Koenig, Brigham Young University

CARTER AND MOYERS INTERN
Alexander Eid, Georgetown University
Ben Tardiff, Duke University

RICHARD EARL CARTER MESEE CENTER INTERN
Bradyn Lawrence, Georgia Southern University

B&E COLLINS FOUNDATION INTERN
Emma Rarde, University of Colorado, at Colorado Springs

GENE D’AGOSTINO MESEE CENTER INTERN
Holden Edwards, University of Maine, Orono

JOHN R. AND M. MARGRIT DAVIS FOUNDATION INTERN
Jordan Lamb, University of Texas at Austin

GARY L. DAWSON INTERN
Jordan Embree, Wheaton College
Cullen Geahigan, University of Notre Dame

THE REBECCA EDDY DE BROEKERT INTERN
Austin Hardman, Hampden-Sydney College

THE PAUL N. AND LYNN J. DOUTHAT INTERN
Arno Sandoval, Cedarville University

FRANK G. AND GERTRUDE DUNLAP FUND INTERN
Gabrielle Dankanich, The Catholic University of America

FRANKLET INTERN
Jack Eliot, Liberty University

BERNIECE AND WILLIAM GREWCOCK INTERN
Elizabeth Dickinson, Hillsdale College
Alex Gage, University of Colorado at Boulder
Evalyn Homoelle, Hillsdale College
Maggie Hroncich, Hillsdale College
David Swegle, Hillsdale College

LINDA BOYCE HALLER INTERN
Rafi Levitt, George Mason University

MARGORIE W. HERRICK INTERN
Peyton Meyer, University of Alabama

PATRICIA HOUSTON INTERN
Matthew Lobel, The George Washington University

THE HUSTON FOUNDATION INTERN
Caleb Broyles, Auburn University

DAVID KING INTERN
Alyson Buckner, University of Virginia
Skyler Silbey, Purdue University

KEVIN KLINE INTERN
Miles Pollard, Pepperdine University
“I have always wanted to get into political journalism ... and I had the opportunity to expose one of the worst (required) classes at my university, which was, in essence, Leftism 101 and 102. “It had always rubbed me the wrong way how propagandistic it was, and The Daily Signal gave me the tools and guidance I needed to cover it in the best way.”

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

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

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

SENIOR MANAGEMENT
Kevin G. Roberts, Ph.D., President
Derrick D. Morgan, Executive Vice President
Eric Korsvall, Chief Operating Officer
John P. Backiel, Vice President, Finance and Accounting, and Treasurer
Robert B. Bluey, Vice President, Communications, and Executive Editor, The Daily Signal
Clint Brown, Vice President, Government Relations
Christopher G. Byrnes, General Counsel and Secretary
James Jay Carafano, Ph.D., Vice President, The Kathryn and Shelby Cullom Davis Institute for National Security and Foreign Policy, and the E. W. Richardson Fellow
John Malcolm, Vice President, Institute for Constitutional Government, Director of the Meese Center, and the Ed and Sherry Gilbertson Senior Legal Fellow
Andrew P. McIndoe, Vice President, Development
Andrew Olivastro, Vice President, Outreach
Roger Severino, Vice President, Domestic Policy, and the Joseph C. and Elizabeth A. Anderlik Fellow
Eric Teetsel, Vice President, Government Relations
Bridgett G. Wagner, Executive Director, Edwin J. Feulner Institute

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

As a nonprofit 501(c)(3) organization, we rely on the financial contributions of the general public: individuals, foundations, and corporations. We accept no government funds and perform no contract work. We welcome your support.
2022 Financials

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

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

We are your outpost in Washington. Always fighting for you against the Leviathan federal government. Always working to build a country where freedom, prosperity, and civil society flourish.

Right ideas. Right fight. Right now.
What they’re saying about The Heritage Foundation:

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

—FORMER PRESIDENT DONALD TRUMP

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

—FLORIDA GOV. RON DESANTIS

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

—ERICK ERICKSON, HOST OF THE ERICK ERICKSON SHOW

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

—FOX NEWS