

True North. Always.

2018 ANNUAL REPORT



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A blue-tinted photograph of the Heritage Foundation building. The building is a multi-story structure with classical architectural elements, including columns and a pediment. The words "THE HERITAGE FOUNDATION" are visible on the facade above the entrance. The entrance features a glass door with the number "214" above it. There are bushes in the foreground and tree branches in the upper right corner. The entire image has a uniform blue color cast.

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



MIKE POMPEO CHOSE HERITAGE as the site of his first public policy address as U.S. secretary of state—an acknowledgment of the role Heritage scholars play in shaping American foreign policy. More than 80 members of the media attended the May 21 speech titled “After the Deal: A New Iran Strategy.”

A MESSAGE FROM THE CHAIRMAN AND PRESIDENT

True North. Always.

America has few “full service” think tanks for a very simple reason: It’s not easy to assemble and develop talent in a wide range of disciplines.

But being a “full service” think tank does have its advantages.

When complex problems present themselves, Heritage is able to draw on the expertise of any and—if need be—all of its research centers to develop practical, comprehensive solutions beyond the reach of most research institutions.

Case in point: the 2018 Valentine’s Day murder of 17 students and staff members at Marjory Stoneman Douglas High School. The Left immediately seized on the tragedy to demand oppressive federal gun control laws. But Heritage took a more thoughtful approach,

assembling an inter-departmental task force to develop a measured, holistic response.

Experts from our Meese Legal Center, our Center for Education Policy, and Domestic Policy Studies produced a series of practical reports running the gamut from best practices in school security to recommendations for improving law enforcement, mental health services, and school discipline policies.

Our communications and congressional relations teams aggressively promoted our recommendations in the media and on Capitol Hill.

In the end, we succeeded in blocking the attempts to impose wholesale restrictions on

HERITAGE BY THE NUMBERS 2018



10.9 million
Heritage.org
visitor sessions



210
Lectures & Seminars
conducted



2.1 million
Heritage Facebook fans



124
Issue Briefs published



636,000
Heritage Twitter followers



100
Backgrounders published



303,000
Subscribers to The Agenda



15
Legal Memoranda published



26.9 million
DailySignal.com
visitor sessions



9
Special Reports published



1.9 million
Daily Signal
Facebook followers



31 Congressional
testimonies delivered



405,000
Subscribers to Morning Bell



1,540
Commentaries placed
in major print/
online publications



456 million
Views of Heritage and
Daily Signal Videos



1,513 Television
interviews conducted



51 Donor events held



3,229 Radio
interviews conducted



500,000+ Heritage Foundation members who made all
of the above possible. **Thank you!**



REACHING OUT TO NEW AUDIENCES, Heritage hosted a Communities of Color Breakfast featuring Jared Kushner. At the head table (*left to right*): Cara Morris of the National Urban League; Heritage Foundation President Kay Coles James; Kushner; Elroy Sailor of Insight America.

basic constitutional rights. Moreover, we saw schools across the country implement many of our recommended best practices. And at year’s end, we applauded as the administration withdrew the ruinous Obama-era school discipline “guidance” that had left our classrooms more vulnerable to disorderly and violent students.

Heritage’s institutes and departments pulled together on many other issues through the year, launching coordinated campaigns on everything from the Brett Kavanaugh nomination to border security initiatives. And in every instance, our unified teams pulled in but one direction: toward the True North of conservatism.

WORLDWIDE IMPACT

Our ability to develop and successfully market practical, conservative policy solutions for today’s thorniest problems was recognized in February, when the University of Pennsylvania rated us as the most impactful think tank—not just in the U.S., but in the entire world.

In reading this report, you’ll see that we continued to earn that honor throughout the year, winning victory after victory in the policy wars.

Heritage’s growing international influence is one reason that, for the first time in our 45-year history, Heritage was chosen for the honor of

co-hosting the North American Think Tank Summit in February.

Our influence on foreign policy was evident as the administration embraced our recommendations to suspend aid to terrorist-supporting Pakistan, withdrew from the anti-Israel U.N. Human Rights Council, and backed away from a highly disadvantageous nuclear arms treaty with Russia.

On the home front, we were pleased to see Heritage recommendations accepted by all three branches of government.

The administration continued to roll back the regulatory state, saving Americans a net \$23 billion by axing 12 existing regulations for each significant new one.

Congress boosted defense spending for the second consecutive year.

And the Supreme Court issued a string of pro-liberty decisions, such as those that defended non-union members’ right to refuse paying union dues and upheld a Christian baker’s right to decline celebrating a same-sex marriage.

Of course, one of our more consequential victories—the nomination and confirmation of Judge Brett Kavanaugh to the Supreme Court—involved all three branches. It was Heritage, you’ll recall, that put Kavanaugh’s name on President Trump’s short list of candidates for the highest court in the land.



HERITAGE PRESIDENT Kay Coles James; Executive Vice President Kim R. Holmes; Chairman of the Board Barb Van Andel-Gaby.

NEW LEADERS, SAME MISSION

On Dec. 19, 2017, The Heritage Foundation Board of Trustees announced it had found a distinguished successor to Heritage President Edwin J. Feulner: Kay Coles James.

Heritage staff responded enthusiastically to the news, as did conservative leaders across the country. With James at the helm, there was no doubt that Heritage would remain, in the words of *The Wall Street Journal*, “True North”—the lodestar of the conservative movement.

After settling into the president’s office on Jan. 1, James immediately launched into a marathon of networking, meeting with all members of House and Senate leadership as well as more than a dozen top administration officials—including one who works out of an Oval Office.

James is determined that Heritage must carry its conservative message far beyond the

halls of power in D.C., however. To grow the conservative movement, additional outreach is needed—especially among America’s young people, minority communities, and women. And she is leading by example.

Shortly after taking the helm of Heritage, James hosted a Communities of Color Breakfast, a monthly gathering of private-sector thought leaders addressing problems facing minority communities. The breakfast series has been co-sponsored for years by the National Urban League and Insight America, but this was the first ever held at Heritage.

By midyear, in addition to being a regular contributor to the opinion pages of FoxNews.com, she was writing a column for Black Press USA. Those columns appear in black-owned and operated newspapers in over a score of cities across the country.

In July, she reached out to young people, speaking at Turning Point USA's High School Leadership Summit. The following month, she traveled to Detroit for the annual convention of the National Association of Black Journalists. There she spoke with members of the NABJ board.

Throw in more than 15 trips to meet with Heritage members at local gatherings, and you can see it was a fast-paced year, indeed.

Matching James step-for-step was Kim R. Holmes, Ph.D., named Heritage's executive vice president in February. Holmes has been a fixture at Heritage for 30 years, holding a variety of posts—most recently as senior vice president for research.

In announcing Holmes' promotion, then-board chairman Thomas A. Saunders III noted, "Kim has a deep understanding of and appreciation for scholarly research. He and Kay provide Heritage with a powerful combination of domestic and foreign policy experience."

With Saunders stepping down from the chairmanship—a post he had held for nearly a decade—the trustees unanimously elected Barb Van Andel-Gaby as his successor. A board member for more than 20 years, Van Andel-Gaby had served as vice chairman since 2014.

From May until Van Andel-Gaby's formal installation as chairman in September, Saunders worked closely with her to ensure a seamless transition of leadership. He remains an active member of the board.

Heritage is thankful for Saunders' past service and his continued commitment to Heritage and the conservative movement. In appreciation of his commitment to conservative values, in October, we presented him with our prestigious Clare Boothe Luce Award and dedicated the "2019 Index of U.S. Military Strength" to him. 🇺🇸

WORLD-CLASS SPEAKERS

Another measure of Heritage's clout is the increasing frequency with which domestic and foreign leaders choose our lecture halls to make major policy pronouncements.

In 2018, three top administration officials made international news from the podium of Allison Auditorium:

- U.S. Ambassador to the U.N. Nikki Haley explained the rationale for the U.S. withdrawal from the Human Rights Council;
- Mike Pompeo made his first policy address as U.S. secretary of state, outlining the new U.S. strategy for dealing with Iran; and
- National Security Advisor John Bolton unveiled the administration's new Africa policy.

Two more Cabinet members—Commerce Secretary Wilbur Ross and Health and Human Services Secretary Alex Azar—visited our lecture halls, as did nine U.S. senators and 18 U.S. representatives.

Top military officials came, too, from home and abroad.

Secretary of the Army Mark Esper; Secretary of the Air Force Heather Wilson; Admiral John Richardson, the chief of Naval Operations; and Admiral Paul F. Zukunft, commandant of the Coast Guard—all spoke on the challenges their service branches face.

H.E. Jens Stoltenberg, secretary general of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization, traveled from Brussels to deliver a speech on "The Value of NATO in the 21st Century." More than a dozen other foreign dignitaries—including the president of the Republic of Georgia, Poland's secretary of state, and the ambassador of Romania—made Heritage Washington's premier forum for major policy announcements.

Beyond these public events were literally dozens of private meetings with world leaders—on premises and off. For example, in May, Executive Vice President Kim R. Holmes and I (Kay Coles James) met with U.N. Secretary General



YOU NEVER KNOW WHO WILL DROP BY HERITAGE

Shortly after her first day on the job as Heritage president, Kay Coles James invited Ivanka Trump to come over to discuss the administration's working family agenda, workforce development, and more. Less than two weeks later, the First Daughter and assistant to the president dropped in for a surprise visit.

Ms. Trump received a full tour and met many of our experts and staff. The visit ended with her suggesting that members of her policy team come by Heritage for regular briefings.

Later that day, James dropped by the White House at the president's invitation to witness his signing of a public proclamation honoring Martin Luther King, Jr. 📌

Antonio Guterres here at Heritage. In November, we hosted Kosovo President Hashim Thaçi for breakfast.

In April, I had the privilege of sitting at the head table for the state luncheon in honor of President and Mrs. Emmanuel Macron of France. It was a welcome opportunity to discuss Heritage, France, and shared priorities with the visiting leader.

INSTITUTIONAL MILESTONES

Along with our policy victories, Heritage registered quite a few institutional achievements in 2018.

On May 16, we celebrated completion of the E.W. Richardson Building with a dedication

ceremony that featured remarks by Sen. Ted Cruz, R-Texas. The seven-story, 36,000 square foot building is named in honor of World War II B-24 Liberator pilot Rich Richardson. It provides safe and convenient housing for interns, visiting fellows, and VIP guests. Our summer interns moved in just three days after the opening ceremony.

In September, we opened our newest policy shop: the Grover M. Hermann Center for the Federal Budget. Under the direction of Romina Boccia, the center is dedicated to restoring fiscal responsibility to the nation's affairs by reducing excessive federal taxing and spending.

Later that month, the Board of Trustees approved creation of a new division dedicated

NOTABLE IN 2018



AFTER DONNING HIS Clare Boothe Luce Award medallion, Heritage Trustee Thomas A. Saunders (*right*) enjoys a light moment with White House Special Assistant for Legislative Affairs Paul Teller.

HONORS GIVEN ...

Fox News host and political analyst **Tucker Carlson** received our **2018 Salvatori Prize for American Citizenship**.

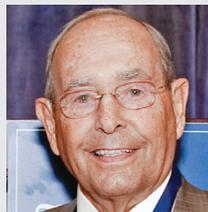
Then-Director of the Office of Information and Regulatory Affairs (now D.C. Circuit Court of Appeals Judge) **Neomi Rao** received the **Robin and Jocelyn Martin Young Leaders Program Distinguished Intern Alumni Award**.

Thomas A. Saunders III, former chairman of our Board of Trustees, received the **Clare Boothe Luce Award**, Heritage's highest honor.

The **Luce Award** was also presented posthumously to former Rep. **Jack Kemp**.

IN MEMORIAM

Richard DeVos inspired countless people to dream big dreams and work hard to make them come true. Best known as a founder of Amway and the owner of the Orlando Magic, Rich also was a widely admired philanthropist. He and his late wife, Helen, generously funded our **DeVos Center for Religion and Civil Society**. The author of "Compassionate Capitalism" and three other books, he pushed Heritage to adopt a concise mission statement—17 words that have guided our efforts for two decades.



... HONORS RECEIVED

The University of Pennsylvania's **Think Tanks and Civil Societies Program** rated Heritage as the world's most impactful think tank.

President Trump appointed **Kay Coles James** to the **Women's Suffrage Centennial Commission**. The commissioners subsequently elected her to be chairman.

President Trump also nominated Executive Vice President **Kim R. Holmes, Ph.D.**, to the **National Council on the Humanities**.

The Hon. Edwin Meese III received United in Purpose's **Lifetime Achievement Award**.

Founder **Edwin J. Feulner, Ph.D.**, received the **2018 William F. Buckley Jr. Prize for Leadership in Political Thought** from the National Review Institute.

Vice President for Policy Promotion **Bridgett Wagner** received a United in Purpose **Impact Award**.

Vice President for Communications **Rob Bluey** received the **2018 Buckley Award** from America's Future Foundation for "spreading the ideas of liberty and free markets across the nation [and] reaching new and wider audiences."

ON THE MOVE

In February, the Senate confirmed **John Mitnick** as general counsel of the U.S. Department of Homeland Security. **Christopher Byrnes** succeeded him as general counsel and secretary of Heritage.

In May, **Alden Abbott** became general counsel of the Federal Trade Commission. **Thomas Jipping** succeeded him as deputy director of our Center for Legal and Judicial Studies.



NATIONAL SECURITY ADVISOR JOHN BOLTON, interviewed by Executive Vice President Kim Holmes, unveiled the Trump administration’s new Africa policy at Heritage on Dec. 13.

exclusively to promoting Heritage’s ideas in Congress and the Executive Branch. Thomas Binion, who has led our government relations team to tremendous success since 2016, was named vice president of the new department.

We ended the year reaching—and exceeding—a financial milestone. Some in the think tank world had thought our six-year goal of \$750 million for the Reclaim America campaign was far too ambitious. But they underestimated the dedication and generosity of our members, who contributed a grand total of \$831 million during that period.

THE ROAD AHEAD

Thanks to the support of our members and our amazingly talented staff, Heritage closed out 2018 bigger, smarter, and more cohesive than ever. But even as we take pride in the work we’ve done and our hard-earned achievements, we realize there’s much more that needs to be done.

It is a truism that, if you’re not moving forward, you’re falling behind. And in 2018, we

took steps to assure that Heritage remains a best-in-class institution well into the future.

We went through a six-month strategic planning exercise that involved every department in Heritage. In the end, we identified five strategic goals that will guide our efforts over the next three years. [See box on page 13.]

We also established three Innovation Workshops—inter-departmental working groups that will analyze emerging issues in areas critical to assuring that America remains, in the words of Ronald Reagan, the world’s “shining city on a hill.” With the help of these forward-looking groups, Heritage will continue to lead the way in developing innovative conservative policies and effective coalitions to help shape the future of work, future of education, and American values and the American character.

Heritage will always respond to change with insight and innovation. But our vision and our values remain unchanged. We are unshakably determined to build an America where

freedom, opportunity, prosperity, and civil society flourish.

The new leadership in the House of Representatives will make achieving that goal more difficult, but Heritage has been overcoming obstacles erected by the Left for more than 45 years. We've got this!

We will continue to promote school choice and to oppose those who would give Washington full control of our health care under the banner of "Medicare for All." We will keep fighting to improve border security and close the dangerous loopholes in our immigration system. We will keep pushing for pro-growth economic policies, free trade, and a strong national defense.

In other words, we will continue to fight for the principles and values that animated our nation's Founders—the same principles and values cherished by our members and the worldwide conservative movement.

Heritage has been the standard bearer of that movement for nearly a half-century. All that time, we have helped advance the cause of liberty and the rule of law around the world ... and hundreds of millions are now freer, more prosperous, and more secure as a result.

And so we look forward to 2019, clear-eyed about the challenges ahead, but confident in our ability to advance policies that will improve the lot of all Americans. And marching, always marching, toward True North.

Sincerely,



Barb Van Andel-Gaby
Chairman

Kay Coles James
President



2018 STAFF AWARDS

From the reception desk to the boardroom, Heritage is blessed with amazing people. In 2018, we recognized four of our remarkable colleagues for their outstanding contributions toward making—and keeping—Heritage a best-in-class organization:



Rob Bluey, our vice president for communications and founding editor of *The Daily Signal*, received the President's Award for

"striving to build an enduring organization and for excellence and unfailing devotion to the cause of freedom."



Bruce Klingner, senior research fellow for Northeast Asia, received the Drs. W. Glenn and Rita Ricardo Campbell Award for "outstanding

contributions to the analysis and promotion of the Free Society."



Mercedes Bendeck, senior conference services manager for events, received the Annie Hambleton Award for "unfailing devotion to duty,

commitment to the ideals of The Heritage Foundation, and extraordinary courtesy to Heritage colleagues."



Paul Larkin, the John, Barbara, and Victoria Rumpel senior legal research fellow, received the Joseph Shattan Award for "powerful

writing that compellingly presents conservative ideas to policymakers and the American people." 🇺🇸

Heritage’s “Dream Team”: Our Senior Managers

As a permanent fixture in Washington, The Heritage Foundation is built to be effective in any situation. Today’s environment presents a cultural, political, governmental, and technological context unlike any we have ever experienced. The turbulent public square and divided government will not hamper Heritage’s success.

In 2018, Heritage strengthened its senior management team with three outstanding additions to an already best-in-class leadership group. In September, Andrew McIndoe was promoted

to vice president of development and Thomas Binion was elevated as vice president of a new government relations department. Chris Byrnes joined the leadership team as general counsel. 🇺🇸



Kay Coles James
President



Christopher G. Byrnes
General Counsel and Secretary



Jennifer A. Marshall
Vice President, Institute for Family, Community, and Opportunity



Kim R. Holmes, Ph.D.
Executive Vice President



James Jay Carafano, Ph.D.
Vice President, Davis Institute for National Security and Foreign Policy



Andrew P. McIndoe
Vice President, Development



John P. Backiel
Vice President, Finance and Accounting



Wes Dyck
Vice President, Personnel



Angela Sailor
Chief of Staff to the President



Thomas P. Binion
Vice President, Congressional and Executive Branch Relations



Eric Korsvall
Vice President, Operations



Jack Spencer
Vice President, Institute For Economic Freedom



Rob Bluey
Vice President, Communications



John Malcolm
Vice President, Institute for Constitutional Government



Bridgett G. Wagner
Vice President, Policy Promotion



HERITAGE GATHERS for an all-staff “family portrait” in the Allison Auditorium foyer.

Planning for Maximum Impact

In 2018, shortly after becoming president, Kay Coles James and Heritage’s senior management team began building our strategic goals for the next three years. Heritage must be equipped with the tools and resources that align our plans with our mission, vision, and budget. Our strategic goals are empowering our team and encouraging them to innovate as never before.

We are committed to keeping The Heritage Foundation the best think tank in the world. Our strategic goals will make Heritage more effective by expanding our impact, by making our research more innovative and relevant, by increasing efficiencies, and by ensuring the financial health of the institution—all for the purpose of achieving conservative victories for America. 🇺🇸

WILLIS BRETZ

HERITAGE’S THREE-YEAR STRATEGIC GOALS



DRIVE policy innovation that builds a broader consensus for conservative solutions to the most pressing questions of the day.



EXPAND Heritage’s reach to and influence on Congress and the Executive Branch.



BROADEN Heritage’s policy influence into new audiences.



SECURE Heritage’s financial future by increasing membership and revenue.



EXCEL as a best-in-class institution by developing best practices in personnel, budget, operations, and management.

**A FIERCE
AND TIRELESS
CHAMPION**

of constitutional
jurisprudence,
Heritage's Thomas
Jipping staked out a
near-constant media
presence during the
Brett Kavanaugh
confirmation battle.

A professional portrait of Thomas Jipping, a middle-aged man with short, light brown hair, wearing a dark blue suit jacket, a light blue dress shirt, and a green and blue striped tie. He is smiling slightly and looking directly at the camera. The background is a blurred bookshelf filled with books, and a portion of an American flag is visible on the left side of the frame.

Thomas Jipping

SENIOR LEGAL FELLOW AND DEPUTY DIRECTOR OF THE
EDWIN MEESE III CENTER FOR LEGAL AND JUDICIAL STUDIES

Championing Constitutionalism and America's First Principles

It was one of the ugliest confirmation battles in Senate history. But when Supreme Court nominee Brett Kavanaugh came under scurrilous attack from the Left, The Heritage Foundation had his back.

Certainly Heritage had standing in the fight. After all, we had brought him to the attention of candidate Donald Trump (and all other presidential candidates, for that matter) back in 2016. That's when our Edwin Meese III Center for Legal and Judicial Studies published a list of eight individuals—one of them Kavanaugh—eminently qualified to serve on the Supreme Court.

Our involvement was why Heritage President Kay Coles James, Vice President John Malcolm, and Emeritus Distinguished Fellow Ed Meese were all invited to Kavanaugh's nomination ceremony (where President Trump led the room in applauding Meese's decades of work promoting constitutional originalism).

At the time, no one knew how low the Left was prepared to go to derail the nomination. So our Meese Center went about its normal business, informing Capitol Hill about the man who would be Justice Kavanaugh.

Our legal scholars prepared over 75 articles analyzing his jurisprudence. They also hosted three panel discussions, all aired by C-SPAN, exploring his judicial philosophy, record on the bench, and more. One panel featured former Kavanaugh clerks who spoke of his sterling character as a boss, mentor, and judge. That discussion proved most helpful once the Left started slinging mud.

The center also organized a coalition of allies in the conservative legal movement to help keep the nomination moving forward. That proved difficult, however, when the confirmation hearings bogged down

with disruptive protests and salacious, evidence-free accusations.

It was then that Thomas Jipping—the Meese Center's deputy director—took off the kid gloves and, in a series of truth-telling columns, exposed the duplicity behind the politically-motivated attacks.

In all, Jipping penned more than 30 pieces for *The Daily Signal* and another 36 for media outlets such as *USA Today*, *The Hill*, and *National Review*. He and his Meese Center colleagues also logged more than 200 radio and TV interviews on Kavanaugh's fitness to serve.

With Kavanaugh finally confirmed, Jipping kept right on campaigning, writing column after column urging the Senate to fill the scores of remaining vacancies on the federal bench with defenders of the Constitution.

To help keep the pressure on, the Meese Center launched its Judicial Appointment Tracker, an online tool that tracks federal judicial vacancies, nominations, and confirmations. Though far too many seats remain empty, much progress was made.

By year's end, the Senate had confirmed 85 Trump nominees to lifetime appointments on federal district and appeals courts. It was, in the words of *The Washington Post*, a "deeply consequential" remaking of the entire federal judiciary.

CRIMINAL JUSTICE REFORM

The Meese Center logged another victory at year's end, when President Trump signed the First Step Act, the most significant criminal justice reform bill in a generation. In the front

MEESE CENTER VITAL STATS, 2018



21 Moot courts hosted, helping conservative advocates hone oral arguments before the U.S. Supreme Court and, occasionally, lower federal appellate courts.



32 Amicus conferences organized to coordinate “friend-of-the-court” briefs for key Supreme Court cases.



11 Law review articles published.



FIGHTING VOTER FRAUD

The Meese Center has long battled efforts to loosen laws that assure the integrity of our elections. In the lead-up to the midterms, our legal scholars helped make it a front-of-mind issue, thanks to a steady stream of research papers, testimony, public events, commentaries, and media appearances.

They also went “straight to the top,” convening two all-day strategy sessions with state secretaries of state, who are charged with ensuring the integrity of their elections.

We also publicized our Voter Fraud Database, a collection of more than 1,100 documented cases of voter fraud. The database has been cited in court opinions and amicus briefs as proof that the problem is far more pervasive than groups on the Left would have you believe. 🗳️

row at the White House bill-signing ceremony were President Kay Coles James and Meese Center Director John Malcolm.

It was the culmination of years of work by Heritage researchers who examined successful reform initiatives in states like Georgia and Texas to identify programs and approaches that reduce persistently high recidivism rates while mitigating some of the unintended consequences of imposing harsh mandatory minimum sentences for low-level, non-violent offenses.

Under the new law, select programs proven to help inmates acquire skills needed to become productive, law-abiding citizens will be offered to qualified federal prisoners eager to turn their lives around.

Yes, it’s about making our communities safer. But it’s about core principles, as well. Conservatives believe in justice and opportunity, and that’s what the First Step Act is about: making punishments fit crimes and helping people leave prison equipped to move on and flourish after they’ve paid their debt to society.

THE B. KENNETH SIMON CENTER FOR PRINCIPLES AND POLITICS

The Simon Center has emerged as a bastion of intellectual firepower within the conservative movement, thanks in no small measure to its analysts’ knack for applying the founding principles to the issues of today.

Exhibit A: When academics Angel Jaramillo Torres and Marc Benjamin Sable resolved to make the first scholarly attempt to draw from the tradition of political philosophy to analyze the rise of Donald Trump, they made a beeline for the Simon Center.

The final product, a two-volume collection of essays on “Trump and Political Philosophy” published by Palgrave Macmillan, featured two contributions from Simon Center scholars: *Trump and The Federalist on National Greatness in a Commercial Republic* by Associate Director Arthur Milikh and *Aristotle’s Account of Factional Conflict and the Rise of Donald Trump* by Visiting Scholar Carson Holloway, Ph.D.

Michael Anton's review for *The Claremont Review of Books* singled out Holloway's contribution as the "best essay in the whole collection."

Exhibit B: The latest book by Joseph Postell, our 2017-18 visiting fellow in American political thought. *Midwest Book Review* hailed his "Bureaucracy in America: The Administrative State's Challenge to Constitutional Government" as "a definitive model of outstanding scholarship and a timely, much needed contribution to our contemporary national dialogue on political governance and policy making."

It also garnered glowing reviews from both *The Claremont Review of Books* and the *New York University Journal of Law & Liberty*.

HERITAGE CONGRESSIONAL FELLOWSHIP PROGRAM

The Heritage Congressional Fellowship program concluded its 17th year of operation by graduating its largest class ever: 81 congressional staffers.

This year-long educational program, run jointly by the Simon Center and our Congressional and Executive Branch Relations team, is the only one of its kind on Capitol Hill, teaching first principles, conservative policy, and congressional procedure to junior-level Senate and House staff.

The curriculum features speakers from Heritage and other leading conservative organizations and includes a day-long inspirational/educational tour of Mount Vernon. The reviews indicate that participants find the program to be both intellectually stimulating and professionally rewarding.

"I loved [it]: there is nothing else like it on the Hill," wrote program graduate Charles Correll, a staff assistant within the House Committee on Oversight and Government Reform. "I can't thank you enough for taking the time to teach us what we all need to know to be good staffers: conservative principles, the nuts and bolts of policy, and how Congress actually works."

At the kick-off session for 2018's Congressional Fellows Program, more than 100 Capitol Hill staffers attended Simon Center Director David Azerrad's talk on "America's Two Regimes: Conservatism and Liberalism." 🗣️

SIMON CENTER 2018 HIGHLIGHTS



The Simon Center published five First Principles essays, bringing the total number of titles in the series to 70. Essays appearing in 2018 were:

- 1 *Is the System Rigged? Adam Smith on Crony Capitalism, Its Causes—and Cures*, by Lauren Brubaker of St. John's College in Santa Fe.
- 2 *Public-Sector Unions and the Founders' Political Science*, by Daniel DiSalvo of the City University of New York.
- 3 *The Founders and Free Trade*, by Carson Holloway, visiting scholar in the Simon Center.
- 4 *The Progressive Critique of Free Markets: A Response*, by Luigi Bradizza of Salve Regina University.
- 5 *The Rise and Fall of Political Parties in America*, by Joseph Postell, Simon Center visiting fellow in American political thought.

2018 SALVATORI PRIZE

The Simon Center awarded its 2018 Salvatori Prize for American Citizenship to commentator Tucker Carlson for his work in fostering open debate about the most important issues confronting the country.

In presenting the award, Simon Center Director David Azerrad noted: "At a time when the press has become doctrinaire and is afraid to discuss what really ails America, Carlson is one of the very few prominent journalists who hosts genuine debates and who challenges the pieties of both the Left and the Right."

The presentation came at Heritage's annual Resource Bank meeting in Fort Lauderdale, Florida. 🗣️



TUCKER CARLSON accepts the Salvatori Prize for American Citizenship.

A professional headshot of Brett D. Schaefer, a middle-aged man with short, light brown hair, wearing a dark blue suit jacket, a light blue dress shirt, and a red tie with blue and white diagonal stripes. He is looking directly at the camera with a slight smile. The background is a blurred, warm-toned interior.

BRETT D. SCHAEFER
NOTCHED several wins
in his ongoing battle
to protect national
sovereignty and make
the United Nations
live up to its own ideals.

Brett D. Schaefer

JAY KINGHAM SENIOR RESEARCH FELLOW IN
INTERNATIONAL REGULATORY AFFAIRS

Standing for Sovereignty, Strength, and Principle

The U.N. Human Rights Council is supposed to focus on advancing human rights, but as our Thatcher Center's Brett D. Schaefer has documented for years, it seldom does.

Rather, as Schaefer notes, the council is “heavily biased against Israel and plagued by a membership list that includes some of the world’s worst human rights violators and dictatorships.”

In June, the Trump administration acted on Schaefer’s long-standing recommendation and withdrew from the council, just as it had followed his recommendation to pull out of what had become a chronically mismanaged and criminally negligent UNESCO in 2017.

The editor of *ConUNdrum: The Limits of the United Nations and the Search for Alternatives*, Schaefer has spent more than a decade studying the U.N. and exposing the corruption that riddles so many of its programs.

And before 2018 came to a close, he had notched several more victories. The administration rejected two U.N. migration and refugee compacts that would have undermined U.S. sovereignty and cut U.S. support for the U.N. Relief and Works Agency for Palestine Refugees and the Palestinian Authority.

SECURING BORDERS ABROAD AND AT HOME

Also making a difference was Margaret Thatcher Fellow Robin Simcox, curator of Heritage’s database documenting every terror attack in Europe since January 2014. Simcox analyzes these data to identify evolving trends in terrorist strategies, and European leaders now regularly seek his advice about what to expect from terrorist groups and how to stop them.

In April, he testified before the House Foreign Affairs Committee about the painful lesson Europe has learned: that terrorists exploit mass migration and lax immigration policies to spread death and destruction.

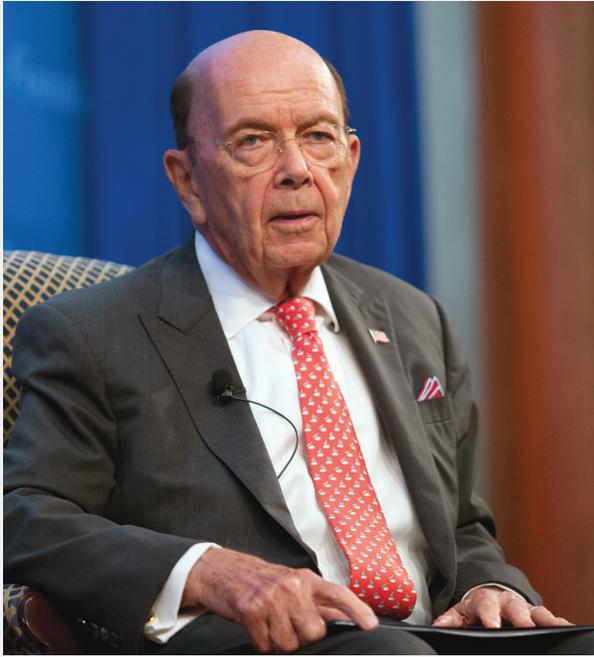
Throughout the year, Homeland Security Policy Analyst David Inserra and Ana Rosa Quintana, a senior policy analyst in our Allison Center for Foreign Policy Studies, hammered home the message that restoring order at our border requires action on both foreign *and* domestic fronts.

While helping shore up economic and political stability to our south, we must also fix and enforce our laws to deter illegal immigration, keep families together by quickly returning parents and children to their home countries, and help those with legitimate asylum claims. Davis Institute experts have prescribed precisely how lawmakers can do this and also create a merit-based immigration system that respects U.S. citizens and the rule of law.

FIGHTING FOR A STRONGER MILITARY

What publication sits on the desk of nearly every member of the House and Senate Armed Services committees? Answer: Heritage’s “Index of U.S. Military Strength.”

The 2019 Index contained bad news: in terms of our ability to fight and win two regional conflicts simultaneously, U.S. military strength continues to be “marginal.”



COMMERCE SECRETARY WILBUR ROSS at the April 9 launch of the “Index of Economic Freedom.”

ECONOMIC FREEDOM HITS ALL-TIME HIGH

Heritage’s “2018 Index of Economic Freedom” held good news for America and the world. Globally, economic freedom rose for the sixth straight year. Meanwhile, the U.S. slide in economic freedom came to a halt, with its rating actually improving for the first time in three years.

Even with that improvement, however, the U.S. could claim only the 18th freest economy in the world—something that did not escape the attention of the administration. “It’s imperative that we acknowledge and address the reasons for which our country lags behind the 17 nations that are ranked above us,” said Commerce Secretary Wilbur Ross, speaking at the April 9 launch of the Index.

A go-to resource for policymakers, researchers, and students worldwide, the 2018 Index logged more than 2.5 million page views in just its first month online. By year’s end, that number had increased to more than 8 million. 📌

That assessment, unchanged from the original Index published in 2015, was validated in November, when the National Defense Strategy Commission released its report, “Providing for the Common Defense.” Echoing Heritage, the bipartisan commission concluded that the U.S. has largely lost its military edge over its rivals, and that Washington isn’t moving fast enough, or investing enough, to regain it.

The good news is that the Index series has inspired the president and Congress to increase defense spending. Funding for the military increased by \$70 billion in fiscal year 2018. The 2019 budget raised it again, by another \$16 billion.

Shortly before leaving office, Defense Secretary James Mattis called for five percent growth in real military spending each year through 2023—a proposal fully in line with Heritage recommendations.

Of course, more spending doesn’t automatically translate into a better military. And understanding where to begin in rebuilding our armed forces—and how to prepare for future conflicts—is an enormous and complex undertaking.

Enter the Davis Institute’s “Rebuilding America’s Military Project” or RAMP. The project outlines a practical approach to reconstituting the nation’s military might.

The first RAMP report, “Rebuilding America’s Military: Thinking About the Future,” debuted in July. It laid out the principles for building a force sufficiently modern, mentally agile, spiritually resilient, and culturally confident to prevail in war—regardless of the nature of the enemy or the circumstances of combat.

The remaining four special reports will set forth detailed recommendations for each of the four armed services. RAMP is the biggest defense project The Heritage Foundation has undertaken since our ideas became the basis for President Ronald Reagan’s Strategic Defense Initiative (SDI) in the mid-’80s.

LOOKING TO ASIA

At the start of 2018, few imagined that the leader of the free world and the leader of the world’s most secretive and repressed country



SEN. JONI ERNST, R-IOWA, speaks at the Oct. 4 launch of Heritage’s “2019 Index of U.S. Military Strength.”

would be shaking hands. Yet that’s what happened at the Trump-Kim summit in Singapore.

Throughout 2018, experts in our Asian Studies Center worked to keep the Trump administration focused on the ultimate goals with North Korea: complete and verifiable denuclearization and an end to President Kim Jong Un’s horrific human rights violations.

Heritage was the only major think tank on scene in Singapore. Policy Analyst Olivia Enos stood just feet away as Kim Jong Un’s motorcade pulled up to the meeting place. And before the summit was over, she had

LEFT: STEVEN PURCELL, RIGHT: WILLIS BRETZ

A BANNER YEAR FOR MISSILE DEFENSE— AND COMMON SENSE ON NUCLEAR DISARMAMENT

Heritage’s policy recommendations loom large in two key national security documents released in 2018: the administration’s National Defense Strategy and its Nuclear Posture Review.

Unlike the strategy statements of the Obama era, the National Defense Strategy candidly and accurately acknowledges Russia and China as top threats and makes no bones about the need to rebuild U.S. military readiness.

Similarly, the Nuclear Posture Review correctly stressed the need to modernize our nuclear arsenal and delivery systems.

And, acting on another long-standing Heritage recommendation, the Trump administration announced its intent to withdraw from the 1987 Intermediate Range Nuclear Forces Treaty with Russia. Moscow has been in violation of the treaty for years.

The administration also expressed reservations about extending New START (Strategic Arms Reduction Treaty)—a one-sided “road to zero” Obama-era pact that required the U.S. to reduce its nuclear arsenal while allowing Russia to add to its stockpile. Heritage has sharply criticized New START since 2010.

Other major policy victories realized in 2018: the U.S. withdrawal from the Iranian nuclear deal and the administration’s proposal to increase its investment in space-based missile sensors—a critical component of a global missile-defense system. 📌



RESEARCH FELLOW MICHAELA DODGE specializes in missile defense and nuclear deterrence policy.



SEN. BEN SASSE, R-NEB., joined us for a discussion on how a strong NAFTA amplifies the U.S.'s regional agenda.

FIGHTING FOR FREE TRADE ... AND MORE

The U.S.-China trade war notwithstanding, 2018 was an encouraging year for trade.

For starters, the U.S., Canada, and Mexico renegotiated the aging NAFTA pact. The new deal features many improvements over the old, but has a few problematic elements as well, like certain rules of origin and overly intrusive labor provisions.

Heritage analysts will work with Congress to try to fix these problems via implementation legislation expected in 2019.

2018 also saw the adoption of amendments to the Korea-U.S. Free Trade Agreement, which Heritage has long supported. And our Asian Studies Center continues its decades-long push for a free-trade agreement with Taiwan. 🇺🇸



SEN. MARCO RUBIO, R-FLA., delivers the Thatcher Center's seventh annual Jesse Helms Lecture March 15 in Heritage's Lehman Auditorium. His topic: "Countering Authoritarianism and Advancing U.S. Interests in Latin America."

given more than 37 media interviews highlighting the need to keep human rights on the summit agenda.

Meanwhile, Senior Research Fellow Bruce Klingner, a former CIA deputy division chief for the Koreas, provided both Washington officials and our Asian allies with valuable advice on the nuclear negotiations. His consistent message: The U.S. must not concede anything or remove any sanctions until North Korea takes verifiable steps to denuclearize.

RETURN TO THE HIGH FRONTIER?

President Trump surprised the national security community a second time when he suggested creating a new military branch: a Space Corps.

Many pundits immediately jumped on the president for trying to "militarize space." But as Senior Research Fellow Dean Cheng calmly pointed out, the U.S. is likely years behind Russia and China in space-based war fighting and defense capabilities.



NATO SECRETARY-GENERAL JENS STOLTENBERG thanks Heritage “for the very important work you do, and for your steadfast support for many years for the values NATO holds so dear,” Sept. 14 at Allison Auditorium. In line with Heritage recommendations, our NATO allies have increased defense spending by \$41 billion in less than two years.

Space can be the launch point for any number of attacks, from anti-satellite missiles and lasers to cyber and jammer threats. Such tactics are certainly not anathema to Beijing and Moscow—or Tehran and Pyongyang, for that matter. Suddenly, a Space Corps doesn’t seem like such a wild idea.

In February 2018, Vice President Mike Pence chose Cheng to serve on the National Space Council Users’ Advisory Group—the NASA “think tank” relaunched to guide the president’s thinking on how best to renew and advance American leadership in space. The group delivered its formal recommendations to establish, fund, and coordinate the new Space Council in October.

Meanwhile, back on Earth, Executive Vice President Kim Holmes spoke on panels with Middle Eastern foreign ministers and the U.S. undersecretary of state at the high-level “Mediterranean Dialogues” convened in Rome, Italy. And back at Heritage HQ, he and President Kay Coles James received visits from five foreign ambassadors and more than 30 other high government officials representing U.S. allies and partners. 🇺🇸

ERIN GRANZOW

MEET KLON KITCHEN

In January, Klon Kitchen was named Heritage’s first senior fellow for technology, national security, and science policy. A Capitol Hill veteran with 15 years of service in the U.S. intelligence



community, his research focuses on the intersection of technology and national security, with particular interest in artificial intelligence, autonomous weapons systems, space, and cybersecurity. Kitchen was a driving force behind the National Defense Authorization Act provision establishing a bipartisan National Cyber Solarium Commission. 🇺🇸

HAILED AS “AN ECONOMIST who speaks English,” Romina Boccia has mastered federal budget minutiae—and the ins and outs of the budgeting process—like few others.



Romina Boccia

DIRECTOR, GROVER M. HERMANN CENTER
FOR THE FEDERAL BUDGET

Shrink the Budget and Grow the Economy

Though born and raised in Augsburg, Germany, Romina Boccia today is often introduced as “an economist who speaks English.” That’s because she has a talent rare among practitioners of “the dismal science”: the ability to explain complex, number-heavy subjects in an engaging and understandable style.

That skill—combined with her keenly analytic mind—has made her highly sought after as both a guest TV commentator and an expert witness at congressional hearings. It also made her the logical choice to take the reins of Heritage’s newest research center, the Grover M. Hermann Center for the Federal Budget, located within our Roe Institute for Economic Policy Studies.

“The federal budget is fast approaching critical mass,” noted Roe Institute Director Paul Winfree during the launch of the new center. “If Congress fails to curb its seemingly insatiable appetite for spending, we will soon find ourselves in a fiscal crisis that stifles growth and lowers living standards.”

The Hermann Center will showcase the innovative work of Heritage’s budget and tax analysts. “The goal is simple,” said Winfree, a former director of budget policy at the Trump White House. “To keep government spending and taxation in check and aligned with its constitutional duties.”

LIGHTING THE PATH TO FISCAL RESPONSIBILITY

One of the center’s first publications was “Blueprint for Balance: A Federal Budget for FY 2019.” As Boccia noted in the preface: The size and scope of the federal budget “affects every aspect of governance and its relationship to the American people ... [directly affecting] Americans’ ability to provide for their families,

contribute to their communities, and pursue their version of the American dream.”

The Blueprint offered lawmakers specific, actionable guidance that would reduce spending by more than \$12.3 trillion over 10 years and eliminate deficits by 2025—all while meeting America’s need to rebuild its military and keep Social Security solvent.

To help those lawmakers truly interested in exercising fiscal responsibility, Winfree and Boccia followed up the Blueprint by forming the Budget “Shadow” Committee. A group of 15 experts from conservative and centrist think tanks, the Shadow Committee meets monthly, producing a series of commonsense recommendations for the Joint Select Committee on Budget and Appropriations Process Reform.

Heritage’s cost-saving influence on the administration had been displayed twice earlier in the year.

When President Trump released his transportation agenda in February, it differed markedly from his original proposal to plow \$1.5 trillion in federal funds into new infrastructure projects. Rather than add that much to the national debt, the final proposal called for using just \$200 billion in federal funds over 10 years to leverage \$1.3 trillion in funding from cities, states, and private investors.

This tracked closely with Heritage’s recommendations, as did the plan’s call for states to cover up to 80 percent of project costs—a reversal of the long-standing funding formula.



WALTER WILLIAMS SPEAKS on the “Role of Government in a Free Society,” part of Heritage’s Free Markets lecture series.

THE MORALITY OF MARKETS

The Roe Institute started a new lecture program exploring the theme “Free Markets: The Ethical Economic Choice.” The 13-lecture series presents a variety of pro-free-enterprise viewpoints: conservative, classical liberal, and libertarian.

Among the nine scholars presenting in 2018 were:

- 1 Walter E. Williams, Ph.D., George Mason University’s John M. Olin distinguished professor of economics, on “The Role of Government in a Free Society.”
- 2 University of Illinois professor Deirdre McCloskey, Ph.D., on “Is it Humane to Be a Socialist?”
- 3 Discovery Institute Senior Fellow George Gilder, on why “Capitalism Is an Information and Learning System.”
- 4 Duke University’s Mike Munger, Ph.D., on “If Poverty Is the Real Problem, Then Capitalism Is the Only Solution.”
- 5 The Rev. Robert A. Sirico, president of Michigan’s Acton Institute, on “The Moral Case for a Free Economy.”

All of the lectures may be viewed online at Heritage.org/free-markets. 📺



HERITAGE’S POLICY PROMOTION TEAM took the “Protect Our Paychecks” campaign on the road, even stopping at out-of-the-ordinary venues like a NASCAR race in Texas.

At mid-year, the Roe Institute celebrated another policy victory when its paper laying out the compelling economic arguments against bailing out non-competitive coal and nuclear power plants helped persuade the White House to drop a plan to do so.

FIGHTING TO PRESERVE PRO-GROWTH TAX REFORMS

The 2017 tax reforms helped to grow and sustain a strong economy in 2018. At a ceremony celebrating the six-month “anniversary” of the landmark tax cuts, President Trump singled out Kay Coles James for special recognition, saying, “Your support has been incredible in getting this very difficult legislation to the finish line and passed.”

By year’s end, the pro-growth reforms had helped drop employment to the lowest rate in a half century, boost real wages, and let average



DURING THE WHITE HOUSE event marking the six-month anniversary of the landmark 2017 tax cuts, President Trump personally thanked Heritage for shaping tax reform.

households keep \$1,400 more of what they earned. Despite these concrete results, the Left did its best to discredit general tax relief as “tax cuts for the rich and for big corporations.”

Heritage responded by launching “Protect Our Paychecks,” an enterprise-wide initiative that fought back hard against this false narrative. In every major national print and broadcast news outlet, our experts spread the truth, explaining how lower taxes and the regulatory rollback had sparked business investment and expansion, job creation, and higher wages. Importantly, they stressed that lower income households and minority groups were reaping the greatest gains.

Recognizing that politicians are most interested in how policies “play” among their constituents, our Center for Data Analysis took on a daunting research assignment: develop a sophisticated economic model able to

accurately assess how the reforms are affecting typical households in each of the nation’s 435 congressional districts and in every state.

It was a technically complex challenge—one that would have taken other organizations over a year to complete. Our Center for Data Analysis got it done in months.

And the findings were impressive. The model showed that the tax cuts and attendant economic growth will put an additional \$26,000 in the average taxpayer’s pocket over the next 10 years. The average family of four will benefit even more—about \$45,000 over the course of the decade.

Our communications team then built an interactive “Protect Our Paychecks” website, making the data available to anyone with access to the internet and an interest in seeing how well tax reform is working in any given congressional district and state.



SENIOR RESEARCH FELLOW DIANE KATZ testifies regularly on regulatory reform, both in Congress (here) and before state legislators. The co-author of Heritage’s series of reports on “Red Tape Rising,” she was able to report on major reductions in federal regulation.

In just weeks, the site had garnered more than 100,000 pageviews.

And, of course, we shared that information directly with lawmakers, as well as with the general public via social and traditional media. In all, our analysts briefed 300 members of Congress and their staffs on the model’s findings, published more than 20 op-eds, and gave scores of interviews on radio and TV.

It made a difference. By year’s end, mainstream economists and pundits were widely—and rightly—crediting the tax cuts with fueling the nation’s economic growth.

ROLLING BACK THE REGULATORY TIDAL WAVE

James Gattuso and Diane Katz, two of Heritage’s experts in technology issues, stood firm against Washington’s regulatory impulse to stifle the dynamism of the internet. There is a reason why America has trailed Asian

and European nations in deploying the most advanced wireless and broadband technologies, they argued, and a large part of it can be traced to government interference.

June 11 was a banner day for the pair. That’s when the Federal Communications Commission’s repeal of the Obama-era “net neutrality” rules took effect.

Another Roe Institute scholar, Senior Fellow David Burton, spent much of the year working to break down regulatory barriers that make it difficult for smaller, younger firms to make private stock offerings or borrow money.

He pled his case personally with the chairman, commissioners, and staff of the Securities and Exchange Commission (SEC) and briefed numerous members of Congress on the advantages of easing restrictions on who may invest in private offerings.

Policymakers listened. The SEC has issued a “concept release” of proposed amendments to



NICOLAS LORIS, OUR HERBERT AND JOYCE
Morgan Fellow, testifying before the House Natural Resources Committee, June 14.

do just that and is soliciting public comments on their proposals. If finalized, the rule changes would free small businesses of some unnecessary economic shackles, helping the economy soar even higher.

Additional regulatory reforms came in the energy sector. That's the turf of Nicolas Loris, our Herbert and Joyce Morgan Fellow. In 2018, he led several successful efforts to secure reversals of Obama-era environmental, energy, and water regulations. These included:

- opening up more territory to off-shore drilling;
- rolling back sky-high (and technically unachievable) fuel efficiency standards for motor vehicles; and
- adopting the EPA's Affordable Clean Energy Rule, a vastly preferable alternative to the Obama administration's economically ruinous Clean Power Plan. 📌

TOP: STEVEN PURCELL, BOTTOM: JOHN HARRINGTON

MAKING GOVERNMENT WORK BETTER

“The federal government is bloated, opaque, bureaucratic and inefficient.”

In June 2018, those words introduced the Trump administration's proposal for a massive reorganization of federal agencies.

Politico and other media outlets promptly noted that the plan drew heavily from Heritage's work.

Though not perfect, the plan included Heritage proposals to limit federal overreach by privatizing federal assets such as the Tennessee Valley Authority. The specifics for reorganizing both the Energy and Interior departments also reflected Heritage priorities.

President Trump also signed three executive orders strongly advocated by Research Fellow Rachel Greszler. The goal was to improve federal workforce efficiency by limiting subsidies of union officials and making it easier for agencies to fire non-performing employees. 📌



THE U.S. GOVERNMENT ACCOUNTABILITY
Office cited Rachel Greszler's research throughout its report comparing private disability insurance favorably to that provided through Social Security.

EMILIE KAO
LED HERITAGE'S
ongoing campaign
to fight back against
attacks on religious
liberty in the U.S.
and abroad.



Emilie Kao

DIRECTOR, THE RICHARD AND HELEN DEVOS CENTER
FOR RELIGION & CIVIL SOCIETY

Defending Religious Liberty and Improving School Safety

Severe religious persecution is all too common in foreign countries. But “progressive” policies are now starting to threaten religious liberty closer to home.

Pennsylvania, Massachusetts, and New York, plus four other states and Washington, D.C., now bar faith-based agencies from providing adoption and foster care services if they refuse to go along with the governments’ redefinitions of marriage and biological sex, thereby abandoning their belief that every child deserves both a mother and father.

State and local governments are misusing anti-discrimination laws to coerce private citizens to affirm sexual orientation and gender identity (SOGI). Local bureaucrats have punished business owners like Colorado cake artist Jack Phillips and adoption agencies run by Catholic Charities. The DeVos Center has educated members of Congress and the public about the dangers of these laws at the state and federal level.

Leading the charge is Emilie Kao, a Harvard Law School graduate and member of the Supreme Court Bar. Before joining Heritage as director of our DeVos Center for Religion & Civil Society, Kao compiled an impressive résumé defending victims of religious persecution—globally at the State Department’s Office of International Religious Freedom and at the Becket Fund for Religious Liberty.

In 2018, Kao led a coalition of religious liberty and child welfare organizations to protect faith-based adoption and foster care. Together, the coalition raised the profile of those victimized by anti-religion policies. They told compelling stories of birth mothers and of adoptive and foster parents and children to the media, members of Congress, and Trump

administration officials. And they spoke directly to the American people through the website KeepKidsFirst.com as well as at several public events.

Working together, the coalition built support for the Child Welfare Provider Inclusion Act, which was later incorporated into the House version of the Labor-HHS appropriations bill. Their efforts also helped bring to nine the number of states that have passed laws guaranteeing the freedom of faith-based child welfare providers to serve in accordance with their religious beliefs.

In 2018, the DeVos Center played a part in two major Supreme Court victories. In *Masterpiece Cakeshop v. the Colorado Civil Rights Commission*, the court ruled that Colorado’s mistreatment of a Christian baker who declined to create a custom cake to celebrate a same-sex wedding demonstrated “clear and impermissible hostility toward the sincere religious beliefs motivating his objection.” In *National Institute of Family and Life Advocates v. Becerra*, the Court ruled that California could not force a pro-life pregnancy center to tell its clients where they could obtain free abortions.

FIGHTING FOR A WORKABLE HEALTH CARE SYSTEM

As our Domestic Policy Studies team led the conservative movement on the path forward to health care reform, they also had to counter bad policy proposals from the Left and even some from congressional Republicans.



FOLLOWING THE TRAGIC SCHOOL shooting in Parkland, Florida, Heritage convened a “School Safety Teach-In.” The event brought together students, teachers, mental health professionals, and policy experts to talk about policies and programs that could actually prevent school violence.

In the spring of 2018, a proposal to bail out Obamacare emerged from the Republican caucus. Our analysts argued vigorously that the bailouts would simply prop up the worst parts of Obamacare. The failing program needed to be replaced, not put on life-support. Despite heavy lobbying by insurers, the proposal soon died.

Meanwhile, the Left renewed its push for a single payer system, this time in the guise of “Medicare for All.” Heritage analysts parried by exposing the weaknesses of that approach. Heritage enters 2019 well prepared to rebut ideas like “Medicare for All,” which will likely be a centerpiece of the Left’s ramped-up efforts in the next two years.

Recognizing that conservatives can’t fight bad health care ideas with “nothing,” Heritage Domestic Policy Director Marie Fishpaw worked to unite conservative leaders around the Health Care Choices Proposal, a consensus reform plan designed to pass muster in Congress and be signed into law.

That plan, unveiled in June, is the most specific, free-market-oriented health care reform plan put forth in years. It would free patients from many cost-increasing federal regulations, allowing them the flexibility needed to access more insurance choices, lower premiums, and higher quality health care—all while protecting those with pre-existing conditions. And it would give everyone who receives a government subsidy to buy health care the ability to apply it to private coverage of their choice—unlike today, where government officials make that decision for them.

Can health reform really deliver these results? We know for a fact it can. In 2018, premiums for Obamacare’s lowest-priced policies rose 16 percent nationwide. Yet premiums fell by as much as 38.7 percent in the two states that had waivers from Obamacare’s mandates.

Heritage was influential in making that freedom available to the states. And after reviewing our research—and seeing these early, cost-saving

results—the Trump administration has now granted waivers to five more states.

Others hope to follow suit. Even deep-blue Maryland passed a law seeking a federal waiver from Obamacare to stabilize the state’s private insurance markets, reduce premiums, and still protect the vulnerable.

“We can get better outcomes from our healthcare system at a lower cost by putting patients, not the government, in charge.” So said Health and Human Services Secretary Alex Azar in a July 26 speech in Allison Auditorium. Following his lecture, Azar met privately with members of the Heritage-led Health Care Consensus Group, which is building support for its free-market-oriented health care reform plan.

WORKING TO WIN THE WAR ON POVERTY

America’s welfare system fails the people it’s intended to serve. And so, Heritage continues to promote work and marriage, the two most effective anti-poverty programs ever devised. We also work to help conservatives learn how to better counter the emotionally appealing rhetoric of the welfare industry.

In January, the House Republican Conference invited Kay Coles James to speak about effective welfare reform “messaging” at their annual retreat. It was the first time a Heritage president had been invited to the event, and James delivered a powerful speech on “Welfare Solutions.” It led to a series of follow-up conversations with lawmakers about how to talk about this often difficult topic.

Meanwhile, Heritage Senior Research Fellow Robert Rector, a key architect of the successful welfare reforms of 1996, continued his decades-long quest to help more Americans escape dependence on government assistance. He and Heritage quantitative analyst Jamie Bryan Hall published a paper on how to encourage work in the food stamp program, which influenced thinking within the Trump administration.

Throughout the year, Rector worked to keep discussions of welfare and poverty informed and honest. His background, “Understanding the

Hidden \$1.1 Trillion Welfare System and How to Reform It,” documented just how massive the welfare state has become—encompassing 89 separate programs spread across 14 federal departments and agencies.

Rector and Hall also collaborated on a report refuting false claims by U.N. staff that the U.S. faces a problem of extreme poverty. The U.S. delegation proudly circulated that report among their counterparts.

MAKING SCHOOLS SAFER FOR STUDENTS AND TEACHERS

In response to the horrific mass murders at a high school in Parkland, Florida, Heritage launched an organization-wide School Safety Initiative. Its purpose: to identify and promote policies that will actually prevent school shootings and lessen other violence in America’s schools.

Our final recommendations included equipping students who are direct victims of

OTHER EDUCATION ADVANCES IN 2018

Military Education Savings Accounts. Our Center for Education Policy moved this innovative idea from the drawing board to actual legislation introduced in both the House and the Senate. Although the House bill failed to advance beyond the Rules Committee, Heritage has now anchored the school choice coalition around this idea and laid the groundwork to advance the policy further in 2019.

529 College Savings Plans. 529 college savings plans can now be used to pay for K-12 private school tuition—a policy Heritage has long supported.

Campus Free Speech. Thanks in large part to work by Senior Policy Analyst Jonathan Butcher, free speech made a comeback on college campuses. Arizona strengthened its campus free speech law, as did Georgia—both following Butcher’s free speech model. 📌



RYAN ANDERSON PROMOTES his book “When Harry Became Sally: Responding to the Transgender Moment” on *Tucker Carlson Tonight*.

HITTING BACK ON “GENDER IDENTITY”

William E. Simon Senior Research Fellow Ryan T. Anderson spent much of 2018 on the lecture circuit, in no small measure due to the popularity of his newest book: “When Harry Became Sally: Responding to the Transgender Moment” (Encounter Books).

A true *tour de force*, the book patiently deconstructs and refutes the arguments used to advance the transgender movement’s demands for codified affirmation and support in everything from medical treatment of gender dysphoria (including in children) to military service to education policy.

Anderson’s arguments are so compelling, the *New York Times* saw fit to publish not one, but two opinion pieces attacking the book—a sure sign that Anderson is shifting the terms of debate in our direction.

As the *Claremont Review of Books* put it: “Anderson’s book is feared because it is fearless, hated because it is loving, and mocked as ignorant because it is grounded in scientific truth. It is, in short, indispensable.” 🦋

violence or are assigned to persistently dangerous schools with school choice options, such as education savings accounts or a “safe student scholarship;” ensuring mental health services are accessible; holding school systems accountable for spending existing funds designated for school safety programs *as intended*; and removing federal directives that inhibit local school leaders’ ability to maintain safe learning environments.

Our Center for Education Policy was deeply involved in this inter-departmental research effort. One of the center’s earliest recommendations was that the Department of Education eliminate an Obama-era directive that threatened schools with a federal investigation if there were any racial disparities in their suspension and expulsion rates. The “disparate impact” policy was modeled after the one pioneered in Parkland schools.

Interviews with students and teachers revealed that the directive had tied the hands of school personnel, fostering tremendous discipline problems. Many violent students no longer feared punishment, leaving other students and their teachers feeling less safe in halls and classrooms.

Thankfully, the Trump administration acted on our recommendation, withdrawing the misguided directive in late 2018.

As the year came to a close, Center for Education Policy Director Lindsey Burke, along with Vice President Jennifer Marshall, published a paper highlighting an underused provision in the Bush-era No Child Left Behind Act (now known as the Every Student Succeeds Act). It gives students the right to leave failing schools that are found to be “persistently dangerous.”

As Burke and Marshall noted, even though states were entrusted with identifying these schools, many did not. Among those jurisdictions failing to do so: Washington, D.C., where students suffer one of the highest rates of school violence in America. Getting states to live up to their responsibilities under the act will be a top priority for Heritage’s School Safety Initiative in 2019. 🦋



**HERITAGE
ACTION**
FOR AMERICA

WOMEN FOR KAVANAUGH—A delegation of Heritage Action Sentinels relax outside the office of Sen. Lisa Murkowski, R-Alaska, after dropping off petitions urging confirmation of Brett Kavanaugh’s nomination to the Supreme Court.

HERITAGE ACTION FOR AMERICA

Advancing Conservative Policy, Holding Congress Accountable

Heritage Action is committed to taking policy proposals developed by Heritage Foundation scholars and making them happen through legislative or executive action. And that, as they say in Washington, “is a process.”

Advancing conservative policy takes time, effort, and vision. It requires developing a winning strategy, building durable coalitions, and conducting a winning messaging campaign.

At Heritage Action, we do all that, using an “inside-outside” approach.

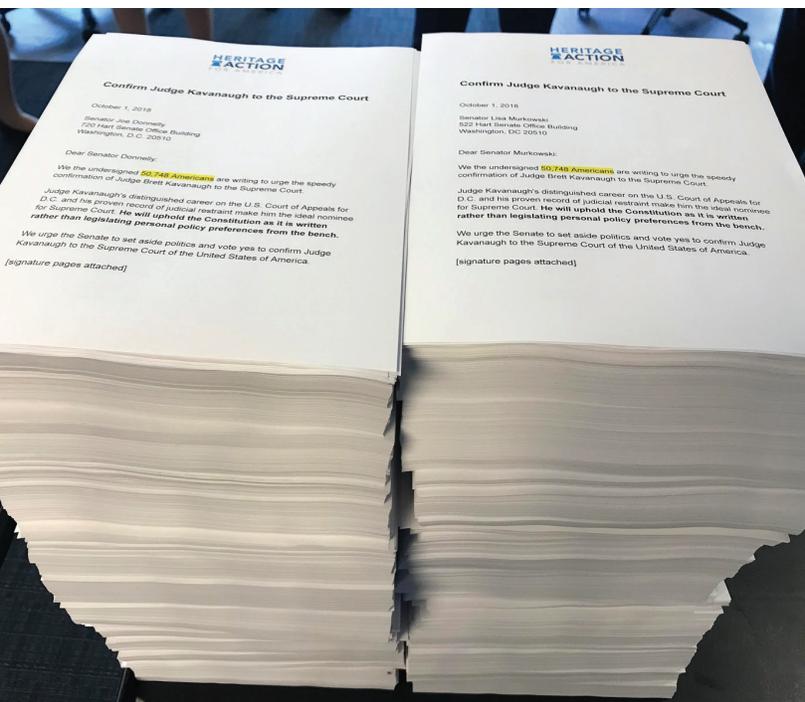
Inside the Beltway, our team of professional advocates, many with years of experience on Capitol Hill, meet daily with lawmakers and their staffs, educating them about the need for—and the efficacy of—adopting Heritage policy recommendations.

Outside the Beltway, we rely on our Sentinels—engaged and committed conservatives

who drive home the point that the folks “back home” support the Heritage agenda whole-heartedly. In just a few short years, the ranks of Heritage Action Sentinels have grown to more than 20,000—a powerful grassroots army that wields tremendous influence in district offices and the halls of Congress.

Make no mistake. Opposition from the Left was on the rise in 2018 and will be even more insistent in 2019. But thanks to the commonsense of the American people and the hard work of Heritage Action insiders and outsiders, we were able to achieve some truly game-changing successes in 2018.

PHOTO COURTESY HERITAGE ACTION FOR AMERICA



HERITAGE ACTION DELIVERED PRO-KAVANAUGH petitions from 50,000 constituents to six undecided senators the day before the confirmation vote.

CONFIRMING JUSTICE KAVANAUGH

When Justice Anthony Kennedy announced his retirement on June 21, 2018, conservatives saw an opportunity to ensure the confirmation of a justice who upholds the law and Constitution as written. The nomination of Judge Brett Kavanaugh got the ball rolling.

Heritage Action quickly sprang into action, educating activists and members of Congress on Kavanaugh’s judicial record. We published supportive commentaries informed by Heritage research in dozens of papers. In August alone, 13 columns written by Sentinels appeared in 13 local media outlets. Meanwhile, Heritage Action staff hit the airways to discuss Kavanaugh’s impressive credentials and Constitution-based jurisprudence on nationally syndicated radio as well as Fox News and Fox Business.

All that came before the Left launched its 11th hour smear campaign against Kavanaugh. And when they did that, our Sentinels and government relations team redoubled their efforts.

In the final weeks before the confirmation vote, Sentinels worked tirelessly to shore up support for Kavanaugh among undecided senators. They gathered 50,000 signatures for pro-Kavanaugh petitions, which Heritage Action hand-delivered to the offices of six undecided senators on the day before the vote. Additionally, 890 Alaskans signed a letter urging wavering Sen. Lisa Murkowski, R-Alaska, to vote for Kavanaugh. More than 100 female survivors of sexual assault wrote personal letters that we hand-delivered in the final 72 hours. Other Sentinels spent hundreds of hours lobbying their senators face-to-face in D.C. and back home.

Writing in *Real Clear Politics*, Heritage Action Executive Director Tim Chapman summed up the importance of confirming Judge Kavanaugh to the Supreme Court this way:

Draining the swamp and returning power to the people means establishing a Supreme Court that honors the separation of powers and interprets the law as written. Judge Kavanaugh understands this.

Heritage Action is thrilled to have Justice Kavanaugh on the Supreme Court.

DEFENDING THE TAX CUTS

It was no secret that the Left was disenchanted with the nation’s turn to the right under the Trump administration. Determined to take the nation back to the old, failed policies of the Obama era, liberals did everything in their power to retake Congress in the 2018 elections.

The Heritage Foundation cannot be involved in elections. But Heritage Action can.

For the first time ever, Action took it upon itself to launch a \$2.5 million campaign to support 13 congressional candidates. Action picked the districts with two major goals in mind: to help conservatives win tough races and deny liberals control of the House. Secondly, the campaign aimed to reach new audiences, form new relationships on Capitol Hill, and shape

HERITAGE ACTION'S DYNAMIC DUO



TIM CHAPMAN AND JESSICA ANDERSON

A longtime member of the Heritage family, Tim Chapman took on a new role at Heritage Action in 2018.

His Heritage roots go back 15 years, when he joined The Heritage Foundation as deputy director of its Senate relations team. In 2008, he moved up to the top floor of Heritage headquarters, working as chief of staff to then-President Edwin Feulner.

Two years later, Chapman joined forces with Heritage alumnus Mike Needham to co-found Heritage Action for America, serving as our chief operating officer until Needham announced his departure to become Sen. Marco Rubio's new chief of staff.

When the Heritage Action board met to select Needham's replacement, their first—and unanimous—choice was Chapman.

His leadership is evident every day at Heritage Action, as his staff of professional advocates fight to advance conservative policy on Capitol Hill and help our grassroots activists win the same arguments back in their home districts.

Heritage Action got a new No. 2, as well. That slot came open when the Senate confirmed former Heritage Action Vice President Russ Vought as deputy director of the Office of Management and Budget on Feb. 28. Action returned the favor by plucking Jessica Anderson from her associate director post at OMB.

It was a homecoming for Anderson, who had previously served as Action's grassroots director.

"We are ecstatic to welcome Jessica back," Chapman said. "She was instrumental to the growth of Heritage Action and the expansion of our grassroots program. The skills, experience, and relationships gained while working in the administration will be key to our future success."

Anderson's effectiveness has been saluted by several Washington observers. In 2017, she landed on *Forbes* "30 Under 30" list for law and policy as well as "30 Under 30" lists from *Newsmax* and *Red Alert Politics*. 📌



SENTINEL PROFILE: KATHERINE HUDGINS, TENNESSEE

Heritage Action exists to cultivate an environment in Washington, D.C., favorable to enacting conservative policies. But the spadework for that effort begins locally, all across America, with Heritage Action Sentinels holding their members of Congress accountable.

Building on this mission, Katherine Hudgins is creating a culture in Tennessee politics that has helped the state's congressional delegation become increasingly and instinctively conservative. Backed with a large network of fellow activists and elected officials—and years of in-the-trenches political experience in campaigns and state politics—Katherine's hard work is paying dividends at an impressive scale all across the Volunteer State.

Katherine has been a Sentinel since 2014. Several years ago, she began holding regular meetings for her fellow Sentinels, where they enjoy food and fellowship, discuss the pressing policy issues of the day, and build plans of action. These days, one can expect to find up to 50 politically smart and engaged Sentinels from Middle Tennessee at each monthly meeting. And their community of Sentinels is not going unnoticed.

Elected officials—federal, state, and local—often stop by to hear from Sentinels. Rep. Scott DesJarlais, R-Tenn., always has staff in attendance and has attended several in person.

The group has also built relationships with Reps. Mark Green and Tim Burchett, as well as Sen. Lamar Alexander and a staffer of Tennessee's newest senator, Marsha Blackburn.

Reliable conservatism was once the exception to the rule in Tennessee's congressional delegation. Now the ideology of Tennessee's representation in



KATHERINE HUDGINS of Tennessee has been a Heritage Action Sentinel since 2014.

both the House and the Senate has shifted decidedly to the right—a direct result of our Sentinels' efforts.

Sentinels in Katherine's group have begun running for office themselves. As a result, some now serve in local elected office as well as on the GOP's state executive committee. Katherine is seen as a vital grassroots voice to be heard, and she frequently hears from members of Congress or their staff seeking her input.

The success of Katherine's group has inspired other Tennessee Sentinels to follow her example. Katherine has been there for them, too, mentoring Sentinels in four other congressional districts who are starting similar groups. Thanks to her hard work and that of her fellow Tennessee Sentinels, the state's political landscape and congressional representation have changed for the better—a change that will endure for years to come. 🇺🇸

the narrative around the Tax Cuts and Jobs Act passed in 2017.

Action chose tax cuts as our central issue, taking advantage of cutting-edge research produced and published by The Heritage Foundation with district-by-district and state-by-state data on just how valuable those tax reforms are. Action's aim was to encourage hard-working Americans to go to the polls and vote to protect their paychecks from the predations of tax-and-spend liberals.

While it is impossible to take credit for any candidate's victory, this much is clear: before Heritage Action weighed in on these races, *all but one* of our candidates trailed in the polls. One week before the election: six were ahead, four were behind, and there wasn't enough polling data on the others.

Heritage Action used multiple communications channels to deliver our tax cut message. They included 12 internet microsites, ads on Facebook and Google, and old-fashioned mailers (896,612 delivered to 334,230 households). We also aired cable and broadcast TV ads in nine districts.

Lastly, Heritage Action employed a savvy new technology called "peer-to-peer texting," which allowed Sentinels to remind huge numbers of voters to show up at the polls and vote. In the final stretch of the campaign, they sent 220,000 texts to swing voters in the targeted districts. These voters—not yet members of the Sentinel community—will be the building blocks of tomorrow's activism.

By the end of this campaign, Heritage Action had reached over 20 million Americans in the 13 battleground districts. Our preferred candidate won seven of those races—giving us a winning record in some of the toughest environments on the map.

While Heritage Action prioritized defending at-risk allies, we also used the influence of independent expenditures to forge relationships with new parts of the conservative caucus. These relationships will be important to us as we seek to implement conservative policy victories in years to come—especially in a divided government.

STOPPING OBAMACARE BAILOUTS

For years, conservatives have worked to increase choice and decrease health care costs. Since our inception in 2010, Heritage Action has recognized that to accomplish this goal, we must get rid of Obamacare. Yet once again in 2018, we found ourselves having to beat back efforts to further entrench the failed health system.

When attempts to repeal and replace Obamacare fell short in 2017, reports began to circulate that congressional Republican leadership was preparing to bail out Obamacare in the March omnibus funding bill.

Heritage Action's Dan Holler promptly teamed up with Heritage Domestic Policy Director Marie Fishpaw to pen a cautionary column in *The Hill*:

Bailing out Obamacare with taxpayer money will do nothing to mitigate the underlying cause of Obamacare's damage. Congressional Republicans should keep their focus on providing a real down payment towards larger reforms, starting by returning to efforts to repeal and replace Obamacare.

With our Sentinels ramping up the pressure and our government relations team making the case to Capitol Hill, the March omnibus was introduced without any bailout funds included.

This allowed Heritage to focus in June on introducing the Health Care Choices Proposal, which would give states flexibility to begin to heal their broken private markets, lower health care costs, and improve coverage choices for all Americans.

Most recently, the December ruling by the U.S. District Court for the Northern District of Texas confirmed what conservatives have known all along: Obamacare is unconstitutional. While the Texas case will likely get appealed to the 5th Circuit and then to the Supreme Court, conservatives still have opportunities to roll back this damaging law and give Americans greater access to affordable health care. 🏠

**FORMER HERITAGE
INTERN NEOMI
RAO**, who
spearheaded
President Trump's
regulatory roll-back,
has been confirmed
to fill Justice Brett
Kavanaugh's seat
on the D.C. Circuit
Court of Appeals.

A portrait of Neomi Rao, a woman with dark hair, wearing a black top and a pearl necklace. She is looking slightly to the right of the camera with a neutral expression. The background is dark and out of focus.

Neomi Rao

HERITAGE INTERN EMERITUS,
D.C. COURT OF APPEALS JUDGE

Training Tomorrow's Leaders and Enlightening Today's

2018 was quite a year for Neomi Rao. She celebrated her first anniversary as administrator of the federal Office of Information and Regulatory Affairs. In her first 15 months on the job, she oversaw the withdrawal or delay of more than 1,500 planned rules. On balance, she eliminated 22 regulatory actions for every one new regulation put on the books.

In June, the Network of enlightened Women named her their Empowered Woman of the Year, citing “her monumental leadership of regulatory reform.” Rao’s work in cutting regulations, they noted, had empowered countless women to flourish.

In October, Heritage President Kay Coles James and Vice President for Policy Promotion Bridgett Wagner presented her with our Robin and Jocelyn Martin Young Leaders Program Distinguished Intern Alumni Award—an honor previously bestowed on conservative luminaries such as Sen. Tom Cotton, R-Ark., and Marjorie Dannenfelser, founder and president of the Susan B. Anthony List.

In the fall of 1994, during her senior year at Yale, Rao interned at Heritage as our Lawrence Wade Journalism Fellow. After graduating college, she went on to the University of Chicago Law School.

Then it was back to Washington, where she clerked for Supreme Court Justice Clarence Thomas, served as counsel to both the Senate Judiciary Committee and President George W. Bush, and taught at George Mason University’s Antonin Scalia School of Law, where she founded the Center for the Study of the Administrative State.

Rao credits Heritage with helping instill the conservative principles that have guided her throughout her professional life. “Heritage has a long history of fighting for individual liberty, limited government, and constitutional

principles,” she said at our 2018 President’s Club meeting. “These are all ideas that have animated my work both as an academic and in my career in public service.”

And 2018 had even bigger things in store for this distinguished alumna. On Nov. 13, President Trump announced that Rao was his pick to succeed recently installed Supreme Court Justice Brett Kavanaugh on the U.S. Court of Appeals for the District of Columbia Circuit.

YOUNG LEADERS OF TOMORROW

The Young Leaders Program that brought us Neomi Rao in 1994 had another banner year in 2018, welcoming 180 interns from 112 universities. Each intern worked shoulder-to-shoulder with Heritage staff—researchers, fellows, and communications and marketing professionals—learning firsthand how to develop and promote modern policy solutions grounded in the wisdom of the ages.

In addition to this hands-on learning, Heritage interns benefit from formal instruction—lectures and study programs that allow them to hear from foreign leaders, members of Congress, and scholars from around the country.

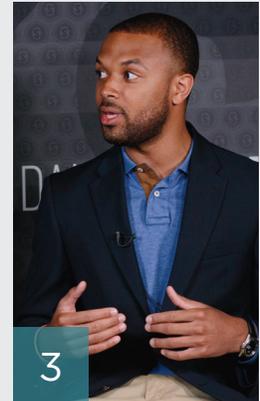
Our intern program shapes and sharpens promising young conservatives so the rising generation can have the leaders needed to keep America pointing True North. But that’s not all Heritage does to promote an understanding of conservatism among America’s youth.

RESOURCE BANK AT 41

It's the "Big Tent Meeting" of the conservative movement. In June, nearly 400 leaders representing the broad spectrum of modern conservatism gathered in Fort Lauderdale, Florida, for Heritage's 41st annual Resource Bank Meeting.

Think tank CEOs, experts, donors, marketers, and litigators come each year for animated policy discussions and practical workshops designed to help attendees adopt best-in-class techniques in everything from fundraising to advocacy.

Highlights of the 2018 meeting included a sparkling discussion of "disruptive innovation" by Newt Gingrich, Steve Forbes, and George Gilder at the Robert H. Kriebel Dinner and presentation of our Salvatori Award for Citizenship to broadcaster and journalist Tucker Carlson.



“

Truly an extraordinary event. The presentations and discussions offered genuinely fresh perspectives and new ways to think about old issues.”

—DOUG BADGER, GALEN INSTITUTE SENIOR FELLOW



1. *Left to Right:* *Daily Signal* Producer Kelsey Harkness, Washington Policy Center President Dann Mead Smith, James Madison Institute Executive Vice President Rebecca Liner, and Heritage's Social Media Manager Lyndsey Fifield discuss "Winning the Hearts and Minds of Millennials and Young Professionals."
2. Senior Advisor Genevieve Wood interviews Heritage President Kay Coles James and Executive Vice President Kim Holmes.
3. Zachary Wood stressed the importance of free speech and the need for a diversity of views on campus. A 2018 graduate of Williams College, Wood served as president of "Uncomfortable Learning," a student group that sparked national controversy for inviting provocative (i.e., conservative) speakers to the liberal campus.
4. Heritage Vice President Bridgett Wagner addresses a gathering of state think tank CEOs.



1. Heritage President Kay Coles James took the main stage twice at CPAC, an annual conference attended by thousands of conservative activists and elected officials from across the U.S. Here, she interviews Education Secretary Betsy DeVos. At a later session, she interviewed another Cabinet member, Labor Secretary Alex Acosta.
2. Marking Women’s History Month, Heritage hosted a panel of four congresswomen to discuss “Empowering Women Through Conservative Policy.” *Pictured here left to right:* Reps. Mia Love, R-Utah, Martha Roby, R-Ala., and Ann Wagner, R-Mo.
3. In August, Heritage hosted the annual Libertarianism vs. Conservatism Debate between interns from the Cato Institute and Heritage. More than 300 guests filled both of Heritage’s auditoriums, and C-SPAN broadcast the event live.

Indeed, our headquarters has become a popular “briefing station” for college groups making field trips to our nation’s capital. In 2018, the Young Leaders Program hosted 52 briefings for over 1,300 university students visiting D.C. The briefings allow us to deliver the conservative message to young people who’ve never heard it.

Kay Coles James reached an even more underserved group in America—conservative African-American teenagers. In July, she spoke to Turning Point USA’s High School Leadership Summit—a gathering of black conservative leaders-in-the-making.

“One-off” briefings and speeches can be enlightening and inspiring, but in 2018, we moved to establish a more rooted connection with young people in the D.C. area who are interested in public policy but lack meaningful exposure to conservative philosophy at work or at school.

Through two pilot programs—the Conservative Hill Intern Program and the Local University Conservatives Program—we reached out to local Millennials and the even younger and more numerous Generation Z. We recruited 50 participants in 2018 and look forward to expanding both programs in 2019. 📌

TWO TO WATCH: NADGEY LOUIS-CHARLES AND MICHAEL ARANGO

“Switching from a college experience focused on science and health care to the political sphere in Washington, D.C., was a major shift. I credit Heritage’s Young Leaders Program for teaching me the First Principles that bolstered my understanding of the conservative movement.



Through the Young Leaders Program, I was also able to foster friendships and professional connections that remain strong to this day.

After interning at Heritage, I interned briefly with the Committee on House Administration and then was hired as a press assistant by a then-freshman congressman. Today, I’m proud to serve as his communications director.

And I still attend Heritage briefings and classes, through programs like the Congressional Fellowship and Take that Hill.”

—NADGEY LOUIS-CHARLES

*Communications Director, Rep. Jody Hice, R-Ga.
Truluck Center Intern, Fall 2014*

“I received my master of science in data science from the George Washington University in May 2018 and joined Deloitte as a data scientist/consultant. There, I am leading development of a tool that ingests unstructured text from federal, state and local government regulations and uses advanced machine learning techniques to extract analytical insights.



I also serve as an adjunct faculty instructor at George Washington, teaching Foundations of Computer Science in the data science program.

The Heritage Foundation internship taught me how to think critically and lead in the workplace. I still keep in touch with some of my mentors from Heritage, and they have even reached out to me for help approaching complex analytical problems.”

—Michael Arango

Center for Data Analysis Intern, Fall 2016

Named Interns 2018

CAESAR ARREDONDO INTERNS

Christian Andzel, *Liberty University*
 Dominic Bayer, *Northwestern University*
 Henrique Carneiro, *The New School*
 Macarena Martinez, *University of Texas at Austin*
 Luis Parrales, *University of Richmond*
 Jorge Villarreal, *Texas Tech University*

H. N. AND FRANCES C. BERGER FOUNDATION INTERNS

Kelley Babphavong, *Harvard University*
 Richard Barkauskas, *College of the Holy Cross*
 Emily Henn, *University of Maryland*
 Georgia Cline, *Patrick Henry College*
 Joseph Natali, *Saint Vincent College*
 Jeremiah Poff, *Franciscan University*

REBECCA EDDY DE BROEKERT INTERN

Julia Howe, *Pepperdine University*

JOHN AND BARBARA BRUNING INTERN

Kyle Perisic, *University of Minnesota, Twin Cities*

ELIZABETH MALLINCKRODT BRYDEN INTERN

Shekinah Hollingsworth, *Salisbury University*

DAVID V. BURGESS INTERNS

Austin Avery, *Simpson University*
 Bryan Cosby, *Southern Utah University*
 Gabriel Lepisnki, *University of Kansas*

DAVID JOSEPH BURKE INTERN

Alexa Secret, *Gettysburg College*

MARY H. CAMPBELL FOUNDATION INTERN

Denitsa Nikolova, *University of Texas at Austin*

CARTER AND MOYERS INTERNS

Megan Decker, *Brigham Young University-Idaho*
 Jaimie Erker, *Colorado Christian University*
 Mary Soren Hansen, *University of Notre Dame*
 Emily Maxson, *Hillsdale College*

RICHARD EARL CARTER MEESE CENTER INTERN

Ashley Vaughan, *University of Texas at Austin*

CLOUGH FAMILY INTERN

Alex Deise, *Florida State University*

COURTESY NADGEY LOUIS-CHARLES, YOUNG LEADERS PROGRAM

GENE D'AGOSTINO MEESE CENTER INTERN

Richard Howell, *Georgetown University*

JOHN R. AND MARGRITE DAVIS FOUNDATION INTERN

Brian Hilliker, *Liberty University*

GARY L. DAWSON INTERNS

Monique Lopez, *California State University, San Bernardino*
Iulia Lupse, *Seton Hall University*

FRANKLET INTERN

Charles McKay, *University of Alabama*

BERNIECE AND WILLIAM GREWCOCK INTERNS

Patrick Farrell, *Hillsdale College*
Garrison Grisedale, *Hillsdale College*
Alex Miller, *Hillsdale College*
Vincent Miozzi, *Hillsdale College*
Rachel Umana, *Hillsdale College*

HASKELL ROBINSON INTERNS

Randi Doran, *Texas A&M University*
David Grogan, *University of Michigan*
Elliott Raia, *University of Texas at Austin*

MARJORIE W. HERRICK INTERN

Airielle Jenkins, *James Madison University*

CHET AND PATRICIA HOUSTON INTERN

Troy Worden, *University of California, Berkeley*

HUSTON FOUNDATION INTERN

Kayla Sarin, *Grove City College*

RALPH AND SUSAN JANES INTERN

Adriano Bordoli, *University of California, Los Angeles*

DAVID A. KING INTERNS

Taylor Anthony, *Berry College*
Kenny Xu, *Davidson College*

KEVIN KLINE INTERN

Allison Baxter, *Texas Christian University*

KEVIN KOOKOGEY MEESE CENTER INTERN

Amanda Botts, *Oklahoma State University*

KUCHTA FAMILY INTERN

Joseph Chesser, *North Carolina State University*

ROBERT E. LAMB INTERNS

Cooper Millhouse, *Patrick Henry College*
Luc Sasseville, *College of William and Mary*
Will Thatcher, *Texas A&M University*
Bradley Tune, *University of Mississippi*
Joshua Waechter, *Hillsdale College*

DAVID AND REBECCA LASCHINGER INTERN

Jared Eckert, *Hillsdale College*

ROBERT A. LECOMPTE INTERN

Gil Gatch, *Georgetown University Law School*

JOHN L. LEROY INTERNS

Edgar Barrios, *Florida State University*
Hayden Combs, *University of Louisville*
Bailey Oedewalt, *University of Alabama*

MICHAEL C. MAIBACH INTERN

Dan Ziegler, *Hillsdale College*

ROBERT MAIR MEESE CENTER INTERNS

Taylor Chaffetz, *Colorado State University*
Christopher Baldacci, *Patrick Henry College*

MAYER INTERN

Holly Bahadursingh, *University of Notre Dame*

ROBERT S. AND JANET L. MILLER FOUNDATION INTERNS

Ian Belliveau, *George Washington University*
Julia Bentley, *John Brown University*
Kevin Budd, *The Catholic University of America*
Ryan Hein, *Indiana University*
Shaina Hilsey, *California University of Pennsylvania*
Lucy Holmgren, *Brigham Young University-Idaho*
Helen Lamm, *Wofford College*
Katherine Rohloff, *Trinity College*
Jessica Schultz, *Duke University*
Liliana Serna, *University of Dallas*

GUIDO AND SUE PICHINI INTERNS

Celine Bookin, *University of California, Berkeley*
Cobi Williams, *Coastal Carolina University*

PILGRIM FOUNDATION INTERNS

Alec Fornwalt, *Liberty University*
Toni-Anne Barry, *The Catholic University of America*

DORIS AND RICHARD PISTOLE INTERN

Joshua Lane, *Christendom College*

RAY FOUNDATION INTERNS

Matthew Larson, *Georgetown University*
Marie Ryan, *University of Florida*
Andrew Vadyak, *University of Florida*

LISENNE ROCKEFELLER INTERN

Caroline Willcox, *Georgetown University*

HOWARD AND JILL SADKIN INTERN

Paul Fredrick, *Miami University of Ohio*

JORDAN SAUNDERS INTERN

Alexandra King, *University of Tennessee, Knoxville*

THOMAS P. SAYER INTERN

David Beleson, *Stanford University*

JOE H. SCALES INTERNS

Dan Lee, *Pacific Azusa University*
Joshua Starr, *Lubbock Christian University*

ROBERT H. SCHWARZMANN INTERN

David Lee, *American University*

GREG SHEEHAN MEESE CENTER INTERNS

Michael Patton, *Patrick Henry College*
Sarah Williams, *The Catholic University of America*

SHINING CITY ON A HILL INTERNS

Corianna Baier, *Troy University*
Chrissy Clark, *Michigan State University*
Amanda Delekta, *University of Michigan*
Babs Hough, *Michigan State University*
Stuart Monk, *Yale University*
Kevin Wilkinson, *Hillsdale College*

COL. CHARLES B. AND SALLY G. STEVENSON INTERN

Matthew Bartilotti, *University of Notre Dame*

SYDNEY A. SWENSRUD FOUNDATION INTERNS

Kayla Beale, *James Madison University*
Stone Washington, *Clemson University*

GEORGE W. TIPPINS INTERN

Margaret Clemmons, *Vanderbilt University*

TOM TRACY INTERN

Brandon McCoy, *Yale University*

RON WEINEL INTERN

Spencer McCloy, *Union University*

JAMES A. WEST INTERN FOR NATIONAL DEFENSE IN THE DAVIS INSTITUTE

Nathan DeBevoise, *California State University Northridge*

SAMUEL L. WESTERMAN FOUNDATION INTERNS

Sarah Roberts, *Patrick Henry College*
Rachel West, *Baylor University*

HOWARD AND MARILYN WOOD INTERN

Tristan Justice, *George Washington University*

WILLIAM M. YOUNG MEESE CENTER INTERN

Scott French, *University of Virginia Law School*

ROBERT AND AUDREY ZINSER MEESE CENTER INTERN

Anthony Brooks, *Christendom College*

EVEN AFTER MORE THAN 20 years of “working the Hill” for Heritage, Danielle Doane greets each day with enthusiasm. “Every day is a new opportunity to impact policy, to make a difference,” she says.



Danielle Doane

DIRECTOR, CONGRESSIONAL PROGRAMS

Helping Two Branches of Government Find True North

Washington, D.C., is a city known for “churn.” It’s filled with young people on the make, happy to switch jobs every 12 months or even sooner. Those who’ve “made their bones” on Capitol Hill then job-hop to ever-more-lucrative posts in the district’s countless lobbying firms, trade associations, or political consultancies.

But not Danielle Doane. The one-time chief of staff to former Rep. Dan Miller, R-Fla., Doane has stuck at Heritage for more than 20 years, serving in virtually every department from the Asian Studies Center to our old domestic policy shop. Today, she serves as director of congressional programs in our newest department: Congressional and Executive Branch Relations.

When asked why she never jumped on Washington’s job-swapping merry-go-round, Doane says simply, “Because Heritage is the best at what we do. Why wouldn’t I want to keep working for the best?”

Besides, she says, her job never gets old because the people and the issues she deals with are constantly changing. “Hill staff changes. Leadership changes,” she notes. “Heritage has new ideas to sell and new challenges from the Left to beat back. And always, there are new people on Capitol Hill to train.”

FOCUS ON CAPITOL HILL STAFF...

Seeing that Hill staff get the training they need is a large part of Doane’s job. She helps manage an expanding tier of education programs designed to build the bench of the conservative movement and help conservative congressional staff be more effective. Here’s what we offered in 2018.

Now in its 17th year, the Heritage Congressional Fellows Program is a year-long, 24-installment lecture and discussion series for

junior congressional staffers. Co-sponsored by our Simon Center for Politics and Principles, the program gives participants a firm grounding in First Principles. Eighty-one Hill staffers completed HCF in 2018, the largest graduating class yet.

Once junior Hill staff have completed HCF, they are eligible for Take that Hill: Leadership Skills for Congressional Staff. This is a six-part leadership development program. In 2018, only in its second year, Take that Hill graduated 20 young leaders from 19 different members’ offices.

HERITAGE ON THE HILL: THREE NUMBERS TO KNOW



31 Congressional testimonies



84 Candidate briefings (state and federal)



146 Congressional briefings



SCENES FROM THE CONSERVATIVE MEMBERS CONFERENCE (clockwise from top left): Heritage Executive Vice President Kim Holmes and Vice President Thomas Binion moderate a discussion of top challenges facing the U.S.; more than 40 members of Congress and senior White House staff attend a plenary session of the two-day conference; (left to right) Rep. Andy Barr, R-Ky., Kentucky Gov. Matt Bevin, Rep. Lamar Smith, R-Texas, House Freedom Caucus Chairman Mark Meadows, R-N.C., White House Legislative Affairs Director Marc Short, and Republican Study Committee Chairman Rep. Mark Walker, R-N.C., discuss legislative priorities.

Now in its third year, the Feulner-Weyrich Fellows Program attracted the participation of 14 of the most influential senior conservative staffers on the Hill. A master class for those who already know their way around the Capitol, the 21-session syllabus is geared to helping them hone their operational, legislative, and strategic skill sets. For example, in one session—a weekend-long retreat to Maryland’s Eastern Shore—participants engaged in an intense, simulated legislative negotiation.

Doane oversaw the launch of a fourth program in 2018: the Civil Society Fellowship. Aimed at mid-level Hill staffers, this lecture and discussion series addresses public policy issues pertaining to life, marriage, and religious freedom. The inaugural class of 14 fellows concluded the program with a spirited debate on gender identity and federal law.

Congressional and Executive Branch Relations co-sponsors a fifth program with our Davis Institute for National Security and Foreign Policy. The six-month long George C.

Marshall Fellowship prepares young professionals—both on the Hill and off—to fill future leadership roles in national security and foreign policy. Davis scholars with decades of military leadership experience lead the sessions. In 2018, the program attracted 22 participants wishing to take a deep dive into national security policy and study the art of developing a grand strategy.

Highlights included a Yalta simulation exercise at Virginia Military Institute and a speech from former Homeland Security Advisor Frances Townsend at November’s graduation dinner. This year’s graduates are now prepared to follow in the footsteps of earlier Marshall Program grads who have gone on to serve in senior positions in Congress, the Trump administration, and the private sector.

...AND ELECTED OFFICIALS

In January, the Congressional and Executive Branch Relations team, led by Vice President Thomas Binion, hosted our annual

ERIN GRANZOW



OUR CONGRESSIONAL FELLOWS, class of '18, gather for a graduation photo on the steps of the Library of Congress.

Conservative Members Conference—a workshop retreat popular among members of the Republican Study Committee (the largest conservative caucus within the congressional GOP), the House Freedom Caucus, and senior White House staff.

During the two-day conference, 39 House members, joined by several administration officials, huddled to hammer out a policy agenda and work on a strategy for pushing it forward. As they considered how best to deal with thorny issues such as the budget, health care, welfare reform, and immigration, they were able to draw on the expertise of attentive Heritage scholars. They also heard inspirational speeches by Heritage President Kay Coles James and Kentucky Gov. Matt Bevin.

Ten months later, less than a week after the November elections, Binion's team hosted its bi-annual New Member Orientation for newly elected members of Congress.

The session opened with words of wisdom from former House Speaker Newt Gingrich and

closed with a spirited speech by Counselor to the President Kellyanne Conway. In between were presentations on 2019 policy priorities and First Principles.

A lot of how-to advice was also offered—practical tips on everything from how to organize offices in D.C. and back home, to how to staff them. It was a full day of orientation, and each new member left with two helpful “souvenirs”—a binder full of Heritage policy recommendations, and another containing the résumés of more than 300 qualified conservatives available to help staff all those new Hill offices.

Executive Branch Relations Advisor Mike Howell closed out the year by putting together a congressional oversight training workshop for more than 70 senior administration officials. Featured speakers included former House Oversight and Government Reform Chairman Darrell Issa, R-Calif., and Heritage Distinguished Visiting Fellow Rick Dearborn. 📌

A GIFTED STORYTELLER
and skilled editor, Thaleigha
Rampersad is yet another
intern success story.



Thaleigha Rampersad
MEDIA PRODUCTION COORDINATOR

Mastering Media, Old and New

Heritage was an early adopter of social media. Like President Trump, we saw it as a way to bypass the traditional media and take our conservative messages directly to the American people.

By 2016, Heritage videos posted on Facebook attracted nearly 54 million views—more than any other think tank. In 2018, we blew way past that number ... *with just one video.*

It showed a pediatrician, talking direct to camera, about the dangers of giving puberty blockers to children in “gender transition.” The video, edited by Thaleigha Rampersad, spoke straight to the heart. And when we posted it on Facebook, it went viral immediately.

Shared widely by activists on both the Right and the Left, the video garnered so much traffic that Facebook became alarmed and actually blocked it for two weeks. They just assumed that something so popular must be beyond the pale.

It wasn’t. It was simply speaking truth about a controversial and emotional issue. Before the year was over, the video had received 73 million views across all Heritage social media platforms and even generated news stories among the traditional media.

Rampersad has been a member of Heritage’s digital team for less than two years, but she’s been a key contributor to the organization’s success. In 2018, our videos logged 456 million views—more than double the previous year’s total.

The prime driver of that growth was a big jump in the production of compelling, shareable video. And Video Production Manager Michael Goodin gives Rampersad much of the credit for that.

“She’s everything you hope for in a producer,” Goodin said. “She’s creative, with an unsurpassed visual eye, who also happens to be a gifted storyteller and skilled editor.”

This isn’t Rampersad’s first stint at Heritage. In the spring of 2015, she interned at *The Daily Signal*, Heritage’s multimedia news outlet. She

then returned to college, earning a master’s degree in strategic communications while honing her skills as a freelance videographer.

Rampersad has returned to Heritage, as do so many graduates of our Young Leaders Program. And once again, she is using her talents daily to advance the conservative movement.

A SOCIAL MEDIA JUGGERNAUT

Facebook isn’t the only social media platform where Heritage has established a powerful presence. In 2018, we again topped *Forbes* magazine’s annual rankings of free-market think tanks in web traffic, and Twitter followers, and Facebook followers.

Our Twitter account is remarkably influential. A recent study of every congressional Twitter account confirmed Heritage’s standing. “We’ve compiled an enormous data set that shows who people in both chambers of Congress are following on Twitter,” writes the left-leaning Huffington Post. “Fox News is ranked pretty high, as are insider news outlets Politico and The Hill. Perhaps most revealing here is the appearance of The Heritage Foundation, an all-powerful right-wing think tank.”

In fact, Heritage places just below President Donald Trump’s Twitter following among members of Congress.

But our Twitter feed is not just for Capitol Hill. Heritage boasts 636,000 Twitter followers across the United States, making it a powerful tool for getting our information into the hands of influencers everywhere.

While leading the *Forbes* 2017 rankings for Facebook and Twitter, we lagged in one medium: Instagram. We set out to change that, and we did.



TELLING STORIES THAT IMPACT POLICY

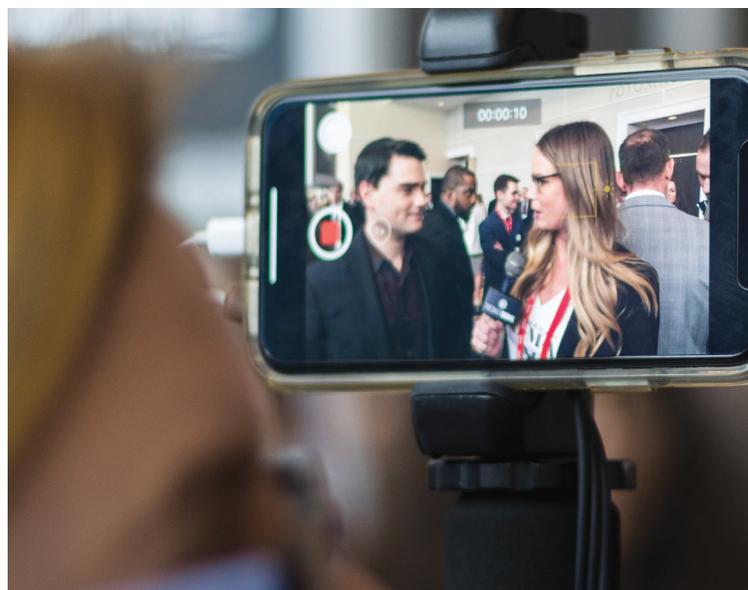
On April 16, Nicole Landers found a note written by her 9-year-old son, Jared. “Kill me,” it read. “I mean nothing. I have issues.”

It’s a heart-rending example of the toll taken by bullying—and even more violent behavior—commonplace in far too many of our nation’s schools. The Landers family blames federal “guidance” handed down to public schools in the Obama era.

The Daily Signal told Jared Landers’ story in a video that received 5.7 million views. In December, the White House Commission on School Safety, convened in the wake of the Parkland school shootings, recommended that the Education Department scrap the “guidance” entirely. 📌



THE APRIL 29 EDITION OF *FOX NEWS Sunday* featured Heritage President Kay Coles James as the network’s “Power Player of the Week.” She and host Chris Wallace talked about her vision for Heritage and the conservative movement. The interview came on the heels of James being named to Politico Playbook’s “Women to Watch” Power List and CQ’s “18 to Watch in 2018.”



THE DAILY SIGNAL'S KELSEY HARKNESS interviews Ben Shapiro at CPAC 2018.

In 2018 *Forbes* ranked us No. 1 in Instagram. And that’s a very good thing.

A photo-sharing network, Instagram is particularly popular with young people. To teach the nation’s young people about First Principles and traditional values, Heritage is committed to mastering the media that they use to get information. Clearly, with Instagram, we’re on our way.

We’re also on our way on Snapchat—a video platform that reaches an incredible 41 percent of all 18-34 year-olds in the U.S. every day! (The average TV network reaches only 6 percent of the same demographic.)

Millennials use Snapchat for more than watching music videos and animal antics. Nearly two-thirds of them used “Snap” to closely follow the 2016 presidential election.

This is an audience and a platform too big to ignore. That’s why Heritage worked with a group of high school students to tape a pilot show for Snapchat—one that discussed policy issues from a young person’s perspective.

The pilot so impressed Snapchat’s staff in New York that they are working with us to develop Heritage’s presence on the platform. In 2019, we hope to make some of our interns Snapchat stars, producing compelling content that appeals to their peers.

“

... one of the fastest growing and influential media outlets in America.”

—AMERICA'S FUTURE FOUNDATION ON *THE DAILY SIGNAL*

WORKING WITH—AND THROUGH—“OLD” MEDIA

The future of media is no doubt digital, but Heritage is not about to ignore traditional media, which remain the primary source of news for most Americans.

With new President Kay Coles James at the helm, Heritage was frequently in the news. Even *The New York Times Magazine* did a cover story on our influence on the Trump administration.

James herself was the subject of several articles, including a profile piece in *The Atlantic* and a cover story from *Citizen* magazine. She also made *Politico's* Power List and was featured on *Politico's* “Women Rule” podcast, *CQ's* “18 for 18,” NPR’s “1A,” and *To the Contrary's* “Women Thought Leaders.”

The kudos didn’t stop there. On April 29, *Fox News Sunday* named her its “Power Player of the Week.” And the Dec. 15 issue of *The Atlantic* presented its readers with an engaging profile of Heritage’s new leader.

Of course, James wasn’t the only Heritage luminary in the news. In 2018, our team booked over 4,700 broadcast television and radio interviews for Heritage policy analysts and experts—a 10 percent increase over the previous year.

They also placed more than 1,500 commentaries in the nation’s leading print and online news outlets—a 32 percent increase.

COURTESY PHOTOS



FRAMING THE DEBATE

Heritage’s editorial team sponsored two events in 2018. In May, we hosted two panel discussions—one on “Conservatism in the Age of Trump,” the other a preview of the upcoming Supreme Court session—for a dozen editorial writers in D.C. for the annual conference of the American Society of News Editors’ opinion section. In November, we teamed with the El Pomar Foundation to sponsor a national security seminar for editorial page editors. One highlight of the two-day seminar, held in Colorado Springs, Colo., was a tour and briefing at U.S. Space Command Headquarters (above) at Peterson Air Force Base. 🗽



EVERY YEAR, the convention of the National Association of Black Journalists draws headline makers and more than 3,000 journalists, media executives, public relations professionals, and students. In 2018, it drew a new headliner, Heritage President Kay Coles James, who met with NABJ Executive Director Drew Berry (left), NABJ President Sarah Glover (right), and other members of the association’s board.

Placements ranged from national newspapers such as *USA Today* and *The Wall Street Journal*, to leading statewide papers, to Washington-centric publications like *The Washington Post*, *Politico*, and *The Hill*.

Much of Heritage's success with traditional media stems from conscientious relationship building by our staff. Media Director Greg Scott and his team are in daily contact with reporters and bookers across the country.

In addition to arranging dozens of reporter briefings at Heritage headquarters, they wear out a lot of shoe-leather in D.C. and New York, meeting with beat reporters, assignment

editors, and producers to keep them informed of Heritage's latest findings and recommendations and connect them with the experts who can give their stories balance and perspective.

COVERING STORIES THAT NEED TO BE TOLD

The Daily Signal, Heritage's own multimedia news outlet, continued to grow in reach and influence. It logged more than 13 million unique pageviews in 2018.

After the Parkland shooting tragedy, *Daily Signal* Managing Editor Katrina Trinko devoted extensive coverage to school safety issues, dialing up a mixture of news stories, personal stories, and hard-hitting commentaries to explore multiple aspects of the problem and offer possible solutions.

Among the pieces helping inform the national debate were: a video interview with two Columbine survivors—a student and a first responder who now trains educators on how to be safely armed at school—produced by Kelsey Harkness; an article by Jarrett Stepman exploding common myths about gun control perpetuated by the media; and a first-person account of what it's like to have your school targeted for a massacre, by student Nicole Martin.

The Daily Signal made a special effort to give high school and college students a chance to air their perspectives, featuring them in both an article and a Facebook video stressing that restricting gun rights does nothing to improve school safety.

Later in the year, *The Daily Signal* waded straight into the debate over Brett Kavanaugh's nomination to the Supreme Court. While other media outlets ignored the voices of women who knew him well, *The Daily Signal* sought those of women who did.

Harkness secured exclusive interviews with women who had known Kavanaugh in high school and others who had worked with him as law clerks. The interviews gave rise to several articles and videos, one of them earning more than 2 million video views.

The common thread among these pieces: every woman gave Kavanaugh a sterling character reference. It was significant. It was news.

DAILY SIGNAL DIGITAL REACH: 2017 V. 2018



455.7 million

Heritage and *Daily Signal* combined video views—**up 125%**



2,238,154

Monthly unique visitors to DailySignal.com—**up 57%**



1,240,558

Active *Daily Signal* e-mail subscribers—**up 21%**



1,880,475

Facebook followers—**up 133%**



60,700

@DailySignal Twitter followers—**up 16%**



ADOPTION ADVOCATE KELLY CLEMENTE speaks at Heritage's President's Club Meeting after a moving documentary about her own adoption story was published on *The Daily Signal*.

And it was something the mainstream media neglected to explore.

Another impactful story, found only on *The Daily Signal*, was that of Kelly Clemente, an unwed mother who at age 18 chose to place her child for adoption through a faith-based agency. The 20-minute documentary explores why Clemente made that choice, and why it was important to her that her son be placed with a married mom and dad.

The Daily Signal published "Birth Mommy" amid a push by liberal activists to bar faith-based agencies from providing adoption and foster care placement services unless they agree to violate their religious beliefs about sexuality and marriage.

Clemente's story ran counter to their narrative. "I'm not saying that homosexual couples shouldn't be able to adopt," she noted. "What I'm saying is that birth mothers have the right to choose."

That honest message led to an appearance on a panel at a Justice Department event and Heritage's President's Club Meeting. 🗣️

YOU'VE COME A LONG WAY, PODCASTING!

Unheard of 15 years ago, podcasting may well be the future of policy communications. The medium came into its own during the 2016 election season, when network public affairs shows started featuring podcast hosts as political commentators.

Today, nearly a quarter of all Americans tune into podcasts. The most frequent users are Millennials or younger, with about one in seven listening to podcasts daily.

Heritage jumped on the podcasting bandwagon early. Today, we produce six. Here's what's on tap:



Heritage Explains—Hosted weekly by Michelle Cordero and Timothy Doescher, each show features a Heritage expert and interesting story.



SCOTUS 101—Hosted weekly by Elizabeth Slattery, each show reports what's happening and what's coming up at the Supreme Court and often features guest lawyers and journalists, as well as trivia.



Heritage Events—An *ad hoc* production, this podcast carries same-day audio of every Heritage lecture and seminar.



The Daily Signal—Hosted daily by *Daily Signal* editors Katrina Trinko and Daniel Davis, the show recaps the day's top stories, plus analysis from Heritage experts and other newsmakers.



Problematic Women—Hosted weekly by *The Daily Signal's* Kelsey Harkness, the podcast showcases strong, conservative women and the hypocrisy of liberal feminists.



The Right Side of History—This biweekly show, hosted by Jarrett Stepman and Fred Lucas, offers surprising insights into historical events and pushes back against the Left's attempts to rewrite history.

Subscribe on iTunes, Google Play, or other podcast subscription services. 🗣️

People Are Policy

Heritage is home to some of America’s most thoughtful and insightful policy analysts. And we’ve been blessed with donors who are committed to making sure that we can continue to attract and retain top-flight scholars. Here are the fellowships—and the analysts they support—that played such a crucial role in our 2018 successes.

2018 NAMED FELLOWS*



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Open



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

*as of 12/31/2018

Distinguished Fellows

Heritage reserves the title “Distinguished Fellow” for individuals who, in addition to their demonstrated commitment to rigorous research and conservative principles, have compiled a record of outstanding achievement outside the think tank world. In 2018, we honored five scholars with that distinction.

DISTINGUISHED VISITING FELLOW RICK DEARBORN

On Nov. 16, Kay Coles James welcomed Rick A. Dearborn back into the Heritage fold as a distinguished visiting fellow.

The former deputy chief of staff to President Trump is managing a new Heritage initiative: the Federalism Project. The aim is to reestablish the authority of the 10th Amendment, which states: “The powers not delegated to the United States by the Constitution, nor prohibited by it to the States, are reserved to the States respectively, or to the people.”

Dearborn’s research will promote a return to President Reagan’s 1987 Executive Order 12612, which encapsulated federalism as being “rooted in the knowledge that our political liberties are best assured by limiting the size and scope of the national government.” In addition to developing a blueprint for devolving power back to the states and the people, Dearborn will provide counsel on dealing with the Executive Branch.

Dearborn certainly knows his way around Washington. Over the last 30 years, he has served two U.S. presidents, six U.S. senators and a major trade association on Capitol Hill. And he’s no stranger to Heritage. From 1993-1996, he was our director of congressional relations.

RONALD REAGAN DISTINGUISHED FELLOW BECKY NORTON DUNLOP

Becky Norton Dunlop is a proud alumna of the Reagan administration. On June 15, she



marked one of the Gipper’s greatest policy achievements by hosting a two-hour seminar on “Reagan’s ‘Peace through Strength’ Cold War Strategy: Integrating Defense, Nuclear Deterrence, Modernization, and Arms Control.” It was this policy, heavily influenced by Heritage Foundation defense experts, that won the Cold War.

Dunlop relinquished two of her many leadership positions in 2018 to concentrate on providing one-on-one mentorship to leaders across the conservative movement. She also stepped up her already hectic speaking schedule.

Six of her college lectures were delivered at law schools, where Dunlop spoke on topics ranging from criminal justice reform to the American Conservation Ethic—eight principles to guide environmental policy that she developed while serving as Virginia’s secretary of natural resources. She also traveled abroad, advancing the principles advocated in Heritage’s Index of Economic Freedom in meetings with international partners on three continents.

DISTINGUISHED FELLOW IN CONSERVATIVE THOUGHT LEE EDWARDS, PH.D.

A “compulsive historian,” Dr. Lee Edwards continued to document the conservative movement’s past achievements and present challenges.

On March 14, he delivered our spring Russell Kirk Lecture titled: “Our Cultural Crisis: A Kirkian Response.” As a curative for



America's cultural decline and fall, he recommended the rejection of both radical egalitarianism and radical individualism and the pursuit of an ordered liberty based upon the First Principles of the Founding.

In June, he moderated a lively discussion of "Conservatism in the Age of Trump," convened especially for a group of editorial writers from across the country. Panel members were Matthew Spalding, Ph.D., of Hillsdale College, Michael Franc, Ph.D., of The Hoover Institution, and syndicated columnist Mona Charen.

Edwards later pursued some of the issues raised in that discussion in "Toward a New Fusionism," a thoughtful essay published in the winter issue of *National Affairs*.

He lectured widely, as well—not only on campus at Catholic University of America (which honored him this year with an Excellence in Teaching Award) and at Yale, but also off campus at meetings of young conservatives in D.C., Philadelphia, New York City, Dallas, and San Francisco.

**RONALD
REAGAN
DISTINGUISHED
FELLOW
EMERITUS
EDWIN MEESE III**

A former U.S. attorney general and long-time Reagan confidante, the Hon. Edwin Meese is no stranger to White House ceremonies.

Still, it was a special moment for this champion of constitutional "originalism" when he found himself seated in the front row for the White House event at which President Trump announced his nomination of Brett Kavanaugh to the U.S. Supreme Court. And even more special to see the president himself lead the room in applauding Meese for his heroic efforts to preserve constitutional governance in America.



Meese continues to provide leadership in both domestic policy and law enforcement. He and Heritage Vice President Jennifer Marshall co-host regular meetings of the Religious Liberty Forum, a group of leaders from civil society and government dedicated to preserving religious liberty.

He also hosted, with Vice President John Malcolm, Heritage's second Police Summit, which attracted 30 chiefs of midsize police forces. The resultant special report, "Policing in America: Midsize Departments as Laboratories of Police Innovation," presents the most promising strategies identified at the summit for dealing with crime on a limited budget.

**DISTINGUISHED
VISITING
FELLOW
STEPHEN MOORE**

Acclaimed economist Stephen Moore heads our Project for Economic Growth. Throughout the year, he promoted lower taxes, less regulation, and zero tariffs through almost daily television and radio appearances, as well numerous speeches on the national lecture circuit.

Moore hit those same themes in his weekly column distributed to hundreds of news outlets by the Creators' Syndicate.

And he advanced his pro-growth agenda in three congressional hearings addressing: "Growth, Opportunity, and Change in the U.S. Labor Market and the American Workforce," (House Subcommittee on Health, Employment, Labor, and Pensions); "The Impact of Zero Tariffs on U.S. Autoworkers," (Senate Committee on Health, Education, Labor, and Pensions); and "Examining the Rise of American Earnings and Living Standards" (U.S. Joint Economic Committee).

Moore also found time to appear in documentaries for PBS and the Foreign Policy Association and to publish "Trumponomics: Inside the America First Plan to Revive Our Economy," his latest book co-written with Dr. Arthur Laffer. 📖





MAY 16 MARKED THE OFFICIAL OPENING of the E.W. Richardson Building, owned by Massachusetts Avenue Properties, LLC, with a ribbon-cutting ceremony, dedication program, open house, and rooftop celebration honoring the late World War II veteran E.W. Richardson. The project was made possible by the incredible generosity of the Richardson family and thousands more Heritage members. *Pictured here from left:* Jenna and Tyler Richardson (President's Club), Barbara Richardson (Founder), Kay Coles James, Dr. Patrice Richardson (Founder, Heritage Legacy Society), Ali Richardson (Founder), and Terry Richardson (Executive Associate).

The Real Heroes of Heritage: Our Members

When Congress passes legislation infused with ideas developed at The Heritage Foundation, there is much rejoicing in our offices. But we are also conscious of other things in those offices: the computers, the desks, the phones, the bookshelves. These are the commonplace tools—along with the meeting rooms and auditoriums, and the radio and TV studios—that allow Heritage experts to do their jobs so well.

Of course, these things don't just grow on trees. They all cost money, as do our educational programs for interns and those working on Capitol Hill, our outreach activities, our research trips, and our lecture and media tours.

And what makes all of this possible is the commitment and generosity of our members. Heritage could accomplish nothing were it not for our army of supporters around the country—now more than a half-million strong.

WILLIS BRETZ

They support Heritage because they are worried about the future of our county and they want to change things for the better. They see Heritage as the way to do that, and they are willing to put their money where their heart is.

At Heritage, we give our members credit for everything we do. Our members are our heroes.

So, for example, when the economy surges as a result of Heritage-inspired tax reform, we think: “Look at what our members have accomplished!” It’s not that we undervalue the great work of our policy analysts. But everyone at Heritage knows who makes it all possible.

In 2018, The Heritage Foundation’s growing family of supporters contributed nearly \$144 million in gifts, pledges, and estate commitments to Heritage and Heritage Action. They brought us across the finish line of our six-year, \$750 million Reclaim America campaign, our most ambitious fundraising effort ever, which concluded on Dec. 31.

You will be meeting some of our members in the pages that follow. The American people may not know the debt of gratitude they owe to our members. But at Heritage, we do. That’s why we are so very grateful to each and every one. 🙏

MEMBERSHIP LEVELS

Heritage welcomed 92,000 new members in 2018. Our range of membership levels and benefits can accommodate everyone.

LEVEL STARTING AT

Basic	\$25
Patriots 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 **MyHeritage.org**.

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Thirteen Founders have asked to remain anonymous



1

MAKING THE SCENE AT the Annual Leadership Conference, April 25-29, Palm Beach (all left to right):

1. Heather Davis, John Reese (Associate), Fran and Charlie Lewis (Associates)
2. John and Barbara Bruning (Trustee's Circle, Heritage Legacy Society)
3. Douglas Waikart (Executive Associate, Heritage Legacy Society), Jeffrey True from the Triad Foundation (Executive Associate), Charles James
4. Hal Lambert, President Kay Coles James, Vincent Kolber (Associate), John Clough (Associate, Heritage Legacy Society)



2



3



4

MICHELLE MCMINN PHOTOGRAPHY

HONORING DONOR INTENT

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

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

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

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

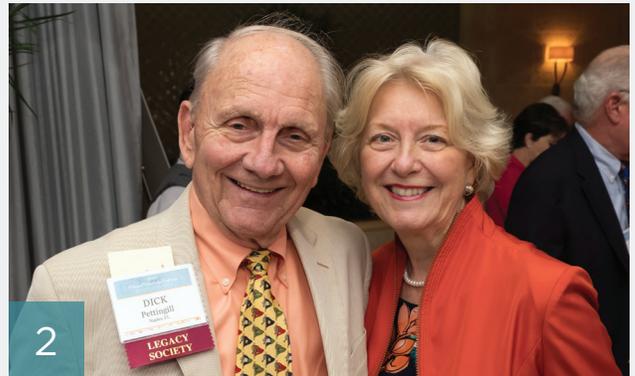
Should any major donor desire a written contract clearly stating the purpose and intent of the donation and how it shall be spent, we will gladly sign it. Moreover, we make the president of Heritage personally responsible for answering donor questions and reporting expenditures of donor funds.

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

HEROIC GIVING IN 2018

At Heritage, we appreciate every donation, no matter how big or how small. But here we'd like to acknowledge a couple of truly magnificent gifts received in 2018, and how they've helped advance our work:

- A \$5 million grant from The Grover Hermann Foundation allowed us to establish the Grover M. Hermann Center for the Federal Budget.
- Our forward-looking work on school safety was made possible by a \$1 million commitment from the Diana Davis Spencer Foundation and a \$200,000 commitment from Heritage Trustee Ryan Haggerty. 🏛️



MORE SCENES FROM the Annual Leadership Conference, photos 1-3 (all left to right):

1. Raz Shafer, Visiting Fellow Steven P. Bucci, Ph.D., Donald DePinto (President's Club)
2. Dick and Chris Pettingill (Heritage Legacy Society)
3. Susan and Christopher Cowie (Associate), Barbara Rumpel (Chairman's Circle, Heritage Legacy Society)
4. At the Orange County, Calif., member event: June and Knox Williams (Heritage Legacy Society), President Kay Coles James, Lisa and Thomas Hazelton (President's Club)

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Mr. and Mrs. Eugene Jurkiw
Ms. Lidia Jurkiw-Gulawsky
Mr. Herbert Kameon
Mr. Morton D. Kirsch
Mr. Robert A. Lecompte
Mr. and Mrs. Richard T. Lee
Mr. and Mrs. Harold Levy
Mr. and Mrs. William Lowndes III
Mr. Walter Lutz
Mr. Robert W. Mair
Mr. Marvin L. Mann
The Markkula Foundation
Ms. Carolyn McVey
Mr. and Mrs. James B. McWethy
Mr. and Mrs. Ralph E. Miesel
Mr. and Mrs. Michael T. Monahan
The Negaunee Foundation
Mr. and Mrs. Bruce Nicholas
Mr. David W. Niemiec
Oarsmen Foundation
Mr. James J. O'Neill
Mr. and Mrs. Bryan Owens
Mr. and Mrs. Darryle L. Owens
Mr. David Perdue
Mr. and Mrs. Guido M. Pichini
Ray Foundation
Mr. Edward E. Renfro
Mr. John W. Roberts
Mr. Robert M. Rosenthal
Mr. and Mrs. John H. Rumpel
Mr. and Mrs. Robert W. Rust, USMC (Ret.)
Mr. Mike Rydin and Sophie Rydin, PhD
Mr. and Mrs. Harold Siegel

Mr. Larry H. Smead
June D. Smith
Ms. Virginia A. Smith
Ms. Corinne Spence
Strong Foundation Trust
Mr. Warren B. Swift
Triad Foundation Inc.
Mr. and Mrs. Ronald Trzcinski
Ed Uihlein Family Foundation
Mr. and Mrs. Wallace E. Volwiler
Mr. and Mrs. Douglas O. Waikart
Ms. Nancy J. Walle
Mr. and Mrs. J. W. Waugh
The Weiler Foundation

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Mr. Rafael Ahlgren
Mrs. Carlette Allen
Mr. Allen L. Amber
Mr. Jerome S. Amber
Mr. and Mrs. Robert A. Anderson
Mr. James M. Andreoli
Mr. Alfred A. Angelo
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Mr. Joe J. Bailey
Mr. and Mrs. Richard O. Bard
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Mr. S. Bruce Barton
Mr. and Mrs. Ronald O. Baukol
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Ms. Lorraine L. Becker
Mr. and Mrs. T. F. Beresford
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Mr. C. L. Bradford
Ms. Jane J. Bradley
Ambassador and Mrs. Stephen F. Brauer
Mr. Howard P. Braun
Mr. and Mrs. Malcolm W. Brawn
Mrs. Mary F. Brodie
Mr. and Mrs. George R. Brown
Mr. and Mrs. John R. Brown
Mr. Whitney A. Brown
Mrs. Lorraine Brubaker
Mr. and Mrs. David Burckel
Ms. Pamela Burke
Mr. and Mrs. Mark A. Caldwell, Sr.
Mr. Ronald M. Cameron
Mrs. Nan J. Cameron
Mr. and Mrs. R. Craig Campbell



1



2



3

1. Heritage Trustee Thomas A. Saunders (*2nd from left*) receives Heritage's highest honor, the Clare Boothe Luce Award, from President Kay Coles James. Joining them for the President's Club presentation are Founder Ed Feulner and Chairman Barb Van Andel-Gaby.
2. Ralph and Patti Miesel (Executive Associates)
3. Len Robinson and Jeanne Haskell (Founders) with nephews Ruy and Jeremy Baustista at the Annual Leadership Conference

Mrs. Sheila Carlton
 Mr. and Mrs. Oliver T. Carr, Jr.
 Mrs. Beverly T. Carter
 Dr. G. L. Carter, Jr.
 Mr. Ronald L. Carter
 Mr. and Mrs. Bill Chapin
 Mr. and Mrs. Derwood S. Chase, Jr.
 The Chisholm Foundation
 Mr. Earl Christensen
 Mr. and Mrs. Jon L. Christianson
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 Mr. and Mrs. Thomas W. Colbert, Sr.
 Mr. Robert A. Cook
 Mrs. Marion Cope
 Mr. and Mrs. Robert P. Cornell
 Mr. Michael E. Cox
 Mr. and Mrs. Sam Croom
 Mr. and Mrs. Ward M. Dahlander
 Mr. and Mrs. Jason Damron
 Mrs. Jean L. Davenport
 Ken W. Davis Foundation
 Mrs. Melissa Davis
 Mr. William L. Davis III
 Mr. James C. Day
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Mr. Kent D. Dixon
 Donahue Family Foundation, Inc.
 The William H. Donner Foundation, Inc.
 Ms. Joyce H. Doty
 Mr. and Mrs. John M. Draper
 Mrs. Ann H. Dunk
 William J. and Julia M.
 Edwards Foundation
 Erickson Family Charitable Foundation
 Fairchild-Martindale Foundation
 Dr. and Mrs. Peter C. Farrell
 Mr. B. E. Faulkner
 The Lundy Fetterman Family Foundation
 Mr. and Mrs. Robert P. Fettig
 Mr. Hubert B. Finch
 Foundation For A Better World
 Mr. and Mrs. John C. Foxley
 Mr. R. M. Freedman
 Mrs. Margel Gallagher
 Mr. and Mrs. C. S. Garber, Jr.
 Mr. Dudley Garner
 Mr. and Mrs. J. P. Gavaghan
 Rollin M. Gerstacker Foundation
 Mr. Robert J. Ghiz
 Mr. and Mrs. Yale Gieszl
 Mr. and Mrs. Ed W. Gilbertson
 Mr. and Mrs. John M. Gordon

Mr. and Mrs. Robert P. Gowing
 Mrs. Kimberley B. Granger
 Mr. and Mrs. J. R. Grant
 The Albert M. and Lyda M.
 Green Foundation
 Mr. Jim W. Green
 Mr. and Mrs. Fred F. Grice
 Mr. Jack E. Guenther
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 Mr. and Mrs. S. John Hajjar
 Mr. and Mrs. J. Wayne Hamman
 Ms. Jess Hansen
 Dr. and Mrs. Promod Haque
 Ms. Beverly J. Hartig
 Mr. and Mrs. Gordon S. Hassing
 Mr. and Mrs. Robert S. Hathorne
 Mr. and Mrs. John W. Hedberg
 Mr. Mark S. Helm
 Mr. David C. Henshaw
 The Herbold Foundation
 Mr. Charlie Hill
 Ms. Arlene Hillerson
 Honorable Donald P. Hodel
 Mr. and Mrs. Forrest E. Hoglund

THE GIFT OF FREEDOM, COURTESY OF PETER PAN

Two weeks before his graduation from Pace University, Ralph Morera was nervous. He was about to have dinner with two very important people: his parents.

Ralph hadn't seen them in 12 years. At age 14, he had left his native Cuba and come to America without them.

His parents had wanted him to have a good life, and something called "Operation Peter Pan" offered him a chance.

Ralph was one of 14,202 Cuban children "Operation Peter Pan" helped to escape Fidel Castro's ruthless communist regime and find shelter in American foster homes. All of these children have their own stories to tell.

Ralph wound up in New York City, working during the day and going to high school at night.

That impressed his foster family. They saw this young man pursuing the American dream, and they wanted to help. They paid for him to finish high school and college.

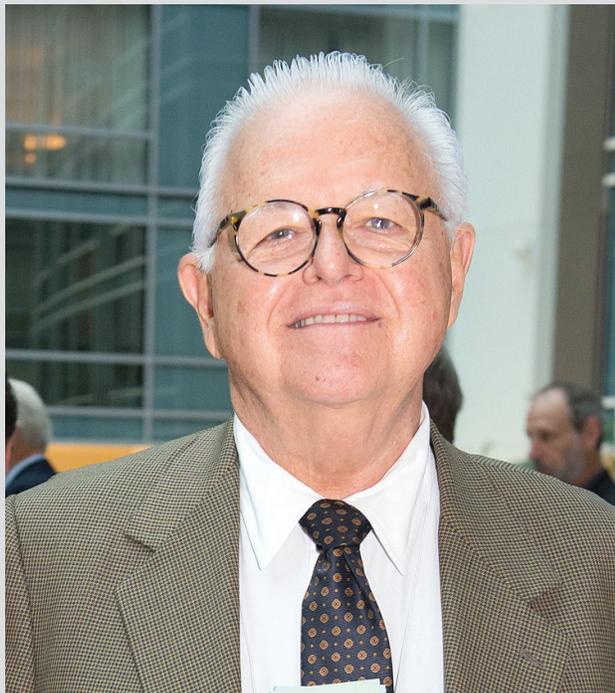
But they had one more gift in store for Ralph.

While he was in college, Ralph's parents had managed to leave Cuba. They lived in Spain for two years, trying to get a visa to enter the United States. Ralph's foster family arranged for the Moreras to come to America, paying all their expenses so they could arrive two weeks before Ralph's graduation.

The Morera family reunion was as tearful as it was joyous. "I almost lost my face," Ralph recalls, "with my mother pinching my cheeks and exclaiming 'I can't believe it's you!'"

Since that unforgettable dinner, Ralph's parents have passed, and Ralph has gone on to great things.

In addition to his career as an accountant, Ralph has served as chairman



ASSOCIATE MEMBER RALPH MORERA at 2018 President's Club Meeting in Washington, D.C.

of the American Red Cross of Greater Miami. He has been a board member of the Miami-Dade Beacon Council, the economic development organization for Miami-Dade County. He has also served on the Board of Goodwill Industries of South Florida and as president of the Cuban-American CPA Association.

As much as all Heritage Foundation members appreciate America's freedoms, few can savor them more than Ralph Morera and his fellow Peter-Panners. His profound love for America has been passed on to his two children and four grandchildren who, thankfully, have no need for the services of "Operation Peter Pan." 📌



ASSOCIATE JAMES VOSS with Heritage Senior Advisor Genevieve Wood at the Annual Leadership Conference.

“

The Heritage Foundation gives me some hope that we can eventually prevail in this fight for our country's soul.”

—HERITAGE MEMBER LOUIS SHERWOOD, FORT WORTH, TEXAS

Mr. Larry Holden
 Mr. and Mrs. Edson P. Holland
 Mr. and Mrs. Kent L. Holtgrewe
 Mrs. Patricia Houston
 Mr. and Mrs. Charles O. Hundley
 Mrs. Caroline R. Hunt
 Mr. Joe Huskins
 The Huston Foundation
 Ms. Nada G. Jagerson
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 Mr. and Mrs. Charles B. Johnson
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 Orscheln Management Company
 (Alkin Co.)
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 C.N. and Maria Papadopoulos
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 Mr. Leroy D. Peterson
 John William Pope Foundation
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 The Shanley Family Foundation
 Shepard Family Private Foundation
 Louis and Nellie Sieg Fund
 Mr. Willis B. Skillman
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 Mr. and Mrs. Ronald W. Swenson
 The Sidney A. Swensrud Foundation
 Mr. and Ms. Chris J. Taylor
 Mr. and Mrs. Ronald Tesarik
 Mr. and Mrs. Raymon F. Thompson
 Mr. and Mrs. Clifford L. Thomson

AROUND THE NATION

Heritage is committed to letting our members know what's going on in Washington. But we also want to know what's on their minds. That's why we hold member meetings across the country. In 2018, we convened 51 local member meetings in 22 cities. Eager to meet with as many members as possible, Kay Coles James attended an impressive 16 of these sessions.



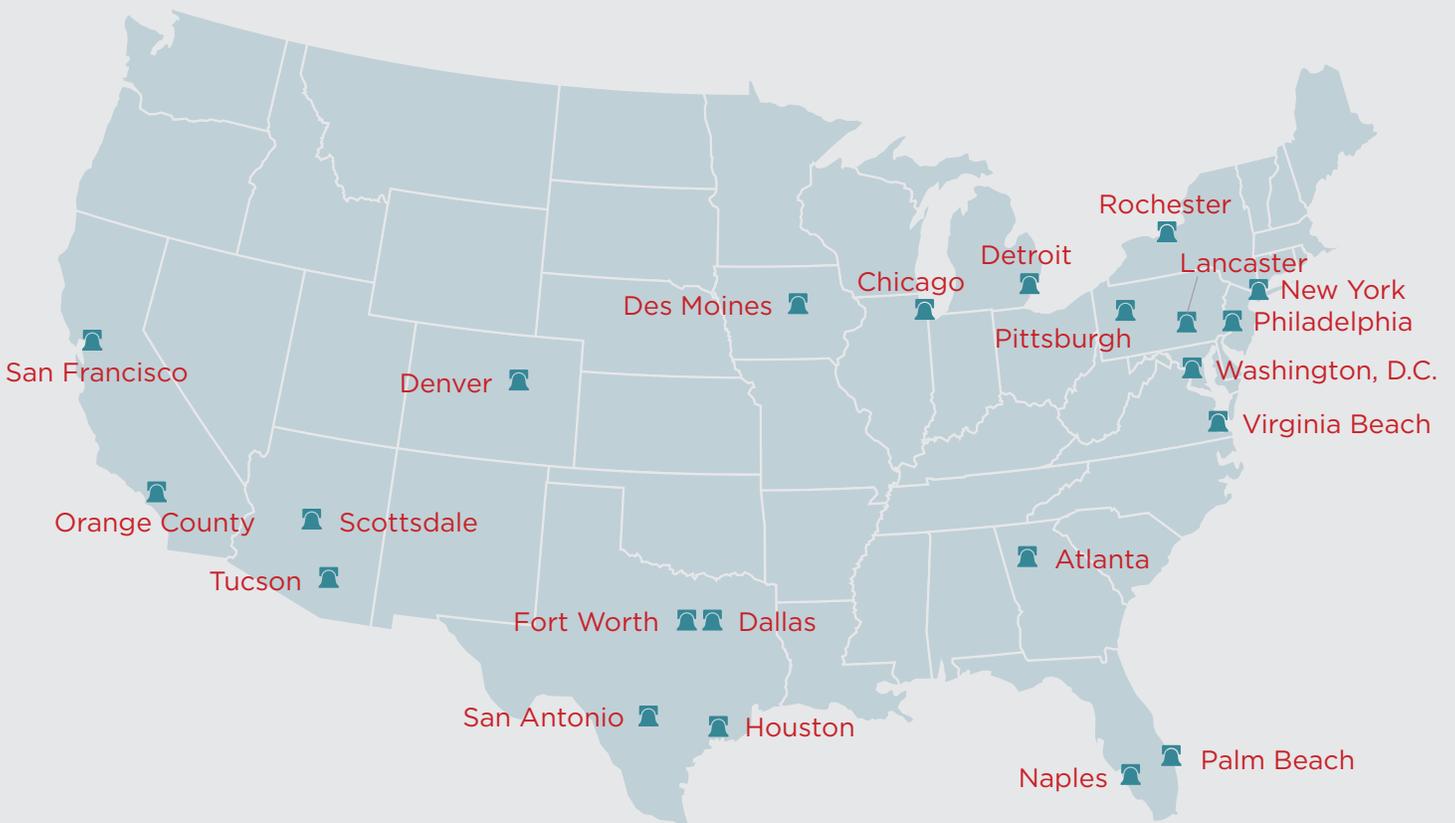
51 Local
Member Meetings



22 Cities
Around the USA



16 Sessions with
Kay Coles James



Tippins Foundation
Mr. and Mrs. Stephen C. Trice
Mr. and Mrs. Donald F. Turano
Mr. John C. Van Hollen
Mr. James R. Voss
The Walker Foundation
Mr. Peter Walton
Mr. and Mrs. William L. Walton
Mr. Peter C. Wasilkoff
Mr. Charles R. Watkins, Jr.
Mr. Lester L. Weindling
Mr. and Mrs. Ronald B. Weinel
Mrs. Nancy D. Weiss

Mr. Stephen D. Weiss
Marion G. Wells Foundation
Mr. and Mrs. Stephen West
Samuel L. Westerman Foundation
Westmeath Foundation
Mr. and Mrs. Thomas B. Wheeler
Mr. Tom L. Wheeler III
Ms. Ronna L. Whiteside
Mr. Thomas W. Wiley
Mrs. Evelyn F. Williams
Ms. Dorothy Williamson
Mr. James Wintersteen
Mr. Frank E. Witt

Mr. and Mrs. Howard Wood
Mr. and Mrs. Stephen S. Woodward
Mr. and Mrs. Thomas E. Workman
Mr. and Mrs. Robert K. Wormald
Mr. and Mrs. Donald H. Young
Mr. and Mrs. Roger Ziemer
Mr. A. C. Zucaro
Mr. Thomas R. Zucker

*Fifty-three Associates have asked
to remain anonymous*



Safeguarding Freedom for Future Generations

“The preservation of the sacred fire of liberty, and the destiny of the republican model of government, are justly considered deeply, perhaps as finally, staked on the experiment entrusted to the hands of the American people.”

—GEORGE WASHINGTON, 1789

Our Heritage Legacy Society—those Heritage members who have remembered Heritage in their estate plans or other planned gifts—are helping ensure the sacred fire of liberty set alight by America’s founding fathers will continue to burn brightly for

generations to come. In 2018, 203 members joined the Heritage Legacy Society, representing more than \$51.7 million in current and future commitments. The Heritage Legacy Society is pleased to welcome the following new members:

Mr. Norbert C. Abel
 Mrs. Wanda E. Agre
 Mr. Lyle Anderson
 Ms. Marlyn Baker
 Mr. Wayne Bass
 Mr. and Mrs. Barry D. Baum
 Ms. Lisa A. Bell
 Mr. Richard G. Bennett
 Mr. Gary Benson
 Mr. Robert J. Boehlke

Mr. Ralph W. Booker
 Ms. Beverly J. Brandt-Hinds
 Mr. Kevin Breslin
 Mr. David L. Brewer
 Mr. Donald Briggs
 Mr. and Mrs. Eldon L. Buckner
 Mr. John Burgess
 Mr. Steven Burnett
 Mrs. Karrie Jo Cairns
 Mr. and Mrs. Bruce L. Calhoun

Mrs. Beverly T. Carter
 Mr. Richard Cekovsky
 Ms. Daphne C. Y. Chang
 Mr. and Mrs. David L. Coffey
 Mr. Michael Cohagan
 Ms. Nancy J. Condon
 Mr. Leroy E. Cox
 Mr. Ray Crelia
 Mr. and Mrs. Richard Cromwell
 Mr. Andre J. Cronthall

Mr. Arthur Decelle
 Mrs. Maria V. Depo
 Mr. Chase Dickson
 Mr. Charles R. Disque
 Mr. and Mrs. Steve E. Dix
 Mr. William W. Dixon
 Mr. Paul Drews
 Ms. Janet B. Eden
 Mr. Gordon Fahnstrom
 Ms. Sheila Fanger
 Mr. Richard Farkas
 Mr. Thane Farmer
 Mr. A. D. Ferris
 Mr. John Fewry
 Mr. Gerald H. Fickenscher
 Mr. H. Hutson Finke
 Ms. Laura A. Franco
 Mrs. Natalie Fredrickson
 Mr. Michael Gamble
 Mr. Eldon Garretson
 Mr. Jeffrey Gore
 Mr. Robert J. Ghiz
 Mr. Lawrence Grayhek
 Mr. Bradford Green
 Mr. Al Guerrero
 Mr. Norman E. Guthrie
 Mr. and Mrs. Charles Hall
 Mr. Robert J. Hamilton
 Mr. Lee Hancock
 Ms. Kirstin Hark
 Mr. Merle Harlow
 Ms. Eva Hartje
 Mr. Roger I. Hastings
 Mr. James R. Haynes
 Mr. Richard C. Henderson
 Mr. Beverly W. Hinds
 Mr. Larry Holden
 Ms. Phyllis M. Holec
 Mr. Henry D. Holt, Jr.
 Mrs. Anne M. Houghton
 Ms. Louise Hulien
 Mr. and Mrs. Robert R. Hyde
 Dr. and Mrs. Carl S. Ingber
 Mr. Kei K. Ishigami
 Ms. Cathy Jaster
 Mr. Paul Jenson
 Mrs. Doris D. Jerman
 Mr. Duane M. Johnson
 Mr. William R. Johnson
 Mrs. Curtis Jordan
 Mr. and Mrs. George Kammerer
 Mr. and Mrs. Reece Keener
 Ms. Joanne M. Kemp
 Mr. and Mrs. Charles B. Kimball
 Mr. P. M. Kinney
 Mr. William Kiser
 Mr. Max Kliewer
 Mr. Robert Koch
 Mr. and Ms. Bradley H. Koon
 Mr. Aron Krantz
 Mr. Charles Krewson
 Mr. Robert C. Kucich
 Mr. Craig Lanterner

STEVEN PURCELL



HERITAGE'S WILL SKILLMAN FELLOW in Education Lindsey Burke, Ph.D., remembers her fellowship's namesake.

REMEMBERING WILLIS B. SKILLMAN

Willis B. Skillman died on Dec. 4, 2018. Here are some words of remembrance from Lindsey Burke, Ph.D., Heritage's Will Skillman fellow in education since 2012.

“Will Skillman was a kind-hearted man. I cherish the great conversations we had over the years on topics ranging from current affairs and education policy to political jokes and his beloved cat, Mordecai.

He was also a generous man. Will's support of The Heritage Foundation during his lifetime helped launch our Center for Education Policy in 2017, and his support of the Heritage Legacy Society ensures that our work to improve America's education system will continue in the future.

One cause in which he believed deeply was school choice. He generously supported our work to advance education choice in the states, so that parents can have a say in where, how, and what their children learn. Today, 29 states and the District of Columbia have some form of school choice. Six states have adopted Education Savings Accounts, or ESAs, and many more are considering them.

With Will's help, our team has made the case for limiting federal intervention in education at all levels, pushing decisions closer to those people who work directly with the students they affect: local leaders and families.

Will cared about improving education, in part, because he believed that education should prepare Americans to inherit the blessings and liberties of a free society. We share that belief, just as we share his belief that freedom, not centralization, is the path to educational excellence.

We will never forget Will Skillman's generosity and commitment to the conservative cause. His support as a Heritage Legacy Society member will have a lasting impact on education choice for decades to come.”

WITH GRATITUDE

We honor the memory of these Heritage Legacy Society members whose gifts we received in 2018.

Mr. Rafael Ahlgren
Mrs. Carlette Allen
Mrs. Betty Alice Anderson
Mrs. Lenore C. Anderson
Mr. Kerchal Armstrong
Mr. William J. Atkinson
Mr. Joe J. Bailey
Mr. Gerald Balnius
Mr. S. Bruce Barton
Mrs. Joanne Bennett
Mr. Howard P. Braun
Mr. William R. Broadbent
Mr. Roger A. Brown
Mr. Whitney A. Brown
Mrs. Lorraine Brubaker
Ms. Ruth Bursma
Mr. Jack A. Buzbee
Mr. and Mrs. R. Craig Campbell
Mrs. Marilyn Cassizzi
Mr. Earl Christensen
Mr. Arthur Cinader
Dr. Walter E. Conrad
Mrs. Anne Coors
Mr. J. L. Cronin, Jr.
Mr. Ben Crow
Mrs. Helen B. Culp
Mr. Gary L. Dawson
Mrs. Norma S. De Paiva
Ms. Rebecca Sue H. De Shazo
Mr. Kent D. Dixon
Mrs. Ann H. Dunk
Mrs. Oris Elias
Mr. James F. Fleming
Mr. Eugene Flieman

Mr. R. M. Freedman
Mrs. Elaine E. Gilmore
Miss Dorothy M. Graybill
Mr. John R. Hacklander
Mr. and Mrs. Ray M. Haddock
Mr. and Mrs. John W. Hedberg
Mr. H. K. Herbert, Sr.
Mr. Charlie Hill
Mr. Thomas F. Hodgman, Sr.
Mr. Harry L. Hogan
Mr. Joe Huskins
Mr. Herbert Kameon
Ms. Julie D. Kennicott
Mrs. Charlotte Kowalewski
Miss Ann Krebes
Mr. and Mrs. Donald E. Lamora
Mr. Joshua M. Lankford
Mr. Joshua Lepman
Dr. Reinhard Leunissen
Mr. Forest E. Lisle
Mrs. Rose Loomans
Mr. James E. Lyons
Ms. Genevieve MacHarg
Mr. Robert G. Mair
Mr. and Mrs. John Martin
Ms. Vivian E. McLaughlin
Mr. and Mrs. William McLaughlin
Ms. Mary Louise Meyer
Mr. Dennis D. Miles
Mr. Les Milewski
Mrs. Constance H. Moore
Mr. Terence H. Murphree
Mrs. Geraldine Newcomer
Mrs. Mitsue Pataky

Mr. Lowell A. Paulsen
Mr. Royce A. Peabody
Mr. and Mrs. George D. Prince
Mr. Willard E. Rapp
Mr. and Mrs. William H. Reinhardt
Mr. Edward E. Renfro
Mr. Mercer G. Rhodes
Miss Monte F. Richardson
Mr. John W. Roberts
Allison and Dorothy Rouse
Mr. Victor L. Sanko
Mr. Walter Schmid
Mrs. Lola Shearer
Mr. Allen H. Simon
Mrs. Barbara B. Smith
Mr. Paul Smith
Ms. Virginia A. Smith
Mr. Lowell F. Steusloff
Ms. Marielouise Stone
Ms. Lynn S. Sullivan
Mr. Warren B. Swift
Mrs. Charles H. Taubman
Mr. Thomas Tipi
Mr. Charles W. Walton
Mr. and Mrs. J. W. Waugh
Mrs. Nancy Wienecke
Mr. William T. Wolf
Ms. Elaine I. Zaske
Mr. Thomas R. Zucker

Sixteen Heritage Legacy Society members asked that their gifts remain anonymous.

Mrs. Lois Lauterbach
Mr. Don F. Lively
Mr. Robert Long
Mr. Jose G. Lopez, Jr.
Mr. and Mrs. Dave Majernik
Mr. Timothy Mangan
Mr. George N. Mangiaracina
Mr. and Mrs. Richard Manley
Mr. Ionel Marsavela
Mrs. Joan McNear
Mr. William C. McDonagh
Mr. Gerald McIntosh
Mr. R. A. McLaughlin
Mr. and Mrs. Edward McManus
Mr. William D. McRae
Mr. Michael Miotti

Mr. Steven D. Mitchell
Mrs. Lorna Mize
Mr. Shon Morris
Mr. and Mrs. James Moster
Mr. Peter W. Moyer
Mrs. Marcia Murphy
Mr. and Mrs. Dwight F. Nelson
Mr. Fred Nichols
Ms. Cynthia Nikkel
Mr. and Mrs. Harold F. Oberkotter
Mr. Vince R. Olds
Mr. Larry Ormosen
Mr. Joe Panas
Mr. and Mrs. James E. Paul
Mr. A. G. Peterson
Mr. Leroy D. Peterson

Mr. Vincenzo Petti
Mr. Paul A. Pilati
Mr. Daniel Pless
Mr. Jerome M. Powell
Mr. Lee A. Powers
Mr. Ronald Pugh
Mr. and Mrs. Alan Rakel
Mr. William J. Rankin
Mr. Jess Reeves
Mr. Michael G. Rettke
Mr. Edward N. Robinson
Mrs. Jamielle Romanet
Mr. and Mrs. Richard Russell
Ms. Kerry R. Patterson
Mr. and Mrs. Nicholas Ryan
Mr. and Mrs. Sheldon E. Sacks



1. President Kay Coles James presents the John Von Kannon Patriot Award to Robert Rust of Coral Gables, Fla., "in recognition of an associate member who best reflects John's spirit as a steadfast conservative and a happy warrior."
2. Dr. Robert Lewit (*left*) of Longboat Key, Fla., receives the George Washington Generations Yet Unborn Award "in recognition of his outstanding commitment to Heritage's work and to the future of our country." Presenting the award are Kay Coles James and Heritage Vice President Andrew McIndoe.
3. Associates and Legacy Society Members Peter and Donna Newell of Lincoln, Calif., at the 2018 President's Club meeting in Washington, D.C.



1-2 MICHELLE MCMINN PHOTOGRAPHY, 3 ERIN GRANZOW

Ms. Margaret Sadler
 Mr. Jerry W. Sagers
 Ms. Charlene Sawyer
 Ms. Jean M. Schiffmann
 Mr. and Mrs. Gary Schlieve
 Mr. Kim Schrotenboer
 Ms. Barbara B. Schumann
 Mr. Thomas J. Schuster
 Mr. Melvin W. Scott
 Mr. Howard Segermark
 Mrs. Bounchanh Senthavong
 Mrs. and Mrs. Rick B. Skinner
 Mr. Robert M. Sliepka
 Mr. Gregory Slobodkin
 Mr. Richard Speer
 Mr. David C. Stark

Mr. David J. Stasse
 Mr. Lloyd Stone
 Mr. Stephen L. Stromberger
 Mr. Frank N. Sturges
 Mr. John M. Supino
 Mr. and Mrs. William L. Taylor
 Ms. Joyce M. Teachout
 Mr. Richard Tenhaken
 Mrs. Sue Thompson
 Mrs. Sue Trout
 Mr. and Mrs. Donald F. Turano
 Mr. Michael S. Turner
 Mr. Calvin K. Upp
 Mr. Luis H. Valdes, Sr.
 Mr. and Mrs. Kathleen Vasile
 Mr. John C. Van Hollen

Mrs. Jean S. Vaughn
 Mr. Larry E. Vorbrich
 Mrs. Charlotte Waldrop
 Ms. Lorraine Ward
 Mr. and Mrs. Pedro E. Wasmer
 Mr. and Mrs. John B. Whitehead
 Mr. Bruce Whitney
 Mr. and Mrs. Brett A. Wood
 Mr. Craig Yaros
 Mr. and Mrs. Roger Ziemer
 Dr. Lois Zimmerman

Thirteen Heritage Legacy Society members wish to remain anonymous.

2018 Financial Statements

STATEMENT OF FINANCIAL POSITION*

As of December 31, 2018

ASSETS

Cash and cash equivalents	\$9,856,975
Receivables	11,134,133
Prepayments and other assets	1,171,749
TOTAL CURRENT ASSETS	22,162,857

Investments	182,465,903
Receivables, net	4,545,248
Property and equipment, net	86,392,764
Other assets	882,107
TOTAL LONG-TERM ASSETS	274,286,022

TOTAL ASSETS **\$296,448,879**

LIABILITIES AND NET ASSETS

Accounts payable and accrued expenses	\$8,205,147
Notes payable	375,130
TOTAL CURRENT LIABILITIES	8,580,277

Notes payable	21,881,706
Deferred obligations and planned gifts	13,600,169
TOTAL LONG-TERM LIABILITIES	35,481,875

TOTAL LIABILITIES **\$44,062,152**

Unrestricted net assets:	
Board designated	123,586,001
Undesignated	76,538,926
Temporarily restricted net assets	39,704,914
Permanently restricted net assets	12,556,886
TOTAL NET ASSETS	252,386,727

TOTAL LIABILITIES AND NET ASSETS **\$296,448,879**

*Preliminary results for The Heritage Foundation only. Heritage Action reports its financials separately. Final audited financial statements will be available on or after July 31, 2019

STATEMENT OF ACTIVITIES*

Year ended December 31, 2018

OPERATING REVENUES

Contributions:	
Individuals	\$58,690,438
Foundations	11,451,793
Corporations	1,431,474
TOTAL OPERATING CONTRIBUTIONS	71,573,705

Investment withdrawal	10,978,306
Program revenue	147,827
Rental and other income	4,108,531
TOTAL OTHER OPERATING INCOME	15,234,664

TOTAL OPERATING REVENUES **\$86,808,369**

OPERATING EXPENSES

Research	\$22,407,179
Education	26,060,181
Media and government relations	8,642,386
TOTAL PROGRAM SERVICES	57,109,746

Fundraising	16,472,610
Management and general	1,483,380
TOTAL SUPPORTING SERVICES	17,955,990

TOTAL OPERATING EXPENSES **\$75,065,736**

NET GAIN FROM OPERATIONS **\$11,742,633**

NON-OPERATING ACTIVITIES

+ Restricted contributions	\$13,615,840
(-) Net investment loss	14,051,281
(-) Depreciation	2,460,755
(-) Interest expense	769,305
(-) Investment withdrawal	10,978,306
(-) Change in restricted net assets	10,509,653

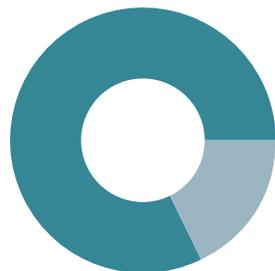
TOTAL NON-OPERATING ACTIVITIES **(\$25,153,460)**

CHANGE IN NET ASSETS **(\$13,410,827)**

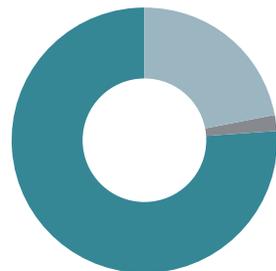
NET ASSETS—Beginning of year **\$265,797,554**

NET ASSETS—End of year **\$252,386,727**

2018 OPERATING REVENUES



2018 OPERATING EXPENSES





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“TRUMP SEEKS TO REORGANIZE THE FEDERAL GOVERNMENT,” *POLITICO*, JUNE 6, 2018

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—JONATHAN MAHLER, “HOW ONE CONSERVATIVE THINK TANK IS STOCKING TRUMP’S GOVERNMENT,” *THE NEW YORK TIMES MAGAZINE*, JUNE 20, 2018

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—PHILIP WEGMANN, “HERE’S WHAT’S GOING ON AT THE HERITAGE FOUNDATION,”
WASHINGTON EXAMINER, MAY 22, 2018

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—ZACH MONTELLARO, “POLITICO PLAYBOOK POWER LIST: KAY COLES JAMES,” *POLITICO*, MAY 4, 2018

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—JEFFREY LORD, “HERITAGE SCORES WITH 2018 GLOBAL ECONOMIC FREEDOM INDEX,” *THE AMERICAN SPECTATOR*, FEB. 2, 2018

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—JORDAN CANDLER, “TRUMP’S CONSERVATIVE POLICY ACHIEVEMENTS BY THE NUMBERS,” *PATRIOT POST*, JAN. 25, 2018

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1. Heritage Foundation (United States)”

—JAMES G. MCGANN, “2017 GLOBAL GO TO THINK TANK INDEX REPORT,”
UNIVERSITY OF PENNSYLVANIA, JAN. 31, 2018



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