

QPR



Winning the Global Warming War



By Joseph L. Bast
President

What to do about global warming, or “climate change,” is the most consequential political war of our era. The Heartland Institute’s primary goal over the next four years is to win the global warming war. Here is why, and how we plan to do it.

Why We Must Win

Global warming isn’t just one of many public policy debates that free-market advocates need to win. *It is a war, the most important and most consequential war of our era.*

Progressives have declared war on capitalism and the technologies, fuels, and industries critical to its survival. This is why they took over

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the environmental movement in the 1980s and 1990s; not to protect the environment, but to wage war on capitalism.

Global expenditures to “stop global warming” already exceeded \$1.5 trillion a year in 2015, or approximately \$4 billion a day. Progressives want to spend even more. They claim stabilizing the global climate would require reducing carbon dioxide emissions 80 percent or even more by the middle of the century.

Solar and wind energy typically cost five to ten times as much as energy produced from fossil fuels. Because they are intermittent and unreliable sources of energy, they cannot be scaled up to meet current levels of demand for energy, much less the higher levels of demand that are expected to prevail decades from now.

Energy in the Progressive’s fantasy world would have to be rationed. Choices of housing and occupations and cars, among other goods and services, would be severely limited. Economic growth would slow to a crawl. Capitalism will have been destroyed, and along with it the standard of living we all now take for granted.

No Consensus

Most scientists don’t believe computer models can predict future weather patterns or tell us whether global warming is a threat. Real peer-reviewed science shows the human impact on climate is probably too small to measure and not worth trying to prevent or undo.

Surveys and article-counting exercises alleging to show a “consensus” invariably ask the wrong questions (e.g., is climate change happening, rather than whether a human impact is likely to be dangerous) or are methodologically flawed. More reliable research shows the science community is deeply divided and unsure about the causes and consequences of climate change.

The Heartland Institute has exposed the “consensus” fallacy by publishing *Climate Change Reconsidered*, a series of volumes summarizing the vast scientific scholarship that refutes global warming alarmism. Our

most recent book, *Why Scientists Disagree About Global Warming*, zeroes in on the false “consensus” claim and utterly demolishes it.

We plan to distribute more than 300,000 copies of *Why Scientists Disagree About Global Warming* in the coming months.

A Peace Dividend

By ending the costly war on affordable energy, we can give every family in America a “peace dividend” equal to approximately \$4,275 a year, every year. This money could be used to pay for college tuition, mortgage payments or rent, or to pay off debt.

The cost of global warming alarmism in the United States includes the cost of wind, solar, and ethanol subsidies; of storage required to offset peaks and valleys caused by unreliable wind and solar power; of subsidies for electric and plug-in vehicles; the lost wages of coal miners and manufacturers; and the salaries and wages of thousands of government bureaucrats who owe their jobs to global warming alarmism.

The Heartland Institute is documenting the amount of this peace dividend in the upcoming and final volume in the *Climate Change Reconsidered* series, subtitled *Benefit & Costs of Fossil Fuels*.

A Pro-energy, Pro-environment, Pro-jobs Agenda

Ending the Progressives’ war on affordable energy would jump-start the economy and create high-paying jobs in manufacturing here in the United States.

Climate realism is part of a bigger pro-energy, pro-environment, and pro-jobs agenda. (See a summary of that agenda on page 19 of this issue of *QPR*.) Presenting climate realism this way gives people a reason to follow the global warming debate more closely... because it has real consequences for their day-to-day lives.

In the coming months, we plan to schedule meetings with elected officials in 20 states, building on the success of past meetings and capitalizing on the new possibilities for passing legislation thanks to the results of the 2016 elections.

Replace EPA

The Environmental Protection Agency (EPA) is the Progressives' most powerful army in the global warming war. They use it to impose regulations that Congress refuses to pass, to produce fake science to support its agenda, and to demonize and harass those who disagree with them.

The new Republican Party Platform says "We propose to shift responsibility for environmental regulation from the federal bureaucracy to the states and to transform the EPA [Environmental Protection Agency] into an independent bipartisan commission, similar to the Nuclear Regulatory Commission, with structural safeguards against politicized science."

It also says "We will likewise forbid the EPA to regulate carbon dioxide, something never envisioned when Congress passed the Clean Air Act."

The GOP is following the lead of its candidate for president, Donald Trump, who in a March 2016 debate said he would abolish EPA and in a May 2016 speech in North Dakota condemned "the Environmental Protection Agency's use of totalitarian tactics" that have "denied millions of Americans access to the energy wealth sitting under our feet. This is your treasure, and you – the American People – are entitled to share in the riches."

The Heartland Institute's science director, Jay Lehr, Ph.D., proposed in 2014 a plan to replace EPA with a "committee of the whole"

composed of the heads of the 50 state environmental protection agencies. Regrettably, many "experts" are convinced it would be impossible to abolish EPA.

To get around this clique and tap the ideas of thousands of state elected officials and literally millions of victims of EPA abuses, we plan to host a competition later this year for the best ideas for replacing EPA.

We Can Win ... With Your Help

The Heartland Institute, working with many allies in government and in the free-market movement, is documenting and educating policymakers and the public on why we must win the global warming war. We are assembling research to back up each of the points made above, and we are using communications vehicles The Heartland Institute has created and refined over the years to build public and political support for them.

Your financial support is needed if these projects are to be undertaken and successful. Contributions to The Heartland Institute are tax-deductible under Section 501(c)(3) of the Internal Revenue Code.

Together, we can win the most important public policy battle of our era. The stakes could not be higher, or the opportunity greater. I hope you will join us.

Joseph L. Bast (jbast@heartland.org) is president of The Heartland Institute.



THE HEARTLAND INSTITUTE

The Heartland Institute is an independent source of research and commentary founded in Chicago, Illinois in 1984. It is not affiliated with any political party, business, or foundation. Its activities are tax-exempt under Section 501(c)(3) of the Internal Revenue Code.

Heartland's mission is to discover, develop, and promote free-market solutions to social and economic problems. Such solutions include parental choice in education, market-based approaches to environmental protection and health care finance, tax and spending limitation, and deregulation in areas where property rights and markets do a better job than government bureaucracies.

For more information, call 312/377-4000 or visit our Web site at www.heartland.org.

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Executive Summary

By the Numbers

During the fourth quarter of 2016, The Heartland Institute ...

- ▶ Contacted elected officials 249,324 times, including 6,116 one-on-one contacts by phone, email, or in person.

- ▶ Generated at least 56 broadcast, 604 online, and 172 print media hits reaching 15.5 million subscribers.

- ▶ Published print and digital issues of four public policy newspapers: *Budget & Tax News*, *Environment & Climate News*, *Health Care News*, and *School Reform News*.

- ▶ Released 56 issues of five weekly e-newsletters: *Climate Change Weekly*, *Consumer Power Report*, *School Choice Weekly*, *Heartland Weekly*, and *The Leaflet*.

- ▶ Released one *Heartland Policy Study*, seven *Heartland Policy Briefs*, and 37 *Research & Commentaries*, and submitted 71 op-eds.

- ▶ Added 206 blog posts to *Freedom Pub* (formerly *Somewhat Reasonable*).

- ▶ Hosted five events, spoke at nine events, and attended, exhibited at, or cosponsored five events, reaching a total audience of 5,846 people.

Center for Transforming Education

- ▶ Published three issues of *School Reform News*, 11 issues of *School Choice Weekly*, and three *Research & Commentaries* on education issues.

- ▶ Logged 853 personal and 49,645 group contacts for a total of 50,217 contacts with legislators on education issues.

- ▶ Generated at least four broadcast, 62 online, and 17 print media hits reaching more than 4.2 million people on education issues.

- ▶ Produced nine new podcasts on education issues, attracting 31,489 listeners.

- ▶ Hosted two events on education issues, spoke at two, and attended two, reaching an estimated total audience of 3,141 people.

Consumers for Health Care Choices

- ▶ Published 10 issues of *Consumer Power Report*, two issues of *Health Care News*, one *Policy Brief*, and eight *Research & Commentaries* on health care issues.

- ▶ Logged 1,185 personal and 55,759 group contacts for a total of 56,944 contacts with legislators on health care issues.

- ▶ Generated at least four broadcast, 25 online, and seven print media hits reaching more than 541,000 people.

- ▶ Produced 11 new podcasts on health care issues, attracting 46,410 listeners.

- ▶ Attended one event addressing health care issues, with an estimated audience of 260 people.

Center for Constitutional Reform

- ▶ Made more than 600 contacts with allies in the constitutional reform movement.

- ▶ Logged 363 personal and 23,349 group contacts for a total of 23,712 contacts with legislators on constitutional reform issues.

- ▶ Generated at least one broadcast, six online, and two print media hits reaching more than 118,000 people on constitutional reform.

- ▶ Produced one new podcast on constitutional reform issues.

- ▶ Hosted three events and attended one, reaching an estimated total audience of 1,471 people.

- ▶ Issued 1,979 tweets from the @usconstreform Twitter account.

Center on Budgets and Taxes

▶ Published two issues of *Budget & Tax News*, 13 *Research & Commentaries*, and four *Policy Briefs* on budget and tax issues.

▶ Logged 1,178 personal and 43,842 group contacts for a total of 45,020 contacts with legislators on budget and tax issues.

▶ Generated at least nine broadcast, 63 online, and 48 print media hits reaching nearly 2 million people.

▶ Produced 17 new podcasts on budget and tax issues, attracting 41, 999 listeners.

▶ Spoke at four events reaching an estimated total audience of 455 people.

Arthur B. Robinson Center on Climate and Environmental Policy

▶ Published two issues of *Environment*

& *Climate News*, eight issues of *Climate Change Weekly*, one *Policy Study*, one *Policy Brief*, and 12 *Research & Commentaries* on environment and energy issues.

▶ Logged 2,049 personal and 68,521 group contacts for a total of 70,570 contacts with legislators on energy and environment issues.

▶ Generated at least 28 broadcast, 287 online, and 73 print media hits reaching nearly 7.3 million people on energy and environment issues.

▶ Produced 14 new podcasts on energy, environment, and climate issues, attracting 100,963 listeners.

▶ Spoke at three events and sponsored one reaching a total audience of 1,191 people.

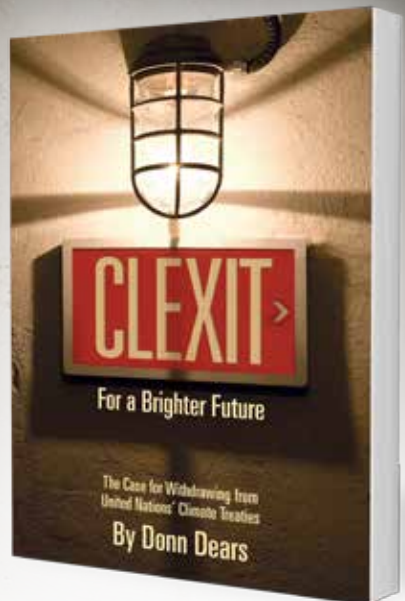
CLEXIT: FOR A BRIGHTER FUTURE

BY DONN DEARS

Clexit explains why efforts to cut carbon dioxide emissions are not only harmful, but fruitless. The United States can reassert its leadership on the global energy and environment stage by withdrawing from the United Nations Framework Convention on Climate Change treaty. We can then lead the world in economic development by encouraging the use of fossil fuels that provide cheap and reliable energy.

Go to Amazon.com or store.heartland.org to purchase a copy of Donn Dears' newest book.

Available March 2017 - \$9.95



More Victories for Education Choice



By **Teresa Mull**
Research Fellow
Managing Editor
School Reform News

The nation witnessed dozens of victories for the proponents of education choice during the 2016 general election. In 38 state races, a pro-education choice candidate won an open seat or successfully defeated an anti-choice incumbent. In addition, President Donald Trump consistently indicated he supports education choice programs and intends to take action to reduce the power of the U.S. Department of Education. Trump named education choice activist Betsy DeVos as his nominee for U.S. Secretary of Education. (She was confirmed in February 2017.)

Heartland released an “Action Plan for President Trump” outlining 34 free-market recommendations on domestic policy, sent to 9,909 reporters, editors, producers, and talk show hosts in addition to the president and his transition team. We suggested the president eliminate the U.S. Department of Education or block-grant most or all of the department’s funding back to the states; preserve and restore state and local autonomy by repealing federal regulations and red tape attached to federal funds; and withdraw the national government’s endorsement of Common Core State Standards.

Making the Case for Choice

Education choice – ESAs, vouchers, charter schools, homeschooling, digital learning, and tax credit scholarships – is growing by leaps and bounds. Heartland education experts made the case for greater choice in 18 op-eds and letters to the editor published in various media outlets during the fourth quarter.

The *Dallas Morning News* and *Baltimore Sun* published letters by Senior Fellow Robert Holland urging policymakers to let parents decide how best to help their kids, and

the *Boston Herald* published an op-ed by Research Fellow Teresa Mull, “Parents deserve more school choice.”

On December 15–17, Heartland’s Winter Emerging Issues Forum in Orlando, Florida attracted 121 people, including lawmakers from 23 states. The education panel discussed student performance and spending, Common Core, student-based budgeting, and the need for more technical training. The panelists were Lisa Snell, director of education at the Reason Foundation; Jamie Gass, director of the Center for School Reform at the Pioneer Institute; and Tennessee state Rep. John DeBerry (R–Nashville).

We sent a press release headlined “Heartland Education Experts React to NAACP’s Rejection of Charter School Expansion” to 8,185 reporters and media contacts. The release quotes Holland, Mull, Research Fellow Joy Pullmann, Policy Analyst Tim Benson, Policy Advisor Larry Sand, and Lennie Jarratt, project manager for Heartland’s Center for Transforming Education, commenting on why limiting choice, especially for minority students, is unfair and highly detrimental to the students’ potential success.

Jane S. Shaw, former president of the Pope Center for Higher Education Policy, joined Heartland as higher education editor for *School Reform News*, writing on issues such as student loan debt and campus free speech.



Joy Pullmann
Research Fellow



Jane S. Shaw
Higher Education
Editor

ESAs, Vouchers, and Tax Credits

Heartland staff continued their efforts to change the popular mindset that government schools must monopolize the public education system, pressing for specific reforms that allow real competition and choice, especially

ESAs, vouchers, and tax credit scholarships.

School Reform News featured interviews with Texas state Sen. Don Huffines and state Sen. Donna Campbell in an article about their plans to bring ESAs to Texas. Another story quoted Alabama state Sen. Del Marsh, who sponsored the Alabama School Choice and Student Opportunity Act in hopes of bringing the state its first charter school in fall 2017. *SRN* interviewed Tennessee state Rep. Bill Dunn about his plans to resubmit a bill to bring education vouchers to that state.

We sent 199 elected officials in Texas a *Research & Commentary* documenting the need for ESAs, and on October 14, the lead essay in the government relations department's e-newsletter, *The Leaflet*, discussed legal challenges against Nevada's ESA program: "ESAs empower parents with the ability to customize educational markets. In so doing, ESAs will help propel educational innovation. Market forces

will come to bear on all schools, public and private. If school suppliers are responsive to these changing forces, they will adapt and survive. If not, they will fail. Parents will drive these changes."

We sent a *Research & Commentary* titled "Tax Credit Scholarships Save Taxpayers, School Districts, Money" to 644 local and state elected officials in Georgia, Maryland, and Wisconsin. Benson wrote, "Instead of unjustly condemning millions of children to failing and dangerous schools because their parents cannot afford to pay private school tuition rates, tax credit scholarships give thousands of families a greater opportunity to meet each child's unique education needs."

Standing Up to Teachers Unions

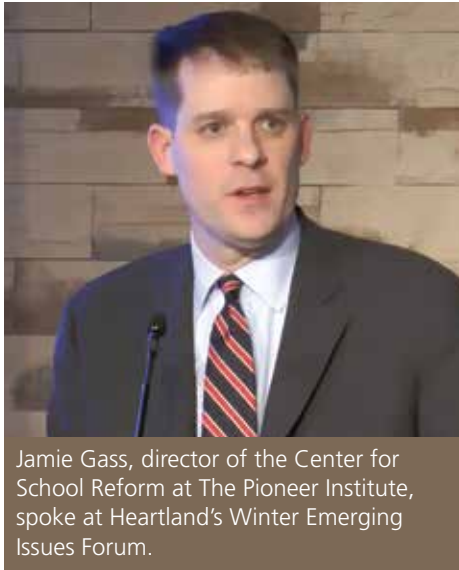
The education establishment, which benefits from a government-led education system at the expense of children's welfare, is desperately trying to retain its power and influence. *Townhall* published an op-ed by Mull, "Teacher Pension Crisis Is Punishing Children and Taxpayers." She wrote, "[t]he teachers unions have been and will continue to be exposed – and in dramatic fashion – for what they really are: greedy moochers who don't give a fig about kids, the people who end up

getting hurt the most as a result of outrageous pension demands." *Inside Sources* also published a union-themed op-ed by Mull, titled "School Choice Is Greedy Teachers Unions' Kryptonite."

In an issue of our *School Choice Weekly* e-newsletter, the feature story examined the financial burden the union's antics would have imposed on the city's already overburdened taxpayers. Before the union backed

down, Jarratt spoke with education experts at the Cato Institute, California Teachers Empowerment Network, and Heritage Foundation about Heartland's *Policy Brief* titled "Saving Chicago Students: Strike Vouchers and SOS Accounts," which proposes funding students to engage in educational alternatives when teachers unions strike.

Mull hosted two education podcasts on the topic of teachers unions. Andrew Biggs, a resident scholar at the American Enterprise Institute, discussed his recent publication "Debunking the Myth of the 'Teacher Pay Gap,' Again." Jarratt and Benson were guests on a Christmas-themed podcast to talk about who was "naughty" and "nice" in education policy in 2016.



Jamie Gass, director of the Center for School Reform at The Pioneer Institute, spoke at Heartland's Winter Emerging Issues Forum.

Repeal of Obamacare is Imminent



By Michael Hamilton
Research Fellow
Managing Editor
Health Care News

The election of President Donald Trump promises significant change in health care policy. The expected repeal of the Affordable Care Act (ACA) will loosen the federal government's chokehold on patients, health care providers, market-based insurance products, and state lawmakers.

Right after the election, Heartland recommended 34 policy actions to Trump's transition team, including stopping an illegal Obamacare bailout, repealing and replacing Obamacare, block-granting Medicaid to the states, and adopting prescription drug reform.

We sent 94 transition team members an information package highlighting our research in key policy areas; those with a health care focus received copies of *Health Care News*, Policy Advisor Bart Madden's book *Free to Choose Medicine*, and *The Obamacare Disaster*, by Senior Fellow Peter Ferrara.

We began a weekly release of papers by the Roadmap for the 21st Century Project, a collaboration of free-market experts nationwide. The *Roadmap* paper addressing health care reform was promoted in our *Heartland Weekly* and *The Leaflet* e-newsletters, and press releases were sent to more than 8,300 media contacts.

Trump and Congress have an opportunity to rescue the country's health care system not only from the ACA but also from more than 70 years of government interference with labor, health care, and health insurance markets, Hillsdale College professor Gary Wolfram explained in the *Health Care News Podcast*. Trump's nomination of ACA adversary Rep. Tom Price for Secretary of Health and Human Services was an important step in repealing and replacing Obamacare, Research Fellow Michael Hamilton argued in *Consumer Power Report*.

Repeal Ripples Among States

Days before the election, Kentucky Gov. Matt Bevin fulfilled his 2015 campaign promise to dismantle the state's Obamacare exchange, *Health Care News* reported. And South Dakota Gov. Dennis Daugaard announced he would abandon his long-planned pursuit of Medicaid expansion, an announcement Heartland reported in a *Research & Commentary* and in *Health Care News*.

In the wake of Trump's election and expected repeal of Obamacare, Georgia lawmakers considered canceling a December 4 forum on Medicaid expansion, ultimately deciding instead to keep the event to arm legislators with facts presented by Hamilton, who spoke at the request of state Rep. Jason Spencer.



Jason Spencer
State Rep. - GA

On December 15–17, Heartland hosted its Winter Emerging Issues Forum in Orlando, Florida. The 121 attendees included lawmakers from 23 states. The health care panel talked about expanding the use of telemedicine, rolling back certificate of need laws, and embracing direct primary care.

Making Medicaid Compete

ACA lured 32 states into expanding Medicaid, but the federal government and states underestimated how many people would enroll ... and now every state that opted to expand Medicaid has blown its budget. States should overhaul their Medicaid programs instead of doubling down on "a flawed Medicaid model that is too costly, delivers subpar health care, and shifts more power to the national government," Senior Policy Analyst Matthew Glans wrote in a *Research & Commentary* sent to 488 local and state elected officials in Arizona, Colo-



Matthew Glans
Policy Analyst

rado, Indiana, and New York.

Just as we assisted lawmakers in opposing Medicaid expansion in the 19 states that refused this entitlement, we will continue advising lawmakers to reform their programs in the likely event Trump and Congress block-grant Medicaid to the states. Such grants would fulfill a Trump campaign promise and empower 50 laboratories of democracy to tailor their programs to meet the needs of their populations. We sent a *Research & Commentary* to 166 elected Florida officials and answered a request from Missouri state Sen. David Sater for information on block-granting Medicaid.



David Sater
State Senator - MO

Promoting Innovative Solutions

As lawmakers prepare to experiment with Medicaid to create a regulatory environment enticing to innovators, many are seeking information on direct primary care, which offers members a range of services in exchange for a monthly fee averaging \$80. At a Dallas conference attracting more than 200 doctors, a Maine physician informed Glans and Hamilton of efforts to pass direct primary care legislation in the state. We sent 203 Maine elected officials a *Research & Commentary* discussing direct primary care and have been asked to testify on the bill.

A three-year pilot program launched in New Jersey will provide direct primary care services to up to 60,000 teachers, police, firefighters, and other government employees. We sent *Research & Commentary* collections on the issue to several states, including New Jersey.

As oral care shortages lit up Heartland's radar in the fourth quarter, we researched and promoted a free-market solution: licensing dental therapists. These midlevel care providers practice exclusively under the supervision of dentists in more than 50 countries, but only Alaska, Minnesota, and a handful of tribes in the United States allow

the practice.

In 2017, 12 states are expected to consider legislation authorizing dental therapist licensure. John Davidson, a senior fellow at the Texas Public Policy Foundation, asked Heartland to write a *Policy Brief* examining dental therapy in North Dakota, which has no free-market think tank. Heartland sent Hamilton and Research Fellow Bette Grande, a former North Dakota state representative, on a site visit to the University of Minnesota School of Dentistry and two dental practices. Drafts of Heartland's *Policy Brief* were highly regarded. Reviewer Michael Leland, an officer at The Pew Charitable Trusts, wrote in an email, "We thought it was a really great piece (probably the best we have seen from any of the free-market think tanks that have written on this issue)."

Heartland published "The Case for Licensing Dental Therapists in North Dakota" in January, and Hamilton delivered it to lawmakers when testifying in support of dental therapy legislation, which remains pending. He promoted licensure of dental therapists in an op-ed at *Townhall* and in correspondence with a *Watchdog* reporter.

As health care and insurance prices continue to surge, some lawmakers and special-interest groups pressed for governments to cap prices. We responded with a *Research & Commentary* titled "Drug Price Controls and Transparency" sent to 432 elected officials in California, Nevada, and Oregon.

Capping the supply of medical facilities and imaging equipment is equally ill-conceived, yet 35 states with certificate of need laws continue this practice, requiring facilities operators to obtain approval from a state board before expanding or improving their facilities. We sent a *Research & Commentary* on certificate of need laws to 1,095 elected officials in Connecticut, Georgia, Illinois, Michigan, South Carolina, and Washington.



Bette Grande
Research Fellow

American Exceptionalism: Freedom Rising



By Diane Bast
Executive Editor

With the election of Donald Trump as the 45th president of the United States, there is renewed hope that the country will return to its constitutional roots. Trump promised to “make America great again,” and our constitutional protections of life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness are key reasons America was great in the first place. The Heartland Institute has launched a new webpage, *Freedom Rising Under President Trump*, to track the new administration’s efforts.

Trump’s election gives renewed energy to Heartland’s “American Exceptionalism” campaign. On October 28, Kyle Maichle, who at the time was project manager for Heartland’s Center for Constitutional Reform, and Com-



Kathleen Murphy
Illinois Opportunity
Project

munications Director Jim Lakely conducted a podcast with Kathleen Murphy, communications director of the Illinois Opportunity Project, about how to communicate “exceptionalism” to the millennial generation.

On November 9, Heartland hosted a screening of the movie, *The Call of the Entrepreneur*. Fifteen people were in attendance. Executive Editor Diane Bast posted a review of the movie on *FreedomPub*, calling the movie “a beautifully filmed tribute to entrepreneurship and the essential role it plays in securing the blessings of liberty in America.”

On November 30, *American Thinker* published an op-ed by Policy Advisor David D’Amato titled “Reclaiming Society and Community.” He wrote: “Government, at its best, is there to maintain certain baseline rules: to protect life, liberty, and property so that genuinely cooperative projects can proceed in peace.”

Outreach at Events

The Center for Constitutional Reform hosted three events in the fourth quarter, reaching an estimated total audience of 1,471 people.

On October 4, we hosted a standing-room-only event in the Andrew Breitbart Freedom Center featuring John Lott, Jr., author of *The War on Guns: Arming Yourself Against Gun Control Lies* and president of the Crime Prevention Research Center. He covered urban crime, gangs, and the War on Drugs; background checks for firearms purchases; mass shootings in the United States and abroad; and “gun-free” zones. The event attracted 95 attendees and an additional 70 watching the livestreams.

On October 26, we hosted a Women in Politics event featuring Illinois Lieutenant Governor Evelyn Sanguinetti, Illinois state Senate Minority Leader Christine Radogno, Illinois state Rep. Patti Bellock, Wisconsin state Rep. Samantha Kerkman, Illinois State House Candidate Dawn Abernathy, Kathleen Murphy of the Illinois Opportunity Project, and Linda J. Hansen, deputy chief of staff for Herman Cain’s 2012 presidential campaign. The discussion was moderated by Elizabeth Yore. The panel discussed the challenges of adhering to conservative principles while mired in the rough-and-tumble world of politics. Thirty people attended and 415 watched the livestreams.

On November 16, Heartland hosted an election wrap-up event featuring former Illinois congressman Joe Walsh, talk radio show host Dan Proft, and Kathleen Murphy and Patrick Hughes of the Illinois Opportunity Project. One hundred eighty-nine people attended the event; 174 watched via YouTube live-stream; and 498 watched via Facebook Live.

John Doe ... No End in Sight

On October 3, the U.S. Supreme Court declined to hear a case relating to the years-long “John Doe” investigation in Wisconsin,

which targeted conservative individuals and organizations with pre-dawn home raids, dozens of subpoenas, and a smear campaign conducted by Milwaukee District Attorney John Chisholm and his allies.

When the Court declined to hear the case – effectively ending all legal options for Chisholm and his supporters – we sent 5,750 media contacts a press release headlined “Heartland Experts Comment on the U.S. Supreme Court Decision Ending WI ‘John Doe’ Investigation.” The release quoted Maichle and Research Fellow Jesse Hathaway, who said, “By refusing the case, the U.S. Supreme Court has brought about the ultimate end of Wisconsin’s ‘John Doe’ political witch hunts, reaffirming that free speech is still a sacred American value.” On October 5, Maichle discussed the Court’s decision on the nationally syndicated *Mike Siegel Show*.

The investigation’s victims are going on the offensive. Wisconsin Attorney General Brad Schimel announced on October 27 that he would ask the state supreme court to appoint a “special master” to investigate a leak of documents from the investigation and oversee the return of seized property. We sent a press release concerning the special master’s appointment on October 31 to 9,100 media contacts.

On November 8, the *Lakeland Times* published an op-ed titled “Schimel wants special master to investigate John Doe leaks.” The author wrote, “Officials with the conservative think tank The Heartland Institute said an investigation was needed to prevent future persecution of conservatives

and to facilitate the return of unlawfully seized evidence.”

Restoring the U.S. Supreme Court

As this essay was written, Trump had just named Neal Gorsuch, a federal appellate court judge, as his nominee to fill the U.S. Supreme Court vacancy left by the death in February 2016 of Justice Antonin Scalia. If confirmed, Gorsuch will have big shoes to fill.

Johannes Paulsen, who blogs at *The Truth About Guns*, wrote on February 1, “President Trump has selected someone that is, by all accounts, a strong writer [and] a strict originalist who is highly skeptical of the power of the Executive Branch of the Government.” After eight years of a nearly imperial president, that willingness to stand up to the executive branch could prove key.

Heartland Senior Fellow Rob Natelson, in a December 30 op-ed for *Townhall*, expressed hope the new president would be more respectful of the law than his predecessor. In “Yes, Mr. President, You Must Enforce the Laws You Don’t Like,” Natelson wrote, “Recall that when President Barack Obama announced that he would refuse to enforce—or would under-enforce—laws of which he disapproved, some claimed that allowing him to act that way would make him a king rather than a president. ... If the president presumes to pick and choose which laws he wants to enforce, he is not acting like a proper English king; he is acting more like a third-world dictator.”



Robert G. Natelson
Senior Fellow



The panel at Heartland's 2016 election wrap-up event - November 2016

Opportunity for Bold Tax Reform



By **Jesse Hathaway**
Research Fellow
Managing Editor
Budget & Tax News

Heartland has worked hard to provide President Donald Trump’s advisors, lawmakers, and other influential individuals the information they need to make the right policy decisions for the American people.

In November, we released an “Action Plan for President Trump,” providing policy recommendations in five issue areas, including: “[adopt] the plan set forth in *Power to*



Peter Ferrara
Senior Fellow

the People by Peter J. Ferrara, a senior fellow with The Heartland Institute, to promote economic growth, save Social Security and other entitlement programs from bankruptcy, and provide those most in need with the

world’s best health care.” Other recommendations include cutting the corporate tax rate, simplifying the tax code, and encouraging the repatriation of profits held abroad by multinational corporations.

In December we produced a *Policy Brief*, “President-Elect Trump’s Tax Plan: Among His Goals for the First 100 Days,” by Dan Pilla, one of the nation’s leading experts on taxpayer rights, who explains how enactment of Trump’s proposed tax plan could benefit taxpayers.

Later in the month, we began weekly release of a series of policy papers proposing “alternatives aimed at restoring economic growth and prosperity through tax reform.” Written by Ferrara and Lewis Uhler, founder and president of the National Tax Limitation Committee, the *Roadmap for the 21st Century* proposes using free-market policies to ignite an American economic revival. And in late December, we sent information packets to 94 individuals on Trump’s transition team, in-

cluding prospectuses, copies of *Budget & Tax News*, and *Power to the People*.

State Tax and Regulatory Policy Ideas

On December 15–17, we hosted the Winter Emerging Issues Forum in Orlando, Florida. One hundred twenty-one people, including lawmakers from 23 states, attended. The budget and tax panel featured Bob Williams of State Budget Solutions; Lindsay Boyd, director of public policy for the Beacon Center of Tennessee; and West Virginia state Delegate John Overington, who sponsored the state’s successful 2016 right-to-work bill. They discussed right-to-work laws, how Tennessee eliminated its investment dividend and interest tax, and why state lawmakers need to reform their public pension systems to avoid a financial catastrophe.



Bob Williams
State Budget
Solutions



Lindsay Boyd
Beacon Center

We sent 91 lawmakers in Oregon a *Research & Commentary* examining a major tax increase proposal that included several sin tax increases. Senior Policy Analyst Matthew Glans cited Oregon voters’ rejection of a gross receipts tax and noted Gov. Kate Brown’s proposed tax hikes would be economically destructive to the state.

Promoting State Pension Reform

Heartland continued to alert lawmakers about the looming problem of public pension debt. In a *Research & Commentary* sent to 169 South Carolina lawmakers, Glans recommended several short- and long-term solutions to the state’s pension problems, which have grown too large to ignore after years of mismanagement and stalling. A *Budget & Tax News* article reported on what lawmakers in the state are doing to address

the problem.

We sent lawmakers in Alaska, Connecticut, Illinois, Kentucky, and New Hampshire a *Research & Commentary* about the effects of public pension funds' overly optimistic assumptions for rates of return on investment. Glans recommends lawmakers reduce their expectations for pension fund investments now ... or taxpayers will be forced to foot the bill later.

Fighting for the Right to Work

Heartland staff worked with lawmakers across the country to help states improve their business climates. One reform is regularly cited by business owners as highly important to their decisions to relocate or expand: right-to-work laws, which prohibit labor unions from compelling employees to join and pay union dues as a condition of employment in workplaces.

A Missouri state lawmaker announced plans to file a bill to make it the 28th state to enact a right-to-work law. A *Budget & Tax News* story covered the announcement, quoting the lawmaker, state Rep. Holly Rehder, as saying, "Making Missouri a business-friendly state will increase jobs. We need business owners, the ones taking all the risk, to look at Missouri and say we are providing a great environment for their business to thrive."

We published a *Research & Commentary* about the possibility of New Hampshire adopting right-to-work. "In 2011, the New Hampshire legislature passed a right-to-work law, but then-Gov. John Lynch (D) vetoed the bill," Glans wrote. "The recent election of Republican Chris Sununu as governor, who has

voiced support for RTW, makes passage of the law more likely. New Hampshire would become the first right-to-work state in New England, giving it a competitive advantage over its neighbors."

Reining in Civil Asset Forfeiture

The rights to property and due process are vital to personal security and national prosperity. Heartland's efforts to protect those freedoms continued in the fourth quarter with staff and research fellows working to educate lawmakers about civil asset forfeiture, a legal process permitting law enforcement agents to seize people's cash and property without first proving a crime has occurred.

In a November podcast, Research Fellow Jesse Hathaway interviewed Diane Goldstein, a former lieutenant commander of the Redondo Beach, California police department and executive board member of an international nonprofit organization of law enforcement agents who work to reform criminal justice policies. "The problem that civil asset forfeiture created is it

set up a perverse incentive that allowed law enforcement to take people's property without due process ...," Goldstein said. "Civil asset forfeiture basically turns due process on its head."

In December, Ohio lawmakers approved a bill restricting civil asset forfeiture. Gov. John Kasich signed the bill on December 27, and Heartland responded with a press release to 1,308 media contacts. The law requires local and state police to obtain a criminal conviction before ownership of individuals' assets and property worth up to \$15,000 can be transferred to the government.



Economist Robert Murphy discussed *Choice, Cooperation and Human Action* at The Heartland Institute in January 2017.

An Environmental Action Plan



By H. Sterling Burnett
Research Fellow
Managing Editor
Environment & Climate News

Climate and energy issues were prominent throughout the fourth quarter, before and after the 2016 elections.

Heartland provided insightful analyses of energy and environmental issues throughout the quarter and evaluated President Donald Trump's proposed policies and nominees with climate, energy, and environmental responsibilities.

The energy and environment section of Heartland's "Action Plan for President Trump" states in part, "Adopting a Pro-Environment, Pro-Energy, Pro-Jobs agenda would produce millions of jobs and billions of dollars in income while more effectively protecting the natural environment than is currently being accomplished by a massive federal bureaucracy and intrusive regulations."

The plan recommends Trump take 13 specific actions, including, "1. Withdraw from the Framework Convention on Climate Change and the more recent Paris Accord and end funding for the United Nations' biased climate change programs...; 2. Approve Keystone XL and other pipelines blocked by President Obama; 3. Withdraw and suspend implementation of the Endangerment Finding for Greenhouse Gases and the Clean Power Plan; and 4. Roll back unnecessary regulations on hydraulic fracturing and oil and gas exploration offshore and on federal lands."

Bloomberg Government published an op-ed mentioning the Action Plan. The authors wrote, "Looking for ideas of what Trump could do on energy beyond repealing Obama's regulations? The Heartland Institute released its Action Plan for President Trump. In addition to repealing EPA rules, the group wants the administration to cut funding for climate change research."

In December, we sent 94 members of

Trump's transition team a Heartland information package including *Why Scientists Disagree about Global Warming; Climate Change, Energy Policy, and National Power; issues of Environment & Climate News; and Climate Change Reconsidered II: Biological Impacts – Summary for Lawmakers.*

We also began a weekly release of papers produced by the Roadmap for the 21st Century Project, a joint effort of the National Tax Limitation Foundation, Heartland Institute, Americans for Tax Reform, and American Legislative Exchange Council. In the *Roadmap* paper on energy deregulation, Senior Fellow Peter Ferrara and Lew Uhler, founder and president of the National Tax Limitation Committee, describe how a "technology-driven energy revolution" has more than doubled the nation's recoverable oil and gas supplies. The paper suggests steps Trump could take to deregulate the energy sector and launch an economic boom in the United States.

Trump's success will depend in part on appointing the right people to run his cabinet departments and key agencies. Heartland Science Director Jay Lehr offered his thoughts on how Trump could improve EPA's performance in an op-ed published by more than 16 newspapers from California to New Hampshire. Lehr wrote, "On Trump's first day in office, he should appoint a new EPA administrator, steeped in scientific knowledge, who sees the job as that of an advisor, not a super legislator, to advise him on which environmental regulations should be nullified to the benefit of the nation's environment and its economy."



Jay Lehr
Science Director

Assessing Cabinet Picks

As Trump began to select his cabinet members and agency heads – EPA nominee Scott Pruitt, Energy Department nominee Rick Perry, Interior Secretary nominee Rep. Ryan

Heartland President Joseph Bast delivers the opening address at ICC9 in Las Vegas.



Zinke, and the Secretary of State pick, ExxonMobil Chairman Rex Tillerson – Heartland analysts commented on the air, through editorials and articles, and in press releases.

The *Weekly Standard* published an op-ed, “Trump’s EPA Pick Spooks Liberals and the Environmental Lobby,” quoting Heartland’s reaction to Pruitt’s nomination. The author wrote, “Free-market groups are much happier with the Pruitt choice. ‘With the choice of Oklahoma Attorney General Scott Pruitt to head the Environmental Protection Agency – a man who has fought to uphold federalism, the limits placed upon the federal government in the Constitution, and sound policy on energy and environmental issues – it’s beginning to look a lot like Christmas!’ said H. Sterling Burnett at the Heartland Institute in a statement.”

Burnett’s comments were carried in dozens of publications nationwide, including *Yahoo-News* and the *Salt Lake Tribune*. The author of the latter story wrote, “Pruitt’s selection elicited support from proponents of limited government like the Heartland Institute and industry groups such as the American Energy Alliance. ‘One small appointment for Trump, one giant leap for environmental sanity,’ said H. Sterling Burnett, a research fellow in environment and energy policy at Heartland.”

NJ Spotlight published an op-ed quoting Government Relations Director John Nothdurft. The author wrote, “Pruitt has been a

vocal critic of federal overreach and understands that state agencies are well-positioned to take on a larger role in protecting the environment, while also allowing for responsible and necessary commerce and energy production,” said John Nothdurft, director of governmental relations for The Heartland Institute.”

Burnett discussed the Pruitt nomination on the nationally syndicated *Lars Larson Show*, *The Answer* on WIND-AM in Chicago, Illinois, and the *Conservative Commanders Radio Show* on WNJC-AM in Philadelphia, Pennsylvania.



John Nothdurft
Gov Relations
Director

Evaluating Climate Claims, Policies

With a new president taking office, reliable information on climate change assumed renewed importance. We explored how Trump’s election changes the climate policy picture in *Climate Change Weekly*, for which Burnett wrote, “The election of Donald Trump as the next president of the United States has left reeling the environmental lobbyists and activists and international leaders committed to reducing fossil fuel use. ... As the *Washington Post* noted, ‘Trump comes into office with a plan to toss out most of what President Obama achieved on energy and the environment.’”

Arthur B. Robinson Center on Climate and Environment Policy

The *Orange County Register* published an op-ed by Burnett, who wrote, “Trump recognizes that to fully reverse Barack Obama’s harmful climate policies, the U.S. must withdraw from international climate agreements ... and cease diverting billions of dollars of taxpayers’ money from important domestic concerns to U.N. climate programs.”

Media sources continue to recognize Heartland and the Nongovernmental International Panel on Climate Change (NIPCC) for providing a balanced view of climate science. The author of a *Daily Signal* op-ed wrote, “The [NIPCC]’s reports demonstrate that an increasing number of scientists say natural variability, not human activity, is the primary driver of warming and cooling trends. In 2008, it joined with the Heartland Institute, a free-market think tank based in Illinois, to produce a report entitled ‘Nature, Not Human Activity, Rules the Climate.’”

Carbon Tax Defeat

Voters rejected a ballot initiative that would have made Washington the first state to impose a tax on carbon dioxide emissions. In a Heartland podcast, Todd Myers, director of the Washington Policy Center, explained national environmental groups helped defeat the proposal because, rather than giving more money to green energy programs, the proposal would have given a tax cut to consumers and businesses.

Heartland produced a *Research & Commentary*, “Carbon Tax Is Not a Win-Win,” for 373 local and state elected officials in Rhode Island, Vermont, and Washington. Policy Analyst Tim Benson wrote, “Australian research ... found the carbon-dioxide tax led to the highest quarterly increase in electricity

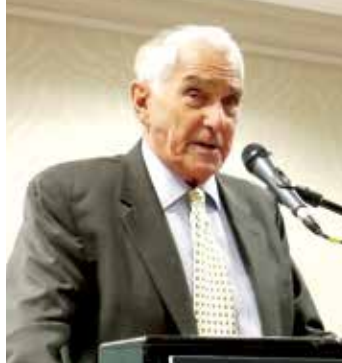


Tim Benson
Policy Analyst

prices in the country’s history and an increase in unemployment.”

A Pro-Energy Agenda

On December 15–17, Heartland hosted its Winter Emerging Issues Forum in Orlando, Florida, bringing together lawmakers from 23 states. Energy and environment panelists Amy Oliver Cooke, director of the Energy Policy Center for the Independence Institute; Heartland Institute Senior Fellow James M. Taylor; and Maine state Rep. Beth O’Connor discussed how the United States became a leader in energy production despite Obama’s efforts to discourage the use of coal, oil, and natural gas.



Heartland’s Jay Lehr speaking at AM 560 Freedom Summit.

We released the fifth in our *Policy Study* series on frac sand mining, “Comprehensive Regulatory Control and Oversight of Industrial Sand (Frac Sand) Mining.” Mark Krumenacher, senior vice president of GZA GeoEnvironmental, Inc., and Heartland Research Fellow Isaac Orr wrote, “[E]very aspect of industrial sand mining is regulated by more than 20,000 pages of federal, state, or local government laws and ordinances. This comprehensive regulatory structure is designed to protect the health and welfare of the environment, the general public, and people working at industrial sand operations.” The study was distributed digitally to roughly 20,000 elected officials, op-ed page editors, radio talk show hosts, and civic and business leaders.



Isaac Orr
Research Fellow

We sent a *Research & Commentary*, “Hydraulic Fracturing Does Not Pose a Serious Threat to Groundwater,” to 972 local and state elected officials in California, Ohio, Oklahoma, Pennsylvania, and West Virginia. The 10th Circuit Court of Appeals in Denver rejected efforts by a coalition of environmental



Heartland's Energy Panel at the Emerging Issues Forum in Orlando, Florida in December 2016.

groups to halt drilling and hydraulic fracturing in northwest New Mexico and southwest Colorado, and voters in Youngstown, Ohio rejected an anti-fracking "Community Bill of Rights."

We released two *R&Cs* examining a report by the U.S. Chamber of Commerce's Institute for 21st Century Energy, titled "What If ... America's Energy Renaissance Never Happened." Benson wrote, "According to the USCC report, Ohio would have lost \$9.9 billion in state gross domestic product (GDP), \$5.8 billion in labor income, and more than 114,000 jobs if this energy revolution never came to be."

In the not-so-good news column, Illinois and New York expanded renewable energy mandates and provided lavish subsidies to failing nuclear power plants. Heartland fought those efforts. An *Environment & Climate News* article discussed the harms New Yorkers can expect from Gov. Andrew Cuomo's ill-considered plan requiring the state to get 50 percent of its electricity from renewable sources by 2030 and forcing ratepayers to pay \$7.6 billion to keep struggling nuclear power plants operating. Heartland sent 227 New York elected officials an *R&C* titled "New Clean Energy Standard Will Harm New York Consumers, Won't Impact Environment."



Matthew Glans
Policy Analyst

Heartland sent 178 Illinois lawmakers an *R&C* titled "Newest Exelon Bailout Bill Would Harm Electricity Consumers." Benson and Senior Policy Analyst Matthew

Glans noted "the bill would cost ratepayers \$24 billion through 2040" and force "Illinois residents and businesses [to] pay \$2.1 billion per year more for electricity than they would at Indiana prices and \$2.5 billion more than they would at Iowa or Missouri prices." *Power Magazine* published an op-ed quoting Glans as saying, "The average retail price of electricity in Illinois is already higher than all its neighboring states – and the Exelon bailout would increase electric bills for Illinois households by around \$442 to \$526 per year."

Burnett was a guest on the Taxpayer Protection Alliance podcast, *Taxpayer Watch*, to discuss the economic harms likely to result from the states' nuclear bailout bills, and Benson addressed the issue on the *Michael Koolidge Show* on KROK-AM in Alexandria, Virginia.

Defending the Dakota Access Pipeline

When Obama ordered the U.S. Army Corp of Engineers to pull the permit for the Dakota Access Pipeline, Orr responded quickly with a *Breitbart* op-ed, writing, "Obama[s]'s ... actions are likely to encourage more pipeline protests in the future and disproportionately hurt rural Americans, who suffer from higher levels of poverty and need more, not fewer, high-paying jobs."

Orr was all over the radio discussing the pipeline ban, including the *David Webb Show* on Sirius XM Patriot Channel 125, the *Don Kroah Show* on WAVA-FM in Baltimore, Maryland, the nationally syndicated *Josh Tolley Show*, and the nationally syndicated *Freedom and Prosperity* show.

Resetting U.S. Climate Policy



12TH International Conference on Climate Change
March 23-24, 2017 ✨ Grand Hyatt Hotel ✨ Washington, DC

The 12th International Conference on Climate Change will take place on Thursday and Friday, **March 23–24, 2017** at the Grand Hyatt Hotel in Washington, DC.

The event will feature the courageous men and women who spoke the truth about climate change during the height of the global warming scare. Now, many of them are advising the new administration or joining it in senior positions.

This year's ICCC focuses less on the science than previous meetings because climate realists have established beyond reasonable doubt that the human impact on climate is likely to be very small and beneficial rather than harmful. Realists have proven that most scientists now share this opinion, except those who have made careers out of finding a human impact and exaggerating it.

The task ahead is not to rehash the science yet again, hoping to win over those who will never admit to having been wrong about it. The task now is to explain the benefits of ending Obama's war on fossil fuels and what policy changes are needed to do this. ICCC-12 will feature in-depth, expert discussions about the economics of energy policy and the benefits and costs of fossil fuels.

Space is very limited, so reserve your conference pass and hotel room now. Admission, which includes five meals, is \$179. To register, or to learn more about ICCC-12, visit heartland.org or call 312/377-4000.

"This was the best conference that I have ever attended, and in my prior life I used to put on conferences for a living!"

– ATTENDEE OF ICCC-10
IN 2015

Can't make it to DC? Watch every minute of the conference on the live-stream at climateconference.heartland.org.



THE HEARTLAND INSTITUTE
FREEDOM RISING

The Pro-Energy, Pro-Environment, and Pro-Jobs Commitment

Support policies that protect the environment *and* create jobs and prosperity.

Affordable, reliable, and plentiful energy enables us to protect the environment while also creating jobs and the goods and services we need. Expensive and unreliable energy, like the kind produced by ethanol and commercial wind and solar companies, destroys jobs and harms the environment.

Fossil fuels are the foundation of economic growth and prosperity. Taxing them or making them more scarce causes economic growth to slow, makes food and other essential goods more expensive, and many of the good things we take for granted are lost.

We owe it to future generations to leave the world a better place than we found it. Renewable energies don't protect the environment. They actually harm it by being less efficient and more land-intensive than fossil fuels.

We believe:

1. Rein in EPA

The Environmental Protection Agency (EPA) is a rogue agency that routinely defies congressional oversight, abuses science, and imposes regulations whose costs vastly exceed their benefits. EPA needs to be reined in. *It's time to replace most of EPA with a Committee of the Whole composed of the environmental protection agencies of the 50 states.*

2. Repeal Global Warming Regulations

Fear of global warming (or "climate change") led to the adoption of taxes, regulations, and subsidies aimed at reducing carbon dioxide emissions. But now we know the threat of global warming was exaggerated and reducing emissions is costly and would have an insignificant impact on temperature or weather. *It's time to repeal those laws and give the American people an annual global warming "peace dividend."*

3. Stop Pretending to Pick Winners

Decades of subsidies to ethanol producers and wind and solar companies have cost taxpayers and consumers billions of dollars and produced no environmental benefits. *It's time to repeal all renewable power mandates and all subsidies to energy companies, whether renewable, nuclear, or fossil fuels.*

4. Use It, Don't Lose It

America is blessed with coal, oil, and natural gas reserves sufficient to meet our energy needs for centuries. Modern drilling and mining taps these reserves without threatening the natural environment or public health. *It's time to lift legislative obstacles to energy production and development.*

5. Repeal CAFE Standards

Corporate average fuel economy (CAFE) standards require car manufacturers to increase the average fuel economy of the nation's vehicles from 25 miles per gallon in 2014 to 54.5 miles per gallon by model year 2025, an impossible feat. *It's time to repeal CAFE standards and let people buy and ride the cars and trucks they want.*

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