



# FIGHTING FOR AMERICA'S FUTURE

# *President's Message*

**T**he Heritage Foundation's and Heritage Action's mission is to promote human flourishing by restoring self-governance to the American people. As the everyday American's outpost in Washington, D.C., Heritage promotes and advocates for public policies based on the principles of limited government, economic freedom, a robust civil society, and a strong national defense. In recent years, those principles have been under attack by the leftist ideologues running America's elite institutions.

Heritage's place in this fight is primarily in the arena of ideas, public policy, and government accountability. As conservatives, our weapons are not the fleeting trends of the moment, but the proven, permanent fundamentals of human flourishing: faith, family, freedom, and nation.

Through a rigorous analysis of public policy, opinion, and events, Heritage has identified seven challenges where our efforts are most needed and where we can do the most good. It will be on these seven fronts that The Heritage Foundation will make our stand, to:

- **Empower parents to make education choices**
- **Secure America's borders and reduce crime**
- **Ensure free and fair elections**
- **Reverse the growth of regulations, spending, and inflation**
- **Counter the threat of Communist China**
- **Hold Big Tech accountable**
- **Protect unborn life and family formation**

These are the issues that will decide the fight for America's future and the conservative movement's—and The Heritage Foundation's—success over the next several years.

Parental rights. The rule of law. Democratic accountability. Individual liberty. National security. Equal opportunity. Human dignity. As matters of political debate and

public policy, these issues seem distinct, but in the context of woke totalitarianism's escalating culture war, they blend into a single fight, the same fight Americans have been waging—and winning—since 1776. Will our government serve “We the people” or a political, cultural, and corporate aristocracy that hates them?

Heritage offers solutions to the challenges we face and the concrete reforms America needs to achieve the outcomes we seek. Unlike Washington partisans, we believe leaders owe the country such an agenda before ballots are cast—as an act of patriotic duty and republican virtue. This agenda proposes a return to our founding principles, trust in America's unique constitutional culture, and adherence to both scientific fact and moral truth.

In our schools, along the border and on our streets, in our voting booths, in our economy, in the world, and in the womb, we face the same choice: to stand up for the American people or bow down to elites that are trying to subjugate and cancel them.

The stakes are high, and the battle lines are drawn. But neither are daunting—or unfamiliar. For they are the same today as they were at Bunker Hill and Gettysburg, at the Bulge and at Brandenburg Gate, at Independence Hall and on the Edmund Pettus Bridge.

History is once again calling America—the last, best hope of Earth—to defy the privileged and powerful and defend our Revolution, our Constitution, and our Heritage.

Join us in this second American Revolution, and once again, together, we will win.



**Kevin Roberts**

*President, The Heritage Foundation*





## OBJECTIVE:

# *Empower Parents to Make Education Choices*

The education system is failing our children—from the scourge of woke ideas like critical race theory and radical gender ideology to the lack of accountability to parents and an absence of academic transparency. Parents, not bureaucrats, should be making teaching and learning decisions that align with their values. Taxpayer dollars should help students to succeed with a great education, not prop up failing school systems. The entire Heritage enterprise will spearhead reforms at the state level to protect parental rights and expand education choice and will work at the federal level to limit Washington’s intervention, ultimately driving a clarion call to eliminate the U.S. Department of Education.

Empowering parents requires rooting out federal intervention in education everywhere it exists, breaking up the accreditation cartel, eliminating the racist ideas of critical race theory and other woke ideology from the classroom, and enabling education choice. However, under any electoral outcome, we will have a divided government in the 118th Congress beginning in 2023. Therefore, each of the following goals has been created to represent the material progress that we must attain to accomplish this vision.

## **The Heritage enterprise will work to minimize the federal government's intervention in education.**

Minimizing federal intervention in education includes supporting the introduction of federal legislation to (1) give states more budget authority over federal education funding with fewer strings, (2) reduce federal intervention in early childhood education by reforming programs such as Head Start, and (3) expand families' access to homeschooling by reforming 529 savings accounts to include homeschooling expenses and by expanding and making permanent the D.C. Opportunity Scholarship Program.

Additionally, we will create a coalition of scholars, Members of Congress, and conservative movement allies to build momentum and call for the phaseout of the U.S. Department of Education to reduce the federal bureaucracy's involvement in education.

We will also encourage the House to pass an appropriations amendment to bar the President from issuing any further student loan forgiveness. Halting federal student loan forgiveness is a necessary step to take in conjunction with efforts to get the federal government out of the student loan business altogether. The federal student loan program has had a massive inflationary effect on the cost of college, has left taxpayers exposed to \$1.7 trillion in outstanding student loan debt, has failed to improve college access for lower-income Americans, and has forced taxpayers to finance the leftist agendas of universities across the country.

## **We will combat critical race theory and radical gender ideology in education.**

We will support the introduction of legislation in Congress to eliminate the application of racist critical race theory both from our public schools and from the training of our military.

We will work to end race-based admissions in our colleges and universities by drafting and introducing legislation to bar federal funding, grants, and student loans to any educational institution that discriminates on the basis of race.

We will work to block any regulations that would eviscerate due process protections for those who are wrongly accused of sexual harassment in our educational institutions.

We will work to block any regulations that would replace the traditional biological understanding of male/female sex discrimination in education with one based on subjective transgender ideology—and that includes working to keep biological men out of women's sports.

We will push for congressional hearings to expose the Biden Administration's reliance on radical groups to facilitate the CRT and gender ideology agendas in our schools.

## **We will work on critical reforms at the state level and with local school board members.**

We will work with state-based policy organizations and state legislatures to prohibit the application of the racist ideas of critical race theory, enact school choice legislation, protect and expand education savings accounts, and enact comprehensive parental rights bills. We will push to provide academic transparency to parents through state legislation that would require schools to report online the books, teacher preparation and development sessions, and other instructional materials they use in the classroom.

We also will work to eliminate teacher certification requirements in the states. Since the mid-20th century, left-leaning colleges of education have had a near-monopoly on providing teacher certifications, which means that other highly qualified and experienced individuals who have not specifically attended a college of education are often prevented from teaching. We will work with governors and state policymakers on alternative teacher certification routes or to eliminate teacher certification requirements altogether. This will weaken the grip that colleges of education have on the teaching profession.

We will continue to train hundreds of school board members from around the country each year on their roles and responsibilities and how they can provide a quality education while preventing special interests from indoctrinating our children.

**Heritage provides the resources to equip parents, educators, lawmakers, and activists to reclaim education for our next generation. These studies and others from our experts can be found at [Heritage.org](https://www.heritage.org).**

- **Education Freedom Report Card**
- **With Carson v. Makin, the Supreme Court Closed the Book on Religious Discrimination in School Choice**
- **Seven Reasons Why President Biden's Student-Loan Debt Transfer is Bad for America**
- **Blanket Loan Forgiveness, Loan Subsidies, and Failed Job-Training Programs Are Not the Answer to Worker Shortages and Inflation**
- **Protecting Children and Families with Parents' Bills of Rights**
- **Breaking Down Barriers to Educational Opportunities: Mitigating the Lingering Effects of Housing Redlining in D.C.**
- **Time for the School Choice Movement to Embrace the Culture War**
- **Indirect Costs: How Taxpayers Subsidize University Nonsense**



## OBJECTIVE:

# *Secure America's Borders and Reduce Crime*

Americans should be able to live peacefully without constant fear of crime or incursions across our borders. A strong justice system enforces existing U.S. law, prosecutes criminals, secures our borders, and preserves our national identity. America's current border crisis and the level of crime in many cities are out of control, and the human costs are staggering. The Heritage enterprise will expose the threats posed by criminals and illegal immigrants and take steps at the federal and state levels to restore the rule of law.

President Joe Biden has created chaos on the Southern border through a total lack of enforcement of our immigration laws and the willful and deliberate transportation of illegal immigrants throughout the interior of the United States. Some of this can be addressed, even in a divided government, through congressional budget appropriations and oversight. However, it is also important that conservatives develop legislative solutions that enjoy consensus and can be signed into law by a conservative President in 2025.



## **The Heritage enterprise will work to secure the border, enforce our laws, and restore integrity to our immigration system.**

Heritage will work to ensure that one of the first bills introduced in the House of Representatives not only secures our border, but would actually stop the current border crisis and prevent future crises. Per our strong coalition letter, this includes resuming construction of the border wall system that U.S. Customs and Border Protection requested, mandating full implementation of the Remain in Mexico program, ending abuse of the parole authority, ending the disparate treatment of unaccompanied alien children, terminating the 20-day detention limit, and raising asylum standards to prevent fraud.

We will oppose debates on amnesty and “comprehensive immigration reform” because such discussions only encourage more illegal immigration.

We will push to increase Immigration and Customs Enforcement’s ability to locate, detain, and remove illegal immigrants and make it more difficult for future Presidents to prevent enforcement of the law. We will do this by promoting legislation to increase ICE’s funding, limit the Administration’s authority on certain immigration matters, and require removal of those who are illegally in the United States.

We will encourage the Congress to impeach Homeland Security Secretary Alejandro Mayorkas in the event he does not resign.

And we will work with state and local governments to encourage the appropriate use of their authority to discourage illegal immigration, including by briefing states on the research and policy recommendations contained in Heritage’s report, “20 Ways States Can Prevent Illegal Immigration.”

## **We will work to reduce crime that results from illegal immigration and from rogue left-wing, soft-on-crime prosecutors.**

By significantly reducing illegal immigration, we can naturally reduce the number of completely avoidable crimes committed by illegal aliens against American citizens and those who are legally in the United States. To increase public support for enforcement of our immigration laws, we will publicize the stories of victims of criminal illegal aliens. We will also work to pass legislation in several states for states to catalog and issue regular reports to the public and legislators on the numbers and types of crimes committed by illegal aliens in their jurisdictions.

We will also publicize the stories of victims to highlight the lack of justice that many of these victims and their families receive from rogue prosecutors. We will expose the link between rogue prosecutors and the current spike in crime in their jurisdictions. We will request congressional hearings to expose the damage these prosecutors are causing in their communities.



**Heritage provides the knowledge resources to equip lawmakers, law enforcement, and communities with the information they need to secure our borders and reduce crime. These studies and others from our experts can be found at [Heritage.org](https://www.heritage.org).**

- **The Administration Needs to Increase Visa Sanctions on Russia**
- **Twenty-First Century Illicit Drugs and Their Discontents: An Introduction**
- **DHS Commits Regulatory Overreach by Relaxing Work Authorization for Foreign Students Due to “Severe Economic Hardship”**
- **Congress Should Prohibit Biden Administration’s Asylum Rule**



## OBJECTIVE:

# *Ensure Free and Fair Elections*

**T**he right to vote in a free and fair election is one of our most basic civil rights and is fundamental to maintaining a democratic republic. Americans can have confidence in election outcomes only if they can trust that the process is fair and honest. Legitimate voters should be able to vote in privacy without being harassed, secure in the knowledge that their vote will not be lost, stolen, altered, or negated by fraud, mistakes, and errors or a vote cast by an ineligible individual, such as a non-citizen or a felon.

Heritage will increase faith in elections and protect the right to vote for all Americans by advocating for commonsense reforms in the states, such as requiring voter ID, cleaning up inaccurate voter rolls, and ending the practice of vote trafficking of absentee ballots. And we will always oppose a federal takeover of our elections by Washington, D.C., elites.

Election integrity requires offense on the state level to enact reforms and defense on the federal level to stop the Left's efforts to consolidate power over elections within the federal bureaucracy. There is much we can achieve, even in divided government, to ensure that the 2024 presidential election is conducted with integrity and that Americans can rely on the results.

## **We will work at the federal level to ensure election integrity.**

The Heritage enterprise will block any effort by Congress to federalize our election systems and take control away from the states in order to centralize it in Washington, D.C. We will work with Members of Congress and allied organizations to supply the political pressure and winning messages needed to defeat the Left's dangerous legislation.

We will assist in litigating election challenges, including in the areas of redistricting, absentee balloting, vote trafficking, drop boxes, and voter ID, through 2024. We will support court challenges by allied groups that uphold best practices for elections, including by helping them to refine and strengthen their arguments before federal courts of appeal and the U.S. Supreme Court and soliciting amicus briefs on their behalf.

We will push for congressional hearings to expose the Left's attempts to undermine our election systems, including actions taken by federal agencies in response to Biden's executive order directing them to become involved in voter registration and other election activities.

## **We will work at the state level to pass election integrity reforms and defend the electoral college.**

In the states, we will work with governors, state legislatures, secretaries of state, and grassroots activists to pass election integrity reforms, including voter ID requirements, preventing ballot trafficking, restricting private funding in elections, allowing election observers access to the polls, and more. These election integrity best practices as well as analyses of every state's election integrity efforts can be found at Heritage's Election Integrity Scorecard.

We also will continue to debunk the false Left and media narrative that election fraud does not exist and increase national awareness of fraud and its danger to honest elections. We will do this in part through our media appearances and op-eds, by hosting state-based events to educate Americans about best practices for secure elections, and by launching a digital campaign featuring Heritage's Election Fraud Database and its sampling of almost 1,400 recently proven cases of fraud from across the United States.

And we will continue to defend the Electoral College and block efforts to implement the National Popular Vote and ranked choice voting with our work in the media, in congressional hearings, and in the states.

**Heritage provides the knowledge resources to equip lawmakers, secretaries of state, and activists with the information they need to ensure free and fair elections. These studies and others from our experts can be found at [Heritage.org](https://www.heritage.org).**

- [Election Integrity Scorecard](#)
- [Census Bureau Errors Distort Congressional Representation for the States](#)
- [Best Practices and Standards for Election Audits](#)





## OBJECTIVE:

# *Reverse the Growth of Regulations, Spending, and Inflation*

**G**overnment spending, regulations, and inflation are a tax on all Americans, especially working families who struggle to make ends meet. Prudent fiscal decisions by government can enable American families to flourish without politicians and bureaucrats controlling their lives. The Heritage enterprise will advance a blueprint to reduce the size and scope of the federal government, ensure that government spends less of our money to save us from falling off the fiscal cliff, and stop the growth of federal regulations.

The power of the purse is the backbone of Congress's authority in the U.S. Constitution and ensures that, especially in a divided government, Congress can prioritize federal spending. A conservative majority in the 118th Congress must exercise this power to a greater extent than ever before. The time to get our fiscal house in order before the next financial crisis is extremely short. Achieving these aggressive goals would restore fiscal sanity to the U.S. government and set the stage for a fiscally conservative presidency in 2025.

## **The Heritage enterprise will work to reverse the growth of federal spending.**

Heritage will work to secure the introduction and passage of a fiscally responsible budget resolution in the House of Representatives in 2023. We will also fight for the introduction of at least 50 of the 200 specific policy recommendations found in Heritage's Budget Blueprint, which would right-size the federal government so that freedom, opportunity, prosperity, and civil society can flourish.

We will work to prevent omnibus appropriations legislation, which results in more government bloat. Omnibus appropriations allow Congress to consolidate discretionary funding into one massive package and one vote rather than taking the time to debate and take separate votes on individual issues.

We also will develop a coalition to decouple defense and domestic spending, as critically needed defense spending is often held hostage to further increases in domestic spending.

We will work to ban earmarks. Earmarks are funds for pet projects or programs that are often awarded to Members of Congress as favors for votes and can lead to corruption. They fund programs outside the scope of the federal government's enumerated powers, are not a valid exercise of Congress's Article I authority, and ultimately end up being another source of wasteful spending.

We will push for House hearings on improper payments in the welfare system as well as hearings on the Paycheck Protection Program and the expansion of unemployment insurance during COVID-19 that often resulted in people getting paid more to stay home than to go to work, even after it was safe to return to work—a key factor in the current employee shortage and supply chain breakdown.

And we will work with the House to set up hearings on Biden Administration appointees who directed federal dollars back to their former places of employment.

## **We will help Congress pass legislation to reduce inflation.**

We will build a sharp contrast between conservatives and President Joe Biden on inflation. That involves working with the House leadership to incorporate only conservative proposals into flagship legislation to combat inflation. That legislation will include key policy recommendations from Heritage's "Inflation: Policymakers Should Stop Driving It and Start Fighting It."

## **We will work to reduce the burden of onerous regulations.**

We will disrupt the Biden Administration's regulatory process by submitting well-researched, substantive comments and objections from Heritage scholars on high-impact regulations. Those comments must be substantively addressed by the agencies proposing the regulations, which will cause their finalization to be delayed. We will also delay

implementation by encouraging conservative activists to submit a million comments on select regulations.

In addition, we will expose arbitrary and capricious conduct that occurs as a result of agency regulations, thereby triggering court injunctions.

We will also encourage congressional pushback on regulations by working with the House to pass Congressional Review Act resolutions of disapproval for several onerous regulations. If those resolutions were also passed by the Senate, the regulations would be repealed.

Finally, at the state level, we will build support for opposition to federal regulations, encouraging state attorneys general to file comments and to consider suing over major federal rules.

**Heritage provides the knowledge resources to equip lawmakers, state attorneys general, and activists with the information they need to reverse the growth of regulations, spending, and inflation. These studies and others from our experts can be found at [Heritage.org](https://www.heritage.org).**

- **Budget Blueprint for Fiscal Year 2023**
- **A Dynamic Score of the Proposals in the Budget Blueprint for Fiscal Year 2023**
- **Treasury's Unjustifiable New Foreign Tax Credit Rules Will Cause Double Taxation**
- **Biden's Repeal of Permitting Reforms Hinders Infrastructure Improvements**
- **Statutory PAYGO Presents an Opportunity to Cut Spending**
- **What the U.S. Should Do Now to Minimize the Risk of Global Food Shortages**
- **A Revolution, If We Can Keep It: How Anti-NFT Regulations Threaten Financial Rights**
- **The Biden Administration's Radical Regulatory Agenda**
- **SALT Deduction: Debunking the "Moocher State" and Cost-of-Living Justifications**
- **Taxes in the Build Back Better Act: Five Ways Congress Is Dodging Accountability and Three Ways It Could Take Responsibility**
- **Inflation: Policymakers Should Stop Driving It and Start Fighting It**





## OBJECTIVE:

# *Counter the Threat of Communist China*

**T**he Chinese Communist Party is the most persistent and consequential threat facing the American people today. Vladimir Putin deserves the world's condemnation for Russia's invasion of Ukraine, but China's ongoing military expansion and theft of American jobs and technology are direct threats to our security and prosperity.

The Heritage enterprise will expose China's aggressive military buildup, growing cyber capabilities, gross violations of human rights, and rising use of global economic coercion. We will push for concrete actions—like resurrecting the Department of Justice China Initiative and barring members of the Chinese Communist Party from national security-related research funded by federal contracts and grants. To preserve our freedom, the Heritage enterprise will advance policy to confront China's attack on American interests and values, develop a robust U.S. economy that is resistant to nefarious Chinese influence, and ensure that we have the necessary



capabilities to defend the United States and its interests and allies abroad in an era of great-power competition.

We must confront the CCP by developing a robust and comprehensive legislative agenda and introducing it in the House of Representatives in 2023.

A comprehensive education campaign for Members of Congress, stakeholders, and the American people is required to ensure that the threat of the CCP can be matched by American strength. The CCP's pernicious influence is often hidden in plain sight, and Heritage's efforts in the next few years will focus on exposing it to prepare for decisive action by the next Administration. These goals represent all facets of the threat, and their accomplishment will prepare Washington to take effective action.

## **We will confront the threat of Communist China on the economic front.**

To do this, we will highlight the importance of our secure access to strategic products and materials that would be critical in the event of a prolonged war with China and will help House leadership to develop and pass supply-chain legislation. Our experts will develop recommendations outlining how to develop a China-resistant economy.

We will work to reverse the Biden Administration's current course and promote the expansion of American fossil fuel exploration and development. We will develop resources to educate the American people about the Left's climate extremism; how their desired "climate action" results in dependence on "green" energy supplies from China; and the implications for national security of eliminating gas, oil, and coal from America's energy mix. Part of this plan is developing a comprehensive list of Chinese hypocrisies related to energy use and environmental policies, emphasizing that China uses the Left's preoccupation with climate to strengthen its own strategic position as the Left undermines American sovereignty, increases American dependence on China, and weakens the American economy.

We will conduct a campaign with allies to expose the entertainment industry's collusion with China, especially on the part of Hollywood studios and sports leagues. The campaign will sustain national attention and will be intended to drive changes in corporate behavior and investment.

We will push back on leftist Environmental, Social, and Governance (ESG) policies and work to pass legislation to dismantle those policies, which unfairly favor China's business interests and cultural influence over America's.

We will expose more Chinese human rights abuses by encouraging hearings in the 118th Congress on the Uyghur genocide and developing a conservative coalition to advocate for accountability.

We will establish a network of partners across the United States and the world to document Chinese information warfare, intellectual property theft, and cyber-criminal activity and publish the findings as a foundational reference database.

## **We will confront the threat of Communist China on the military front.**

We will document and expose the scope of Chinese malicious activities worldwide through Heritage's China Transparency Project and building a global network of organizations dedicated to countering Chinese influence.

We will continue to make recommendations for a national defense that is capable of deterring and defeating the growing Chinese military threat. That means working to secure robust funding in Department of Defense appropriations bills to ensure our military readiness. We will use The Heritage Foundation's Index of U.S. Military Strength to provide a comprehensive blueprint, including legislative recommendations for Congress, for a national defense that can effectively deter Chinese aggression while protecting U.S. interests.

We will use our research on nuclear deterrence to create legislative language to promote the development of U.S. nuclear capabilities to address China's massive nuclear expansion.

We will also ensure that Congress and the American people are thoroughly informed about the nature and scope of China's rapidly evolving military capabilities and their implications both for America's ability to counter China and for China's ability to cow other countries into submitting to its geopolitical and economic objectives.

## **We will confront the threat of Communist China's influence on American government.**

Additionally, we will raise awareness of the CCP's influence here at home. We will encourage hearings in the 118th Congress on Chinese influence within the federal government, including the Biden Administration, and within the country at large. We will also collect and publish information on how BlackRock and other companies are aiding Chinese oppression.

We will raise awareness of our own government policies that weaken American institutions. That includes exposing and publicizing Biden Administration efforts to impose woke policies within the U.S. military, such as critical race theory; diversity, equity, and inclusion ideology; and unfunded climate change mandates that sap resources and popular support for the armed forces and frustrate their efforts to deter China.

We will work to draft legislation to limit the ability of Chinese Communist Party members and their surrogates to lobby Congress.

Finally, we will develop legislation that forbids any federal arrangements with federal agency contractors, grantees, and others with financial links to entities or commercial companies that are controlled by the Chinese military or CCP and tied to human rights abuses.

## **We will confront the threat of Communist China at the state level.**

We will brief governors on policies that states can implement to contain Chinese Communist Party influence and develop legislative recommendations that prescribe the role states can play in combating malicious Chinese activity, including lobbying by the CCP, operations of Chinese state-owned entities, China's involvement in the media and higher education, and industrial espionage.

We will develop and implement model recommendations for states to counter Chinese economic theft through bilateral trade, investment, and regulatory cooperation.

We will also work with states to pass legislation to protect sensitive infrastructure and land from the CCP.

**Heritage provides the knowledge resources to equip lawmakers and others with the information they need to confront the threat of Communist China. These studies and others from our experts can be found at [Heritage.org](https://www.heritage.org).**

- **The U.S. Must Take Action on China's National Security-Related Life Sciences Programs**
- **U.S. Naval Presence Needed in Sea of Japan to Strengthen Deterrence Against Chinese Aggression**
- **Responding to the China Challenge: Blueprint 2.0**
- **Why Taiwan Matters to Beijing**
- **Countering China's U.N. Influence: A Blueprint for the United States**
- **A Plan for Decisive Action Against the Threat of CCP Land Use in the U.S.**
- **U.S. Policymakers Should Remain Wary of Chinese Ambitions in the Arctic**
- **Why State Legislatures Must Confront Chinese Infiltration**
- **Meeting China's Space Challenge**
- **Looking Ahead to China's 20th Party Congress**
- **DOJ Emboldens China by Ending Initiative Against Our Greatest Counterintelligence and Economic Espionage Threat**
- **Responding to China's Changing Nuclear Challenge**
- **Why the U.S. Should Extend "Priority 2" Refugee Status to Uyghurs and Hong Kong Citizens**
- **America COMPETES: The House "China Bill"**



## OBJECTIVE:

# *Hold Big Tech Accountable*

**B**ig Tech often acts as an enemy of the people, actively undermining free speech and free and fair elections, using algorithms to manipulate users, exposing minors to dangerous and pornographic content, and leaving users' private data vulnerable to cyber criminals and state actors. Tech giants and social media companies censor content with which they disagree, including objective fact-based opinions and reporting, collude with authoritarian governments like China, and side with woke elites to disproportionately silence conservatives.

The Heritage enterprise will put power back in the hands of the American people by holding Big Tech accountable, using antitrust and other laws and proposing new measures to end their abuses.

To address the grave concerns surrounding Big Tech's abuses, many lawmakers have introduced imperfect or incomplete legislation. Collectively, however, these policy development efforts have illuminated the path to constructive reform. The 118th Congress represents a chance to perfect these bills and build a consensus around their proposals. By the conclusion of the 118th Congress, achievement of these goals will ensure that Big Tech reform is ready "off the shelf" for a conservative President to sign into law in 2025.



## **The Heritage enterprise will expose Big Tech’s unsavory business and censorship practices.**

We will work to expose Big Tech’s exploitative ad tech practices, lack of transparency, collusion with government entities to target legitimate speech, other instances of censorship, and data privacy policies by advising congressional investigators about the types of internal company documents they should request from any tech companies they will be investigating.

We will also help Congress investigate potential antitrust violations by providing specific criteria for investigators to look for to determine whether Big Tech companies are colluding on content moderation and viewpoint discrimination against legitimate speech and using their oligopoly power in one market to gain an unfair advantage in another or unduly stifle competition.

## **We will work to reform Big Tech’s worst practices.**

We will work toward reform of Section 230 of the Communications Act of 1934 to strip immunity from giant tech companies that abuse their ability to moderate content without liability in order to censor and chill lawful political speech in the digital public square.

We also will introduce legislation to prevent government officials from using Big Tech platforms as their agents to chill political speech or suppress the viewpoints of American citizens.

We will encourage Congress to consider legislation that limits microtargeting practices, restrains the collection and use of biometric data, mandates time limits on how long companies can retain user data, puts limits on third-party data sharing, creates a user right to take down and take back posted digital information, and creates a right to be informed in an understandable way of exactly how personally identifiable information can may be used.

We will build support for the Kids Online Safety Act and partner with allied groups to develop a “Parents Guide” to educate parents about how technology impacts children and to increase support for age limits and greater transparency in social media’s use of algorithms.

We will work to advance legislative efforts to prohibit Big Tech companies from leveraging their market dominance to prefer their own products—and similar anticompetitive tie-ins—and will seek to apply a clarification of the “consumer welfare” standard under antitrust law that would end tech companies’ anticompetitive practices within “zero price” markets.

In the states, we will expose and reduce Big Tech censorship and exploitative practices by encouraging state attorneys general to investigate unfair and exploitative data collection, storing, and sharing; excessive online surveillance; collusion with government entities to police speech; and anticompetitive practices.

**Heritage provides the knowledge resources to equip lawmakers, activists, and communities with the information they need to hold Big Tech accountable. These studies and others from our experts can be found at [Heritage.org](https://www.heritage.org).**

- [Big Tech's National Security Red Herring](#)
- [Combating Big Tech's Totalitarianism: A Road Map](#)



## OBJECTIVE:

# *Protect Unborn Life and Family Formation*

All children conceived deserve to be born to married mothers and fathers who will love, guide, and protect them throughout their lives, but family breakdown and rampant abortion have torn apart the soul of our country and sapped it of its strength and moral authority. Radical ideologies that deny social and biological truths about sexual embodiment, marriage, and unborn life have poisoned our courts, our culture, and our laws. The Heritage enterprise will mobilize and advance policies at the state and federal levels to restore the nuclear family to the center of American life and reduce both the demand for and availability of abortion at all stages of human development.

The Supreme Court decision in *Dobbs v. Jackson Women's Health Organization* that overturned *Roe v. Wade* was merely the end of the beginning of the abortion debate in America, and pro-life conservatives have more work to do to protect life than ever before. We will defend the court victory by advancing pro-life legislation in the states and at the federal level and blocking the Democrats' efforts to enshrine abortion

on demand in federal law. The steps outlined below represent significant progress toward these goals that can be achieved even in a divided government.

## **The Heritage enterprise will protect unborn life.**

We will advance the Heartbeat Protection Act to prohibit abortion nationwide after the moment a heartbeat can be detected. At the state level, we will work with governors, legislators, and other state-based allies to pass heartbeat laws (or better) on abortion.

We will work to prohibit the interstate commerce of abortion pills in pro-life states by advancing legislation in both the House and Senate.

We will encourage Congress to continue the current prohibitions on the federal taxpayer funding of abortions both at home and abroad and to continue the Weldon Amendment that protects health care providers who decline to provide, pay for, or refer patients for abortions. We will work to pass legislation in the House to enshrine the conscience protections of the Weldon Amendment permanently in law.

We will work to delay Department of Health and Human Services regulations that would rescind pro-life conscience protections for health care workers. We will accomplish this by filing thoroughly researched, substantive comments and objections from our Heritage experts that will require substantive responses from HHS.

We will advance a bill to require foreign nongovernmental organizations to agree not to perform or promote abortion as a condition of receiving U.S. funding. For those foreign NGOs that refuse to comply, the bill would redirect their funding to other organizations that respect innocent human life.

We also will work with Congress to ensure that there is an investigation into the Department of Justice's refusal to protect Supreme Court justices who faced illegal protests and threats after the Dobbs abortion decision was prematurely leaked and the department's refusal to investigate concurrent vandalism and threats to pro-life pregnancy centers.

## **We will fight efforts to force Americans to conform to radical sexual orientation and gender ideology.**

We will fight to reverse the current bipartisan momentum in Congress for bills that would force Americans to conform to radical sexual orientation and gender ideology.

Additionally, we will work to delay and have enjoined by a court Department of Health and Human Services regulations that would replace the biological understanding of sex discrimination in health care with one based on subjective gender ideology. We will accomplish this by filing thoroughly researched, substantive comments and objections from our Heritage experts that will require substantive responses from HHS.



At the state level, we will work to develop and promote legislation and governors' executive actions to prohibit transgender surgeries on—and the distribution of puberty-blocking drugs to—children. We will also work to establish protections for the health and mental well-being of children experiencing or being counseled for gender dysphoria.

## **We will promote strong family formation.**

Heritage will promote pro-family welfare reforms that support work and marriage by introducing a comprehensive Heritage family policy proposal with significant and detailed recommendations that lawmakers can use to guide reform efforts.

**Heritage provides the knowledge resources to equip lawmakers, activists, and communities with the information they need to protect unborn life and family formation. These studies and others from our experts can be found at [Heritage.org](https://www.heritage.org).**

- **Biden's Anti-Marriage "American Families Plan" Fails to Build Back Better**
- **Pro-Life Progress Report for the 117th Congress and Administration**
- **Puberty Blockers, Cross-Sex Hormones, and Youth Suicide**
- **State of the Union: An Annual Review of Sexual Orientation and Gender Identity Legislation**
- **The White House Plan to Make Gender Ideology a Central Theme of the American Experiment**



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