



**Peace
and Free
Enterprise**

CATO
INSTITUTE

2021 ANNUAL REPORT

“Open markets lifted billions from poverty, added decades to our lives, gave us powers that previous generations attributed to wizards or gods. And we never noticed.”

—**DANIEL HANNAN,**
British writer, journalist, and politician



We often say that one only needs eyes to see the blessings of liberty. For it seems so obvious that freedom under limited government is the powerful gateway to living prosperous, long, healthy, contented, and meaningful lives in peace, with a minimum of social and civil strife. But has anyone ever captured this essence better than our eloquent friend Dan Hannan in the quote on the facing page?

In the past year, it has been equally plain to see the high cost of government interventions, however well intended they may be. Repeated regulatory debacles preventing widespread access to cheap and effective COVID-19 tests. Heated and sometimes violent confrontation between rival tribes vying to control the awesome power of the state. Our reckless monetary and fiscal policies generating inflation. The list could go on and on.

Yet despite such unacceptable outcomes, Americans across the political spectrum seem to be increasingly opting for more government intervention in their lives and more exercise of state power. And politicians are happy to deliver. Despite the miracles of liberty, the world seems ready to abandon it.

Not so fast. This isn't the vision we have for our children and grandchildren. The distinction highlighted above, between a world in which civil society flourishes and one in which it yields to state power, shows us how critically important it is to defend and advance liberty.

The stakes are high, the mission is urgent, and together we will answer this call.

Over the past few years, Cato has pursued a strategic vision that builds upon the Institute's unrivaled reputation for principled advocacy, independence, and integrity—as well as its outstanding capabilities to deliver ideas, influence, and impact.

As challenges to liberty rise, we're accelerating our efforts to preserve a free and open society—the birthright of future American generations.

Within this report you'll see how Cato's dedicated scholars are executing the elements of this vision. We will employ more resources and a louder voice to defend free markets and free enterprise, at a time when the ranks of their defenders are thinning. Our external engagement will be more intensive and effective, giving policymakers the tools to put liberty-based solutions into practice. We will utilize the full range of content media and technological advancements to bring liberty to life for our new and expanding audiences. Our scholars will generate more and better ideas and policy solutions, applying innovative methods to put liberty into action and government in its place. And we will create new programs and vehicles to reach young generations who will map freedom's trajectory in America when we pass the torch of liberty to them.

You have responded, with a sense of urgency, both to liberty's challenges and to its promise. Cato's partners—the generous individuals whose voluntary contributions make our work and mission possible—continue to increase their commitment, giving us the means to raise the Institute's voice, expand its capabilities, and accelerate its vision and plans.

We have a responsibility—really, an obligation—to pass on to our grandchildren a country and world that are as free, or freer, than the country and world that were given to us. We can't thank you enough for accepting that obligation with seriousness, passion, and generosity.

Message from the President and Chairman



Peter N. Goettler
Peter N. Goettler
PRESIDENT and CEO



Robert A. Levy
Robert A. Levy
CHAIRMAN

“I have a Cato-centric view of the world, which is to say that whatever is good for the Cato Institute has been good for the country.”

—**GEORGE WILL,**
Pulitzer Prize-winning
journalist

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CATO'S REACH 2021 BY THE NUMBERS

13.3

MILLION+ VISITS TO CATO'S WEBSITES ANNUALLY

Cato launched a redesigned Cato.org in 2021, offering best-in-class digital capabilities and a clean, modern look that better highlights our multimedia content. Since the launch of the new website, webpages consumed per visit have increased 8 percent and the average visit duration has increased 53 percent.

13

BOOKS

Cato books have been praised by Nobel laureates, newspapers, professional publications, and readers worldwide. With 13 new offerings that hit bookshelves in 2021, Cato has now published more than 400 books in its 44-year history.

175+

RESEARCH STUDIES

Cato experts published more than 175 research studies on key policy topics. In addition to policy analyses, Cato publishes meticulously researched studies on its *Pandemics and Policy* website, as well as in the highly respected *Cato Journal* and *Regulation* magazine.

6

MILLION+ PODCAST DOWNLOADS

Cato podcasts were downloaded more than 6 million times in 2021, including the *Cato Daily Podcast*, *Free Thoughts*, and the *Cato Events Podcast*.

920+

OP-EDS PUBLISHED

More than 920 op-eds by Cato scholars were published in major media outlets in 2021—15 percent more than the previous year. Cato scholars play a key role in educating leaders, decisionmakers, and the public through sharply crafted and insightful op-eds.

1,750+

MEDIA APPEARANCES

Cato experts made more than 1,750 television, radio, podcast, and other event appearances throughout the year. The prominent media presence of Cato scholars underscores the value that our independent, nonpartisan perspective brings to policy debates and breaking news.

CATO'S DIGITAL COMMUNITY

1.6

MILLION+ SOCIAL MEDIA FOLLOWERS

Individuals follow Cato on social media, including Facebook, Twitter, Instagram, and YouTube. Cato's audience across all social media channels grew to more than 1.6 million in 2021.

128,700+

YOUTUBE SUBSCRIBERS

685,000+

FACEBOOK FOLLOWERS

724,000+

TWITTER FOLLOWERS

LAUNCHING THE NEXT GENERATION

75+

CATO INTERNS

Over the course of three semesters each year, roughly 75 students participate in the Cato Institute's highly competitive internship program. With more than 1,800 students applying for the program each year, the acceptance rate is on par with the most selective universities in the United States.

2,500+

TEACHERS

Cato's Sphere Education Initiative has built a network of more than 2,500 middle and high school teachers across the country. Sphere seeks to restore civic culture by encouraging teachers to appreciate different perspectives on policy issues. Educators participating in Sphere take a variety of Cato materials and ideas back to their classrooms. By 2024, Cato will grow its network to more than 8,000 teachers.

250,000+

STUDENTS

The educators participating in Sphere reach 250,000 students across the country. Cato's educational materials and resources help to restore a spirit of civil discourse in the classroom and encourage a return to facts, analysis, and reason as the primary vehicles for discussion and debate. By 2024, Sphere educators will reach over 1 million students across the country.

“The Cato Institute turns out lucid and literate critiques of government activity in every sphere and at every level.”

—E. J. DIONNE JR.,
Washington Post columnist

Defending the Free Economy

The free market isn't up for negotiation, especially when it's needed most to nurture economic growth and stability. With fewer voices defending capitalism and free markets, Cato's voice must be louder.



The government and political factions on both sides of the spectrum insist that free markets aren't delivering for American workers, so government must get even more involved. But it is existing interventions—including those that fuel the high cost of health care and housing, erect barriers to upward mobility, and create many more unintended consequences—that keep capitalism and markets from working their full magic. Rather than creating more market distortions and exacerbating existing problems, government needs to give Americans the ball and get out of the way. That's why Cato has been the foremost champion of the free market for nearly five decades—and will remain so for many decades to come. By expanding the influence of Cato's economic policy research to reach new audiences—from the halls of Congress and universities to the living rooms and kitchen tables of American families—we are providing the most accessible, tangible, and reputable defense of capitalism and free markets.

We have made several strategic adjustments and additions to our staff and leadership to help us achieve our goals. Scott Lincicome took on a more active leadership role by serving as director of general economic research as well as director of the Herbert A. Stiefel Center for Trade Policy Studies. Alex Nowrasteh transitioned into a new role as director of economic and social policy studies, which includes working with Michael Tanner on federal welfare policy and state economic policy, Chris Edwards on spending and tax policy, and Vanessa Brown Calder on paid family leave, land use, licensing, and other policies that help shape economic opportunity at the federal and state levels. Calder returned to Cato in February 2022 after nearly three years with the Congressional Joint Economic Committee. We also brought on Norbert Michel, who most recently served as director of the Heritage Foundation's Center for Data Analysis, to serve as vice president and director of Cato's Center for Monetary and Financial Alternatives. Michel will focus on financial regulation—including environmental, social, and governance disclosures, Dodd-Frank reform and repeal, and financial technologies—and will oversee

our monetary policy efforts. We plan to continue adding expertise and resources to our all-star lineup of policy experts defending the free economy.

GOING FOR BROKE

In addition to passing multitrillion-dollar spending packages for infrastructure and pandemic relief, the Biden administration and Congress sought large tax increases on businesses and high-earning households. Chris Edwards, director of tax policy studies, testified to the House Ways and Means Committee in May against the president's tax increases on corporations and the wealthy, and he testified to the Joint Economic Committee in July on the importance of innovation to the economy and the crucial need to keep capital gains taxes low. Edwards also released major studies on the importance of wealthy angel investors and entrepreneurs in spurring economic growth and innovation, urging against new taxes and regulations. In numerous op-eds published in prominent news outlets Edwards argued for lowering taxes and spending and discussed the important role that private angel investment played in the development of mRNA vaccines for COVID-19.

FREE TRADE: A CATALYST FOR GROWTH

Protectionist trade policies hurt working families significantly by raising the cost of goods and services. Inventory shortages provoked by global supply chain disruptions were a direct result of the pandemic—and were worsened by regressive government policies aimed at manipulating supply and demand, suppressing investment, escalating tariffs, and shrinking the labor force. Under Scott Lincicome's direction, Cato's Herbert A. Stiefel Center for Trade Policy Studies stands against the swell of protectionism from both sides of the aisle and promotes the crucial role that free trade plays in fostering a dynamic and vibrant economy.

As one of the nation's leading trade policy experts, Lincicome encouraged policymakers to challenge sweeping progressive policies such as the American Rescue Plan, which stealthily passed massive spending packages. Inspired by the success of several public debates with Oren Cass and the warm reception of congressional leadership at a closed-door event in October,

Lincicome is producing an innovative handbook covering how free markets benefit American workers that will be distributed to congressional offices and the public.

The impact of Cato's research and advocacy on expanding free trade is not limited to the workings of the federal government. In Montana, Lincicome's work was cited by a senior adviser to Gov. Greg Gianforte as a crucial underpinning of the decision to end the state's participation in expanded unemployment benefits. Lincicome documented how the larger payments have contributed to Montana's widespread labor shortage.

LET THE CENTRAL BANKER BEWARE

Social media and the rise of digital currency are radically changing how money can be created—much to the irritation of bureaucrats who want to bring these novel instruments under greater government control. In response to the Biden administration's proposal for sweeping regulations to stablecoins (cryptocurrencies anchored to "stable" reserve assets, such as the



Sinking the Jones Act

Cato's Project on Jones Act Reform, led by research fellow **COLIN GRABOW**, is making waves in revealing the consequences of the Jones Act, which has further exacerbated the supply chain crisis by requiring sea transport of cargo between American ports be performed by ships that are U.S. built, owned, flagged, and crewed.

- In May, Sen. Mike Lee (R-UT) and Rep. Tom McClintock (R-CA) introduced several bills aimed at dismantling national protectionism, including a full repeal of the Jones Act.
- Former Secretary of the Treasury Lawrence Summers recently urged President Biden to suspend the Jones Act.



Busting Health Care Myths

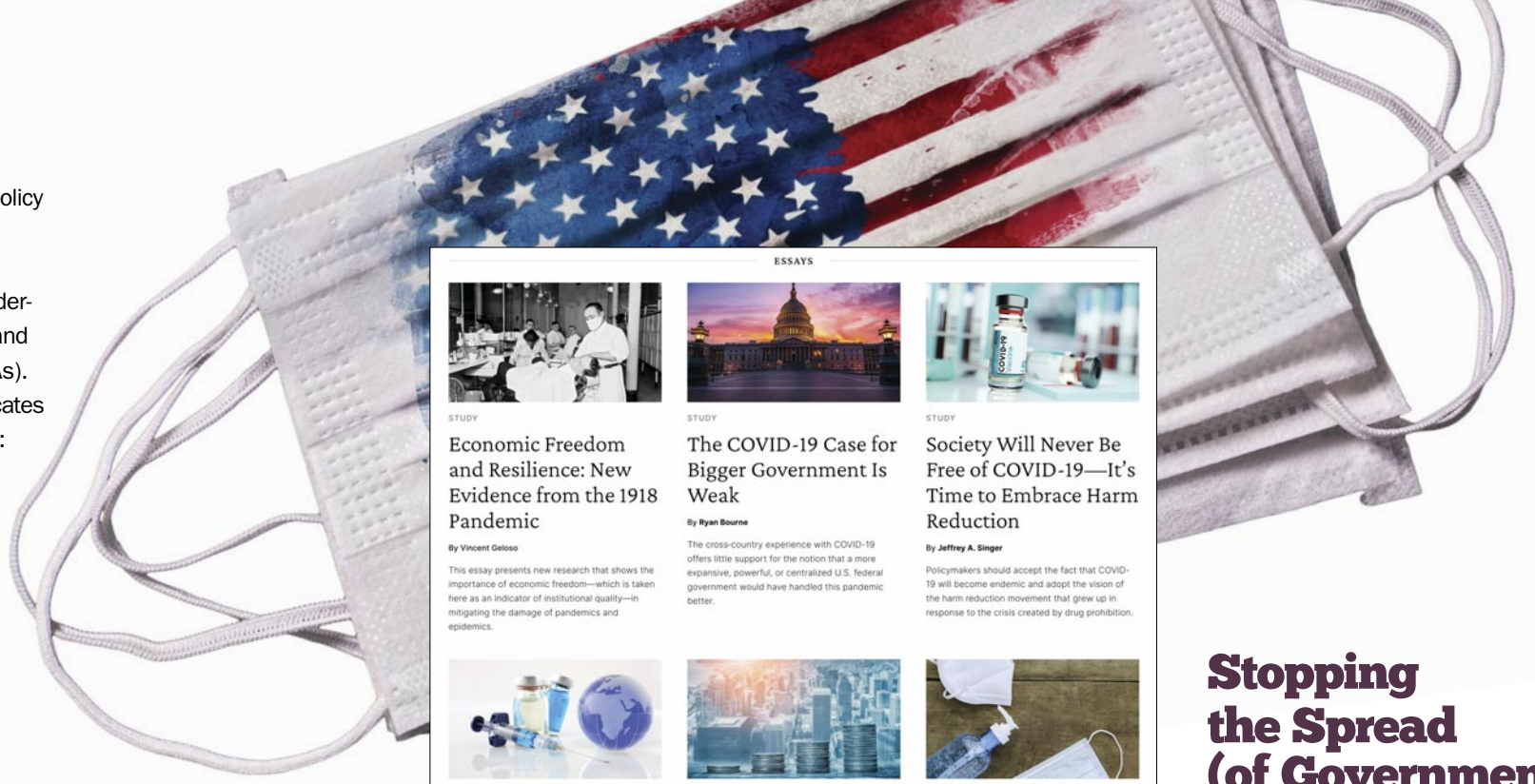
MICHAEL CANNON, Cato’s director of health policy studies, and **EMILY EKINS**, vice president and director of polling, collaborated with YouGov to release a poll in September on Americans’ understanding of employer-based health insurance and their opinions of health savings accounts (HSAs). The poll revealed crucial findings that allow advocates to make better arguments for expanding HSAs:

- **49% OF AMERICANS** are unaware that employers finance health benefits by reducing wages.
- **78%** incorrectly believe that in Canada, Denmark, and the United Kingdom, government controls a larger share of health spending than in the United States.
- **69%** favor eliminating the additional tax workers must pay if they want to control their health care dollars.
- **HSAS HOLD BIPARTISAN APPEAL**, with large majorities of Democrats (73%), Republicans (74%), and independents (65%) in support of giving workers the choice of a tax-free HSA over traditional employer-based insurance.


U.S. dollar), Jennifer Schulp, Cato’s director of financial regulation studies, and Norbert Michel, director of the Center for Monetary and Financial Alternatives (CMFA), have developed an alternative proposal that would both mitigate the risk associated with stablecoins and foster innovation in this growing sector of the modern economy. Schulp and Michel pushed back against Biden’s proposal to allow only federally insured depository institutions to issue stablecoins, which would prevent widespread use of this cryptocurrency while protecting the banking industry from competition. Instead, they propose treating stablecoin issuers as newly created limited purpose investment companies that are subject to basic reserve requirements and mandatory disclosure of relevant information

about reserve holdings. In early 2022, senior fellow and CMFA director emeritus George Selgin also published a proposal calling for a more dynamic digital currency market through “narrow” stablecoins, which he argues would drive competition and a more efficient marketplace.

Their proposals were well received in numerous congressional bodies, including the House Financial Services Committee and the Senate Banking Committee, opening the door for further collaboration on policies designed to protect the integrity and free exchange of cryptocurrency. After lengthy discussion with Schulp, Michel, and Selgin on their work, Rep. Trey Hollingsworth (R-IN) and Sen. Pat Toomey (R-PA) introduced stablecoin legislation that mirrored their work, and



ESSAYS




STUDY

Economic Freedom and Resilience: New Evidence from the 1918 Pandemic

By Vincent Geloso

This essay presents new research that shows the importance of economic freedom—which is taken here as an indicator of institutional quality—in mitigating the damage of pandemics and epidemics.




STUDY

The COVID-19 Case for Bigger Government Is Weak

By Ryan Bourne

The cross-country experience with COVID-19 offers little support for the notion that a more expansive, powerful, or centralized U.S. federal government would have handled this pandemic better.




STUDY


Society Will Never Be Free of COVID-19—It’s Time to Embrace Harm Reduction

By Jeffrey A. Singer


Policymakers should accept the fact that COVID-19 will become endemic and adopt the vision of the harm reduction movement that grew up in response to the crisis created by drug prohibition.



STUDY



STUDY



STUDY

Stopping the Spread (of Government)

Cato continues to publish numerous articles on economic policy and regulation in *Pandemics and Policy*, our cross-disciplinary guide highlighting the failures of government regulations and intervention in the free market in the wake of COVID-19 and highlighting policy solutions that can stem the damage of the pandemic while avoiding permanent transformation of American life and law. For example, in “When Workplace Safety Is Illegal,” senior fellow **WALTER OLSON** explores how the negative consequences of existing regulatory schemes have been compounded by the pandemic and, in turn, have made recovery even more difficult for employers and employees alike.

GREAT GARAGE MAKEOVERS ★ TOP DENTISTS ★ TRUMP HOTEL STAFFERS TELL ALL

WASHINGTONIAN

250 MOST INFLUENTIAL PEOPLE

From deep thinkers to ardent advocates, here are the people shaping policy



Washingtonian magazine named **STEVE HANKE**, senior fellow, and **MICHAEL CANNON**, director of health policy studies, two of the most influential policy experts in Washington, DC.

Rep. Tom Emmer (R-MN) introduced legislation prohibiting the Federal Reserve from issuing a central bank digital currency.

FREEDOM IS THE BEST MEDICINE

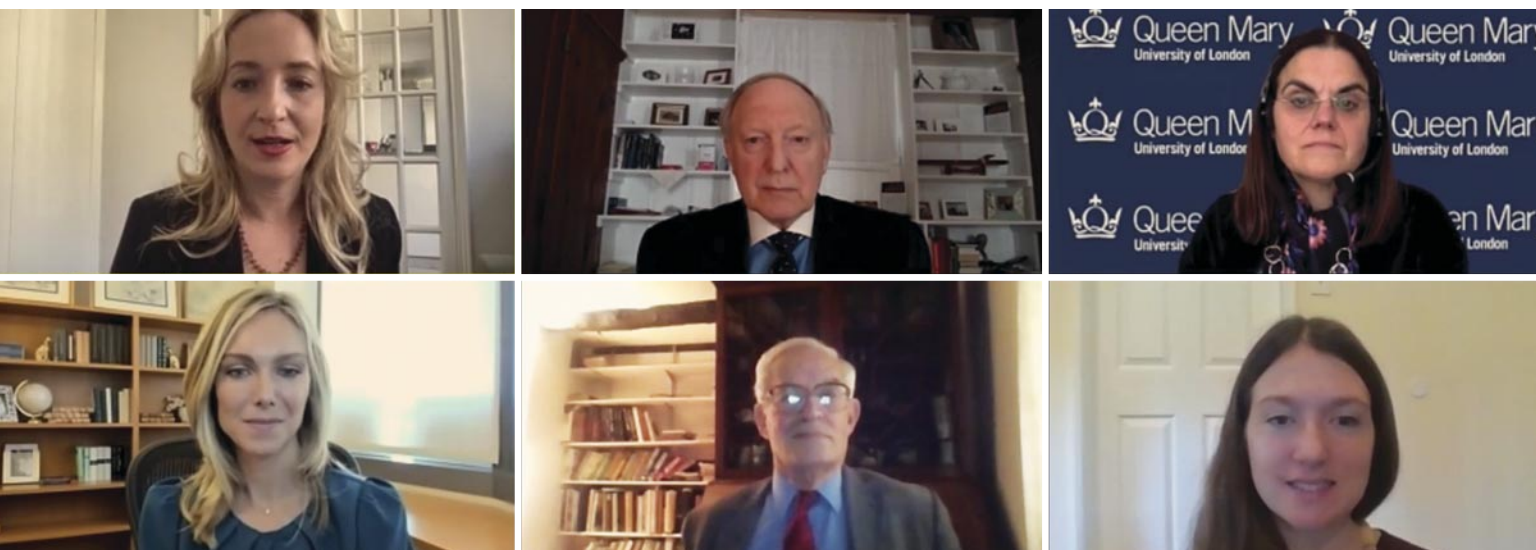
The freedom to make one’s own health care decisions is a fundamental human right. When government protects that right, innovation and competition make health care more universal—better, more affordable, and more secure. When taxes and regulations restrict that right, the availability and quality of health care suffers. Making health care more accessible and affordable reflects Cato’s larger goal to defend the free economy: doing not only what is necessary to safeguard the intrinsic value of economic freedom but also what is right to respect the dignity of individuals who deserve the freedom to make their own choices.

Cato’s efforts to expand health care freedom go back decades; our scholars first proposed health savings accounts (HSAs) in the 1990s and were leaders in popularizing them

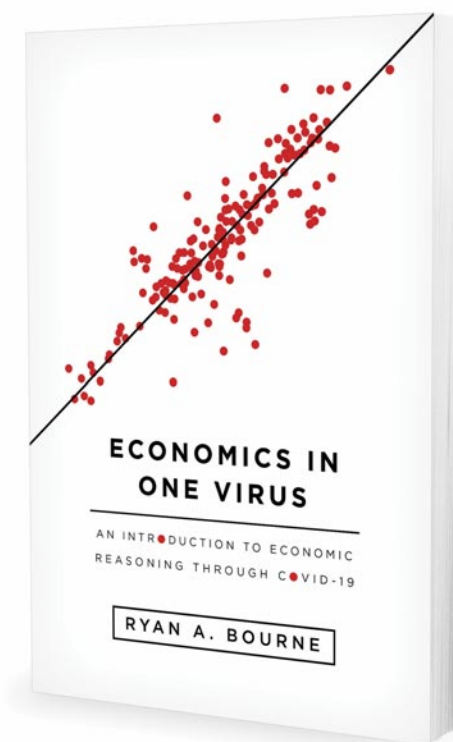
among policymakers and the public. Building on this legacy, Cato launched an ambitious strategic campaign in 2021 to reset the health care agenda in America. Director of health policy studies Michael F. Cannon is leading our initiative to provide Americans with more control of their health care dollars and health decisions by expanding HSAs, cutting government out of Medicare enrollees’ medical decisions, and removing barriers to health care innovation and competition.

In 2021, Dr. Jeffrey Singer, Cato senior fellow and a surgeon with more than 35 years of experience, advised Arizona Gov. Doug Ducey’s policy team on what would become the enactment of Arizona’s landmark telehealth reform law. The law allows Arizona patients to access telehealth services from any health care professional across the country, regardless of whether those providers hold an Arizona license. In October, Singer and senior vice president for policy Gene Healy hosted Gov. Ducey for a policy discussion at Cato exploring Arizona’s leadership in enacting market-based health care reform.

TOP: STEVE HANKE, Cato senior fellow and one of the nation’s most influential economists, highlights the government’s role in worsening inflation through regular op-eds published in the *Wall Street Journal* as well as appearances on CNN, BBC, CNBC, and other national and international media outlets. **MIDDLE:** While central planners call for even more protectionist policies that have exacerbated the global supply chain crisis, Cato scholars urge policymakers to look in the mirror before making a potentially disastrous decision. Cato senior fellow **SCOTT LINCICOME** appears on CNBC, CNN, and Fox News and was featured in the *Washington Examiner*, where he explains the government’s role in current shortages. **BOTTOM:** In March, **CHRIS EDWARDS** appears on Fox Business News’ *Kudlow* to speak with the host, Larry Kudlow, about the flaws in President Biden’s massive infrastructure spending plan.



The **39TH ANNUAL MONETARY CONFERENCE**—“Populism and the Future of the Fed”—brings together leading scholars and policymakers to assess the risk posed by populism to monetary policy. **TOP**, from left: **ALLISON SCHRAGER**, Manhattan Institute; **JAMES DORN**, Cato Institute; and **ROSA MARÍA LASTRA**, Queen Mary University of London. **BOTTOM**, from left: **CHRISTINA PARAJON SKINNER**, the Wharton School; **CHARLES GOODHART**, London School of Economics; and **CAROLA BINDER**, Haverford College.



In April 2021, Cato publishes **ECONOMICS IN ONE VIRUS: AN INTRODUCTION TO ECONOMIC REASONING THROUGH COVID-19** by R. Evan Scharf Chair for the Public Understanding of Economics Ryan Bourne. Nate Silver of *FiveThirtyEight* declares that Bourne’s book contains “one of the most important paragraphs I’ve read about the policy failures during the COVID pandemic,” while *Washington Post* columnist Megan McArdle describes it as “lay[ing] bare the complex web of economic calculations that undergirds not just our response to the pandemic, but the whole of our everyday lives.”

“We are proud to be recognized by such an esteemed institute like Cato, who does so much and provides so much data and input for us.”

—GOV. CHRIS SUNUNU (R-NH)



Increasing External Engagement

Cato sows seeds of political change by laying the intellectual foundation that will allow ideas rooted in liberty to sprout and multiply.

Cato lays the intellectual foundation for sound pro-liberty ideas. We are now poised to advance these ideas in new ways, which include an expanded focus on targeted and strategic external outreach and engagement with government, media, and the academy. In an era characterized by division and dissonance, our work draws large bipartisan and cross-ideological appeal, further expanding the reach of our ideas among new and diverse audiences. Our enterprising external affairs team proactively drives engagement with our work using a two-pronged approach, maximizing our exposure to policymakers and stakeholders at both the federal and state levels and bolstering Cato's reputation as the premier resource for libertarian ideas for a truly nationwide audience. By strengthening our inroads with policymakers at both the state and federal levels while building up our staff of externally focused experts, Cato will ensure that the best ideas rise to the forefront of policy debates while continuously expanding the reach and scope of our work.

Cato holds a reputation as one of the loudest voices for liberty in Washington—a reputation that is more valuable now than ever. We build this credibility on a principled track record and with our ceaseless efforts to recruit the best and brightest policy experts, such as Mark Calabria, who returned to Cato following his roles as director of the Federal Housing Finance Agency and chief economist to Vice President Mike Pence. Previously our director of financial regulation, Calabria now serves as a senior adviser to provide strategic input on federal economic policy and to help guide more meaningful engagement with policymakers at the federal level.

Director of government and external affairs Jeff Vanderslice and director of state relations Chris Hansford oversee Cato's ever-growing itinerary of engagement with policymakers, activists, and organizations at both the federal and state levels. Vanderslice and his team play a key role in connecting Cato scholars with relevant policy channels on Capitol Hill and in the administration, offering policymakers and staff timely information on the most pressing issues facing their offices. In 2021, Cato experts

provided 28 congressional and executive commission testimonies and statements for the record—up from the previous year's 16 testimonies—on a host of policy issues, including fiscal and regulatory reform, health care, and immigration. With the investment of more resources into our strategic outreach to policymakers, we will further grow the demand on Capitol Hill and in executive agencies for our research and policy proposals.

A GROWING VOICE FOR LIBERTY

One of 2021's most prominent congressional hearings featured Jennifer Schulp, director of financial regulation studies, who quickly became a leading expert and significant media presence on individual investing when the price of GameStop's stock, and so-called meme stocks, soared to record heights. She testified before the House Committee on Financial Services alongside the CEOs of Robinhood Markets Inc., Citadel Securities, and Melvin Capital Management LP, as well as the Redditor "Roaring Kitty" (the individual investor credited with leading the GameStop surge). Bloomberg's Caroline Hyde remarked,



Cato's Growing Impact with Policymakers

Cato's federal and state affairs teams shared Cato's policy solutions with more policymakers than ever before in 2021. Cato scholars provided 28 testimonies and statements for the record, conducted hundreds of meetings with members of Congress and their staff, engaged with more than 300 state legislators, and consulted directly with numerous states on their 2022 agendas.

On any given day you may find multiple Cato scholars on Capitol Hill. On Wednesday, April 28, for example:

- **NEAL MCCLUSKEY**, director of the Center for Educational Freedom, warns against wasteful and ineffective spending in education before the House Committee on Education and Labor.
- **DAVID KOPEL**, adjunct scholar and gun rights expert, testifies before the Senate Committee on the Judiciary's Subcommittee on the Constitution on how red flag laws allowing courts to seize firearms from certain individuals could violate due process.
- **DAVID BIER**, research fellow, testifies at a House Judiciary Committee's Subcommittee on Immigration and Border Security hearing, where he demonstrates how the current burdensome framework for legal immigration harms both legal and illegal migration.

"[Schulp] really caught everyone's attention with the depth of knowledge she had about payment for order flow and transparency in the market."

Clark Neily, Cato's senior vice president for legal studies, testified in March before the House Judiciary Committee's subcommittee on courts about his research into the background experience of federal judges and the overrepresentation of former prosecutors and other advocates for the government. His study on this problem was also cited in a Senate Judiciary Committee hearing by its chairman, Sen. Dick Durbin (D-IL). In May, President Biden notably nominated three former public defenders to serve as federal appellate judges.

The Robert A. Levy Center for Constitutional Studies advocates a judiciary that rises above political quarreling and is limited to interpreting, not making, the law. In April, Ilya Shapiro, then director of the center, testified before the Subcommittee on Federal Courts, Oversight, Agency Action, and Federal Rights, where he pushed back against efforts by partisan interests to influence the Supreme Court and urged the importance of its independence: "Because of a Constitution that's classically liberal, the Supreme Court is one of the few friends in government for advocates for liberty." Shapiro was also invited to testify before the Presidential Commission on the Supreme Court in July, where he argued that the politicization of the

confirmation process undermines the Court’s check on legislative and executive overreach.

In the fall, Cato launched its Congressional Fellowship Program with a two-month seminar in legal studies, which offers congressional staffers an in-depth exploration of the philosophical roots and practical application of constitutional law from a libertarian perspective. The inaugural program hosted a diverse, bipartisan group of 26 congressional policy staff members over nine sessions from October to December 2021; these featured lectures and roundtable discussions on various topics in constitutional law, including an overview of the First Amendment and free speech by Cato vice president John Samples and former American Civil Liberties Union president Nadine Strossen. The program received glowing reviews from participants and represents another vehicle for Cato’s enhanced engagement with Capitol Hill in the years ahead.

Cato also continues to make significant investment to drive pointed, high-quality, state-based projects. Chris Hansford, director of state relations, spearheads this initiative by connecting scholars with state-level policymakers, activists, business leaders, and other stakeholders and by representing the breadth of Cato’s work at policy conferences, summits, symposiums, and other events across the country. In 2021, Cato engaged more than 300 state legislators, staff members, and advocates on issues including transportation funding, school choice, criminal justice reform, and housing. Hansford and his team advised governors’ offices and consulted senior staff on recent landmark pieces of state legislation, such as Arizona’s first-in-the-nation expansion of telemedicine across state lines. The impact of Cato scholars at the state level is ongoing and growing, and it includes other efforts such as proposed private infrastructure legislation

in Texas, educational savings accounts to expand school choice in New Hampshire, and the permanent legalization of cocktails-to-go in Florida.

REVIVING THE CALIFORNIA DREAM

Cato’s Project on Poverty and Inequality in California, launched in 2019, provides an example of Cato’s ongoing innovation in our outreach initiatives.

California was once a true land of opportunity, but regressive state policies have rendered the so-called California dream a nightmare by causing obscene inflation in the cost of living. Despite its high concentration of wealth, power, and global influence, California has the highest homeless population and poverty rate in the nation. Rather than cultivating a climate that encourages economic growth and upward mobility, the state government has doubled down on a litany of rules, restrictions, regulations, and red tape that have exacerbated the hardship felt by millions of its residents.

Cato’s Project on Poverty and Inequality in California—led by senior fellow Michael Tanner—explored how state government policies intended to help low-income Californians actually trapped them in cycles of poverty. The project team traveled extensively throughout the state to conduct field research on the crisis and developed an ideologically diverse coalition of business and policy leaders, academics, activists, and philanthropists. And importantly, the team listened to and spoke with Californians living in poverty, offering key insights into the human element of the state’s ongoing crisis.

In October 2021, Tanner and his team released their final report on the project’s research findings and a list of 24 pro-liberty policy recommendations covering housing, welfare, education, licensing laws, and other issues. The report was delivered to every

member of California’s congressional delegation and state legislature, as well as every mayor, city manager, city councilor, county supervisor, and county welfare director in the state. The project team spearheaded the release of the report with two major in-person conferences in Sacramento and Los Angeles, both featuring a lineup of leading policymakers, social activists, and other stakeholders from across the ideological spectrum. The Los Angeles event was headlined by a luncheon address from its mayor, Eric Garcetti, who credited the report for its policy innovation as well as for its ability to bridge the ideological gap that has halted meaningful efforts to alleviate poverty. Speakers and panelists from the Sacramento conference included state senators Melissa Hurtado (D-Hanford) and Sydney Kamlager (D-Los Angeles), state assembly member Kevin Kiley (R-Rocklin), California Forward CEO Micah Weinberg, and California Business Roundtable president Robert Lapsley.

The project is already making headway in changing policy in California for the better. Two recently passed bills will further enfranchise and empower Californians, including one that allows homeowners to subdivide residential lots and build duplexes, and another that compels prosecutors to use gang-related sentencing additions more judiciously when necessary to protect public safety. We look forward to building on our success in California to launch similar initiatives in other states battling similar issues.

WITH LIBERTY AND JUSTICE FOR ALL

In 2018, Cato launched its campaign to end qualified immunity (QI). In just three years, Cato’s work bolstered this once-obscure legal concept into a household term. Today, QI—which protects police officers and state actors from being held accountable under the law when they violate citizens’ rights—is at the



The latest edition of *Freedom in the 50 States* ranks each state by how its public policies promote freedom in the fiscal, regulatory, and personal spheres. Authors **WILLIAM RUGER** and **JASON SORENS** examine state and local government across a range of more than 230 policy variables, including how state COVID-19 responses have affected freedom. In the past two years, the state of New Hampshire and Gov. Chris Sununu have topped Cato’s rankings for both the *Freedom in the 50 States* report and the *Fiscal Policy Report Card on America’s Governors*. The next freest states are Florida and Nevada, while New York, Hawaii, and California remain the least-free states.

center of criminal justice reform efforts and a central topic in national policy conversations. Thanks to the efforts of our criminal justice team, the majority of Americans—63 percent—now support abolishing qualified immunity. Senior vice president for legal studies Clark Neily and research fellow Jay Schweikert have made Cato the go-to organization for information and assistance on QI reform by filing amicus briefs in the courts, meeting with legislators and their staff, and working to get the issue in front of the public to make this niche legal concept accessible to everyday Americans. The team forged close working relationships with an ideologically diverse group of policymakers, including Sen. Tim Scott (R-SC), Rep. Karen Bass (D-CA), and Rep. Sheila Jackson Lee (D-TX). Speaking with Don Lemon on CNN, Sen. Cory Booker (D-NJ) cited Cato as a leading organization on QI reform. In June, Cato was instrumental in assembling a diverse coalition of civil rights organizations—including the American Civil

Liberties Union, the Black Police Experience, the Drug Policy Alliance, and Human Rights Watch—that released a joint statement urging Congress to adopt meaningful QI reform.

The project also promotes QI reform at the state level. In 2021, New Mexico and New York City passed legislation creating state-level civil rights remedies that preclude qualified immunity as a defense. Cato played an integral role in prescribing the ideas behind both pieces of legislation. In New Mexico, Schweikert testified before the state senate and held several private policy briefing calls with key members of the legislature. Meanwhile, he engaged then New York City council member Steve Levin—the sponsor of the city’s QI bill—on various policy approaches to local QI reform. Levin has since credited Cato for “leading the charge around the country” on QI reform. The criminal justice team also engaged state policymakers in New Hampshire and Maryland, opening the door for further collaboration.



From left to right: **CLARK NEILY**, Cato’s senior vice president for legal studies; **CHRISTINA SWARNS**, executive director of the Innocence Project; and **PETER NEUFELD** and **BARRY SCHECK**, founders of the Innocence Project.

Cato Institute Awards 2021 Milton Friedman Prize to the Innocence Project

In September, the Innocence Project receives Cato’s 2021 **MILTON FRIEDMAN PRIZE FOR ADVANCING LIBERTY**, a \$250,000 biennial award presented to an individual or group that has made a significant contribution to the advancement of liberty. Since 1992, the Innocence Project has freed 232 victims of wrongful imprisonment. The ceremony is complemented by a dinner for friends and partners of both Cato and the Innocence Project, featuring a keynote address from award-winning columnist George Will.



MICHAEL D. TANNER (left), Cato senior fellow and director of the Project on Poverty and Inequality in California, discusses the findings and recommendations of the project’s final report with **ERIC GARCETTI**, mayor of Los Angeles.



Research fellow **JAY SCHWEIKERT** (middle) participates in two press conferences for the Campaign to End Qualified Immunity, chaired by Ben & Jerry’s Ice Cream cofounders **BEN COHEN** (left) and **JERRY GREENFIELD**. Clark Neily, senior vice president for legal studies, and the famous duo also coauthor an op-ed in *The Hill* making the case for their coalition.

“Cato has really been remarkable in maintaining itself as a bastion of principle.”

—**MILTON FRIEDMAN,**
Nobel Prize-winning economist

Bringing Liberty to Life

Ideas matter—and good ideas can change the world. Cato is delivering its message in new and creative ways to bring liberty to life and ensure the best ideas win the day.



We are living in an unprecedented era of technological innovation, and the Cato Institute is seizing this incredible opportunity to leverage our capacity for innovation and amplify our voice for liberty not just in the United States but around the world. The Institute is growing our creative Content Lab and communications teams, testing innovative publishing technologies, and launching new online tools. The goal is to immerse individuals, students, and policy leaders in visual stories that dynamically bring our ideas to life through videos, podcasts, social media, and leading-edge data visualizations. We are blazing our own trail to bring the message of liberty from the pages of classic texts and into the digital world, immortalized for generations to come.

Building and maintaining a first-rate digital infrastructure requires an exceptionally talented and innovative web development staff. Our Content Lab team, led by vice president and chief digital officer Steve Kurtz, spearheads this effort.

In February 2021, we launched the redesign of Cato.org with best-in-class digital and interactive capabilities. The new website is sleek, modern, significantly easier to search and navigate, and modular in design so that we can easily highlight different types of content on any page. Since the launch of the new website, pages consumed per visit increased by nearly 8 percent, and the average visit duration increased by nearly 53 percent. The redesign also helps drive more engagement on Cato's social media platforms, including Facebook, Twitter, Instagram, and LinkedIn; pages consumed via social media rose by more than 7 percent, and the average visit duration increased by 35 percent.

TRANSFORMING DATA: FROM CONVENTIONAL TO COMPELLING

The redesign also upgrades our capacity for publishing research and analyses through a dynamic suite of content, including

infographics, illustrations, and interactive polls. Moreover, our digital overhaul allows us to produce new and exciting content while improving and refining Cato's existing library of research with enhanced navigation and accessible data sets.

Public polling is an important tool for understanding what motivates Americans to support (or not support) certain policies. Emily Ekins, vice president and director of polling, has a reputation for producing high-quality, in-depth surveys and analyses of Cato poll data. Our ongoing digital transformation allows users to interact with her data, drill deeper into her findings, and understand Americans' attitudes about the most pressing policy debates in far greater detail than ever before.

In 2021, Ekins published two survey reports incorporating our new web features. The 2021 Immigration and Identity National Survey polled 2,600 Americans to discover their underlying beliefs on immigration policy. Meanwhile, the 2021 Speech and Social Media National Survey polled 2,000 Americans and found that most believe social media companies are actively undermining free speech through unfair content moderation. Both survey reports were published online with a dedicated



Poll: 73 Percent of Americans Believe That Legislators Don't Know Enough about Technology to Regulate It

A poll by **EMILY EKINS** and **DAVID KEMP** conducted in collaboration with YouGov—the Cato 2021 Speech and Social Media National Survey—offers important insights into Americans' opinions on social media and technology:

- **73%** of Americans believe that legislators don't know enough about technology to regulate it.
- **75%** do not trust social media companies to make fair content moderation decisions.
- **63%** believe that social media companies have too much influence over the outcome of national elections.
- **79%** of Republicans believe social media companies are biased against them.
- **87%** of Democrats say that social media companies aren't biased against Republicans.
- Democrats are **three times** more likely to report or flag content than Republicans.

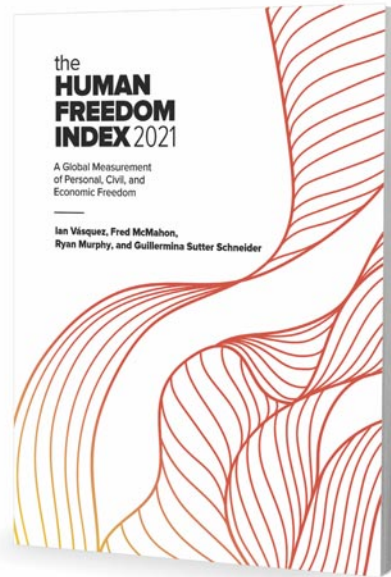
interactive webpage featuring data visualizations, survey topline, and downloadable data sets. Ekins also authored blog posts summarizing the findings of each poll. Both polls were cited widely on regional and national radio and television outlets.

One of the most consequential moments of 2021 was the official end of the war in Afghanistan, which now holds the dishonorable distinction of being the longest war in American history. In the two decades of fighting, Cato has been a consistent (and often lonely) critic of Washington's strategy in the Middle East, as well as a fierce opponent of expanded executive war powers and domestic surveillance programs. Thanks to our consistent voice as a proponent of restraint in Washington, many foreign policy experts have joined us in advocating less military intervention abroad. As a

refresher on our work in this area, we launched a new section on Cato.org cataloging 20 years of our research and commentary on the war on terror. With the launch and promotion of this new webpage to both policymakers and the public, we hope that these tragic policy mistakes are not repeated.

BROADCASTING FREEDOM AT HOME AND ABROAD

The upgrades to Cato's digital presence are not limited to the redesign of the Cato website. We have also invested heavily in developing engaging multimedia products of both higher quantity and quality. For example, the Project on Poverty and Inequality in California produced a 30-minute documentary film exploring common-sense solutions to the state's housing and homelessness crises, featuring interviews



The 2021 **HUMAN FREEDOM INDEX (HFI)** tracks the state of personal, civil, and economic freedom around the world. The HFI, coauthored by **IAN VÁSQUEZ**, vice president for international studies, offers the most comprehensive freedom index, covering more than 98 percent of the world’s population. The newest edition ranks Switzerland as the freest nation in the world, while the United States lags behind as only the 15th freest country.

with business leaders, social activists, and scholars across the ideological spectrum. The film received widespread critical acclaim: in December, it won a Gold Award for Best Short Documentary from the Hollywood Gold Awards and was selected to be screened at both the New York Movie Awards and the Oregon Documentary Film Festival, where it won Best Editing and was runner-up for Best Documentary. Cato assistant producer and videographer Lena Popilieva also took home bronze for Best Female Director from the Independent Short Awards. By expanding our Content Lab, we will further reinforce our filmmaking and editing capabilities to produce other cinematic-quality videos.

Podcasts have emerged as one of the most accessible and popular forms of media consumption around the world. Cato has been at the cutting edge of this revolution for nearly two decades, with a wide range of audio selections covering public policy, philosophy, and even pop culture. One of our most successful shows—not just among audio platforms but across all Cato media—is the *Cato Daily Podcast*, hosted by Caleb O. Brown, director of multimedia, and featuring discussions on current news

items with Cato scholars, top policymakers, and other prominent individuals. Noteworthy guests in 2021 include author Matt Ridley, Whole Foods CEO John Mackey, and many members of Congress, including Reps. Jim McGovern (D-MA), Peter Meijer (R-MI), Bonnie Watson Coleman (D-NJ), and Jaime Herrera Beutler (R-WA). The *Cato Daily Podcast* continues to grow year after year, with nearly 270 episodes recorded and more than five million downloads in 2021. Our podcasts are easily accessible on the redesigned Cato.org homepage, various social media platforms including YouTube, Facebook, and Twitter, and on streaming platforms such as Spotify and Apple Podcasts.

The expansion of our digital and multimedia capabilities is reflective of Cato’s global reach. Senior fellow Mustafa Akyol has become one of the world’s leading experts on the intersection of Islam, public policy, and modernity. The United Kingdom’s *Prospect* magazine ranked Akyol among the world’s top 50 thinkers, and a readers’ poll placed him in the top 10. Other notable top thinkers include American entrepreneur Elon Musk, British primatologist Jane Goodall, and Russian opposition leader Alexei

Navalny. In April Akyol’s book *Reopening Muslim Minds: A Return to Reason, Freedom, and Tolerance* was published by St. Martin’s Essentials, offering a diagnosis of the “crisis of Islam” in the modern world and making the case for a return to its liberal tradition. *Reopening Muslim Minds* has received widespread acclaim—especially across the Muslim world. Renowned Algerian physicist Nidhal Guessoum called it “the best book about Islam this year,” while Indonesian publishing company Penerbit Mizan Pustaka ranked it the

number-one book on Islam in 2021. Bosnian, Arabic, and Farsi editions of the book were released, and the Indonesian edition is being translated. Akyol spoke at more than 35 in-person and online panels at universities and other organizations in the United States, the UK, Tunisia, Turkey, Pakistan, India, Indonesia, Malaysia, and the Maldives, and he was featured or cited in prominent outlets including the *New York Times*, *Wall Street Journal*, *The Economist*, and the *Jordan B. Peterson Podcast*.



El Funky—Cuban Dissident, Rapper, and Latin Grammy Winner—Visits Cato

The hip-hop song “Patria y Vida” (“Fatherland and Life”) became a rallying cry and anthem for Cubans who have become fed up with living in fear. One of the song’s coauthors, the rapper known as **EL FUNKY**, visits the Institute in November to speak with **IAN VÁSQUEZ**, Cato’s vice president for international studies and director of the Center for Global Liberty and Prosperity. They discuss the song, the situation in Cuba, and those imprisoned by the regime, including Maykel Castillo, one of the song’s other author-performers. Two weeks after the visit, “Patria y Vida” wins Song of the Year and Best Urban Song at the 2021 Latin Grammys.

EXPANDING OUR REACH: Upgrades to F. A. Hayek Auditorium

During the pandemic, we saw an opportunity to reach larger audiences than ever before by optimizing our events for virtual audiences across the globe. We're building on the improvements to our online events by transforming Cato's F. A. Hayek Auditorium into a state-of-the-art production studio through technical upgrades that will provide us with the capability to offer best-in-class programming and content for both virtual and in-person audiences.

Enhancements will include:

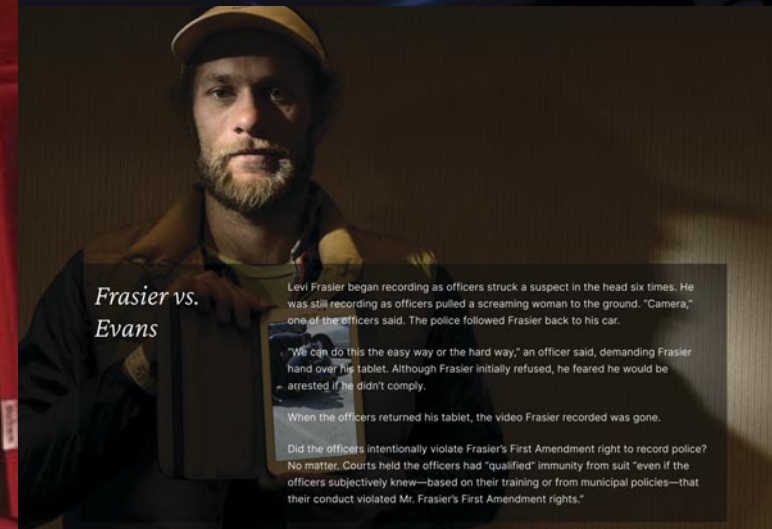
- Expanded stage
- State-of-the-art LED video walls
- Split-screen options
- Floor and ceiling robotic cameras
- Additional audio and visual capabilities



**DAMMED
BUT NOT
DAMNED**

on research funded by the London School of Ec

TOP: For all the disagreement and division between Democrats and Republicans on a host of policy issues, there is growing agreement among members of Congress that the executive branch has become too powerful—especially in matters of making war. Reps. **JIM MCGOVERN (D-MA)** and **PETER MEIJER (R-MI)** join **CALEB O. BROWN** on the *Cato Daily Podcast* to discuss bipartisan efforts to curb presidential war powers. **MIDDLE:** Cato scholar **SWAMINATHAN ANKLESARIA AIYAR'S** field research is made into a documentary on the Indian streaming service Disney+ Hotstar, *Dammed but Not Damned*, which explores the displacement of tribal families as a result of the Sardar Sarovar Dam project in India. **BOTTOM:** Senior fellow **MUSTAFA AKYOL** is ranked among the world's top 50 thinkers by the United Kingdom's *Prospect* magazine, and a readers' poll placed him in the top 10.



An Earthquake in Digital Storytelling

The values of liberty are dynamic—and so is the Cato Institute. Through responsible and efficient stewardship of our Sponsors' investment in our work, Cato is at the leading edge of delivering our ideas to wider audiences through innovative storytelling techniques.

The latest example is the release of our digital “scrollytelling” template, which brings our research and data to life and allows us to share our hopeful message of liberty in more compelling ways than ever before.

“How Qualified Immunity Hurts Law Enforcement” is the first of many releases on our website utilizing the new template known as “Earthquake.” The piece leads readers through an emotional virtual journey on the devastating consequences of qualified immunity. Featuring firsthand accounts of people who experienced police brutality, coupled with animated data on how a lack of accountability for law enforcement harms both citizens and police officers, this best-in-class multimedia presentation rivals those of the largest national newspapers.

Inspiring Tomorrow's Leaders Today

Cato takes pride in developing the thought leaders of tomorrow, providing them with the tools and knowledge to defend the principles of liberty for generations to come.



In the thick of the Revolutionary War, Thomas Paine wrote, “If there must be trouble, let it be in my day, that my child may have peace; and this single reflection, well applied, is sufficient to awaken every man to duty.” Protecting and promoting freedom isn’t just a hobby or even a job for us at Cato but an obligation—not only to ourselves but to the generations yet to come who deserve to live in a freer, fairer, healthier, and wealthier world. Fulfilling our vision of a freer tomorrow demands that we empower young leaders and educate them in libertarian thought and public policy issues. We accomplish this through innovative programs that inspire middle school, high school, and college students and educators across the country to keep the flame of liberty alive.

RESTORING DIALOGUE, RESCUING DEMOCRACY

Many Americans are fed up with the intense tribal culture fueled by the extreme left and right, and they are actively looking for tools and resources to help find common ground and restore appreciation for healthy debate and disagreement. Cato’s long-standing reputation for nonpartisanship and engaging across the ideological divide makes us uniquely suited to address these needs. That is why we launched Project Sphere—a suite of programs designed to cool the temperature of public discourse. A key component of this project is the Sphere Education Initiative, which is building a vast network of educators and providing content they can use in the classroom to address this challenging political environment. Sphere has already built a community of more than 2,500 educators from across the nation, who in turn have helped us reach more than 250,000 students. Our goal is to grow this network to 8,000 educators and reach a million students by 2024.

Last summer, Cato hosted its third annual Sphere Summit, offering full-scholarship programs for more than 300 educators and administrators. Held over two weeklong sessions in June and July, the Summit hosted educators both in-person at the Cato Institute and virtually

via livestream for a diverse and dynamic program covering a range of issues, including free speech, the future of democracy, and the consequences of pandemic-era government interference in the economy. Participants engaged with an ideologically diverse group of policymakers, thought leaders, academics, and journalists, including Darrell M. West of the Brookings Institution; Daniel Garza of the LIBRE Initiative; Ramesh Ponnuru of *National Review* and the American Enterprise Institute; Reps. Lou Correa (D-CA), Young Kim (R-CA), and Peter Meijer (R-MI); Irshad Manji, director of the Moral Courage Project; and Jane Coaston, host of the *New York Times* podcast *The Argument*. They also received professional development workshops and trainings from other leading organizations, including iCivics, the Bill of Rights Institute, and the Foundation for Individual Rights in Education. Feedback on the Summit was extremely positive, with 96 percent of participants reporting that the Summit contributed to restoring civic culture and 98 percent saying they would recommend the Summit to a colleague. Many participants praised Cato for its programming and professionalism. “Thank you for giving me so many wonderful ideas, resources, and most importantly hope for civil conversations among people with different perspectives,” said 2021 Sphere participant



“My time as a Cato intern has introduced me to a network of brilliant legal scholars and provided me meaningful, hands-on experience working in the legal field. The John Russell Paslaqua Intern Seminar Series allowed me to refine my broader philosophical understanding of classical liberalism, while my work in the Center for Constitutional Studies showed me how to apply that knowledge to legal work.”

—MADALYN BROOKS

2021 Cato Intern with Cato’s Center for Constitutional Studies;
Law student at George Mason University’s Antonin Scalia Law School

Patricia Russac, a middle school history teacher in New York. “The Summit certainly lived up to its theme, “Teaching Civic Culture Together.””

Thanks to Cato Sponsors, we are scaling the success of the Sphere Summits by taking Sphere directly to educators and students through Sphere on the Road. This program provides a host of opportunities to develop content, gather feedback, distribute resources, and, most importantly, build meaningful relationships and further expand the Sphere network. The Sphere team is also traveling to present and promote Sphere—as well as reach educators—at conferences such as the Florida Council for the Social Studies and the Philanthropy Roundtable annual meeting, both of which the team participated in this past October.

To facilitate the expansion of this project, Cato added Caryn Rossiter as a manager and senior trainer. Rossiter has over two decades of experience as an educator, having served as a senior class dean and an AP history and economics teacher at a private school in Dallas and as an education specialist for the Federal Reserve Bank of St. Louis. Critically, Rossiter is also a Sphere alumna—she was so impressed with the project and the 2019 Summit that she decided to quit her teaching job to join the team in 2021. Rossiter is helping to grow our portfolio of programming and lesson plans with a

particular emphasis on content development and the successful execution of our Sphere on the Road initiative.

(GOOD) IDEAS MATTER

It is all too easy to take for granted the promise of freedom, or else to entirely lose sight of its inherent value. The next generation of libertarian leaders must be equipped with a strong theoretical foundation. Libertarianism.org is an indispensable resource for educating the young on the history, philosophy, and ideas of classical liberalism and libertarianism. As one of Cato’s most popular sites, Libertarianism.org continues to expand its reach and scope to new audiences with its rich library of digital and print media, attracting nearly 1.4 million visitors in 2021. Libertarianism.org also publishes books, including Mustafa Akyol’s *Why, as a Muslim, I Defend Liberty*—a manifesto on the natural compatibility of liberal values and Islam—and Alex Nowrasteh’s *The Most Common Arguments against Immigration and Why They’re Wrong*, an innovative piece geared toward reaching younger audiences through succinct summaries and easy-to-follow visualizations providing evidence-based counterarguments to anti-immigrant sentiments. Libertarianism.org remains at the forefront of policy debates by offering the libertarian stance on a variety of



“One quintessential Cato intern experience is meeting with a policy expert in the morning and seeing them leading a policy discussion on national television the same day. I was surprised by and curious about the incredible efficiency of Cato Institute scholars and the organization at large.”

—**DAVID McMILLAN**

2021 Cato Intern with the Project on Criminal Justice; master’s student in public policy at the University of Edinburgh

topics dominating our social and cultural discourse.

In an era plagued by clickbait headlines and yellow journalism, the young are being driven to believe that the world is fundamentally broken and that we need more government intervention in our lives to fix it. But hard facts clearly demonstrate that the opposite is true—the world is actually healthier, wealthier, cleaner, and safer today than at any other time in history. The global proliferation of personal and economic freedom has been and continues to be the greatest engine for progress in history. Cato has an obligation to ensure that this truth is not lost for our children. Humanprogress.org is the premier source for nonideological, fact-based research and analysis delivering a wholly optimistic vision for the future rooted in the principles of liberty. The website’s board features an all-star lineup of academics and economists, including Nobel Prize-winning economists Angus Deaton and Vernon Smith, as well as famed scholars Andrew McAfee, Matt Ridley, and Steven Pinker. The site’s two ongoing series, Centers of Progress and Heroes of Progress—which commemorate great innovators and landmark milestones in the history of human progress—are being synthesized into educational lesson plans for high school students. The lesson plans have been accessed by hundreds of high

school students nationwide, and the website is being used by many universities, including the University of California, Los Angeles; the University of Pennsylvania; and Princeton University.

In August 2020, Cato published its first coffee table book, *Ten Global Trends Every Smart Person Should Know*. Coauthored by HumanProgress.org editor Marian Tupy, *Ten Global Trends* offers a comprehensive and concise illustration of just how much we have achieved in the modern era. It is now the bestselling book in Cato’s history and reached Amazon.com’s Top 100 titles in 2021. It has received widespread critical acclaim from academics and thought leaders across the ideological spectrum. Following its release, Tupy was invited by renowned clinical psychologist Jordan B. Peterson for a discussion of the book on his podcast, which has garnered more than 1.3 million views on YouTube.

LAUNCHING THE NEXT GENERATION OF LIBERTARIAN LEADERS

The Cato internship program is known for being one of the most competitive in Washington, DC. In 2021, Cato received 1,833 applications for just 78 intern placements—a roughly 4 percent acceptance rate. The prestige of our internship is due not only to Cato’s reputation but also to our first-rate curriculum and

professional development program. Cato interns gain invaluable knowledge and experience by working one-on-one with some of the most talented and reputable policy scholars in their respective fields. Through the John Russell Paslaqua Intern Seminar Series, interns also attend world-class lectures on policy and philosophy, as well as professional development workshops on topics such as public speaking and journalism.

Reaching younger audiences is a long-term process, but we’ve already found success in building the next generation of champions for liberty—such as David McMillan, who interned with Cato’s criminal justice team last summer. David says his experience at Cato transformed his political views. Once a self-described Democrat, he now proudly calls himself a libertarian: “I now identify as an individualist, which is the same label that Friedrich Hayek used to distinguish himself from collectivists. As a member of Generation Z, I am proud to be a new member of the liberty movement.”

And we continue to share copies of our *Cato Pocket Constitution and Declaration of Independence*—one of the most popular editions of our nation’s founding documents, with over

seven million copies in circulation—with teachers and students across the country. One such student, Mateo Portelli, received his first *Cato Pocket Constitution* in the seventh grade and has been an avid follower of Cato’s work ever since. Now a first-generation college student serving in the National Guard, Mateo supports Cato as a member of our monthly giving program, the Voluntary Society—an exclusive community of like-minded individuals who give at least \$10 per month. Mateo explains his motivation for becoming a monthly Sponsor of the Institute: “I love that Cato isn’t only concerned with convincing policymakers to respect the principles and ideas of liberty—they also educate the public. And that includes young people and Gen-Z students like myself.”

David and Mateo are just two examples of Cato’s ongoing efforts to reach younger audiences, made possible only through the generous support of Cato Sponsors. By sharing the rich history and tradition of libertarian ideas, we can help young people discover the values that matter most to them. With the continued support of our generous Sponsors, we will ensure that the message and promise of freedom reaches and resonates with future generations.



“I don’t look at my monthly donation to Cato as a gift. Rather, it is an investment—an investment in an organization that provides an ROI that will make society better for myself, my family, and my community’s posterity. That’s why I give to Cato.”

—**MATEO PORTELLI**

Undergraduate student at the University of Nevada, Las Vegas



SPHERE

TOP TO BOTTOM: **IRSHAD MANJI**, educator and author of numerous works on reformist interpretations of Islam as well as racial and religious identity; **YASCHA MOUNK**, contributing editor at *The Atlantic*; Sphere teacher **STACI GARBER** participates in a panel discussion; **JANE COASTON**, host of *The Argument* podcast for the *New York Times*; attendees at dinner listen to remarks by **PETER GOETTLER**, president and CEO of the Cato Institute.



BUILDING to Last



LEFT TO RIGHT:

DAVID BOAZ, Executive Vice President; **EVAN BOLICK**, General Counsel; **MARISSA DELGADO**, Vice President of Finance and Chief Financial Officer; **PETER N. GOETTLER**, President and CEO; **KHRISTINE BROOKES**, Vice President of Communications; **STEVE KURTZ**, Vice President and Chief Digital Officer; **LESLEY ALBANESE**, Senior Vice President for Initiatives; **HARRISON MOAR**, Vice President for Development; **LINDA AH-SUE** (not pictured), Vice President of Events and Conferences.

Of all the duties that drive us at Cato, two stand above all others. The first is our responsibility to future generations. It's our responsibility to pass on to our children and grandchildren a country that's at least as free as the one that was given to us. We simply must make every sacrifice and exertion we can to ensure future generations are able to live in liberty.

The second is our responsibility to you, the generous Sponsors who make Cato's mission possible. You need to know that the investment you're making in Cato is secure for the long term, that Cato will adhere to our shared principles and values in the face of political and societal tumult, and that we will always work hard to maximize the ideas, influence, and impact your investment produces.

Our most important commitment to you is that Cato will be *Built to Last*: philosophically, financially, and otherwise. So you can be confident that your investment—whether it's an annual contribution that funds ongoing operations, a major gift that unlocks growth or new initiatives, or the special commitment of a legacy or estate gift—will be responsibly stewarded for decades to come. But what does *Built to Last* mean in practice?

UPHOLDING PHILOSOPHICAL CONSISTENCY

Cato has an unrivaled reputation for principle, independence, and nonpartisanship. This is the organization's most precious asset: our unwavering integrity makes us effective and allows us to influence policymakers across the ideological spectrum. We don't change our views or compromise our principles for political convenience, so you can rest assured that the Cato you're investing in today will be the same Cato tomorrow—only better, stronger, and more impactful.

ENSURING RESPONSIBLE FINANCIAL STEWARDSHIP

Eternal vigilance is the price of liberty, so Cato must continue leading the fight to protect our liberties in the decades ahead. And you need to know you're investing in an organization that will be strong for the long haul. Prudent financial stewardship means managing costs and growth with care. We have ambitious plans to expand further through high-return investments in key areas that leverage our existing work, which will amplify



Melvyn Jay Kushner
Library

LEFT TO RIGHT: SCOTT LINCICOME, Director of General Economics and the Herbert A. Stiefel Center for Trade Policy Studies; **GENE HEALY**, Senior Vice President for Policy; **CLARK NEILY**, Senior Vice President for Legal Studies; **IAN VÁSQUEZ**, Vice President for International Studies; **EMILY EKINS**, Vice President and Director of Polling; **ALEX NOWRASTEH**, Director of Economic and Social Policy Studies; **NORBERT MICHEL**, Vice President and Director of the Center for Monetary and Financial Alternatives; **JEFF VANDERSLICE**, Director of Government and External Affairs.

Cato's voice and bring our liberty message to vast new audiences. But this growth will never come at the expense of financial stability and viability. Even as we have grown, the Institute's expenses have come in below budget every year in the past seven years.

ESTABLISHING TOMORROW'S LEADERS

In the past two years, we've raised an exciting new generation of leadership at Cato, allowing our team to grow in responsibility and experience. We've promoted numerous staff to senior positions in command of their respective areas—including policy, development, finance and accounting, digital and information technology, and special projects and initiatives. Similarly, we've promoted several scholars to lead expanded teams in their respective issue areas, including monetary studies and financial regulation, trade and economic policy, legal studies, and politics and society. Through these organizational upgrades we've achieved increased collaboration and cooperation among our various research areas while maximizing the strategic impact of our policy work and helping develop Cato's future leaders. And, importantly, we've planted the seeds of organizational succession that will ensure your investment is in safe and capable hands for years to come.

REACHING NEW AUDIENCES, ESPECIALLY THE YOUNG

Fulfilling our vision of a freer tomorrow demands that we empower young leaders and educate them in libertarian thought and public policy issues. With the support of our Sponsors, we are expanding innovative

programs that inspire middle school, high school, and college students and educators across the country to keep the flame of liberty alive. Through new initiatives such as Sphere and creative platforms such as Libertarianism.org and HumanProgress.org, Cato's work is reaching hundreds of thousands of young students each year.

EXPANDING STRATEGIC IMPACT

Recognizing the urgent need to advance our mission in the current environment, Cato's Sponsors overwhelmingly affirmed our strategic direction by providing us with an unprecedented level of support over the past two years. At the same time, our expenses have fallen in 2020 and 2021 due to the curtailment of travel and events caused by the pandemic. As a result, our Sponsors have given us a strong base from which to launch Cato's next round of growth in the Institute's capabilities and reach. Areas targeted for high-return investment include external affairs, content creation, student outreach, and the growth of our economics team. Through the generous support of our Sponsors, Cato's ideas, influence, and impact will be expanding at a critical time.

We are grateful that so many generous individuals entrust in us their contributions to this noble legacy. Through our efforts captured in this report, Cato is paying these investments forward to ensure that liberty endures for all—today, tomorrow, and forevermore.



LOVE, LIBERTY, AND A Lasting Legacy

Pete Fotheringham and Carol York live by the values nearly all libertarians espouse. “We believe in individual responsibility, taking care of yourself as opposed to asking someone else to take care of you, and managing your finances responsibly,” says Pete. “Cato is the loudest voice promoting these ideas.”

Like many Cato Sponsors, the couple credit their libertarian principles—hard work, delayed

gratification, and frugal money management—for positioning them for personal and professional success.

Pete and Carol were in their 20s when they met in Seattle in 1978, bonding over their shared values and mutual love for outdoor activities. A month before they met, both Pete and Carol had each purchased their first homes at the age of 25 after years of saving their hard-earned money. Two years after meeting, they sailed into their wedding ceremony on windsurfers.

“It was actually a very traditional wedding in almost every way besides the windsurfing,” Carol laughs. “Everyone was in full wedding regalia!” After saying their vows, Pete and Carol sailed off together on a tandem windsurfer.

In the early 1980s, they launched a publishing company focused on the growing windsurfing community, later branching out to add new regional and trade publications to their business. By the mid-1980s, their *Gorge Guide* magazine was central to the Columbia River Gorge community when people were discovering what became a destination windsurfing

location. When windsurfing was most popular in the mid-1990s, they sold those publications to pivot to general tourism publications.

In 2008, they decided it was time to sell their business. Over the years their prudent financial management allowed them to build an investment portfolio, and they decided it was time to spend more time cycling and skiing. Today they split their time between skiing in the mountains in the winter months and bicycling all over the world in the warmer seasons. They’ve completed bicycle trips in more than 60 countries and counting.

Left with more time to enjoy the fruits of their labors, Pete and Carol began thinking about their legacy. A stint in politics—Carol was drafted to run for Oregon State Senate in 2006—left the couple even more disillusioned with politics and partisanship, bringing them closer than ever to Cato’s mission.

“More people would have libertarian views if they knew about it,” says Carol. “One of the reasons I support Cato is so people can learn that there is an organization that looks at all sides of issues and offers data-based arguments

for why it’s best to support individual liberty and limited government. It’s common sense.”

“We worry that our country is losing the message embodied in Cato’s mission. If Cato’s mission could get out there more prominently, it would really make sense to people. That’s why we chose to make a substantial contribution to Cato—because we really believe in this mission,” adds Pete.

Pete and Carol have supported Cato every year since 2002 but saw an opportunity to make a major impact on the Institute while finalizing their estate plans in 2014. Naming the Cato Institute as a beneficiary in their estate, the couple officially joined Cato’s Legacy Society by creating one of the most meaningful and substantial gifts of their lives.

“It’s important for people to know they don’t have to be super wealthy to have an impact on Cato,” says Carol. “You don’t have to be a billionaire to make a huge difference and have a major impact, especially when it comes to planned gifts like ours. Lots of people can do this and it’s so important to the organization.”

For more information on Cato’s Legacy Society or to share your plans for Cato, please contact **BRIAN MULLIS**, director of sponsor partnerships, at bmullis@cato.org. To learn more about planned giving, please visit cato.org/plannedgiving.



Producing Outstanding Scholarship and Analysis

High-quality policy research has always been and will continue to be the foundation for Cato's growth and success. Our reputation for independence and academic excellence is now more important than ever as Americans become increasingly inundated with half-truths and hearsay. While some policy organizations capitulate to political pressure from both the left and right, our work reflects Cato's independence and commitment to the cause of liberty. As we strive to realize our vision for a more free and prosperous society, we will continue to produce high-quality, intellectually rigorous research to reach, engage, and inform the largest possible audience.

BRAIN BOOST

Cato fosters an environment of academic inquiry and collaboration, which allows our talented scholars to produce top-quality research. To more strategically promote the ideas and policy solutions of our scholars, Jeffrey Miron, Cato's director of economics studies and Harvard's head of undergraduate economics studies, assumed a new position as vice president for research. In this role, Miron will be an adviser, consultant, and academic resource for all our scholars. His intellect, experience, and position in the academy is an incredibly valuable asset to Cato, which we will leverage to bring an enhanced strategic focus to the full range of our policy analyses.

CATO IN THE COURTS

The Robert A. Levy Center for Constitutional Studies has a long-standing reputation as a vigilant and persistent champion of the Constitution's protections for individual liberty and limited government. Under director Ilya Shapiro, the Robert A. Levy Center saw major victories in holding the federal government accountable

to its limited constitutional powers through its exceptional amicus brief program. The Center is committed to upholding constitutional guarantees and encouraging the judiciary to interpret the law through the natural rights tradition inherited from the Founders.

Cato's engagement with the courts helped influence a major win for donor privacy, which

2021 Victories in the Court

In 2021, Cato **FILED 83 AMICUS BRIEFS**—including 14 with the Supreme Court—in cases including violations of the First Amendment's Free Exercise Clause in *Carson v. Makin* and the Fifth Amendment's Takings Clause in *Cedar Point Nursery v. Hassid*.



"I'm especially happy to spend Constitution Day here at Cato because of the great work Cato does generally defending constitutional rights, and specifically because of Cato's excellent work on criminal justice. Cato is one of the leaders in defending the rights I'm here to talk about, and its work has been outstanding."

—**RACHEL E. BARKOW**

Vice Dean, Charles Seligson Professor of Law, and faculty director for the Center on the Administration of Criminal Law at New York University School of Law

On September 17, Cato hosted its 20th annual **Constitution Day Symposium**, which was broadcast on C-SPAN. Rachel E. Barkow, vice dean and Charles Seligson Professor of Law at New York University School of Law, delivered the B. Kenneth Simon lecture, "The Court of Mass Incarceration."

came under considerable threat during the 2021 term. In *Americans for Prosperity Foundation v. Bonta*, the Supreme Court considered a challenge by the Americans for Prosperity (AFP) Foundation and the Thomas More Law Center to a mandate from the California attorney general's office. The mandate requires charities that fundraise in the state to submit IRS 990 Schedule B forms, which list the names and addresses of major donors. The plaintiffs argued that this disclosure mandate violates donors' First Amendment rights and threatens the right to anonymity. Cato filed four separate amicus briefs in support of AFP and More's petition. In July, the Court ruled in a 6–3 decision to invalidate the mandate, arguing that it burdened donors' First Amendment rights and was not narrowly tailored to an important government interest. Here and elsewhere, Cato will always be

prepared to push back against any threat to free speech, free association, and privacy.

DEPOLITICIZING THE PRESIDENCY

Cato is a staunch and vehement opponent of any form of unconstitutional executive overreach, regardless of party and politics. In the days and weeks following the events of January 6, Gene Healy, senior vice president for policy and an expert on presidential power, made the rounds on national media outlets explaining the Senate's legal and parliamentary process for the second impeachment of President Trump. Healy penned an op-ed in the *Washington Examiner* offering impeachment as a form of constitutional censure, which was later cited in the House impeachment managers' trial brief. Healy has also been a consistent critic of President Biden's use of executive orders and his private-sector

vaccine mandates. In December, Healy—along with Eric Gomez, director of defense policy studies, and policy analyst Jordan Cohen—hosted Sen. Chris Murphy (D-CT) for a discussion on current congressional efforts to rein in executive war powers.

REOPENING THE GOLDEN DOOR

Throughout the 2020 election, then candidate Biden condemned the Trump administration for what he characterized as an inhumane, racist, and xenophobic immigration policy. But after taking over the presidency, Biden did not deliver any substantial repeal or reform, especially regarding the controversial Trump-era asylum policies.

Cato's immigration team—led by Alex Nowrasteh and research fellow David Bier—continues to educate the administration, Congress, and the public on immigration liberalization, producing



Research fellow **DAVID BIER** discusses U.S. immigration policy in the HBO documentary *Level Playing Field*. His prominent voice advocating less-restrictive immigration policies helped lead to an increase in the number of visas offered to immigrants through the guest worker program.

meaningful steps in the right direction. In February, Bier published a major report showing that the H-2B guest worker program does not displace American workers and is an economic benefit. Bier later appeared in an HBO documentary about the H-2B program. Partly because of Bier's efforts, the Biden administration increased the H-2B cap for the summer.

Bier's work has also been highly influential in convincing the House Judiciary Committee to reform the Dream and Promise Act to include so-called legal dreamers and in passing the NO BAN Act, which prevents the president from banning immigrants for arbitrary reasons. Meanwhile, Nowrasteh, Bier, and adjunct scholar John Glaser were among the first policy analysts to recommend the relocation of Afghans who aided the U.S. military (and became targets for the Taliban), which later materialized as Operation Allies Refuge. The immigration team authored op-eds urging immediate reform that appeared in prominent publications including *The Hill*

and the *Washington Post*, and these op-eds were cited and the authors interviewed in major media outlets, including CNN, CNBC, and NPR.

LIBERTY AND SECURITY

Cato's defense and foreign policy team added to their exceptional track record of producing policy analyses and studies assessing the state of both national and global security. Senior fellow John Mueller released a policy analysis explaining how fears of

China's global dominance may be overblown, as they prioritize authoritarianism over economic growth, as well as a white paper on public opinion and the war on terror. In January 2022, the department released its fifth annual *Arms Sales Risk Index*, which was shared with several congressional offices working on arms sale reform, as well as with officials in the State Department's Bureau of Political-Military Affairs.

EXPOSING REAL-LIFE BIG BROTHER

Cato has long been an outspoken critic of illegal government spying, calling for an end to the surveillance of citizens and organizations in the name of national security. Thanks to our work in exposing illegal government spying on many organizations—including the Cato Institute itself—Congress is now demanding

Can the Government Censor You from Tweeting Happy Birthday to a Judge?

In a December *Wall Street Journal* op-ed, research fellow **THOMAS A. BERRY** describes a new Senate bill that would do just that. Berry argues that the bill, while well intentioned to protect the privacy of federal judges, violates the First Amendment by limiting access to truthful information about public officials.



Freedom Writers: The Legacy of Cato Journal

After more than 40 years, the *Cato Journal* ended publication with the Fall 2021 issue. It is difficult to overstate the influence and impact of the journal; for as long as Cato has been among the most effective voices for liberty in Washington, the *Cato Journal* remained one of the most credible, reliable, and visible sources of innovative, pro-liberty policy analysis in the nation. Indeed, at a time when the modern liberty movement was still in its infancy,

the *Cato Journal* helped establish libertarian ideas in the mainstream policy debate.

Like the Institute itself, the *Cato Journal* established a reputation for high-quality, principled, and independent policy research. It has appeared on library and bookstore shelves along with the nation's top periodicals and was an indispensable source of both quantitative and qualitative research for both policymakers and the public. The journal also featured some of the most distinguished policy scholars, including Nobel laureates James M. Buchanan on the liberal constitution, Milton Friedman on market-based social development, Vernon Smith on the groundbreaking theorems of Ludwig von Mises, and Douglass C. North on institutions and economic development. Several high-level public officials,



Longtime editor **JAMES A. DORN** remarked that the *Cato Journal's* "goal has always been to publish articles that meet high scholarly standards, that are well written and accessible to a wide readership, and that offer market-liberal solutions to complex policy issues."

including former Federal Reserve chairs Alan Greenspan and Ben Bernanke as well as Supreme Court justice Antonin Scalia, were also published in the journal.

Succeeding *Cato Journal* is a new quarterly publication, *Free Society*. Like *Cato Journal*, *Free Society* will be a premier, flagship publication dedicated to an exploration of libertarian ideas. Whereas *Cato Journal* delivered first-in-class research primarily for an academic and policy-oriented audience, *Free Society* will showcase the ideas and values of liberalism and libertarianism for a wider and diverse audience, helping to introduce new generations to the timeless values that Cato champions. Digital copies of the *Cato Journal* are available online to serve as a valuable resource for years to come.

“Thank you for continuing at Cato to prosecute the case [for privacy and civil liberties] in a bipartisan way. That’s what we really need.”

—**SEN. RON WYDEN (D-OR)**

answers from the FBI. In July, Sen. Chuck Grassley (R-IA), ranking member of the Senate Judiciary Committee, sent a letter to Attorney General Merrick Garland and FBI director Christopher Wray insisting that they provide him with information related to the FBI’s “assessment” (investigation) of possible embezzlement or fraud at the conservative nonprofit group Concerned Women for America. Awareness of the FBI’s actions emerged only as a result of a Freedom of Information Act request made by Cato. Rep. Jim Jordan (R-OH) followed with his own letter in August, demanding additional information about the use of FBI charity assessments. Senior fellow Patrick Eddington criticized the FBI, asserting that its surveillance was not the result of probable cause but was instead “just an FBI agent looking to meet a quota for how many assessments they had opened during the reporting period.”

NO SCHOOL LEFT BEHIND

In March 2020, Cato’s Center for Educational Freedom launched the nation’s only online tracker of permanent private school closures nationwide, particularly as an economic casualty of the COVID-19 pandemic. The tracker became the basis for a policy analysis by the center’s director, Neal McCluskey, assessing the



Politicians and pundits on both the left and right often claim that the spread of libertarian values has helped usher in a dystopia built on injustice and inequality. On the contrary, as Cato’s executive vice president **DAVID BOAZ** explains to Emmy award-winning journalist **JOHN STOSSEL** on his YouTube show *Stossel TV* in April, liberty has, in fact, spurred exponential growth in freedom and prosperity never achieved at any other point in history.

impact of the pandemic on private schools as well as a chapter in a Rowman & Littlefield book, *COVID-19 and the Classroom: How Schools Navigated the Great Disruption*. In August, the team relaunched the online tracker as a continually updated source of information on private school closures, openings, and enrollment regardless of COVID-19. Findings from the private school closure tracker were cited in a meeting of the Congressional Joint Economic Committee, which concluded: “The pandemic need not have the final word; it can be an opportunity to ensure more parents have more opportunity to seek out an education that is not only high-quality, but one that is provided in the context they deem best for their individual needs.”



JENNIFER SCHULP, Cato’s director of financial regulation studies, testifies before the House Financial Services Committee on the social media frenzy surrounding short squeezes for stocks such as GameStop.

“I want to thank Cato for highlighting what I believe to be a very broken balance of power on national security matters between the Congress and the executive branch.”

—**SEN. CHRIS MURPHY (D-CT)**



MATTHEW FEENEY, director of Cato’s Project on Emerging Technologies, and policy analyst **WILL DUFFIELD** host the event “Section 230: A Look Ahead in a New Era,” which brings together guests from a variety of perspectives about the future of Section 230, a law that protects online platforms such as Twitter from being held liable for speech or content posted by users of their website. **CLOCKWISE:** Matthew Feeney; Will Duffield; **MIKE MASNICK**, editor at *Techdirt*; and **KATE TUMMARELLO**, executive director at Engine.

Cato Books

FIND THE LATEST CATO BOOKS
AT CATO.ORG/BOOKS.

The Development Dimension: Special and Differential Treatment in Trade

JAMES BACCHUS AND INU MANAK
FEBRUARY 2021

Inu Manak and James Bacchus critically analyze the World Trade Organization's (WTO) approach to "special and differential treatment" (SDT), which grants developing countries certain exemptions from trade restrictions imposed on more industrialized countries. Manak and Bacchus argue that adopting an evidence-based, case-by-case approach to SDT can help develop the poorest countries while also ensuring that more-advanced developing countries carry their own weight in the WTO.

The Stupidity of War: American Foreign Policy and the Case for Complacency

JOHN MUELLER
MARCH 2021

Many international threats have been thoroughly exaggerated, resulting in unnecessary and costly military interventions that have mostly failed. John Mueller argues that when international war is in decline, complacency and caution become viable diplomatic devices.

Reopening Muslim Minds: A Return to Reason, Freedom, and Tolerance

MUSTAFA AKYOL
APRIL 2021

Can Islam be saved from violent religious extremism? Mustafa Akyol explores Islamic theology and shares experiences from his own life to diagnose the "crisis of Islam." Akyol reveals how Islam lost its universalism and offers a clear and hopeful vision for the future.

Economics in One Virus: An Introduction to Economic Reasoning through COVID-19

RYAN BOURNE
APRIL 2021

In addition to a global health crisis, the COVID-19 pandemic has wrought widespread havoc on the economy. As the world continues to recover and rebuild from the economic shock, there are still many questions that need answering: Who determines what is an "essential" business? Do lockdowns work? Will we be better prepared for the next pandemic? Ryan Bourne explores these questions and many more. Bourne's book was selected as one of best economics books on *Financial Times* editor Martin Wolf's summer reading list.

Medical Malpractice Litigation

BERNARD BLACK, DAVID A. HYMAN,
WILLIAM SAGE, AND CHARLES SILVER
APRIL 2021

The medical malpractice liability system often fails to live up to the theory behind it. And medical professionals and litigators generally approach the issue of reform from very different perspectives, often neglecting the facts. This book features contributions from experts across the political spectrum to answer the many questions ordinary Americans and policymakers alike have about the medical malpractice litigation system.

The Most Common Arguments against Immigration and Why They're Wrong

ALEX NOWRASTEH
JUNE 2021

Politics has muddied the waters on immigration policy, feeding public misconceptions that have helped breed anti-immigrant sentiments. Always looking for innovative ways to reach new audiences, Cato published this booklet by Alex Nowrasteh, who provides fact-based counterarguments to the most common objections to immigration through compelling graphics and illustrations.

Eyes to the Sky

MATTHEW FEENEY, ED.
AUGUST 2021

Drones are among the most exciting and promising technologies to emerge in the past few decades. Yet drones also pose unique regulatory and privacy issues, and lawmakers at the federal and state levels are adopting policies that both ensure the safety of our national airspace and restrict the use of warrantless aerial surveillance. *Eyes to the Sky* offers readers the current state of drone policy and considers proposals that would allow for an innovative and dynamic drone sector while protecting our privacy.

Truth and Governance

WILLIAM A. GALSTON AND
TOM G. PALMER, EDs.
SEPTEMBER 2021

What role does truth play in government? In the context of recent political discourse around the world—and especially in the United States—it is easy to believe that truth, in the form of indisputable facts, is a matter of debate. This book considers the relationship between truth and governance in both democracies and nondemocratic regimes.

Why, as a Muslim, I Defend Liberty

MUSTAFA AKYOL
SEPTEMBER 2021

The Taliban's recapture of Afghanistan brings to mind a

broader trouble: Islam, the second-largest religion in the world, has some harsh interpretations that defy human freedom, such as oppressing women and minorities and limiting free speech and expression. Mustafa Akyol offers a bold critique of this trouble by frankly acknowledging its roots in the religious tradition while also presenting counterarguments.

Cato Supreme Court Review, 2020–2021

TREVOR BURRUS, ED.
OCTOBER 2021

Now in its 20th year, the *Cato Supreme Court Review* brings together leading legal scholars to analyze key cases from the Court's most recent term, plus cases coming up. Topics in the 2020–2021 edition include public disclosure of charitable donations (*Americans for Prosperity Foundation v. Bonta*); the regulation of students' speech off campus (*Mahanoy Area School District v. B. L.*); union access onto agribusiness land (*Cedar Point Nursery v. Hassid*); police acting as "community caretakers" and performing warrantless entries (*Caniglia v. Strom*); and Arizona's new voting laws (*Brnovich v. Democratic National Committee*).

Development with Dignity

TOM G. PALMER AND MATT WARNER
NOVEMBER 2021

In some international development cases, good intentions do not necessarily lead to good outcomes. This book argues that an end to global poverty can only be

achieved by prioritizing human dignity and offers a wide range of recommendations for reforming development practices and supporting liberal democracy.

Freedom in the 50 States

WILLIAM RUGER AND JASON SORENS
DECEMBER 2021

Freedom in the 50 States ranks the 50 states according to how their public policies affect individual freedoms in the economic, social, and personal spheres. The 2021 ranking examines state and local government interventions across a wide range of policy categories, including tax burdens, court systems, and drug policy, and it also includes a new section that analyzes how state COVID-19 responses have affected freedom since the pandemic began.

Human Freedom Index 2021

(co-published with the Fraser Institute)
IAN VÁSQUEZ, FRED McMAHON,
RYAN MURPHY, AND GUILLERMINA
SUTTER SCHNEIDER
DECEMBER 2021

What is the state of freedom around the world today? The seventh annual *Human Freedom Index* is the most comprehensive measure of freedom ever created for many countries. The index ranks 165 countries on the basis of 82 distinct indicators of personal, civil, and economic freedom using data from 2008 to 2019, the most recent years for which sufficient data are available.

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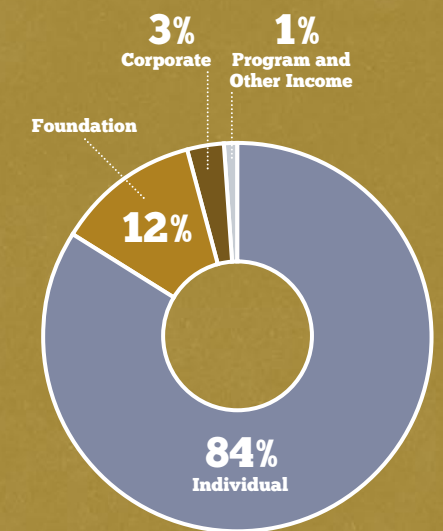
Fiscal Year 2022 Financial Results

Cato's unaudited financial information for fiscal year 2022 (April 1, 2021 to March 31, 2022) is presented below. Operating income was \$45,077,000, and net assets total \$116,835,000. Program expenses made up 81 percent of operating expenses. The Cato Institute accepts no government funding. Contributions from individuals, foundations, and corporations make possible our ability to drive important policy debates toward individual liberty, limited government, free markets, and peace.

Operating Revenue

INDIVIDUAL	\$37,956,000
FOUNDATION	\$5,454,000
CORPORATE	\$1,251,000
PROGRAM	\$776,000
OTHER INCOME (LOSS)	(\$360,000)
TOTAL	\$45,077,000

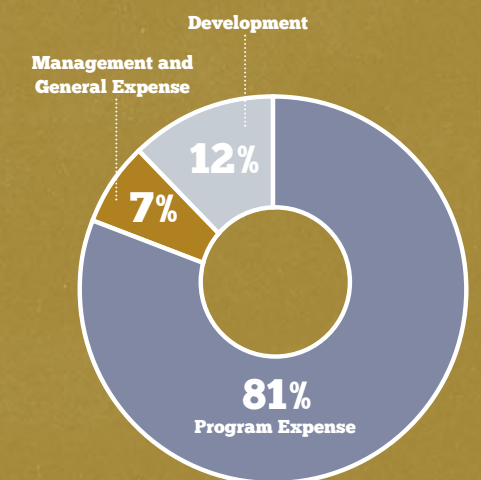
Operating Revenue



Operating Expenses

PROGRAM	\$26,048,000
MANAGEMENT & GENERAL	\$2,270,000
DEVELOPMENT	\$3,719,000
TOTAL	\$32,037,000

Operating Expenses



Assets

CASH AND EQUIVALENTS	\$36,337,000
INVESTMENTS	\$46,302,000
FIXED ASSETS	\$29,570,000
OTHER ASSETS	\$4,626,000
TOTAL	\$116,835,000

Liabilities and Net Assets

LIABILITIES	\$2,702,000
NET ASSETS	\$114,133,000
TOTAL	\$116,835,000

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In loving memory of three loyal friends and guardians of liberty. Their many contributions to our mission and vision of a free and open society will never be forgotten.



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The grande dame of the libertarian movement.



PHIL HARVEY

A quiet warrior for freedom.



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