

THE  
DEFINITIVE  
GUIDE

TO

PROJECT

2025

MEDIAMATTERS  
FOR AMERICA

# Table of Contents

<b>What is Project 2025?</b> .....	<b>3</b>
<b>What’s at stake?</b> .....	<b>4</b>
<b>Project 2025’s deep ties to Trump</b> .....	<b>5</b>
<b>Personnel and training</b> .....	<b>6</b>
<b>Justice and civil liberties</b> .....	<b>10</b>
<b>Reproductive rights</b> .....	<b>15</b>
<b>Labor</b> .....	<b>20</b>
<b>Economy</b> .....	<b>24</b>
<b>Climate</b> .....	<b>28</b>
<b>Immigration</b> .....	<b>33</b>
<b>Education</b> .....	<b>38</b>
<b>LGBTQ+</b> .....	<b>43</b>
<b>Diversity, equity, and inclusion</b> .....	<b>47</b>
<b>Military and veterans</b> .....	<b>52</b>
<b>Who’s who</b> .....	<b>57</b>
<b>Partner organizations</b> .....	<b>60</b>

# What is Project 2025?

Project 2025 is an extreme right-wing initiative organized by The Heritage Foundation to provide policy and personnel to the next Republican presidential administration. The effort involves more than 100 partner organizations, and its nearly 900-page policy book – *Mandate for Leadership: The Conservative Promise* – represents a major threat to democracy.

Project 2025 is structured around four pillars.

- **Policy:** Laid out in the expansive *Mandate for Leadership*, the initiative’s policy agenda is granularly organized around every department in the federal government, amounting to a comprehensive overhaul of the American system in accordance with extremist priorities.
- **Personnel:** Project 2025 is heavily focused on staffing the next Republican administration with extreme loyalists. The initiative has created a database to aid recruitment, which [former](#) Project 2025 director Paul Dans has [described](#) as a “conservative LinkedIn.” In July 2024, Heritage President Kevin Roberts [claimed](#) the database has more than 15,000 applicants.
- **Training:** Project 2025 includes the “Presidential Administration Academy,” [described](#) as a “one-of-a-kind educational and skill-building program designed to prepare and equip future political appointees now to be ready on Day One of the next conservative Administration.”
- **180-day playbook:** The last prong of Project 2025 is a [secretive](#) playbook that will [include](#) “a comprehensive, concrete transition plan for each federal agency.” The playbook is being written by Center for Renewing America president [Russ Vought](#), a defender of Christian nationalism and prominent figure in far-right policy circles.

Proposals in the *Mandate for Leadership* would severely inhibit the federal government’s protections around reproductive rights, LGBTQ rights, labor and civil rights, and immigration, as well as its climate change efforts. They would allow Trump to weaponize the justice system as his own personal retribution machine, gut the American system of checks and balances and purge the federal bureaucracy of experienced civil servants who don’t pledge fealty to Trump. On their own platforms, Project 2025 partners [speak](#) frequently in even more draconian terms.



*Heritage Foundation president Kevin Roberts – an architect of Project 2025 – shakes hands with former president Donald Trump, 4/21/22*

This reference guide is an in-depth look at Project 2025’s assault on democratic institutions, civil rights, and the American people, broken down by issue area. It includes policies from the *Mandate for Leadership*, positions held by Project 2025 advisory board members or partners, and analysis of pro-MAGA media that serve as the initiative’s mouthpiece.

# What's at stake?

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Should Trump win the 2024 election, Project 2025 is at the ready to launch his extremist agenda on day one. And as Heritage Foundation President Kevin Roberts has made clear, Project 2025's vision extends far beyond one president or presidential term.

"What we're doing here is building not just for 2025," he [told](#) Steve Bannon, a champion of the Heritage initiative, in June 2024, "but for the next century in the United States."

The scope of the plan is nothing short of universal. As Roberts [said](#) on *War Room* in July 2024, "We are in the process of the second American Revolution, which will remain bloodless if the left allows it to be."

Here's a sampling of the agenda that the Heritage Foundation and Project 2025 are purportedly prepared to shed blood to defend:

- Reimplementing "Schedule F," a Trump-era executive order that removes civil service protection for career bureaucrats so they can be fired and replaced with far-right loyalists.
- Adopting an extreme anti-choice agenda that would restrict legal abortion drugs, emergency contraception, and fertility-related health care like IVF and surrogacy services.
- Undermining checks and balances in the federal government and consolidating the president's power to weaponize the Department of Justice and law enforcement against his political enemies.
- Institutionalizing the right-wing movement's war on LGBTQ communities by promoting conversion therapy and stripping queer people of federal protections.
- Eviscerating labor rights, including union negotiating rights and protections for overtime pay.
- Allowing high-income earners to more easily cheat the IRS.
- Rejecting climate science in favor of Big Oil's preferred policies by gutting federal agencies that protect the environment and dismantling regulations allowing polluting industries to extract even more oil and gas from federal lands with less protections.
- Potentially conducting mass deportations of millions of immigrants or those suspected to be immigrants, in part by revoking all Temporary Protected Status designations, which would put more than 863,000 people at risk.
- Overhauling the American education system by eliminating the Department of Education and making student loans more expensive.
- Purging the federal government of diversity, equity, and inclusion initiatives.
- Expelling transgender service members from the military and eliminating DEI initiatives from the military to "restore standards of lethality and excellence."

# Project 2025's deep ties to Trump

In July 2024, Trump [claimed](#) to “know nothing about Project 2025” after Roberts’ comments about a “bloodless” revolution went viral to tremendous backlash.

In reality, Trump and his allies are deeply connected to the Heritage Foundation, its partners, and Project 2025. For example:

- **Trump gave the keynote address at the Heritage Foundation’s annual leadership conference in April 2022, where he said the organization is “going to lay the groundwork and detail plans for exactly what our movement will do.”** “He’s going to be so incredible,” Trump said of Roberts. “I know that for a fact, because I know what he did and where he came from, and he’s going to be outstanding, and congratulations to his very exciting new role and a very important role.” [Media Matters, [7/8/24](#); Twitter/X, [7/11/24](#)]
- **CNN reported that there are “nearly 240 people with ties to both Project 2025 and to Trump.”** CNN’s review also found that “at least 140 people who worked in the Trump administration had a hand in Project 2025, ... including more than half of the people listed as authors, editors and contributors to ‘Mandate for Leadership,’ the project’s extensive manifesto for overhauling the executive branch.” [CNN, [7/11/24](#)]
- **31 of the 38 core Project 2025 writers and editors reportedly worked in Trump’s administration and/or transition.** [Twitter/X, [7/8/24](#)]
- **The Trump campaign and the Republican National Committee nominated Project 2025 author Russ Vought as the policy director of the RNC’s 2024 Committee on the Platform.** Vought, who served as the director of the Office of Management and Budget in the Trump administration, has also authored a chapter in *Mandate for Leadership*. [Media Matters, [5/21/24](#)]
- **The Trump campaign and the RNC nominated Ed Martin, whose organization the Eagle Forum is on the advisory board of Project 2025, as the deputy policy director of the RNC 2024 platform.** [ABC News, [7/9/24](#)]
- **Trump and Roberts appeared at the annual NRB International Christian Media Convention in February, where Roberts said Trump and his administration should take “credit” for Project 2025.** During his remarks, Trump said, “The Heritage Foundation president ... [is] doing an unbelievable job.” [Twitter/X, [7/6/24](#), [7/5/24](#)]
- **Since Trump distanced himself from Project 2025, Roberts has contradicted him multiple times, saying Trump’s and Project 2025’s staff members “have been in conversation throughout the campaign on the matters of policy.”** Roberts also claimed, “I suspect very soon the president and his staff and I will sit down and talk through all of this.” During another media appearance, Roberts noted that “the overlap is tremendous” between Trump’s campaign platform and Project 2025, adding, “There are some quibbles and differences of opinion here and there, which not only is OK, but it’s actually good. I mean, we’re going to be able to sort those out once the presidential administration declares what their priorities are.” [WMAL News, *The Vince Coglianese Show*, [7/10/24](#); BlazeTV, *Blaze News Tonight*, [7/11/24](#)]
- **John McEntee, a Project 2025 senior adviser, said in April he would “integrate a lot of our work” with the Trump campaign later this year.** McEntee also served as a personal aide to Trump and later as the director of the White House Presidential Personnel Office during his administration. [Media Matters, [4/22/24](#); Heritage, [5/2/23](#)]
- **Project 2025 director Paul Dans has said that the project has a “great” relationship with Trump and that he’s “very bought in with this.”** [Media Matters, [7/11/24](#)]

In 2018, The Heritage Foundation [said](#) Trump and his administration had “embraced nearly two-thirds of the policy recommendations” from the group in the first year of his presidential term. The organization credited this success in part due to 70 former Heritage employees working on Trump’s transition team or in his administration. The Trump campaign has similar proposals to Project 2025 on [immigration](#), [education](#), and [reproductive rights](#).

## Personnel and training

Personnel and training are two of the four pillars of the Project 2025 framework. The initiative has been assembling a candidate pool for the next Republican administration via an online database of potential hires that Heritage Foundation associate director and former Trump official Spencer Chretien [described](#) as a “Conservative LinkedIn.”

According to Axios, the recruitment initiative [includes](#) “a résumé-collection project that drills down more on political philosophy than on experience, education or other credentials.” (In fact, Project 2025 senior adviser and Trump White House alum John McEntee has [said](#) that “sometimes experience is bad” and “the number one thing actually to see a job through is not caving to media pressure.”)

Axios also reports that “intense attention will be given to the social-media histories of anyone being considered for top jobs. Those queasy about testing the limits of Trump’s power will get flagged and rejected.”

In addition to collecting resumes, Project 2025 has [created](#) a “Presidential Administration Academy” which “provides aspiring appointees with the insight, background knowledge, and expertise in governance to immediately begin rolling back destructive policy and advancing conservative ideas in the federal government.”

The goal of the training, which currently consists of four online courses on subjects including “Conservative Governance 101” and “The Administrative State & The Regulatory Process,” is “to prepare and equip future political appointees now to be ready on Day One of the next conservative Administration.”

Former Trump official and Project 2025 director Paul Dans, who has [claimed](#) that the plan is an “instruction manual” for a second Trump White House, recently boasted that an in-person training event in Washington, D.C., was heavily attended by Steve Bannon fans.

A key component of Project 2025’s staffing plan is the reimplementing of Schedule F. The Trump administration [quietly implemented](#) this executive order before it was quickly rescinded by President Joe Biden. Schedule F would [reclassify](#) thousands of federal employees as “at-will” workers and give the next GOP administration the ability to purge employees who don’t agree with or follow the extremist policies suggested by Project 2025.

Bannon, who has [called](#) the *Mandate for Leadership* his “bible,” goes even further. In a conversation with Dans on *War Room*, he [suggested](#) using the plan to go after 8 million federal contractors in addition to civil service workers directly employed by the government, and he has [fantasized](#) publicly about a second Trump administration filled with conspiracy theorists and extremists in top political appointments.

“Sometimes  
experience is bad.”

*Project 2025 senior adviser John McEntee on staffing the next Trump administration*

*-[YouTube, 13th and Park, [1/27/24](#)]*

## Spotlight on: Schedule F

Leading up to the 2020 presidential election, the Trump administration quietly [issued](#) an “Executive Order on Creating Schedule F In The Excepted Service” [eliminating](#) employment protections afforded to federal workers that protect them from being removed due to changes in political administrations. As [Axios reports](#), presidents typically appoint more than 4,000 personnel to political positions within the federal government that are responsible for carrying out their agenda. Schedule F would dramatically expand the number of appointments to impact as many as 50,000 federal employees.

Under Schedule F, Trump could purge tens of thousands of experienced career bureaucrats and give Project 2025 the opportunity to replace them with pro-Trump extremists and sycophantic loyalists. This is especially dangerous at the Department of Justice, which Project 2025 has stated is not independent from the political whims of the White House.

According to [The Associated Press](#), one Project 2025 partner is already planning to create and publicly post a list of “100 names of government workers to a website this summer to show a potential new administration who might be ... ripe for scrutiny, reclassifications, reassignments or firings,” with a focus on “those in senior executive positions who could put up roadblocks to Trump’s plans for tighter borders and more deportations.”

This posture toward witch hunts against federal bureaucrats [recalls](#) the days of disgraced Sen. Joe McCarthy’s anti-communist crusade, which resulted in massive purges of left-wing federal employees as well as those perceived to be gay or gender-nonconforming. (MAGA media, including Project 2025 allies, have openly celebrated McCarthy’s destructive legacy.)

Schedule F would also have devastating consequences on public services. According to the Brookings Institution, it [would](#) “reduce administrative capacity, government performance, and accountability to the public and Congress.” Another assessment, in the journal *Public Administration*, [found](#) that “politicization was negatively related to government performance, employee work attitudes (i.e., job satisfaction, organizational commitment), and impartial administration, and positively related to corruption.”

## IN THEIR OWN WORDS:

- Project 2025 senior adviser **John McEntee** on staffing the next Trump administration: “Sometimes experience is bad.” [YouTube, *13th and Park*, [1/27/24](#)]
- **McEntee**: Project 2025 is “in charge of staffing the next administration should Trump win.” [ *The Momentum Podcast*, [4/23/24](#) ]
- Center for Renewing America’s **Russ Vought**: We want an “army” of conservative activists with a “biblical worldview” to serve in the next Republican administration. [ *Media Matters*, [5/21/24](#) ]
- **Vought**: “The president Day One will be a wrecking ball for the administrative state.” [ *The Associated Press*, [8/29/23](#) ]
- Project 2025 director **Paul Dans**: “There is a league of folks within the government that is highly partisan and really working against democracy, and they need to be excised from the government properly.” [ *Spectrum News*, [5/8/24](#) ]
- Convicted former Trump strategist **Steve Bannon** touted Project 2025 and promised there will be “teams” that will “go after the criminals and the traitors in the deep state.” [ *Real America’s Voice, War Room*, [6/17/24](#) ]
- **Bannon** suggested purging 8 million federal contractors: “Maybe that’s also where we start.” [ *Real America’s Voice, War Room*, [6/20/24](#) ]





## GO DEEPER:

- **A blog published to The American Conservative, a Project 2025 partner, advocated for repealing the 22nd Amendment to allow Trump to serve a third term.** Peter Tonguette, a contributing writer to the Washington Examiner, claimed that the drafters of the 22nd Amendment could not have anticipated a president who would serve nonconsecutive terms. He stated that voters should not be “denied the freedom” to elect Trump to a third term if he wins again, a possibility that the piece argued is a reflection of Trump’s supposedly unique popularity. (Polls show that the majority of Americans have an unfavorable view of the former president.) [Media Matters, [3/28/24](#); FiveThirtyEight, accessed [7/9/24](#)]
- **Many Trump White House alumni are connected to Project 2025 and have been floated as potential personnel in the next GOP administration.** This list includes:
  - **Stephen Miller, an adviser to the Trump White House and 2024 campaign who heads America First Legal, a former Project 2025 partner.** Miller, who is widely expected to rejoin another Trump administration should the former president be reelected, also appears in a promotional video for Project 2025’s Presidential Administration Academy. [Project 2025 Advisory Board, accessed [7/8/24](#); The Daily Beast, [7/6/24](#); Axios, [12/7/23](#)]
  - **Russ Vought, former director of the Office of Management and Budget under Trump and president of Project 2025 partner the Center for Renewing America.** Vought is also policy director of the Republican National Convention’s 2024 Platform Committee and an open Christian nationalist. According to Politico, Vought is “frequently cited as a potential chief of staff in a second Trump White House.” [Republican National Committee, [5/15/24](#); Project 2025 Advisory Board, accessed [7/8/24](#); Media Matters, [4/27/23](#); Politico, [2/24/24](#)]
  - **Ben Carson, former secretary of House and Urban Development under Trump and founder of American Cornerstone Institute, another Project 2025 partner.** Fox News’ Neil Cavuto and former Trump White House adviser Peter Navarro have floated Carson to return to another Trump administration. [Media Matters, [6/7/24](#)]
  - **Steve Bannon, the MAGA media mouthpiece for Project 2025,** head of Trump’s 2016 campaign, and chief strategist during the first few months of his presidency. Bannon has been suggested as a potential White House chief of staff. [Axios, [12/7/23](#); CNN, [8/18/17](#)]
- **Mainstream media outlets have ignored the Christian nationalist push behind the effort to destroy the federal civil service.** Russ Vought has said he wants to draft an “army” of conservative activists with a “biblical worldview” to staff the federal bureaucracy under the next Republican administration. Last September, Vought agreed with Turning Point USA founder Charlie Kirk that there should be “ideological purity tests” to serve in the federal workforce – a position Trump has since adopted as well, saying he would have them take a “new civil service test.” [Media Matters, [4/27/23](#); Twitter/X, [4/14/23](#)]
- **Vought has proposed purging at least 10% of federal career staffers using Schedule F.** During an interview with Kirk, Vought also claimed to have reclassified 90% of the workers in his own office when he was director of the Office of Management and Budget. [Media Matters, [9/22/22](#)]
- **Reporter Jonathan Swan, who has reported extensively on Schedule F, said it’s “striking ... how excited Trump supporters are about Schedule F.”** [Media Matters, [7/25/22](#)]

## Justice and civil liberties

*Mandate for Leadership* repeatedly suggests weaponizing the government against Trump’s political enemies and the American public, most explicitly in the chapter on the Department of Justice. The text is focused on consolidating control of the Department of Justice under the uncheckable authority of the president, [eviscerating](#) the system of checks and balances, and placing a target on individual liberty.

The *Mandate for Leadership* chapter paints a grim picture of America, one in which violent crime is rampant, “criminal aliens” are invading, and a corrupted justice system has been hijacked by diversity, equity, and inclusion. This backdrop is used as the basis for the massive power grab that the plan advocates for, one that a future Trump administration would likely use to persecute his political enemies and any segment of the population the movement considers a threat to Trump’s power. Project 2025 proposes using the Department of Justice to advance a wide range of far-right priorities, from immigration to abortion to rolling back nondiscrimination protections.

*Mandate* cites the FBI’s handling of “the Russia hoax of 2016, Big Tech collusion, and suppression of Hunter Biden’s laptop in 2020” as the basis for a top-to-bottom review of all major FBI investigations, calling to “terminate any that are unlawful or contrary to the national interest.” It also calls for prohibiting the FBI from engaging in efforts to stem the spread of “so-called misinformation and disinformation.”

Moreover, Heritage Foundation President Kevin Roberts has [criticized](#) the Civil Rights Act of 1964. In a letter published in USA Today and reposted to the think tank’s website, Roberts writes that “today, the Civil Rights Act is in bad shape.” He attacks “Mandatory Diversity, Equity, and Inclusion courses,” which he says “force workers to treat their co-workers differently based on the color of their skin.”

Former Project 2025 partner America First Legal, led by extremist Trump adviser Stephen Miller, has [become](#) the conservative movement’s legal arm, co-opting the language of civil rights to fight against supposed [anti-white racism](#).

The Supreme Court’s recent ruling in *Trump v. United States*, which granted absolute immunity to the president for “official acts” taken while in office, [would be key](#) in allowing Trump to enact his retribution agenda. This agenda is a top priority, as [Project 2025](#), [MAGA media](#), and [Trump](#) himself have made clear through their rhetoric over the course of the electoral cycle

**“This is just not rhetoric. We’re absolutely dead serious.”**

*Steve Bannon touts Trump’s second-term retribution plan*

*-[Real America’s Voice, War Room, [12/5/23](#)]*

## Spotlight on: Retribution

Trump, Project 2025, and MAGA media allies have consistently promised to seek revenge against their political enemies through investigations and prosecutions.

“Sometimes revenge can be justified,” Trump [told](#) television personality Dr. Phil in June 2024.

When he [announced](#) his campaign in March 2023, he promised the crowd of supporters: “I am your warrior, I am your justice. ... For those who have been wronged and betrayed ... I am your retribution.”

Trump has [elevated calls](#) for former Rep. Liz Cheney (R-WY), who served on the House January 6 committee, to be brought up on charges in a televised military tribunal, he has [said](#) he will appoint a special prosecutor to investigate President Joe Biden and his family, and he has [threatened](#) to put Meta CEO Mark Zuckerberg in prison.

Project 2025 lays the foundation for these revenge fantasies to become reality. *Mandate for Leadership* [specifies](#) that “the department falls under the direct supervision and control of the President of the United States as a component of the executive branch.” It goes on to reinforce its position undermining judicial independence, saying, “Ultimately, the department will have to make tough calls as it manages its litigation, but those calls must always be consistent with the President’s policy agenda and the rule of law.” *Mandate* also states that department leadership should be “prepared to impose appropriate disciplinary action” if this principle is undermined.

The policy book additionally [specifies](#) retaliatory legal action against local officials like district attorneys, who supposedly “deny American citizens the ‘equal protection of the laws’ by refusing to prosecute criminal offenses in their jurisdictions.” It adds, “This holds true particularly for jurisdictions that refuse to enforce the law against criminals based on the Left’s favored defining characteristics of the would-be offender (race, so-called gender identity, sexual orientation, etc.) or other political considerations (e.g., immigration status).”

This recommendation appears to be designed for use against progressive reformist district attorneys, like Philadelphia’s Larry Krasner, who have sought to lower incarceration rates and reduce racist disparities in the criminal punishment system. Krasner has had limited but nonetheless [important success](#) in these endeavors, which *Mandate’s* policies would almost certainly erode. Heritage and its president, Kevin Roberts, have previously [called](#) for “crushing the rogue prosecutor movement.”

Former Trump adviser Steve Bannon, a [Project 2025 champion](#), has gone the furthest in promoting the project’s retribution.

“This is just not rhetoric. We’re absolutely dead serious,” he [told](#) former Trump national security staffer Kash Patel in December 2023. “The deep state, the administrative state, the fourth branch of government never mentioned in the Constitution, is going to be taken apart, brick by brick and the people that did these evil deeds will be held accountable and prosecuted, criminal prosecutions.”

Some examples of what Bannon has promised:

- In an interview with ABC, Bannon [listed](#) political enemies who may be targeted under a second Trump administration, including former FBI Deputy Director Andrew McCabe, former FBI Director James Comey, former Secretary of Defense Mark Esper, former Attorney General William Barr and former chair of the Joint Chiefs of Staff Mark Milley.
- Bannon [threatened](#) Attorney General Merrick Garland: “You’re going to be a target of a massive investigation. You’re going to go from the Supreme Court to prison.”

- He [promised](#) “teams” that will “go after the criminals and the traitors in the deep state.”
- Bannon [said](#) a second Trump administration will launch investigations of journalists for trying to “destroy the American republic.”
- He [called](#) Trump’s political opponents “enemies and traitors to this country” who should be “very worried” about retaliation.
- “We’re going after you. The hunted are going to become the hunters,” Bannon [warned](#) on April 24.
  - At the Conservative Political Action Conference, Bannon [said](#) Trump will “drive the vermin out of 1600 Pennsylvania Avenue,” adding, “Some of our folks may say justice in this case is retribution. I will let that be defined as we go forward.”

Charlie Kirk, founder of Project 2025 partner organization Turning Point USA, has also [lined up](#) behind this agenda.

“The weaponized DOJ has unleashed a political Pandora’s box upon the country. When Republicans finally do regain power—and they will—the legal retribution repaid against corrupt Democrats will be inevitable,” Kirk said last August.

## IN THEIR OWN WORDS:

- **Mandate for Leadership:** “Ultimately, the department will have to make tough calls as it manages its litigation, but those calls must always be consistent with the President’s policy agenda and the rule of law.” [Project 2025, *Mandate for Leadership*, [2023](#)]
- **Steve Bannon:** Trump’s Department of Justice will bring felonies against the lawyers prosecuting him. “This will happen upon us taking over the Justice Department.” [Real America’s Voice, *War Room*, [5/21/24](#)]
- Center for Renewing America’s **Jeff Clark** said that past administrations put in “post-Watergate ‘norms’ that say the president actually can’t make decisions about law enforcement. ... It’s ridiculous, it’s unconstitutional, and the reason why they’re having a meltdown, Steve, is that the queen position in the administrative state is the Justice Department.” [Media Matters, [11/9/23](#)]
- MAGA media figure and Trump legal insider **Mike Davis** fantasized about prosecuting Joe Biden, Merrick Garland, and others: “There is absolutely going to be retribution.” [YouTube, *The Benny Show*, [5/31/24](#)]
- **Davis:** “Dear Biden Democrats: Your glee will turn into terror after January 20, 2025. Revenge is best served cold. Lawyer up.” [Twitter/X, [6/6/24](#)]
- Blog published by The American Mind, a project of Project 2025 partner **The Claremont Institute:** If Trump wins, “unpleasant things will have to be done to hold people to account.” [Media Matters, [6/24/24](#)]



## GO DEEPER:

- **Project 2025 claims that “the DOJ has become a bloated bureaucracy with a critical core of personnel who are infatuated with the perpetuation of a radical liberal agenda and the defeat of perceived political enemies.”** Instead, the policy book states that “litigation decisions must be made consistent with the President’s agenda.” [Project 2025, *Mandate for Leadership*, [2023](#)]
- **Complaining that federal law enforcement agencies supposedly spend too much time going after concerned parents, Project 2025 calls for a renewal in the department’s focus on violent crime.** It claims: “The FBI harasses protesting parents (branded ‘domestic terrorists’ by some partisans) while working diligently to shut down politically disfavored speech on the pretext of its being ‘misinformation’ or ‘disinformation.’” The talking point about the Department of Justice targeting parents was spearheaded by right-wing media after the National School Boards Association issued a memo detailing “acts of malice, violence, and threats against public school officials” in response to false information about critical race theory and mask requirements. [Project 2025, *Mandate for Leadership*, [2023](#); Media Matters, [9/27/22](#)]
- **Project 2025 would use the Department of Justice to target abortion access.** *Mandate for Leadership* calls for the DOJ to conduct a “thorough review of all publicly available policies, investigations, and cases,” specifically citing prosecutions under the FACE Act as the main impetus. The FACE Act is a federal law that prohibits obstruction or other intimidation by demonstrators outside of reproductive health care facilities. *Mandate* says these cases are “egregious” and designed to “harass pro-life demonstrators while not pursuing similar investigations of shocking acts of violence committed against pro-life pregnancy resource centers.” [Project 2025, *Mandate for Leadership*, [2023](#); National Abortion Federation, [2006](#)]
- **Project 2025 also proposes using the Department of Justice to target immigrants.**
  - ***Mandate* says the DOJ should “pursue appropriate steps to assist the Department of Homeland Security in obtaining information about criminal aliens in jurisdictions across the United States, particularly those inside ‘sanctuary’ jurisdictions.”** [Project 2025, *Mandate for Leadership*, [2023](#)]
  - ***Mandate* advocates for the DOJ to “examine and consider the appropriateness of withdrawing or overturning every immigration decision rendered by Attorney General Garland.”** [Project 2025, *Mandate for Leadership*, [2023](#)]
  - ***Mandate* advocates for the DOJ to pursue “overturning of the Flores Settlement Agreement,” which The Associated Press reported “set standards” for “the detention, treatment and release” of migrant minors..** According to the AP: “It mandates that migrant children be released without necessary delay to family, a child welfare program or an adult seeking custody if family reunification is not possible. The vast majority of children released in such cases go to close relatives while their immigration cases are ongoing.” [Project 2025, *Mandate for Leadership*, [2023](#); The Associated Press, [5/11/24](#)]
- **Project 2025 would use the Department of Justice to roll back nondiscrimination policies.**
  - **Project 2025 claims that the Biden administration “has enshrined affirmative discrimination in all aspects of its operations under the guise of ‘equity’” and vows to “reverse this trend” by attacking “so-called diversity, equity, and inclusion (DEI) offices that have become the vehicles for this unlawful discrimination.”** The Heritage policy book suggests that the DOJ’s “Civil Rights Division should spend its first year under the next Administration using the full force of federal prosecutorial resources to investigate and prosecute all state and local governments, institutions of higher education, corporations, and any other private employers who are engaged in discrimination in violation of constitutional and legal requirements.” The implication here is to refocus the Civil Rights Division, which enforces “the civil and constitutional rights of all persons in the United States, particularly some of the most vulnerable members of our society,” on the right’s racist anti-DEI agenda. [Project 2025, *Mandate for Leadership*, [2023](#)]
  - **Project 2025 calls for eliminating “lawless policies, investigations, and cases, including all existing consent decrees.”** According to the Vera Institute, consent decrees can be applied to “a jail system or police department” if an “unjust pattern or practice” is found in an investigation. Consent decrees are typically issued when police departments or jails “lack effective accountability mechanisms” such that it requires “direct federal intervention ... to implement basic reforms.” [Vera Institute, [8/20/23](#); Project 2025, *Mandate for Leadership*, [2023](#)]

- **Project 2025 would consolidate the president’s power over the FBI.** It suggests eliminating the FBI director’s 10-year term limit established by Congress, claiming the position “must remain politically accountable to the President in the same manner as the head of any other federal department or agency.” [Project 2025, *Mandate for Leadership*, [2023](#)]
- **Project 2025 proposes the next conservative president should “enforce the death penalty where appropriate and applicable.”** The policy book also calls for “the next conservative Administration” to “do everything possible to obtain finality for the 44 prisoners currently on federal death row.” During the final months of his administration, Trump rushed 13 federal executions – “an unprecedented clip” compared to the combined total of three federal executions in the preceding 60 years. [Project 2025, *Mandate for Leadership*, [2023](#); Rolling Stone, [1/27/23](#)]
- **The policy book suggests retaliating against “department corruption,” such as “the Russia collusion hoax,” saying it should “be tackled, exposed, and addressed head-on” in court and to the American public.** [Project 2025, *Mandate for Leadership*, [2023](#)]
- **Project 2025 calls to reassign election-related offenses to the Criminal Division of the DOJ from the Civil Rights Division, claiming, “Otherwise, voter registration fraud and unlawful ballot correction will remain federal election offenses that are never appropriately investigated and prosecuted.”** This change could allow a second Trump administration to provide more resources for investigations into bogus claims of voter fraud and bolster efforts to overturn future election results. [Project 2025, *Mandate for Leadership*, [2023](#); Mother Jones, [9/14/23](#); Media Matters, [3/5/24](#)]
- **A report from 2025 partner Center for Renewing America calls for “funding reductions” to parts of the Federal Bureau of Investigations “that are not salvageable due to a willful and repeated pattern of partisan lawfare waged against Americans who do not share the bureaucracy’s increasingly woke and progressive worldview.”** All three of the divisions CRA proposes cuts to are at least partially responsible for the FBI’s halting attempts to disrupt far-right domestic extremist groups in the United States. [Media Matters, [1/4/23](#); Reuters, [11/3/21](#)]
- **Project 2025 partners include several right-wing legal organizations that focus on rolling back civil rights.**
  - **Project 2025 partner Alliance Defending Freedom is a Southern Poverty Law Center-designated hate group and far-right legal powerhouse.** The organization supports the “recriminalization of sexual acts between consenting LGBTQ adults in the U.S.” and abroad, has defended state-sanctioned sterilization of transgender people across the globe, and advocates for numerous other extreme anti-LGBTQ positions. [Southern Poverty Law Center, accessed [7/8/24](#)]
  - **Former Project 2025 partner America First Legal, run by longtime Trump adviser Stephen Miller, sues organizations that support diversity, equity, and inclusion efforts.** According to The New York Times, America First Legal has filed more than 100 lawsuits, Equal Employment Opportunity Commission complaints, amicus briefs and other legal efforts to stop “woke corporations” from administering inclusive policies. [The New York Times, [3/21/24](#)]

## Reproductive rights



Project 2025 has [proposed](#) an extreme anti-choice agenda, which plans to gut reproductive rights in the United States in the post-*Roe* landscape. *Mandate* [calls](#) for a complete overhaul of reproductive rights based on ideological grounds — restricting legal abortion drugs and emergency contraception, punishing sexual health care providers, and placing limits on clinics that provide STD testing. But Legal abortion and the right to contraception are [both popular](#). Voters have come out in support of reproductive rights on [various occasions](#) over the past several years, even in red states.

In the [foreword](#) of *Mandate*, Heritage Foundation President Kevin Roberts calls on the next GOP administration to strike any mention of the terms “abortion, reproductive health, reproductive rights, and any other term used to deprive Americans of their First Amendment rights out of every federal rule, agency regulation, contract, grant, regulation, and piece of legislation that exists.”

The *Mandate for Leadership* policy book also suggests:

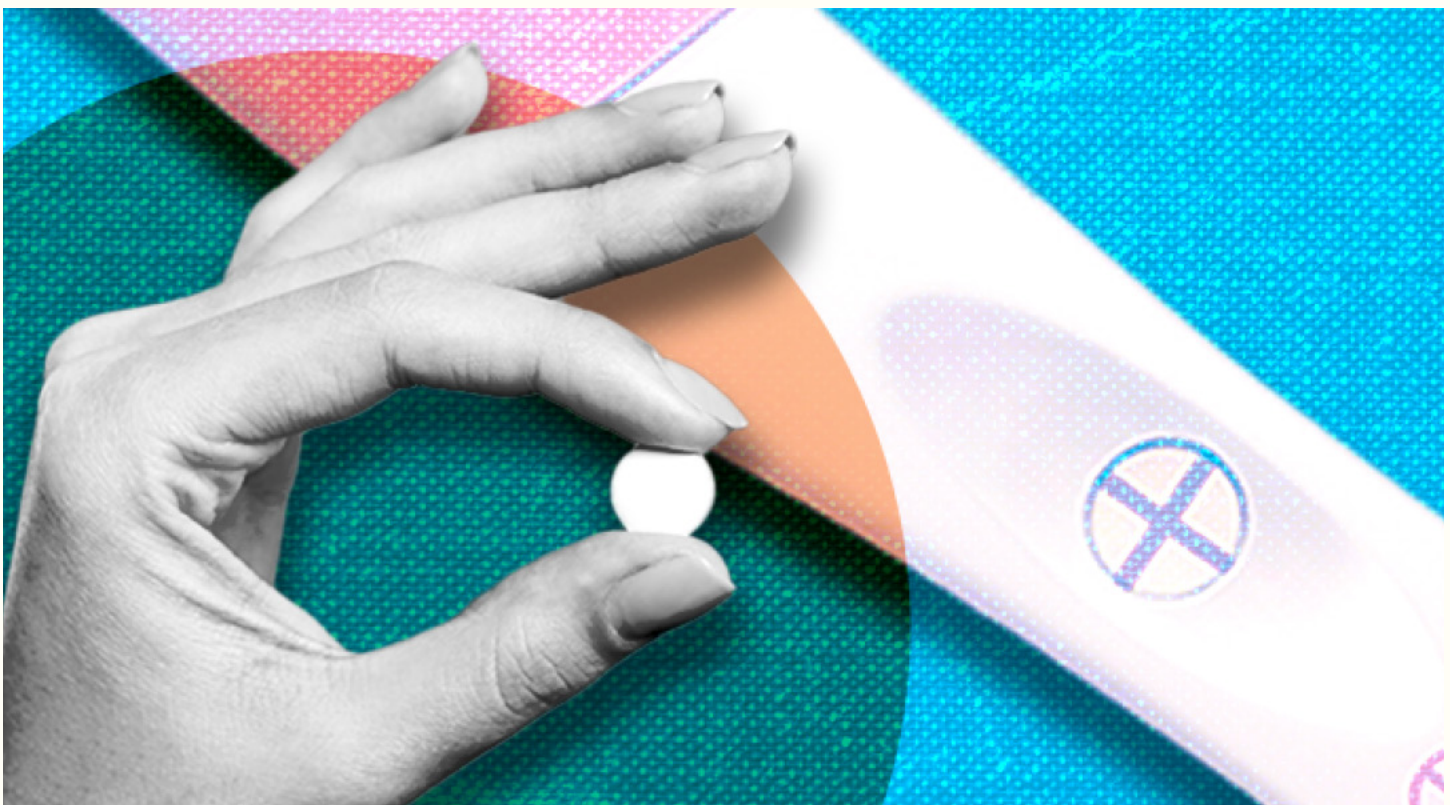
- **Enforcing the Comstock Act, a 150-year-old law that prohibits mailing materials used to perform an abortion, to end what they call “mail-order abortions.”** [Media Matters, [3/20/24](#); New Republic, [2/8/24](#)]
- **Restructuring Medicaid to avoid providing reproductive health care and penalizing providers who do.** [Media Matters, [3/20/24](#)]
- **Restarting Trump-era “religious and moral exemptions to the contraceptive mandate” through the Affordable Care Act that would allow employers to deny coverage to their employees for contraceptives.** [Project 2025, *Mandate for Leadership*, [2023](#)]
- **Eliminating any Centers for Disease Control programs or projects that are deemed pro-abortion.** [Project 2025, *Mandate for Leadership*, [2023](#)]
- **Reinstating the Mexico City policy, which barred nongovernmental organizations receiving U.S. aid from providing abortion services or advocating for legal abortion before it was rescinded by President Biden.** [Media Matters, [3/20/24](#), Kaiser Family Foundation, [1/28/21](#)]
- **Reversing a Biden administration policy that requires hospitals to offer abortions in medical emergencies regardless of state bans, under the Emergency Medical Treatment and Active Labor Act, or EMTALA.** [Project 2025, *Mandate for Leadership*, [2023](#)]
- **Ending “intramural research projects using tissue from aborted children within the NIH, which should end its human embryonic stem cell registry.”** [Media Matters, [3/20/24](#)]
- **Eliminating emergency contraceptives such as Ella or “the week-after pill” from protection under the Affordable Care Act’s contraceptive mandate.** [*Mandate for Leadership*, [2023](#)]
- **Reversing the Food and Drug Administration’s approval of chemical abortion drugs.”** *Mandate* falsely claims the drugs are unsafe for women. [*Mandate for Leadership*, [2023](#); Guttmacher, [July 2023](#)]

- **Reverting back to stricter restrictions around mifepristone, including an in-person dispensing requirement.** [*Mandate for Leadership*, [2023](#)]

Heritage and other groups have proposed an unpopular and draconian playbook on reproductive rights for the next Republican administration. Heritage Foundation senior fellow Sarah Parshall Perry exemplified the group’s stance when she [wrote](#) that states can and should use “police power to restrict or prohibit abortion – including particular methods of abortion such as by pill.”

Additionally, Project 2025 has partnered with several other [extreme](#) anti-choice and anti-abortion organizations, including Susan B. Anthony Pro-Life America and Students for Life of America. Many of Project 2025’s partner organizations have pushed for the restrictions of surrogacy and IVF procedures as well as abortion drugs and contraception.

At least 31 Project 2025 partners or their leadership have [published](#) written content, supported legal efforts, or spoken against the use of safe and effective abortion pills, specifically mifepristone. At least 34 partner organizations have [spread](#) misinformation about contraceptive methods or championed limiting access to contraception, largely on religious grounds; at least 22 have publicly criticized in vitro fertilization; and at least 17 have published and publicly presented anti-surrogacy arguments.





## Spotlight on: The Comstock Act

*Mandate* and Project 2025 partner organizations have [proposed](#) reviving the Comstock Act, an 1873 law [originally](#) created by “devout Christian” Anthony Comstock to ban the use of birth control for promoting “lust and lewdness,” to prohibit mailing abortion materials. For [decades](#) the law has been interpreted as only applying to illegal uses of abortion drugs – which does not apply now since there are now legal uses of drugs for abortion in all 50 states.

Project 2025 and its [partners support](#) interpreting the law to include shipment of any substance that could be used for an abortion, even if it is legal in the state to which it was shipped, claiming that the reversal of *Roe vs. Wade* means “there is now no federal prohibition on the enforcement of this statute.”

And there are concerns about this interpretation restricting access to n miscarriage care and contraceptives as well. The original law stated that “any drug, medicine, article, or thing designed, adapted, or intended for preventing conception or producing abortion, or for any indecent or immoral use” would be illegal to ship, which, at the time, included descriptions of contraceptives, medical books, and pornography. In the 1930s, multiple Supreme Court cases decided sex education materials and contraceptives did not violate the law, however the original wording of “every article or thing designed ... for any indecent or immoral use” i could be interpreted differently today.

Much of *Mandate for Leadership’s* policy proposals are based on what the authors claim are “moral and foundational challenges” the country is facing, particularly in regard to LGBTQ rights and reproductive rights. *Mandate* calls for moral exemptions from anti-discrimination laws and laws protecting contraceptives and even equates educational materials about LGBTQ communities with [pornography](#).

In the 2024 Supreme Court case on the legality of mifepristone regulations, *FDA v. Alliance for Hippocratic Medicine*, anti-abortion advocates argued that the distribution of mifepristone violates the Comstock Act. Justices Samuel Alito and Clarence Thomas discussed the Comstock Act during the case, with Alito [claiming](#), “It’s not some obscure subsection of a complicated, obscure law.” In June of this year, the court [decided](#) the case did not have legal standing. However, the opinion, written by Justice Brett Kavanaugh, called the anti-abortion arguments “sincere legal, moral, ideological, and policy objections.”

**“States can use ‘police power to restrict or prohibit abortion – including particular methods of abortion, such as by pill.”**

*-Heritage Foundation’s Sarah Parshall Perry*  
[*Heritage*, [2/22/23](#)]

## IN THEIR OWN WORDS:

- Heritage Foundation senior fellow **Sarah Parshall Perry**: “States can use ‘police power to restrict or prohibit abortion — including particular methods of abortion, such as by pill.” [The Heritage Foundation, [2/22/23](#)]
- **Charlie Kirk, founder of Project 2025 partner Turning Point USA**: “Birth control, like, really screws up female brains, by the way.” [Media Matters, [6/24/24](#)]
- **Mandate for Leadership**: “The Department of Justice in the next conservative Administration should therefore announce its intent to enforce federal law against providers and distributors of such [abortion] pills.” [Project 2025, *Mandate for Leadership*, [2023](#)]
- **Mandate for Leadership**: “The contraceptive mandate issued under Obamacare has been the source of years of egregious attacks on many Americans’ religious and moral beliefs.” [Project 2025, *Mandate for Leadership*, [2023](#)]
- **Mandate for Leadership**: “The next conservative President must make the institutions of American civil society hard targets for woke culture warriors. This starts with deleting the terms sexual orientation and gender identity (“SOGI”), diversity, equity, and inclusion (“DEI”), gender, gender equality, gender equity, gender awareness, gender-sensitive, abortion, reproductive health, reproductive rights, and any other term used to deprive Americans of their First Amendment rights out of every federal rule, agency regulation, contract, grant, regulation, and piece of legislation that exists.” [Project 2025, *Mandate for Leadership*, [2023](#)]



## GO DEEPER:

- **Heritage and at least 20 other partner organizations have spread misinformation about abortion pills, calling them “high risk” drugs that are “exceedingly hazardous,” and claiming there is “nothing safe about DIY abortion.”** Abortion pills such as mifepristone are safe and effective. In a post on X, The Heritage Foundation wrote, “Think the abortion pill is safe? Think again.” [Media Matters, 6/24/24; The Guttmacher Institute, 7/21/23; Twitter/X, 12/13/23]
- **Partner organizations have been deeply involved with legal challenges to abortion drugs, access to IVF, and surrogacy.** Alliance Defending Freedom represented the plaintiffs in *Alliance for Hippocratic Medicine v. FDA*, arguing that the FDA’s approval of mifepristone should be reversed. The American Association of ProLife Obstetricians and Gynecologists is a member of the Alliance for Hippocratic Medicine. Project 2025 partners or former partners ACLJ Action, Americans United for Life, the Ethics and Public Policy Center, Family Policy Alliance, the Dr. James Dobson Family Institute, Susan B. Anthony ProLife America, the Texas Public Policy Foundation, and Young America’s Foundation all submitted amicus briefs in support of the case. [Media Matters, 6/24/24]
- **Many Project 2025 partner organizations praised an Alabama Supreme Court ruling that extended de facto personhood rights to frozen embryos, severely curtailing access to IVF in the state.** The Heritage Foundation’s Emma Waters called the ruling “an unqualified victory,” and Alliance Defending Freedom called it “a victory for life and the rights of parents.” [Media Matters, 6/24/24]
- **Project 2025 partner organizations Alabama Policy Institute and Susan B. Anthony Pro-Life America released a joint statement criticizing a stop-gap measure Alabama made following the ruling that would protect IVF providers from criminal charges.** [The New York Times, 2/28/24]
- **Project 2025 partner organizations used reproductive issues like surrogacy and IVF procedures to promote anti-LGBTQ bigotry.** The Heritage Foundation’s Emma Waters complained about a California bill that would allow single parents or same-sex couples to access IVF through their health care service plans, stating, “No amount of technology or health insurance coverage can alter God’s created order.” An article in the American Conservative by contributing editor Carmel Richardson claimed IVF is helping the “LGBT movement” distort the meaning of family. [The Heritage Foundation, 6/20/23; The American Conservative, 3/1/24]
- **Former ADF senior counsel Jeff Shafer appeared on a panel at a Heritage Foundation event where he referred to surrogacy as the ability to “rent women to gestate these children that are desired.”** He also criticized surrogacy and alternative reproductive technologies for enabling same-sex couples to conceive children. [Media Matters, 6/24/24]
- **Partner or former partner organizations that have publicly criticized IVF procedures have compared them to eugenics.** Americans United for Life chief legal counsel Steve Aden compared IVF treatments to “eugenics,” telling The Guardian that he considers “most” kinds of IVF “untenable in a culture that respects all human life.” Students for Life of America claimed IVF encourages “targeted killing” based on “undesirable traits.” [Media Matters, 6/24/24]
- **Several Project 2025 partners or former partners have joined the Mandate authors in pushing back against Obama’s “contraceptive mandate” and the Biden administration’s continuation of the policy, targeting a section of the Affordable Care Act that says employers must provide health insurance coverage for contraception.** Alliance Defending Freedom and America First Legal have both been involved in legal cases against the ACA’s provisions on birth control. [Media Matters, 6/24/24]
- **Mandate subtly promotes anti-surrogacy positions, writing that “all children have a right to be raised by the men and women who conceived them.”** Conservatives have been divided over surrogacy protections for at least 10 years, and recently right-wing media pundits have been explicitly anti-surrogacy. Daily Wire’s Matt Walsh even compared it to slavery. [Media Matters, 3/20/24, 4/5/24, 4/5/24; Slate, 8/11/14]

## Labor

Project 2025 proposes an extreme anti-worker agenda that would severely curtail unions' ability to collectively bargain on behalf of their members and reverse gains organized labor has made in recent years.

Its policybook, [Mandate for Leadership](#), is an attempt to roll back New Deal-era, working class victories by allowing state-level exemptions from the National Labor Relations Act and the Fair Labor Standards Act, and by creating nonunion "employee involvement organizations" to undermine unions' negotiating power. It additionally calls for sharp reductions in the budgets of the National Labor Relations Board and the Department of Labor and a freeze on new hires.

The radical anti-labor agenda extends to other areas of working life, suggesting employers should be allowed to eviscerate [overtime regulations](#) and potentially withhold pay. One proposal is to allow workers to accrue vacation instead of time-and-a-half compensation, but at least [40 percent](#) of lower- and middle-income workers already don't use their allotted paid time off. Under this proposal employers could coerce workers into "voluntarily" opting for vacation that they're either formally or informally prohibited from taking, thereby denying them overtime compensation.

Project 2025 further recommends that workers and bosses agree to extend the overtime threshold to a period of two weeks or one month. The policy would [empower](#) management to overload busy weeks with extra-long shifts and take advantage of slow periods through under-scheduling – effectively eliminating overtime altogether.

Relatedly, another attack on overtime comes in the form of allowing workers to negotiate away national employment law rights like time-and-a-half pay in exchange for noncompensation benefits like "predictable scheduling." Such a change could incentivize predatory scheduling practices in order to coerce workers to give up overtime.

If that's not enough, the mandate also suggests returning to a Trump-era regulation that would deny overtime to most employees making more than \$679 per week or \$35,000 annually, which would [leave behind](#) millions of workers.

At virtually every turn, *Mandate for Leadership* stacks the deck against workers, including opening up young people to exploitation in dangerous jobs.

- It seeks to revert to a Trump-era law that allows [employers](#) to categorize workers as independent contractors, thus [denying](#) them benefits and legal protections extended to employees.
- It significantly dismantles safety protections for workers by directing Congress and the Department of Labor to "exempt small business, first-time, non-willful violators from fines issued by the Occupational Health and Safety Administration."
- It argues that due to "worker shortages in dangerous fields," with "parental consent and proper training, certain young adults should be allowed to learn and work in more dangerous occupations." This proposal is even more alarming when paired with *Mandate's* proposal to exempt states from the FLSA, which governs [child labor laws](#).

Despite a superficial concern for workers from the MAGA movement, Project 2025's recommendations would be disastrous for the working class and a boon to economic elites.

**“We want people to keep working” into their 70s”**

*Project 2025 contributor Stephen Moore*

*-[Fox Business, The Bottom Line, [7/30/24](#)]*

## Spotlight on: Unions

Project 2025 seeks to roll back New Deal-era labor victories by proposing that Congress “pass legislation allowing waivers from federal labor laws” – like the National Labor Relations Act and the Fair Labor Standards Act – “under certain conditions.”

Allowing state-level exemptions to the NLRA and FLSA would almost certainly trigger a race-to-the-bottom dynamic, where firms relocate to states with the weakest (or nonexistent) labor protections at the expense of workers. That’s [what happened](#) in states that passed so-called “right-to-work” laws – which [starve](#) unions of resources by preventing them from collecting fees from all employees they represent, thereby creating a [free-rider problem](#) – where employers were able to [depress](#) wages and union membership.

Unions have made [significant gains](#) under the Biden administration’s National Labor Relations Board, which enforces labor law and investigates anti-union practices. A major reason for that is NLRB general counsel Jennifer Abruzzo, who has taken an aggressive, [pro-worker](#) enforcement posture. Project 2025 promises to fire her on “Day One.” It also calls for reductions in the budgets of the NLRB and the Department of Labor to the “low end of the historical average,” as well as implementing a “hiring freeze for career officials.”

*Mandate’s* anti-unionism extends beyond funding cuts and a personnel freeze to attack unions at their core – most significantly, by suggesting that Congress “pass labor reforms that create non-union ‘employee involvement organizations.’”

Although *Mandate* offers few details on what purpose these EIOs would serve, Sen. Marco Rubio (R-FL) [proposed](#) similar legislation in 2022; his bill makes it explicit that these organizations “are not unions and ‘cannot enter into collective bargaining agreements.’”

EIOs would signal a return to the days of company unionism, stripping power from workers by providing employers with what pro-labor think tank the People’s Policy Project [calls](#) “another union avoidance tool” and diluting the membership and voting power of actual unions. Like in Rubio’s bill, *Mandate’s* EIOs would place “a non-voting, supervisory member” on the board of directors at large, publicly traded companies – an entirely powerless role incapable of advancing workers’ interests.

Project 2025 would further undermine unions by eliminating “card check” – where a majority of workers who have signed union authorization forms can ask their employer for voluntary recognition – and mandating “the secret ballot exclusively.”

Although the idea of a secret ballot has the veneer of democracy, in practice it’s a power grab for management. By forcing organizers to go through the byzantine NLRB election process, an employer can buy itself time to wage an [anti-union campaign](#) and bog down the process, often through illegal means. A 2019 [study](#) found that employers violated labor laws in 41.5% of NLRB-supervised union elections in 2016 and 2017, and intimidated or coerced workers in nearly a third of all elections.

The structural power imbalance is exacerbated by the huge discrepancy in resources between the parties. Every year, employers [spend](#) more than \$400 million just on consultants in their attempts to thwart union drives. When coupled with anti-worker harassment, that’s money well spent – from the point of view of management. A 2022 [study](#) found that union elections through the NLRB were successful “in less than 10% of cases where the employer resists the organizing effort to the point that an unfair labor practice charge is filed.”

In 2023, the NLRB under Abruzzo provided unions with a [major win](#) by [ruling](#) that if an employer is found to

have violated labor law during the course of an election campaign, it must immediately recognize the union – without requiring an election – and move to contract negotiations. *Mandate* would reverse that ruling.

*Mandate* additionally looks to roll back [Biden administration NLRB protections](#) for “protected concerted activity” – that is, [actions](#) workers take to better their working conditions, even outside of attempts to form a union. Project 2025 looks to return to the Trump administration’s interpretation, which took a very narrow view of what was protected and opened up workers to retaliation from their bosses for actions like [discussing](#) workplace safety concerns with fellow workers.

## IN THEIR OWN WORDS:

- Heritage Foundation President **Kevin Roberts**: “Congress should rescind the federal charter of the National Education Association—the only union that enjoys a federal charter—no longer putting the federal imprimatur of support on the special interest group.” [Heritage.org, [1/9/24](#)]
- **Jonathan Berry**, author of Labor chapter in *Mandate*, writing in American Compass: “In practice, modern unions in the American private sector are beset by serious agency problems that limit their effectiveness as institutions for individual workers to share in the common good.” [American Compass, accessed [7/9/24](#)]
- **The Heritage Foundation** budget blueprint for fiscal years 2023: “The Department of Labor’s Women’s Bureau should be eliminated.” [Heritage.org, [2022](#)]
- **Heritage**: “How to Close Down the Department of Labor.” [Heritage.org, [10/19/95](#)]
- *War Room* host **Steve Bannon**: “If Nevada is Close They Will Steal it with the Culinary Union.” [Gettr, [3/21/24](#)]
- **Steven Moore**, Heritage Foundation fellow: “Why Every State Should Guarantee the Right to Work.” [Heritage.org, [7/17/14](#)]
- **Claremont Review of Books**, affiliated with the right-wing Claremont Institute: “Right-to-work laws make it easier for states to attract businesses, because many companies prefer to locate in right-to-work states, believing that unions not only drive up costs but reduce productivity with baroque work rules and adversarial stances.” [Claremont Review of Books, [Summer 2015](#)]

## GO DEEPER:

- **The labor chapter’s author, Jonathan Berry, was a top official in the Labor Department under Trump – which was catastrophic for workers.** Trump Labor Secretary Eugene Scalia was a “wrecking ball aimed at workers” who had spent decades as a lawyer “helping corporations gut or evade government regulations, including worker protections.” During Scalia’s tenure, with Berry “overseeing all aspects of rulemaking and policy development,” millions of workers were denied overtime benefits. [The New Yorker, [10/19/20](#); Economic Policy Institute, [9/24/19](#); Project 2025, *Mandate for Leadership*, [2023](#)]
- **Unions are building power in the United States, but Project 2025 would severely curtail the National Labor Relations Board’s progress.** A June study found that “workers today have a better chance of winning their union representation election than at any point in the past 15 years, with a win rate of more than 70 percent.” Project 2025’s promise to remove NLRB general counsel Abruzzo, alongside its other anti-union proposals, would likely halt those gains and result in fewer employers being held accountable for their anti-worker, law-breaking tactics. [Center for American Progress, [6/20/24](#)]
- **Mandate for Leadership’s policies would allow firms to discriminate against LGBTQ communities while at work.** The guidebook recommends restricting the Supreme Court’s ruling in *Bostock v. Clayton County* – which extended civil rights protections to gay and trans people – to apply only to hiring and firing decisions. Other types of workplace discrimination, such as enforcing dress codes or denying workers access to a bathroom that corresponds to their gender identity, would theoretically be permitted under this regulatory regime. [GLAAD, [6/24/24](#); Project 2025, *Mandate for Leadership*, [2023](#)]
- **Project 2025 further opens the door to workplace discrimination against LGBTQ people by pushing a false definition of so-called “biological binary” sex.** “The President should direct agencies to rescind regulations interpreting sex discrimination provisions as prohibiting discrimination on the basis of sexual orientation, gender identity, transgender status, sex characteristics, etc.,” the policy book states, adding: “The President should direct agencies to focus their enforcement of sex discrimination laws on the biological binary meaning of ‘sex.’” [Project 2025, *Mandate for Leadership*, [2023](#)]
- **Like other sections of the document, the chapter on labor takes aim at abortion rights.** It argues that Congress and the Department of Labor should “clarify” that states have the power to “to restrict abortion, surrogacy, or other anti-life [employee] ‘benefits.’” [Project 2025, *Mandate for Leadership*, [2023](#)]

## Economy

The economic policy provisions outlined by Project 2025 are overwhelmingly catered toward benefiting wealthier Americans and corporate interests at the expense of average workers and taxpayers.

An [analysis](#) by the Center for American Progress of Project 2025's proposals for significant changes to the tax system suggests that millions of middle- and lower-income families would see a "significant" tax increase, while millionaires and the richest families would get a massive tax cut. And there are reasons to believe that this is just the [tip of the iceberg](#).

Project 2025 also wants to [roll back](#) additional IRS funding authorized by the 2022 Inflation Reduction Act, which was intended to help the agency hire new staff to crack down on wealthy tax cheats. A recent report showed that those new hires were instrumental in collecting \$1 billion worth of back taxes.

*Mandate* also recommends putting key government agencies responsible for oversight of large sectors of the economy under direct right-wing political control and empowering those agencies to prioritize right-wing agendas in dealing with everything from consumer protections to organized labor activity.

Project 2025 leader The Heritage Foundation is also home to the [Wealth and Innovation Project](#), an initiative whose stated purpose is to protect wealth.

And Project 2025 partners are [heavily funded](#) by conservative movement dark money groups, including the Koch network, led by oil billionaire Charles Koch. Koch is an [extreme libertarian](#), as was his late brother David, and through an expansive network of conservative groups they have become among the most influential donors on the right. The Koch network has a [history](#) of advocating for a flat tax, which is also proposed in *Mandate*, that would [significantly reduce](#) his own personal tax bill.





## Spotlight on: Tax benefits for the wealthy

According to [analysis](#) provided to CBS News by Brendan Duke of the progressive Center for American Progress, the [proposed tax changes](#) in Project 2025's policy book are wildly skewed toward the wealthy. *Mandate for Leadership* suggests changing the tax system by proposing just two rates: "a 15% flat tax for people earning up to about \$168,000, and a 30% income tax for people earning above that," as CBS News explained. While that sounds straightforward, the result would be dramatic. From CBS (emphasis added):

Millions of low- and middle-class households would likely face significantly higher taxes under the Project 2025's proposals.

[Duke] estimated that **a middle-class family with two children and an annual income of \$100,000 would pay \$2,600 in additional federal income tax if they faced a 15% flat tax on their income due to the loss of the 10% and 12% tax brackets.** If the Child Tax Credit were also eliminated, they would pay an additional \$6,600 compared with today's tax system, Duke said.

By comparison, **a married couple with two children and earnings of \$5 million a year would enjoy a \$325,000 tax cut**, he estimated.

...  
**Millions of U.S. households earning less than \$168,000 would likely face higher taxes with a 15% rate.** Currently, the bottom half of American taxpayers, who earn less than \$46,000 a year, pay an effective tax rate of 3.3% – which reflects their income taxes after deductions, tax credits and other benefits.

*Mandate's* proposals would also make it easier for the wealthy to cheat on their taxes. The Inflation Reduction Act of 2022 [provided](#) the IRS with significant funding to step up enforcement against wealthy people who refused to pay what they owed in taxes. The IRS [announced](#) in July that it had collected \$1 billion in back taxes from wealthy tax cheats.

Project 2025 wants to undo all of that, [explicitly calling](#) for Congress to reverse that funding of the IRS.

## IN THEIR OWN WORDS:

- Turning Point USA founder **Charlie Kirk**: IRS funding “will be used to go after mom-and-pop restaurants, donors to MAGA candidates, people like you.” [Media Matters, [8/8/22](#)]
- **Mandate for Leadership**: “The Treasury should work with Congress to simplify the tax code by enacting a simple two-rate individual tax system of 15 percent and 30 percent that eliminates most deductions, credits and exclusions.” [Project 2025, *Mandate for Leadership*, [2023](#)]
- **Richard Stern**, director of the Grover M. Hermann Center for the Federal Budget at the Heritage Foundation: “A true understanding of what wealth is and how it both comes into being and is used reveals a vital policy insight: to redistribute wealth is, unavoidably, to destroy it.” [Heritage Foundation, [7/2/24](#)]
- The Heritage Foundation’s **Preston Brashers and Alexander Frei**: “America’s richest people are mostly self-made.” [The Heritage Foundation, [5/13/24](#)]
- **Patrice Onwuka**, director of the Center for Economic Opportunity at Project 2025 partner the Independent Women’s Forum, claimed that “Bidenomics” is destroying Black businesses and pointed to growth in black-owned businesses during Trump’s presidency. [Media Matters, [7/10/24](#)]

“To redistribute wealth is, unavoidably, to destroy it.”

*Richard Stern, director of Heritage’s Grover M. Hermann Center for the Federal Budget*  
-[Heritage, [7/2/24](#)]

## GO DEEPER:

- **Project 2025 would implement work requirements to receive assistance from the Supplemental Nutrition Assistance Program.** Project 2025 would reimplement a Trump-era rule that would have cut food stamp benefit eligibility from nearly 700,000 people. Research shows that “each dollar in federally funded SNAP benefits generates \$1.79 in economic activity.” [Media Matters, [12/5/19](#); Project 2025, *Mandate for Leadership*, [2023](#); Food Research & Action Center, accessed [7/19/24](#)]
- **Project 2025 would increase student loan costs.** Project 2025’s authors fixate on reversing efforts implemented during the Obama and Biden administrations to rein in the student loan industry. The authors argue for phasing out income-driven repayment plans currently used by millions of Americans, which would raise monthly payments for student borrowers, and passing new legislation to end student loan forgiveness. Specifically, the authors call for ending all “time-based and occupation-based student loan forgiveness,” which they boast would save the government \$370 billion – in other words, it would cost borrowers an additional \$370 billion in payments on loans that could otherwise be forgiven. A new study from the Center for American Progress estimated that Project 2025’s plans would increase average annual student loan payments by about \$2,700 to \$4,000, imperiling millions of borrowers with the threat of defaulting on potentially unsustainable monthly payments. [Media Matters, [7/11/14](#); Project 2025, *Mandate for Leadership*, [2023](#); Center for American Progress, [6/24/24](#)]
- **Project 2025 wants the federal government to explain away the gender pay gap.** In a chapter dedicated to reforming the Department of Labor, the author accuses DOL’s Women’s Bureau of producing “politicized research ... that puts predetermined conclusions ahead of empirical study” and then suggests that the agency be reformed to “understand the true causes of earnings gaps between men and women.” In March 2023, the Women’s Bureau published new research demonstrating that the median working woman in America makes 84 cents for every dollar paid to a man, a persistent pay disparity that the right-wing media have spent years excusing or denying. [Media Matters, [7/11/14](#); Project 2025, *Mandate for Leadership*, [2023](#); Department of Labor, [March 2023](#); Media Matters, [5/21/19](#), [5/19/17](#), [4/12/16](#), [4/14/15](#)]
- **Project 2025 proposes massive income tax cuts for the rich and tax increases on some lower- and middle-income earners.** Project 2025 proposes that Republicans pass new legislation reforming the tax code to adopt “a simple two-rate individual tax system of 15 percent and 30 percent that eliminates most deductions, credits and exclusions.” The authors propose implementing the 30% rate for those who earn around \$168,600 or more (based on the Social Security “wage base limit”), meaning that individual filers earning between \$168,600 and \$191,950 (who currently pay a 24% tax rate) would see a tax increase, while anyone currently earning \$191,950 or more would get a tax cut – down to 30% – from their current rates of 32% to 37%. Meanwhile, those earning \$47,149 or less, who currently pay between 10% and 12%, would see an increase in their taxes. [Media Matters, [7/11/14](#); Project 2025, *Mandate for Leadership*, [2023](#); IRS.gov, [11/9/23](#), [2/13/24](#)]
- **Project 2025 also proposes changes to capital gains taxes that would increase tax rates on lower-income earners and cut tax rates for higher incomes.** The authors proposed taxing “capital gains and qualified dividends ... at 15 percent,” instead of the current system. Like their proposed income tax reforms, this proposal would raise effective tax rates at the lower end of the capital gains structure, where some earners currently pay 0%, while reducing the tax share at the top, where individuals earning more than approximately \$500,000 pay a 20% capital gains rate. [Media Matters, [7/11/14](#); Project 2025, *Mandate for Leadership*, [2023](#); IRS.gov, [1/30/24](#)]
- **Project 2025 would decimate what remains of the financial regulations implemented in the wake of the Great Recession.** The authors argue for repealing regulations implemented after the Great Recession to prevent another financial crisis similar to the one seen from 2007 to 2009. In particular, the authors recommend repealing major provisions of the Dodd-Frank Act directed at identifying and regulating risky financial institutions, overseeing risk-prone financial products, and managing the collapse of institutions. The authors specifically target the Consumer Financial Protection Bureau, an independent agency that has long faced right-wing scorn and has been a thorn in the side of lending institutions that were previously free to prey on American consumers. [Media Matters, [7/11/14](#), [1/11/17](#); Project 2025, *Mandate for Leadership*, [2023](#); The American Prospect, [5/17/24](#); Congressional Research Service, [10/18/23](#)]
- **Project 2025 partner the Center for Renewing America is a leading advocate for the radical position that the president should have broad latitude to refuse to carry out congressionally mandated spending.** A June 2024 CRA white paper argues that a 1974 law restricting a president from unilaterally refusing to spend funds allocated by Congress – the so-called “impoundment” power – represented an improper break from historical precedent. Instead, CRA argued that the White House should have the authority to halt congressional spending virtually at will. [Media Matters, [7/8/24](#); Center for Renewing America, [6/24/24](#)]

## Climate

Project 2025 rejects climate science and progress made on reducing climate pollution and transitioning to a clean energy economy in favor of serving the interest of the fossil fuel industries. If implemented, the plan would gut or hamstring federal agencies working on renewable energy deployment, climate science, and environmental safeguards while opening up state and federal public lands for oil and gas extraction.

Project 2025 [advisory board member organizations](#) or former partners that served as the architects of these sweeping and dangerous changes like the [Heartland Institute](#), the [Institute for Energy Research](#), the [Texas Public Policy Foundation](#), and the [Competitive Enterprise Institute](#) have worked for decades to cast doubt on and undermine climate science while advancing the interests of fossil fuels. The authors behind Project 2025's chapters codifying polluting industries' wish list into policy objectives – [William Perry Pendley](#), [Mandy Gunasekara](#), and Bernard McNamee – are former Trump administration officials with close ties to the fossil fuel industry.



## Spotlight on: Big Oil

Project 2025's [chapter on the Department of the Interior](#) is where the “drill, baby, drill” rally call is turned into federal policy – in fact, the chapter’s section on energy production was reportedly written by the oil and gas industry.

Before being tapped to run Trump’s Bureau of Land Management, William Perry Pendley was an [oil and mining industry lawyer](#) who notoriously advocated for selling off federal public land to private interests. While Pendley was chosen to write the Department of Interior chapter, he reportedly had [Kathleen Sgamma](#), the president of the Western Energy Alliance, an oil and gas trade association, write the section on energy production for him, along with the senior vice president at the American Energy Alliance, which is run by a former Koch lobbyist, and a former Heritage policy analyst. As a result, it reads like a polluting industry wish list.

According to the Department of the Interior chapter, “DOI’s purview encompasses more than 500 million acres of federal lands, including national parks and national wildlife refuges; 700 million acres of subsurface minerals; 1.7 billion acres of the Outer Continental Shelf (OCS); 23 percent of the nation’s energy; water in 17 western states; and trust responsibilities for 566 Indian tribes and Alaska Natives.” If implemented, Project 2025 would reduce protections over these lands and eliminate some national monuments altogether while opening up new land to drilling in Alaska, including [expanding the controversial Willow Project](#).

The plan would also expedite drilling permits and roll [back reforms to bond fees](#) implemented by Biden, which would allow Big Oil to extract resources from public lands with bond payments that “do not cover the cost of cleaning up abandoned, uncapped wells, leaving taxpayers with that burden.”

When these moves are considered alongside Project 2025’s chapters on the Department of Energy and the Environmental Protection Agency, and [promises already made by Trump to Big Oil](#), a second Trump term could be even [more lucrative for fossil fuel interests](#) than the first.

Big Oil clearly would benefit from Project 2025, but it also was one of its major benefactors. Just as the [fossil fuel industry](#) is [helping bankroll](#) Trump’s campaign, it is also funding the organizations that are writing the battle plan for the next Republican president.

[As reported by NBC](#), a [review of tax filings by Accountable.US](#) “found that oil billionaire Charles Koch’s network directed over \$4.4 million in 2022 to organizations on Project 2025’s advisory board via its donor conduit, Stand Together Trust.” In fact, the ties between [Heritage Foundation](#) and other groups associated with Project 2025 and the Kochs run deep and span decades. The [Heartland Institute](#), the [Institute for Energy Research](#), the [Texas Public Policy Institute](#) and the [Competitive Enterprise Institute](#) all are part of the broader network of groups that have received fossil fuel funding to advance fossil fuel interests for years.

## IN THEIR OWN WORDS:

- In the foreword of Project 2025's *Mandate for Leadership* policy book, Heritage President **Kevin Roberts** calls environmentalism a "pseudo-religion." He claims that "environmental extremism is decidedly anti-human" because it promotes "population control and economic regression" by "regarding human activity itself as fundamentally a threat to be sacrificed to the god of nature." [Project 2025, *Mandate for Leadership*, [2023](#)]
- On his podcast, **Roberts** hosted fossil fuel proponent Alex Epstein, who compared climate activism to a "primitive" religion based on avoiding "sinful" actions for which "nature, Gaia, is going to punish us." Epstein also presented climate activism as incompatible with "human flourishing" because its goal is to "eliminate human impact on earth" and to "eliminate CO2 emissions at all costs" without concern for "how many people die in the process," adding, "That is actually the goal people are operating on." [Heritage Podcast Network, *The Kevin Roberts Show*, [8/3/22](#), [8/3/22](#)]
- At the 2024 Conservative Political Action Conference, former Trump economic adviser and Heritage fellow **Stephen Moore** said: "Climate change is not a science; it's a religion." [Media Matters, [2/27/24](#)]
- **Thomas Gilman**, who penned Project 2025's chapter attacking the National Oceanic and Atmospheric Administration, described the agency responsible for predicting hurricanes as "one of the main drivers of the climate change alarm industry" and said that "as such, [it] is harmful to future U.S. prosperity." Gilman is a former Trump Commerce Department official. [Project 2025, *Mandate for Leadership*, [2023](#)]
- **William Perry Pendley**, the lead author for the Department of Interior chapter, unlawfully led the Bureau of Land Management under Trump before being ousted from the position by a court order. [The Washington Post, [9/26/20](#)]
  - **Pendley** has claimed the U.S. was not intentionally racist toward Native Americans and disparaged their religious views as "cultural myths." In his 2006 book *Warrior for the West*, Pendley downplayed the federal government's treatment of Native Americans, claiming: "The history of the federal government's treatment of American Indians has not involved overt, intentional racial hatred, but instead an attempt to achieve a Jeffersonian ideal of a United States of America in which all adopted the English language, Christian religion, and Anglo/American culture and lived side by side." Meanwhile, he has dismissed Native American religious views as "pantheism," "paganism," and "cultural myths." [The Intercept [8/1/20](#); E&E News, [1/31/20](#)]
  - **Pendley** has frequently attacked environmentalists and climate science. He wrote that climate science "is political science or junk science, not real science, and it is, as with real science, far from settled"; "#ClimateChangelsReal NOT!"; and the "Endangered Species Act is a joke." [Media Matters, [7/17/19](#)]
  - **Pendley** once complained that federal employees aren't held "personally responsible for the harm that they do." He said one thing that would prevent such problems in the future "is the federal government owning less land." [Media Matters, [8/2/19](#)]
  - While at the BLM, **Pendley** attacked environmentalists, saying they're "at war with western civilization and seek to remake, if not destroy, it." He also attacked environmental policies (which he claims the American West has "been victimized" by) related to federal land management and advocated for selling off all the Western public land managed by the government, which he called "the world's worst neighbor." [Media Matters, [7/22/19](#)]
  - A CNN expose on **Pendley** found that during a lecture at the Heritage Foundation in 1992, Pendley denied there was a hole in the ozone. He said: "Despite the total absence of credible scientific evidence, the media is convinced and is attempting to convince us that we have global warming, an Ozone hole and acid rain and that it is all man's fault." CNN uncovered other writings and interviews where he called those who believe in climate change "kooks," said that "environmental extremists ... don't believe in human beings," and said that "the Founding Fathers intended all lands owned by the federal government to be sold." [CNN, [10/8/19](#)]
  - **Pendley** recently told The Washington Post that if Trump returns to the White House, "the priority has to be oil and gas." [The Washington Post, [4/18/24](#)]
- **Mandy Gunasekara**, the author of the EPA chapter of Project 2025's policy book, was Trump's principal deputy assistant administrator for the EPA's Office of Air and Radiation. Before joining the EPA, she served as counsel for Sen. Jim Inhofe (R-OK), "the grandfather of climate denial," handing him the snowball during his infamous climate denial speech in 2015. She is also a former senior fellow with a project of the Texas

Public Policy Foundation. Leading up to the 2020 election Gunasekara ran a pro-Trump energy PAC called Energy45 and refused to disclose its donors. On the organization’s website she was listed as “chief architect of the withdrawal from the Paris Climate Accord” and an orchestrator of the Clean Power Plan repeal. [The Intercept, [7/6/18](#); The Washington Post, [6/19/19](#); Media Matters, [8/19/19](#)]

- In 2019, **Gunasekara** embarked on a media blitz in the lead-up to the 2020 election to stump for Trump’s energy policies and attack climate action. From February to mid-August 2019, she appeared at least 17 times on Fox News or Fox Business. [Media Matters, [8/19/19](#)]
  - Appearing on Fox News in 2019, **Gunasekara** said climate change is “not an existential threat.” She also said Democrats are using the issue to distract people from Trump’s accomplishments. [Media Matters, [12/29/19](#)]
  - **Gunasekara** falsely claimed while appearing on Fox News in 2019 that “there is serious lack of consensus on the issue” **of climate change** and that it’s “not a crisis.” [Media Matters, [8/19/19](#)]
  - **Gunasekara** penned an op-ed for Fox News in 2019 in which she said the Green New Deal “reads like Karl Marx’s Christmas list” and chastised Democrats for moving “so far to the extreme that eating meat is murder, but killing a baby moments after birth is a choice.” [FoxNews.com, [2/20/19](#)]
  - Appearing in a “Real News Insights” video posted to Facebook, **Gunasekara** said Democrats like Rep. Alexandria Ocasio-Cortez “are trying to scare the American people by citing frivolous science in terms of climate change” in order “to make their socialist agenda seem reasonable.” [Facebook, Real News Insights, [7/9/19](#)]
  - During a 2019 appearance on the Daily Caller Podcast, **Gunasekara** claimed “activist scientists” wrote the Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change report’s “Summary for Policymakers” and referred to United Nations climate conferences as “somewhat of a religion or somewhat cultish.” [The Daily Caller, [3/29/19](#)]
  - **Gunasekara** appeared on Newsmax and told host Chris Plante that the Biden administration’s decision to pause the U.S. liquid natural gas buildout “is about control, which this administration is obsessed with because they have sold out to anti-development leftist activists that want to shut things down in the name of climate change.” [Newsmax, *Eric Bolling The Balance*, [1/26/24](#)]
- **Bernard McNamee**, the author of the Department of Energy section of *Mandate for Leadership*, formerly ran the far-right Texas Public Policy Foundation, a climate-denying group funded by organizations such as Chevron and ExxonMobil, and was nominated to the Federal Energy Regulatory Commission by Trump. [The Guardian, [7/27/23](#); Dallas Morning News, [10/16/17](#)]
    - In his chapter, **McNamee** calls for “eliminating three agency offices that are crucial for the energy transition” and reducing funding to or eliminating different agencies related to renewable energy. McNamee calls for cutting the Office of Energy Efficiency and Renewable Energy, the Office of Clean Energy Demonstrations, and the Loan Programs Office, which is underwriting “next-generation energy projects — from solar farms and batteries to hydrogen production and lithium mining.” [The Guardian, [7/27/23](#); Politico, [7/28/23](#), 4/9/24; Project 2025, *Mandate for Leadership*, [2023](#)]
    - **McNamee** complained that “the green movement” is “about people who want to say I know what’s better for you” while heading a campaign to convince people that fossil fuels are better for them. In a February 2018 speech that was widely reported on, McNamee called for a “unified campaign” to promote fossil fuels and the “understanding that fossil fuels are not something dirty, something we have to move and get away from, but understand that they are key to our prosperity, our way of life and also to a clean environment.” Meanwhile, he said that environmental groups are engaged in an “organized propaganda campaign” and that renewable energy “screws up the whole physics of the grid.” He later somewhat walked the statement back when asked about it, saying, “I recognize the significant role that renewables play in our energy mix.” [Utility Dive, [11/21/18](#)]
    - For Earth Day in 2018, **McNamee** penned an op-ed in The Hill titled “This Earth Day, let’s accept the critical role that fossil fuel plays in energy needs.” In it he argued that “the data” about how fossil fuels have impacted the environment “does not always reflect the popular narrative” and that the idea that “fossil fuels are wrecking the environment and our health” is not accurate. [The Hill, [4/17/18](#)]
    - In the Department of Energy chapter of “Mandate for Leadership,” **McNamee** wrote: “The new energy crisis is caused not by a lack of resources, but by extreme ‘green’ policies.” [Project 2025, *Mandate for Leadership*, [2023](#)]

## GO DEEPER:

- Project 2025 recommends that the National Oceanic and Atmospheric Administration “be dismantled and many of its functions eliminated, sent to other agencies, privatized, or placed under the control of states and territories.”** Thomas Gilman, a former Trump Commerce Department official, wrote the chapter on the Department of Commerce that discusses NOAA, which also calls for the National Weather Service to “fully commercialize its forecasting operations”; demands that research from the National Hurricane Center and the National Environmental Satellite Service be reviewed to ensure it is “presented neutrally, without adjustments intended to support any one side in the climate debate”; and suggests downsizing the Office of Oceanic and Atmospheric Research and eliminating much of its research as “the source of much of NOAA’s climate alarmism.” [Project 2025, *Mandate for Leadership*, [2023](#)]

  - Project 2025 claims forecasts and warnings by private companies are more accurate and reliable than those from the National Weather Service.** To support this claim, it cites a press release from the private company AccuWeather. Notably, during his presidency Trump attempted to appoint AccuWeather’s former CEO to head NOAA before the nomination was withdrawn. [Project 2025, *Mandate for Leadership*, [2023](#); *The Guardian*, [4/26/24](#)]
- Project 2025 would roll back the Environmental Protection Agency’s authority to regulate planet-heating emissions, as well as efforts to help low-income communities burdened by pollution and climate impacts.** This section of the policy book was written by Mandy Gunasekara, a former Trump EPA official. Gunasekara recommends stripping the agency of the most important tool it has to address climate change — regulating carbon dioxide emissions, particularly from power plants — by calling for updating the 2009 “endangerment” finding, which “allows the EPA to regulate carbon dioxide as a pollutant and undergirds much of what the agency can do about greenhouse gas emissions,” according to WBUR. Heritage has previously called to “withdraw the endangerment finding.” She also proposes getting rid of the EPA’s Office of Environmental Justice and External Civil Rights. [Project 2025, *Mandate for Leadership*, [2023](#); WBUR, [3/27/24](#); *The Heritage Foundation*, *Blueprint for Balance*, [2019](#); *The Nation*, [6/5/24](#); *E&E News*, [2/22/19](#)]
- At the Department of Energy, Project 2025 aims to stifle clean energy investment and deployment.** Project 2025’s DOE section proposes scrapping the Inflation Reduction Act, which is set to allocate \$337 billion in investments for projects in Republican states. It would eliminate the Loan Program Office, which has allocated over \$25 billion to next generation energy projects. It also proposes scrapping the Office of Energy Efficiency and Renewable Energy, the Clean Energy Corps, the Grid Deployment Office, and others. [Project 2025, *Mandate for Leadership*, [2023](#); *Bloomberg*, [4/25/23](#); WBUR, [3/27/24](#); *Politico*, [4/9/24](#); *E&E News*, [4/29/24](#)]

  - Project 2025 seeks to eliminate existing Energy Department carbon capture and storage programs.** Climate capture and storage has long been Big Oil’s favored climate solution in a carbon-constrained world because it allows them to keep drilling. The lack of support for it in Project 2025 shows resistance to even industry-supported technology that could potentially reduce carbon emissions from burning fossil fuels. [Project 2025, *Mandate for Leadership*, [2023](#); *E&E News*, [1/31/22](#)]
  - Project 2025 wants to eliminate existing laws that set standards for energy efficiency in household appliances.** Energy efficiency standards have been a target of Trump and right-wing media. [Project 2025, *Mandate for Leadership*, [2023](#); *The New York Times*, [12/7/19](#); *Media Matters*, [5/26/23](#)]
- The section on the Department of the Interior proposes selling off more protected public lands for unfettered and unregulated fossil fuel development and resource extraction.** *HuffPost* described Project 2025 as calling for turning public lands “into a playground for extractive industries,” writing that the section on the Interior Department “reads like a fossil fuel industry wish list.” The chapter’s section on energy was written by Kathleen Sgamma, the president of oil and gas trade association the Western Energy Alliance; a senior vice president at the American Energy Alliance, which is run by a former Koch lobbyist; and a former Heritage policy analyst. [Project 2025, *Mandate for Leadership*, [2023](#); *HuffPost*, [4/6/24](#); *Energy and Policy Institute*, accessed [6/13/24](#)]



## Immigration

Project 2025 proposes to severely roll back both legal and unauthorized immigration through a number of extreme approaches that extend far beyond the [policies](#) of Trump's first term. The plan could facilitate mass deportations of millions of immigrants or those suspected to be immigrants and drastically increase the number of people held in immigrant detention facilities.. Highlighting the centrality of immigration to Project 2025's vision, *Mandate for Leadership* [calls for](#) dismantling the Department of Homeland Security and creating a "standalone border and immigration agency at the Cabinet level."

*Mandate* would [restrict](#) legal immigration in several ways. One method is by phasing out seasonal, guest worker programs – for both agricultural and nonagricultural work, such as in tourism-based service industries. Another is by limiting the use of visas for survivors of human trafficking and for immigrants who have cooperated with authorities after having been the victim of a crime committed in the United States. Still another is by withholding visas for would-be emigrants from what are known as recalcitrant countries – that is, countries who refuse to cooperate with U.S. deportation measures. That policy treats everyday foreign nationals as pawns in a conflict between opposing governments, nothing but leverage to be deployed against regimes they may have little or no control over.

Project 2025 also targets immigrants authorized to be in the United States by promising to revoke all Temporary Protected Status designations. According to the American Immigration Council, more than [863,000 people](#) had TPS as of March, and their lives would be thrown into chaos if it were revoked. Beyond TPS beneficiaries, *Mandate* threatens to upend the lives of approximately 500,000 Dreamers – young people protected by the Deferred Action for Childhood Arrival program – by [preventing](#) federal workers from processing new applications or renewing existing claims.

But the throughline of *Mandate's* approach to immigration is its obsession with punishing unauthorized immigration through its heavy reliance on policing and detention. Much of the immigration policy appears in the chapter on the Department of Homeland Security, and it repeatedly demands that the next president and Congress expand draconian police powers toward immigrant communities. Most significantly, *Mandate* calls on Congress to combine Immigration and Customs Enforcement with Customs and Border Protection, centralizing immigration enforcement that happens in the interior, at the border regions, and in the dozens of [countries around the world](#)



where U.S. border and immigration forces operate.

*Mandate* imagines that this new initiative – the Border Security and Immigration Agency – would utilize “U.S. military personnel and resources” with the aim of “increasing whole-of-government efforts” in limiting immigration. Toward that end, ICE should “remove self-imposed limitations on its nationwide jurisdiction” and clarify that its deportation officers should carry out “the civil arrest, detention, and removal of immigration violators *anywhere* in the United States, without warrant where appropriate.” (Emphasis in original.)

To support this increase in operational tempo, Congress should give ICE funding “for a significant increase in detention space, raising the daily available number of beds to 100,000.” If enacted, that would nearly [triple](#) the number of immigrants held in dangerous – [often deadly](#) – prisonlike conditions. Those new detainees would include women and children who could potentially be held for extended periods of time in harsh conditions, as *Mandate* calls for Congress to end the Flores agreement, which currently [places limits](#) on family detention. Oversight would be minimal as well, as *Mandate* calls for the elimination of the Office of the Immigration Detention Ombudsman (currently run by Michelle Brané, whom the right-wing New York Post [refers](#) to as an “anti-ICE activist”).

Under Project 2025, it wouldn’t just be federal immigration enforcement that gets expanded. Additionally, Congress should “unequivocally authorize state and local law enforcement to participate in immigration and border security actions,” thus potentially empowering beat cops to demand any resident’s papers during routine police interactions.

**“We are in the process of the second American Revolution, which will remain bloodless if the left allows it to be.”**

*Heritage President Kevin Roberts*  
-[*Real America’s Voice, War Room, 7/2/24*]

## Spotlight on: Stephen Miller

Stephen Miller is a former senior adviser to Donald Trump, and he served as a leading advocate for some of the administration's most cruel and draconian policies. He is [expected](#) to return to the White House if Trump wins in November. During Trump's first term, Miller [engineered](#) the various iterations of the administration's "Muslim ban" and worked [alongside](#) Tom Homan, who would later become Trump's acting director of Immigration and Customs Enforcement, to implement the administration's family separation policy.

Since Trump's loss in 2020, Miller went on to found America First Legal, a right-wing organization that bills itself as a conservative answer to the American Civil Liberties Union. Since its inception, AFL has [advanced myths](#) about "anti-white" bigotry and discrimination across the public and private sectors and has [crusaded](#) against diversity, equity, and inclusion programs. In its short time in the conservative think tank ecosystem, AFL has already [become](#) "vital to the American right," in the words of Heritage President Kevin Roberts.

In July, Miller attempted to [distance](#) himself and AFL from Project 2025, as Trump had done just days prior. Like Trump's, Miller's disavowal rings hollow. Last September, Miller appeared in a recruitment video for Project 2025. AFL's executive director, executive vice president, and general counsel Gene Hamilton wrote *Mandate's* chapter on turning the Department of Justice into a tool for Trump's retribution plans (Roberts was speaking with Hamilton when he praised AFL). Three other AFL associates are listed as "contributors" to *Mandate*, and Hamilton's chapter concludes by thanking AFL's staff for "their assistance."

Miller's extremism is well-documented. In 2019, the Southern Poverty Law Center [revealed](#) that Miller frequently sent [white nationalist](#) material to Breitbart News over the course of 2015 and 2016, mostly while working for then-Sen. Jeff Sessions (R-AL). In one case, Miller sent a blog from white nationalist site VDare, a Southern Poverty Law Center-[designated](#) hate group that pushes the racist "great replacement" theory. In [another](#), he recommended the racist novel *The Camp of the Saints*, an anti-migrant tract beloved by neo-Nazis for its negative portrayal of nonwhite foreigners.

Miller continues to be a frequent guest on Fox News and on other right-wing media, frequently [spreading](#) anti-migrant bigotry and advocating for nativist immigration policy. As [recently](#) as March, Miller [once again](#) advanced a version of the "great replacement" theory, arguing on *Hannity* that Democrats want to use migrants "to increase and make permanent their political power."

Last September, Miller [promised](#) that under a second Trump administration the military would carry out large-scale deportations of millions of undocumented people in the United States. In November, he [told](#) *The New York Times*: "Trump will unleash the vast arsenal of federal powers to implement the most spectacular migration crackdown." He [repeated](#) a version of that pledge in February at the Conservative Political Action Conference, telling the audience: "You grab illegal immigrants, and then you move them to the staging grounds, and that's where the planes are waiting."

## IN THEIR OWN WORDS:

- Heritage visiting fellow **Tom Homan** pledged that if “Trump comes back in January, I’ll be on his heels coming back, and I will run the biggest deportation force this country has ever seen.” Homan added: “They ain’t seen shit yet. Wait until 2025.” [Semafor, [7/9/24](#)]
- **Homan** repeated his promise days later at a Heritage-sponsored event at the National Republican Convention, telling the audience, “We are going to have a historic deportation operation.” He later added: “Every illegal alien is a criminal.” [YouTube, Heritage’s Policy Fest at the Republican National Convention, [7/16/24](#)]
- The Claremont Institute’s **Michael Anton** called for the end of birthright citizenship in 2018, writing: “The notion that simply being born within the geographical limits of the United States automatically confers U.S. citizenship is an absurdity – historically, constitutionally, philosophically and practically.” [The Washington Post, [7/18/18](#)]
- **The Heritage Foundation** recently called for weakening birthright citizenship as well, proposing that a new law “could specify that to acquire citizenship at birth in the United States, a person would need to have at least one U.S. citizen parent at the time of birth.” [Heritage.org, [7/15/24](#)]
- Project 2025 adviser **John McEntee** complained that Americans whose parents are not citizens are able to vote: “It’s just crazy that we allow this.” [Media Matters, [5/1/24](#)]
- The **Mandate for Leadership** seeks to override local and state policies that prohibit law enforcement from turning immigrants in to federal authorities for deportation. Immigration and Customs Enforcement deportation officers should prioritize “the civil arrest, detention, and removal of immigration violators anywhere in the United States, without warrant where appropriate, subject only to the civil warrant requirements of the INA [Immigration and Nationality Act] where appropriate.” [Project 2025, *Mandate for Leadership*, [2023](#)]



**anti-immigrant fanatic who has pushed draconian policies.** Cuccinelli served as acting director of U.S. Citizenship and Immigration Services under Trump and repeatedly advocated against birthright citizenship. While serving in that role, he suggested that Dreamers might be eligible for deportation by the millions if the Supreme Court revoked Obama-era Deferred Action for Childhood Arrivals protections. He also instituted a rule that sought to punish authorized immigrants who used “public benefits like food stamps or Medicaid.” [Axios, [9/12/19](#); NPR, [8/13/19](#); Christian Science Monitor, [10/16/19](#); The American Prospect, [2/29/24](#)]

- **Some of the anti-immigration policy proposed in *Mandate* falls under the guise of “support[ing] American workers,” but as the chapter on Labor makes clear, Project 2025’s policies would be disastrous for the domestic working class.** It calls on Congress to “cap and phase down the H-2A visa program” – which covers foreign-born agricultural workers – over a period of “10 to 20 years.” It similarly calls on Congress to “phase out the H-2B visa program” – for nonagricultural workers – over a period of “no more than 10 years.” Although it is true that large corporations frequently exploit foreign-born workers through these programs, a 2022 study found that H-2B visas didn’t harm U.S.-born workers and in some cases resulted in more available jobs for both immigrants and native-born workers. And despite *Mandate*’s claim to support workers, its policy recommendations would undermine unions and roll back overtime and workplace safety regulations. [Project 2025, *Mandate for Leadership*, [2023](#); Economic Policy Institute, [7/20/22](#); *Immigration Impact*, [11/3/22](#); Media Matters, [7/18/24](#)]
- **Project 2025 partner the Center for Immigration Studies has been designated by the Southern Poverty Law Center as an anti-immigrant hate group.** It is one of several organizations founded by John Tanton, whom the SPLC describes as the “racist architect of the modern anti-immigrant movement.” [Southern Poverty Law Center, accessed [7/21/24](#), accessed [7/21/24](#)]
- **CIS senior fellow Todd Bensman is a regular guest on Steve Bannon’s *War Room*, where he has spread xenophobic misinformation.** During an appearance last September, he falsely claimed that migrant families were getting monthly checks for \$2,200 from the Biden administration. [Media Matters, [10/24/23](#)]
- **Bensman has appeared on at least three QAnon-linked programs as well as the white nationalist *The Stew Peters Show*, and has been cited dozens of times by white nationalist organization VDare.** [Media Matters, [9/18/23](#)]

## Education

Project 2025 seeks to overhaul America's education system and the support it gets from the federal government by [eliminating](#) the Department of Education, [gutting](#) federal loan programs, lifting regulations on federal education spending, and redirecting public school funding "to fund families directly" to allow "education choice."

In the introduction to Project 2025, Heritage Foundation President Kevin Roberts [wrote](#) that "bureaucrats at the Department of Education inject racist, anti-American, ahistorical propaganda into America's classrooms." This language echoes years of [right-wing media attacks](#) against schools and teachers as "[woke](#)" "[groomers](#)" who push radical racial and gender propaganda.

Lindsey Burke, author of the chapter on the Department of Education, opens the section [simply](#): "Federal education policy should be limited and, ultimately, the federal Department of Education should be eliminated." She argues that the department has "failed to promote student achievement" and instead created unnecessary regulation, and she proposes moving many of its various offices to other departments.

Burke outlines a plan to redirect federal public school funding to individual families to pay for "a diverse set of education options." She argues that promoting school choice "can be achieved without establishing a new federal program" and proposes using existing public education funding to do so, suggesting using "existing federal education spending to fund families directly or allowing federal tax credits to encourage voluntary contributions to K-12 education savings accounts managed by charitable nonprofits" to "significantly advance education choice."

Burke seeks to universalize funding originally intended for low-income students. The policy book [proposes](#) removing federal oversight for funds under Title I, a program that "provides support for low-income districts," and instead handling them as "no-strings-attached" state grants "with no regulation or oversight." Federal education funding for students with special needs would "also be converted to unregulated block grants." Project 2025 also proposes expanding the D.C. Opportunity Scholarship, intended for low-income children in D.C., to universal eligibility.

Burke also advocates for phasing out federal student loans and restoring "student loans and grants ... to the private sector," as well as taking action to ensure that federal investments in higher education "bolster economic growth." She claims that "the federal government does not have the proper incentives to make sound lending decisions" and that privatization will allow "market prices and signals to influence educational borrowing" to bring "consumer-driven accountability" to student loans. The policy book also calls for eliminating the Public Service Loan Forgiveness program, as it "prioritizes government and public sector work over private sector employment."

Project 2025 would also rescind the congressional charter of the National Education Association, the country's largest teachers union, which Burke calls "a demonstrably radical special interest group that overwhelmingly supports left-of-center policies and policymakers."

Project 2025 has partnered with Moms for Liberty, an extreme far-right group that rose to prominence in the backlash to COVID-19 school policies and has become a stalwart oppositional force to various LGBTQ- and diversity-related efforts in schools and school libraries.



## Spotlight on: Moms for Liberty

Moms for Liberty is a partner with Project 2025 and a right-wing astroturf organization attempting to gut public education while masquerading as a grassroots parental rights advocacy group. The Heritage Foundation was instrumental in Moms for Liberty’s meteoric rise and has provided the group with resources and funding.

Moms for Liberty [launched](#) in January 2021 and was [immediately](#) embraced and elevated by right-wing media. The group quickly began utilizing common frustrations about COVID-19 mitigation policies, such as school closures and mask mandates, to recruit new members.

As COVID-19 restrictions lifted, Moms for Liberty’s advocacy shifted to fearmongering about an ambiguous critical race theory boogeyman in public schools – which eventually devolved into [baseless panic](#) about gender ideology, social-emotional learning, sex education, and [books](#). Moms for Liberty’s leadership has manufactured and sold terror to parents, [leading](#) to [unprecedented book bans](#) and [anti-LGBTQ smears](#).

Across the country, Moms for Liberty members have been linked to numerous incidents of [harassment and threats](#) directed at teachers, administrators, school board members, and those opposed to the group’s agenda. In 2023, the Southern Poverty Law Centers designated Moms for Liberty an [anti-government extremist group](#).

From the start, Moms for Liberty’s organizational priorities aligned with those of The Heritage Foundation. Moms for Liberty’s original [parental resource page](#) was almost exclusively composed of Heritage links and material. In 2022, Moms for Liberty was awarded Heritage’s [Salvatori Prize for American Citizenship](#). And Heritage sponsored Moms for Liberty’s national summit in [2022](#) and [2023](#), with Heritage President Kevin Roberts [speaking](#) at the 2023 summit.



## IN THEIR OWN WORDS:

- **Joseph Backholm**, senior fellow at Family Research Council, said that “public schools are religious schools.” [Family Research Council, *Washington Watch*, [6/21/24](#)]
- In *Mandate’s* chapter on education, **Burke** wrote: “Elementary and secondary education policy should follow the path outlined by Milton Friedman in 1955, wherein education is publicly funded but education decisions are made by families.” [Project 2025, *Mandate for Leadership*, [2023](#)]
- **Burke** said on Fox in 2020 that a list of requests made by the Los Angeles teachers unions about advancing a radical agenda that includes everything from eliminating charter schools and raising taxes to Medicare for All and defunding the police.” She added: “We should not be defunding the police – if anything, we should be defunding the teachers unions to provide some real accountability to families.” [Media Matters, [7/16/20](#)]
- In *Mandate*, **Burke** wrote that “radical gender ideology is having a devastating effect on school-aged children today—especially young girls.” [Project 2025, *Mandate for Leadership*, [2023](#)]
- Representatives of Project 2025 partners the **Family Research Council and Center for Family and Human Rights** wrote in a 2018 article that “government schools” present a “danger ... to the souls of their children and even the soul of our country.” [The Stream, [9/10/18](#)]
- Heritage Foundation research fellow **E.J. Antoni** wrote a blog arguing that “schools educating fewer students and providing a poor education should receive less money, not more.” [The Heritage Foundation, [5/18/23](#)]
- Project 2025 partner the **Dr. James Dobson Family Institute** wrote that “the secular culture is manipulating the minds of your sons and daughters every day of the school year.” [Dr. James Dobson Family Institute, [1/19/22](#)]

“Federal education policy should be limited and, ultimately, the federal Department of Education should be eliminated.”

*Heritage’s Lindsey Burke*

-[Project 2025, *Mandate for Leadership*, 2023]



## GO DEEPER:

- **Project 2025's education plan would gut the \$18 billion Title I federal funding that supports low-income students.** Project 2025 would first cut all regulation of Title I spending before phasing it out completely within a decade. Noelle Ellerson Ng of The School Superintendents Association told EdWeek that this plan is not “focused on student learning and attainment,” but rather “on reducing the size of government and reducing spending.” Katherine Dunn of the Advancement Project criticized the plan as interpreting education as “personal good” instead of a “collective value.” [EdWeek, [3/25/24](#)]
- **Project 2025 would limit the government's enforcement of civil rights laws in schools.** Burke claims those initiatives disrupt “the values that hold communities together such as equality under the law and colorblindness.” The policy book calls for moving the Department of Education's Office for Civil Rights, “which investigates potential civil rights violations in schools,” to the Department of Justice, making it “only ... able to enforce civil rights laws through litigation, ending its common practice of negotiating settlements with school districts to change their practices.” [Project 2025, *Mandate for Leadership*, [2023](#); EdWeek, [3/25/24](#)]
- **Project 2025 would have the administration drop all ongoing Title IX investigations and would undo expansions of the title carried out under the Biden administration.** Title IX provides gender discrimination protections and has been expanded under the Biden administration to protect against sexual orientation and gender identity discrimination. [Project 2025, *Mandate for Leadership*, [2023](#); AP News, [4/19/24](#)]
- **Project 2025 proposes encouraging Congress to pass some sort of “Parents’ Bill of Rights” that complements similar bills in Florida, Georgia, Montana, Wyoming, Idaho, Oklahoma, Virginia, and Arizona.** The Florida measure, for instance, targets “how teachers and students can use their pronouns in schools” and “tightens restrictions on school lessons about sexual identity and gender orientation, which lawmakers say should happen at home,” according to Politico. Project 2025 specifies that “federal lawmakers should not allow public school employees to keep secrets about a child from that child's parents.” [Project 2025, *Mandate for Leadership*, [2023](#); Politico, [3/31/23](#)]
- **Project 2025 would ban public school staff from using students’ preferred names and/or pronouns “without the written permission of a student’s parents or guardians” and says no staff should be forced to do so “if contrary to the employee’s or contractor’s religious or moral convictions.”** [Project 2025, *Mandate for Leadership*, [2023](#)]
- **Project 2025 would allow states “to opt out of federal education programs,” saying they create a “regulatory burden” which can “hinder local school districts.”** [Project 2025, *Mandate for Leadership*, [2023](#)]
- **Project 2025 outlines protections for faith-based institutions, such as prohibiting higher education accreditation agencies from mandating standards that “undermine the religious beliefs of” faith-based institutions and “intruding on the governance” of such colleges and universities.** [Project 2025, *Mandate for Leadership*, [2023](#)]
- **Project 2025 would cap federal funding of “overhead expenses associated with university-based research” in order to “reduce federal taxpayer subsidization of leftist agendas.”** [Project 2025, *Mandate for Leadership*, [2023](#)]
- **The Heritage Foundation and two Project 2025 partners, Family Research Council and American Family Association, which are both Southern Poverty Law Center-designated [hate groups](#), have both promoted LifeWise, an organization that aims to bring Bible study to public schools.** According to LifeWise, two relatively obscure Supreme Court decisions “allow for religious instruction during regular school hours as long as it takes place offsite and isn’t promoted or funded by the school or district.” [Media Matters, [4/5/24](#); American Family Association, [8/1/23](#)]
- **Six Project 2025 partners – the American Family Association, Eagle Forum, the Family Research Council, First Liberty Institute, the Dr. James Dobson Family Institute, and Turning Point USA – have expressed support for a [Louisiana law](#) requiring public school classrooms to display the Ten Commandments.** [American Family Association, [6/27/24](#); Eagle Forum, [6/26/24](#); Family Research Council, *Washington Watch*, [6/26/24](#); First Liberty Institute, [6/19/24](#); Dr. James Dobson Family Institute, accessed [7/19/24](#); Salem Media Group, *The Charlie Kirk Show*, [6/20/24](#)]
- **Project 2025 partner American Cornerstone Institute, led by former Trump Housing and Urban Development Secretary Ben Carson, has advocated to limit federal student loans to “creditworthy” or “low-risk” students who are “acquiring marketable skills after graduation,” which it says would serve “a national interest in promoting some careers over others.”** [American Cornerstone Institute,

- [9/6/23](#)]
- **The American Family Association released a statement in support of a Nebraska bill that would allow public school students to get credit for attending religious classes outside of school.** In 2022, fellow Project 2025 partner Dr. James Dobson Family Institute promoted Bible2School, a program that offers such classes to elementary students. [American Family Association, [2/12/24](#); Dr. James Dobson Family Institute, [8/15/22](#)]
  - **Project 2025 partner the Ethics and Public Policy Center drafted model legislation that “discourages” protest walkouts in K-12 public schools, claiming that “excused walk-outs are ... a form of indoctrination” and that “undisciplined walkouts also teach students that rules can be broken with no consequences.”** The model bill would prohibit documenting protest attendance as an excused absence, with its authors arguing that “political walk-outs will be dealt with” in the same way “other instances of truancy” are treated. [Ethics and Public Policy Center, [6/3/24](#)]
  - **In a piece titled “There Is Nothing Worth Saving in America’s Public Schools,” EPPC’s Mary Rice Hasson and Theresa Farnan wrote, with a focus on the 2024 election cycle, that “America’s stubborn commitment to progressive-controlled government education has already abandoned ‘the vast majority’ of our children ‘to the progressive cause’ for well over a decade.”** They complain that Republican politicians attempting to appease their bases by “recommitting” to public education does nothing to prevent progressive indoctrination or habits of unbelief from taking hold in their children.” They instead urge Republican politicians “who aid the money flow from taxpayers to government schools” to instead “empower parents” toward school choice. [Ethics and Public Policy Center, [6/23/23](#)]
  - **Family Research Council senior fellow Meg Kilgannon argued that “there’s too much public money on the table to just leave it to liberals to use as they wish to ruin our nation’s children” and that “the Right needs to stop bashing government schools and instead roll up our sleeves and clean up the mess.”** Kilgannon has also claimed that “a predominant reason why our nation’s schools are failing is that they are currently controlled by only one kind of thinking— progressive.” [Family Research Council, [2/5/19](#), [2021](#)]
  - **In a proposed 2024 budget for the Department of Education, Project 2025 partner the Center for Renewing America suggested cutting funding for or altogether eliminating programs that support access to higher education and provide grants to low-performing schools to improve student achievement.** It proposes cutting the funding for the School Improvement Program, which provides grants to low-performing schools to improve achievement, from \$5.8 million to just under \$400,000; cutting the budget for Higher Education Programs, which supports broadening access to higher education, from \$3.5 million to \$420,000; eliminating Federal Supplemental Educational Opportunity Grants, which support financially needy undergraduate students, and eliminating Safe Schools and Citizen Education grants, designed to help schools “improve students’ safety and well-being, enhance the educational and developmental outcomes of children in distressed communities, and provide comprehensive social, emotional, health, and academic services for students, students’ family members, and community members in school settings by integrating existing school- and community-based supports.” [Center for Renewing America, [2/22/23](#); Benefits.gov, accessed [7/12/24](#); Department of Education, accessed [7/12/24](#), accessed [7/22/24](#), accessed [7/22/24](#)]

## LGBTQ+

Attacks on LGBTQ+ people can be found underpinning multiple aspects of Project 2025’s ambitious vision throughout the 920-page *Mandate for Leadership*. Wide-ranging attacks on the transgender community, in particular, make up a cornerstone of Project 2025’s anti-LGBTQ agenda, which seeks to strip LGBTQ people of federal protections across the nation and to implement a religious-based order that singles out and diminishes the rights of queer people.

*Mandate* outlines The Heritage Foundation’s push to pursue research into conversion therapy in order to encourage gender and sexuality conformity; calls on the next secretary of Health and Human Services to “immediately put an end to the department’s foray into woke transgender activism,” which would include removing terms related to gender and sexual identity from “every federal rule, agency regulation, contract, grant, regulation, and piece of legislation that exists”; and demands that the next right-wing administration “reverse policies that allow transgender individuals to serve in the military.”

In the policy book’s foreword, Heritage President Kevin Roberts dives straight into anti-LGBT attacks. He calls for an end to gender-affirming care for trans youth and describes an “omnipresent propagation of transgender ideology and sexualization of children” as “pornography” that “should be outlawed,” adding, “The people who produce and distribute it should be imprisoned.”

Additionally, the text repeatedly [claims](#) that marriage and families are made up of a man and a woman and includes attacks on nontraditional and same-sex parenting.

Project 2025 and Heritage have aligned with anti-LGBTQ groups that [have attacked](#) same-sex marriage, including the Family Research Council and the Alabama Policy Institute, among others.



## Spotlight on: Marriage equality and family structure

Project 2025's vision for marriage and family is based on a narrow worldview that prioritizes heterosexuality and the nuclear family structure. Throughout *Mandate*, the authors repeatedly state that marriage should consist of one man and one woman and that the "ideal" family structure consists of a heterosexual married couple and their children.

Heritage's Roger Severino, the author of *Mandate's* Health and Human Services chapter, does not mince words when explaining the group's ideal family structure, writing, "Families comprised of a married mother, father, and their children are the foundation of a well-ordered nation and healthy society." Severino continues to hammer this same idea later in the chapter, asserting that "married men and women are the ideal, natural family structure because all children have a right to be raised by the men and women who conceived them."

*Mandate* calls for a "biblically based" definition of marriage and family and attacks nontraditional and single-parent family structures, arguing that "social science reports that assess the objective outcomes for children raised in homes aside from a heterosexual, intact marriage are clear: All other family forms involve higher levels of instability (the average length of same-sex marriages is half that of heterosexual marriages); financial stress or poverty; and poor behavioral, psychological, or educational outcomes." These claims from *Mandate* have been [disputed](#) by other [research](#) indicating that children raised by same-sex couples experience outcomes similar to or better than children raised by heterosexual parents.

Following the fall of *Roe*, ending same-sex marriage equality could [become](#) the next target of the Supreme Court and a Republican administration. Various Project 2025 advisory board members such as the [Family Research Council](#), [American Principals Project](#), and [Alabama Policy Institute](#) have all come out against same-sex marriage.

Additionally, several Project 2025 partners have [attacked](#) or outright called for the end of no-fault divorce, the [option](#) to dissolve a marriage without having to prove wrongdoing by a partner. Research [highlighted](#) by CNN found "no-fault divorce correlates with a reduction in female suicides and a reduction in intimate partner violence," including "an 8 to 16% decrease in female suicides after states enacted no-fault divorce laws."

**“Children suffer the toxic normalization of transgenderism with drag queens and pornography invading their school libraries.”**

*Heritage President Kevin Roberts*

*-[Project 2025, Mandate for Leadership, 2023]*

## IN THEIR OWN WORDS:

- Heritage President **Kevin Roberts**, in the foreword to *Mandate*: “Children suffer the toxic normalization of transgenderism with drag queens and pornography invading their school libraries.” [Project 2025, *Mandate for Leadership*, [2023](#)]
- **Roberts’** foreword: “The noxious tenets of ‘critical race theory’ and ‘gender ideology’ should be excised from curricula in every public school in the country. These theories poison our children, who are being taught on the one hand to affirm that the color of their skin fundamentally determines their identity and even their moral status while on the other they are taught to deny the very creatureliness that inheres in being human and consists in accepting the givenness of our nature as men or women.” [Project 2025, *Mandate for Leadership*, [2023](#)]
- **Mandate for Leadership**: “The next Administration should take particular note of how radical gender ideology is having a devastating effect on school-aged children today—especially young girls.” [Project 2025, *Mandate for Leadership*, [2023](#)]
- **Mandate for Leadership**: “The next secretary should also reverse the Biden Administration’s focus on “LGBTQ+ equity,” subsidizing single-motherhood, disincentivizing work, and penalizing marriage,’ replacing such policies with those encouraging marriage, work, motherhood, fatherhood, and nuclear families.” [Project 2025, *Mandate for Leadership*, [2023](#)]
- **Mandate for Leadership**: The next secretary of Health and Human Services should “immediately put an end to the department’s foray into woke transgender activism,” which would include removing terms related to gender and sexual identity from “every federal rule, agency regulation, contract, grant, regulation, and piece of legislation that exists,” *Mandate* states. The Trump administration proposed a similar idea in 2018 that would have resulted in trans people losing protections under anti-discrimination laws. [Project 2025, *Mandate for Leadership*, [2023](#); Media Matters, [3/20/24](#)]
- **Roberts’** foreword: “Pornography, manifested today in the omnipresent propagation of transgender ideology and sexualization of children ... should be outlawed,” and, “The people who produce and distribute it should be imprisoned.” Roberts also wrote that “educators and public librarians who purvey it should be classed as registered sex offenders. And telecommunications and technology firms that facilitate its spread should be shuttered.” [Project 2025, *Mandate for Leadership*, [2023](#); Media Matters, [3/20/24](#)]
- **Roberts’** foreword: “Allowing parents or physicians to ‘reassign’ the sex of a minor is child abuse and must end.” [Project 2025, *Mandate for Leadership*, [2023](#); Media Matters, [3/20/24](#)]
- **Mandate for Leadership**: The next GOP administration should “reverse policies that allow transgender individuals to serve in the military.” The policy book’s chapter on the Defense Department claims: “Gender dysphoria is incompatible with the demands of military service, and the use of public monies for transgender surgeries ... for servicemembers should be ended.” [Project 2025, *Mandate for Leadership*, [2023](#); Media Matters, [3/20/24](#)]
- The **Family Research Council**, a Project 2025 advisory board organization and Southern Poverty Law Center-designated hate group: “The position of social conservatives regarding homosexuality is based on the conviction that homosexual conduct is objectively harmful.” [Project2025.org, accessed [7/16/24](#); Southern Poverty Law Center, accessed [7/16/24](#)]
- **Family Research Council**: “Family Research Council believes that homosexual conduct is harmful to the persons who engage in it and to society at large, and can never be affirmed. It is by definition unnatural, and as such is associated with negative physical and psychological health effects.” [Southern Poverty Law Center, accessed [7/16/24](#)]
- The **American Family Association**, a Project 2025 advisory board organization and Southern Poverty Law Center-designated hate group: “Homosexuality gave us Adolph Hitler, and homosexuals in the military gave us the Brown Shirts, the Nazi war machine and six million dead Jews.” [Project2025.org, accessed [7/16/24](#); Southern Poverty Law Center, accessed [7/16/24](#)]

## GO DEEPER:

- **Several anti-LGBTQ hate groups are featured on Project 2025’s advisory board and partner organizations list.** Some of these organizations — including the Alliance Defending Freedom, American Family Association, Center for Family and Human Rights, and Family Research Council — are Southern Poverty Law Center-designated hate groups. [Project 2025.org, accessed [7/16/24](#); GLAAD, [6/24/24](#); Southern Poverty Law Center, accessed [7/16/24](#), accessed [7/16/24](#), accessed [7/16/24](#), accessed [7/16/24](#)]
- **Project 2025 suggests funding research into conversion therapy to be used against trans youth.** *Mandate* calls for the National Institute of Health to research the “likelihood of desistence” if trans youth “are given counseling that does not include medical or social interventions.” [The New Republic, [2/8/24](#); The 19th, [7/16/24](#); Project 2025, *Mandate for Leadership*, [2023](#)]
- **Mandate calls for abolishing the Gender Policy Council within the Executive Office of the President, which it claims would end the supposed promotion of abortion, sex education, and “the new woke gender ideology.”** The policy book suggests replacing the Gender Policy Council with positions that will demonstrate “that promoting life and strengthening the family is a priority.” [Project 2025, *Mandate for Leadership*, [2023](#)]
- **The policy book demands abolishment of the U.S. Agency for International Development’s diversity, equity, and inclusion work and that the agency “issue a directive to cease promotion of the DEI agenda, including the bullying LGBTQ+ agenda.”** [Project 2025, *Mandate for Leadership*, [2023](#)]
- **The policy book suggests ending “regulations prohibiting discrimination on the basis of sexual orientation, gender identity, transgender status, and sex characteristics.”** *Mandate* says, “The President should direct agencies to rescind regulations interpreting sex discrimination provisions as prohibiting discrimination on the basis of sexual orientation, gender identity, transgender status, sex characteristics, etc.” [Project 2025, *Mandate for Leadership*, [2023](#)]
- **Mandate suggests the next president “should direct agencies to focus their enforcement of sex discrimination laws on the biological binary meaning of ‘sex.’”** [Project 2025, *Mandate for Leadership*, [2023](#)]
- **Project 2025 calls for the Centers for Disease Control and Prevention to “immediately end its collection of data on gender identity, which legitimizes the unscientific notion that men can become women (and vice versa).”** [Project 2025, *Mandate for Leadership*, [2023](#)]



## Diversity, equity, and inclusion

Virtually every section in [Mandate for Leadership](#) discusses Project 2025's adamant mission to root out existing policies and government initiatives Kevin Roberts describes in the foreword as "The Great Awakening." Roberts calls for the removal of "the terms sexual orientation and gender identity ('SOGI'), diversity, equity, and inclusion ('DEI'), ... out of every federal rule, agency regulation, contract, grant, regulation, and piece of legislation that exists."

Of the 39 chapters in Project 2025's policy book, 12 include direct mentions of DEI or "woke" policies that should be addressed by the next presidential administration. In his description of the president's responsibilities, Russ Vought claims the federal bureaucracy is currently working to impose "the policy plans and preferences of a radical, supposedly 'woke' faction of the country" on others and that it should be adjusted toward a more conservative focus.

Many of the proposals around DEI in the policy book call for the complete removal of any related programs, positions, or even contracted organizations that may have DEI initiatives. The Department of the Treasury chapter lists specific steps for the removal of any DEI-related programs, including interviewing "every Treasury official who participated in DEI initiatives" in order to "ensure that such initiatives are completely ended." This section also recommends that any involvement with DEI initiatives should be "grounds for termination of employment."

In a section on the United States Agency for International Development, author Max Primorac claims that USAID's DEI initiatives have helped to "racialize the agency and create a hostile work environment for anyone who disagrees with the Biden Administration's identity politics" and calls for the elimination of any DEI programs. Primorac also suggests that "staff ... as well as implementers and grantees that engage in ideological agitation on behalf of the DEI agenda should be dismissed, and entities should be debarred."

Though many of the references to DEI programs in *Mandate* are department-specific, the Department of Justice section goes even further in suggesting the Civil Rights Division should "investigate and prosecute" discrimination by "all state and local governments, institutions of higher education, corporations, and any other private employers" and says DEI programs are "vehicles" for "affirmative discrimination."

**“We fight DEI because we see it as a mortal threat to the American Way of Life.”**

*Scott Yenor and Ryan P. Williams of Project 2025 partner The Claremont Institute*

*-[The Claremont Institute, The American Mind, [1/21/24](#)]*

## Spotlight on: MAGA media

Since Project 2025's public rollout, MAGA media have served as an outspoken mouthpiece for the initiative, frequently attacking critical race theory and diversity, equity, and inclusion initiatives as evidence that public schools and the government have become overrun with "woke, left-wing ideologies."

Right-wing media figures have been obsessed with critical race theory and DEI since the summer of 2020, [frequently](#) fearmongering on Fox News and other outlets that they will lead to the downfall of America. This obsession has clearly manifested in the pages of *Mandate* and among partner organizations, indicating its prominence among conservative priorities going forward.

For example, radio host Mark Levin, who [recently encouraged](#) his audience to read Project 2025, has [called](#) CRT "anti-white racism." Similarly, Charlie Kirk, the founder of Project 2025 partner Turning Point USA, has [attacked](#) the Civil Rights Act for supposedly having "created a beast" that has "turned into an anti-white weapon."

Fueling the panic over critical race theory and DEI is an information [feedback loop](#) between right-wing media and conservative think tanks. Following in the footsteps of Chris Rufo's anti-critical race theory campaign, groups like Heritage Action and Center for Renewing America, a Project 2025 partner organization, published [e-books](#) and [digital toolkits](#) on how to identify and combat CRT. In 2021, Fox News [mentioned](#) CRT over 3,900 times on air, including more than 900 times in June alone.

The Center for Renewing America toolkit [used](#) thinly veiled white nationalist "great replacement" theory rhetoric to fearmonger about critical race theory, writing, "They are not trying to win an academic debate, they are trying to socially replace you."





## IN THEIR OWN WORDS:

- Heritage President **Kevin Roberts**, writing in *Mandate's* foreword: "The next conservative President must make the institutions of American civil society hard targets for woke culture warriors. This starts with deleting the terms sexual orientation and gender identity ('SOGI'), diversity, equity, and inclusion ('DEI'), gender, gender equality, gender equity, gender awareness, gender-sensitive, abortion, reproductive health, reproductive rights, and any other term used to deprive Americans of their First Amendment rights out of every federal rule, agency regulation, contract, grant, regulation, and piece of legislation that exists." [Project 2025, *Mandate for Leadership*, [2023](#)]
- The Heritage Foundation's **Sarah Parshall Perry**: "I think we need to identify critical race theory for what it is, which is Marxism. Their entire MO is to dismantle traditionalism, the Judeo-Christian value and ethic and everything that stems from what they perceive to be authoritarian." [YouTube, The Heritage Foundation, [3/12/21](#)]
- **Scott Yenor and Ryan P. Williams** of Project 2025 partner The Claremont Institute: "Today, nearly every facet of our society worships the false and pernicious view that diversity is, somehow, our greatest strength." [The Claremont Institute, *The American Mind*, [1/21/24](#)]
- **Yenor and Williams**: "We fight DEI because we see it as a mortal threat to the American Way of Life." [The Claremont Institute, *The American Mind*, [1/21/24](#)]
- America First Legal President **Stephen Miller**: "DEI is a mental poison because it prevents you from being able to objectively evaluate any situation, and to be able to understand that sometimes there's different outcomes for reasons that — in fact oftentimes — that have nothing to do with anything that the successful group did wrong." [YouTube, Lawwood, [7/4/24](#)]
- Turning Point USA founder **Charlie Kirk**: "DEI is flat-out anti-white bigotry and racism." [Turning Point USA, [5/31/23](#)]
- Eagle Forum Chairman **Anne Schlafly**: "It is no accident that diversity-equity-inclusion is called DEI. DEI is the Latin word for God; those who promote DEI see themselves as godlike." [Eagle Forum, [2/25/24](#)]

## GO DEEPER:

- **Mandate’s chapter on the Department of Defense calls for the next administration to “eliminate politicization” at the department and to “Eliminate Marxist indoctrination and divisive critical race theory programs and abolish newly established diversity, equity, and inclusion offices and staff.”** [Project 2025, *Mandate for Leadership*, [2023](#)]
- **Roger Severino writes in the chapter on the Department of Health and Human Services that “woke policies” in the National Institute of Health have violated “federal civil rights law against sex discrimination” and calls for the NIH Office of Equity, Diversity, and Inclusion to be abolished.** [Project 2025, *Mandate for Leadership*, [2023](#)]
- **Mandate’s chapter on the Federal Trade Commission suggests setting up an “ESG/DEI collusion task force to investigate” whether specific firms are using DEI programs to “obtain favorable treatment from government actors.”** [Project 2025, *Mandate for Leadership*, [2023](#)]
- **The policy book calls for a “task force” to “reverse all actions taken by the Biden Administration to advance progressive ideology” in the Department of Housing and Urban Development.** The chapter’s footnotes define these “actions” as “initiatives ... maintained under such designations as diversity, equity, and inclusion (DEI); critical race theory (CRT); black, indigenous, Pacific Islander, and other people of color (BIPOC); and environmental, social, and governance (ESG).” [Project 2025, *Mandate for Leadership*, [2023](#)]
- **The policy book calls for completely disbanding the Department of Education, in part because, Mandate asserts, it serves “advocates whose message is that children can choose their own sex, that America is ‘systemically racist,’ that math itself is racist.”** Department of Education chapter author Lindsey Burke claims that the current administration is pushing schools to “adopt diversity, equity, and inclusion policies” through Title IV grants and calls for the next administration to prohibit the requirement of DEI-related policies for grantees. The chapter also proposes the next president issue executive orders that require “an accounting of how federal programs/grants spread DEI/CRT/ gender ideology.” [Project 2025, *Mandate for Leadership*, [2023](#)]
- **Kevin Roberts wrote a piece for Heritage on DEI in the military titled “Beyond ‘Wokeness’” in which he equated the Pride flag with a “white flag” to our enemies and state that “‘wokeism’ in the military and defeat for the U.S. go hand in hand.”** [The Heritage Foundation, [6/26/23](#)]
- **Project 2025 claims that diversity initiatives undermine the U.S. Army’s “core warfighting mission” and calls to end all DEI offices and programs.** [Project 2025, *Mandate for Leadership*, [2023](#)]
- **In the Intelligence Community chapter, author Dustin Carmack urges the next director of national intelligence to “address the widely promoted ‘woke’ culture” in the intelligence community, claiming it is “replacing such traditional American values as patriotism, colorblindness, and even workplace competence.”** [Project 2025, *Mandate for Leadership*, [2023](#)]
- **In the policy book’s introduction, Roberts claims that large numbers of “Woke bureaucrats at the Pentagon force troops to attend ‘training’ seminars about ‘white privilege,’” and “bureaucrats at the State Department infuse U.S. foreign aid programs with woke extremism about ‘intersectionality’ and abortion.”** [Project 2025, *Mandate for Leadership*, [2023](#)]
- **Project 2025’s chapter on labor calls for the reversal of the “DEI revolution in labor policy,” which chapter author Jonathan Berry argues created “a vehicle with which to ... discriminate against conservative and religious viewpoints.”** [Project 2025, *Mandate for Leadership*, [2023](#)]
- **Project 2025 would cap federal funding of “overhead expenses” that it says are used to fund DEI programs at colleges and universities in order to “reduce federal taxpayer subsidization of leftist agendas.”** [Project 2025, *Mandate for Leadership*, [2023](#)]
- **Charlie Kirk, founder of Project 2025 partner Turning Point USA, has suggested that diversity, equity, and inclusion policies lower professional standards, stating, “If I see a Black pilot, I’m going to be like, ‘Boy, I hope he’s qualified.’”** Similarly, Turning Point USA’s Lauren Chen wrote in 2023, “Dumping meritocracy in favor of woke diversity demands that safety be sidelined in favor of putting representation first. ... Sooner or later, with many airline companies adhering to these degenerate liberal social values, it’s only a matter of time until domestic airline crashes become the norm.” [Media Matters, [1/25/24](#); Turning Point USA, [3/7/23](#)]
- **Jon Scheppe, policy director at Project 2025 partner organization American Principles Project, pushed Senate Republicans to ban “federal funding for DEI and CRT programs” and remove “special funding for the Smithsonian Institution’s National Museum of the American Latino, which is set to promote a woke-washed version of history, teaching young Americans to hate their country.”** He

further argued, “It can never become an inevitability that taxpayers fund abortion, sex changes, and racial discrimination. That would be an unacceptable outcome that the American people will not stand for. ... Giving up on the fight would be unforgivable.” [American Principles Project, [1/18/24](#)]

- **In a 2024 report, Project 2025 partner the Center for Renewing America suggested DEI policies were to blame for the male unemployment rate: “Looking further at the demographics of the latest unemployment report, we find that there is a large increase in male unemployment rate relative to female workers, and profound differences in outcomes by race that are strikingly consistent with the Biden Administration’s push for DEI hiring policies.”** [Center for Renewing America, [6/7/24](#)]
- **Horace Cooper, chairman of Project 2025 partner the National Center for Public Policy Research’s Project 21 Black Leadership Network initiative, called Vice President Kamala Harris a “DEI appointment” during a Fox News appearance.** Cooper said, “She’s not willing to put the effort in. She’s not willing to study. She’s not willing to try to take a leadership role. She thinks that things ought to be handed to her, and you know why? Because she’s a DEI appointment. You don’t take one of those senior positions in our government and give it to a DEI person.” [National Center for Public Policy Research, [7/8/24](#)]
- **In 2021, The Heritage Foundation released a report complaining about DEI initiatives on college campuses.** The report claimed that DEI staffing is “bloated” in relation to academic programs and has no real effect on students’ “personal experiences with diversity” on campuses. It also suggested state legislators and donors investigate universities that have DEI initiatives on campus. [The Heritage Foundation, [7/27/21](#)]
- **In a 2022 report, The Heritage Foundation declared that “most of DEI’s practices violate the Constitution and the Civil Rights Act” and said they were invented to promote “the lie that America is systemically racist.”** [The Heritage Foundation, [12/21/22](#)]
- **In September 2022, Project 2025 partner The Claremont Institute published a report titled “Grooming Future Revolutionaries” that claimed that the Department of Defense Education Activity had “fully dedicated itself to the woke agenda,” calling out diversity and inclusion initiatives in DOD-run schools.** Fellow partner organization Eagle Forum referred to these initiatives as “left-wing extremism.” [The Claremont Institute, [9/7/22](#); Eagle Forum, [4/15/24](#)]

## Military and veteran policy

Project 2025's nearly 900-page policy [book](#), *Mandate for Leadership*, includes suggestions for the U.S. military to end the "Left's social experimentation" and calls to drastically expand funding to the Pentagon. It's been [estimated](#) that the Project 2025 proposals for military expansion through new technology — including "nuclear weapons, missile defense, and offensive weapons in space" — would cost hundreds of billions of dollars.

The introduction to the policy book by Heritage Foundation President Kevin Roberts argues that the military, under a conservative president, must "restore warfighting as its sole mission, and set defeating the threat of the Chinese Communist Party as its highest priority." The chapter on the Department of Defense written by Christopher Miller, the former acting secretary of defense under Trump, suggests that "the Biden Administration's profoundly unserious equity agenda and vaccine mandates have taken a serious toll" and helped reduce the DOD to a "deeply troubled institution."

Miller's chapter for Project 2025 repeatedly [suggests](#) cutting back on bureaucratic processes to speed up "innovation" and rush to deploy new technologies, saying the Navy, for example, should "harness innovation and willingness to tolerate risk so that 'good enough' systems can be fielded rapidly." He also proposes bypassing congressional approval for weapons sales, rolling back recruitment exceptions for people with HIV or gender dysphoria, and removing any DEI-related programs from military-affiliated offices. Project 2025 partner organizations the Center for Military Readiness, the MacArthur Society of West Point Graduates, and Stand Together Against Racism and Radicalism in the Services (STARRS) [have each called](#) for the removal of DEI programs in the military.

The policy book also includes a chapter on the Department of Veterans Affairs written by former Trump VA staffer and campaign adviser Brooks Tucker. Like Project 2025's proposals for many other agencies discussed in the policy book, the key staffing [initiative](#) for the VA is to replace any current leadership with employees aligned with the GOP agenda.

Tucker [suggests](#) rescinding policies that "are contrary to principles of conservative governance," such as abortion and gender-affirming care, and pushes to [outsource](#) much of the VA's work to private health care companies. (A large number of veterans have a positive view of the VA's health care services and multiple reviews show the VA to have equal, if not better, care than non-VA providers.)

Discussing concerns about the VA's budget, Tucker proposes that the next administration should "explore" how to limit disability awards by excluding disabilities that may be "tenuously related or wholly unrelated to military service."

Beyond Project 2025 itself, founding organization The Heritage Foundation [released](#) a "Budget Blueprint for Fiscal Year 2023" that suggested slashing VA benefits, including not allowing veterans to receive disability and retirement payments at the same time and limiting the number of disabled veterans who are allowed to enroll in the VA.

Veteran-led Project 2025 partner organization STARRS has also published [content criticizing](#) the VA for covering gender-affirming care and [claimed](#) the agency is "abandoning women veterans' rights" by supporting transgender veterans.

## Spotlight on: Removing DEI and wokeness from the military

Project 2025 and its military-focused partners argue that diversity, equity, and inclusion standards in the Department of Defense have undermined military readiness and recruitment ability.

Introducing Project 2025, Heritage Foundation President Kevin Roberts wrote, “The next conservative President must end the Left’s social experimentation with the military.”

In the policy book’s Pentagon chapter, former Trump official Christopher Miller recommends [removing](#) supposed leftist policies from the military in order to “restore standards of lethality and excellence,” calling for the DOD to “Eliminate Marxist indoctrination and divisive critical race theory programs and abolish newly established diversity, equity, and inclusion offices and staff.”

Miller also claims that the Biden administration has pushed “a pervasive politically driven top-down focus on progressive social policies that emphasize matters like so-called diversity, equity, and inclusion and climate change, often to the detriment of the Army’s core warfighting mission.”

The chapter on the Department of Veterans Affairs complains that “allowing access to abortion services” is an example of explicit “sociopolitical initiatives and ideological indoctrinations” at the VA that “distract from the department’s core missions.” Further, chapter author Brooks Tucker argues that the current leadership’s focus on DEI initiatives only affects “a small minority of the veterans who use the VA,” and therefore should be disbanded.

The Heritage Foundation has published content with similar complaints. In a February piece titled “In 2024, the U.S. Military Is Weak...and That Should Scare You,” senior research fellow Dakota Wood [argued](#) that “many Americans perceive the military as more interested in pushing social policy agenda programs than in ensuring our forces are able to win in combat.”

In a recommendation document for the fiscal year 2024 National Defense Authorization Act, The Heritage Foundation [advised](#) “ending the corrosive influence of concepts such as DEI and CRT—being implemented by the Biden Administration throughout the DOD at the expense of military readiness, public support for the military, and unit cohesion and morale.”

Project 2025 partner American Principles Project also expressed [support](#) for this measure, with founder Terry Schilling saying in a statement, “Congress has an opportunity now to end the left’s culture war on the military. This should be a no-brainer: the American people don’t want their tax dollars going towards funding abortions, sex changes, or racial discrimination.”

The missions of partner organizations the Center for Military Readiness, the MacArthur Society of West Point Graduates, and STARRS [all center around](#) complaints about wokeness in the military.

In April 2024, CMR [called on](#) the DOD to eliminate any DEI programs, claiming that “the color conscious DEI structure, which treats people differently based on skin color or ethnicity,” violates the Constitution and “encourages both officers and enlisted personnel to violate their oath of office and to enjoy career rewards if they do.” CMR also argued that the “Diversity Industrial Complex” at the Pentagon is a “pernicious way to undermine the integrity of our military.”

The MacArthur Society has [claimed](#) that the U.S. Military Academy is infected “with the mortal rot of cancerous Cultural Marxism indoctrinated by DEI and CRT,” warning, “If West Point trades the worldview of our American Revolution for Cultural Marxism, then West Point is lost, and America is gone.” The MacArthur Society also [argues](#) that focusing on diversity in the military is an unjust politicization of the institution, [complaining](#) that “identity politics undermines military effectiveness.”

STARRS, an acronym for Stand Together Against Racism and Radicalism in the Services, has [claimed](#) that “DEI is driving away the DOD’s number one demographic that has been the backbone of the military for

many decades – white, southern conservatives.” The group argues that DEI is a “radical racial ideology that weakens our Armed Forces when we need them the most.”

Complaining that diversity and inclusion are considered in military promotions, STARRS’ Richard Kline [asked](#), “How can you trust anyone who uses their ethnicity to gain power?”

In a public comment to the Defense Advisory Committee on Diversity and Inclusion, STARRS [accused](#) the academy of unjustly accepting “many Black cadets who should not have been admitted to West Point, but because of discrimination and lowered standards, were awarded slots that could have been filled by far better qualified applicants.” The group again blamed the military’s recruitment shortfalls on DEI, claiming that the practice is “demoralizing” to “large numbers of service members.”

Project 2025 partner The American Conservative has repeatedly blamed the military’s recruitment issues on wokeness, [arguing](#) in 2022 that “the military is undergoing a full-blown cultural revolution, now speaking the language of the woke left and seemingly becoming more aligned with the Democratic Party,” which “seems to have sparked a backlash in the form of fewer Americans joining a once-popular institution.”

In a 2019 piece, The American Conservative’s Jeff Groom [wrote](#) against the benefits of diversity in the military: “The nameplate of the diversity car reads ‘different perspectives make us stronger,’ a true statement. But underneath the hood the message becomes ‘different races and genders make us stronger,’ which isn’t necessarily true. Diversity Inc. is thus attempting to replace Marine, sailor, and soldier with a rainbow of identities because ‘diversity is our strength’ or something.”

Several other Project 2025 partners, including [The Claremont Institute](#), the [American Moment](#), [Eagle Forum](#), the [Family Research Council](#), the [Dr. James Dobson Family Institute](#), and the [National Center for Public Policy Research](#), have made similar claims that DEI initiatives degrade military effectiveness.

## IN THEIR OWN WORDS:

- **Christopher Miller**, author of Project 2025's DOD chapter: "A national service requirement should be 'strongly considered.' He described the concept as a common 'rite of passage,' one that would create a sense of 'shared sacrifice' among America's youth." [The Washington Post, [6/10/24](#)]
- **Wilson Beaver**, Heritage Foundation policy adviser: "The House NDAA [National Defense Authorization Act] contains a number of provisions aimed directly at ending the corrosive influence of concepts such as DEI and CRT—being implemented by the Biden Administration throughout the DOD at the expense of military readiness, public support for the military, and unit cohesion and morale." [The Heritage Foundation, [9/12/23](#)]
- Heritage President **Kevin Roberts**: "With the Chinese Communist Party waging a new cold war on U.S. interests in the Indo-Pacific and supplanting American leadership on the international stage, the White House and Pentagon should be laser-focused on military readiness. Instead, officials prioritize their left-wing social agenda over warfighting at every turn." [The Heritage Foundation, [6/26/23](#)]
- The **Center for Military Readiness**, a Project 2025 partner organization: "A comprehensive CMR Policy Analysis released today reveals that the issue of transgenders in the military is being pushed to new extremes, under the radar, even as Secretary of Defense Lloyd Austin, Joint Chiefs Chairman Gen. Mark Milley, and other military officials keep trying to deny, dissemble, or withhold information on the existence or results of woke policies." [Center for Military Readiness, [2/7/23](#)]
- The **Center for Military Readiness**: "On issues ranging from climate change and transgenderism to diversity quotas and prejudicial indoctrination in military schools - woke policies take progressivism to extremes and impose them with coercion, even if it hurts the institution." [Center for Military Readiness, [8/2/23](#)]

## GO DEEPER:

- **Project 2025 calls to require students at publicly funded schools to complete the Armed Services Vocational Aptitude Battery, a military entrance exam.** DOD chapter author Christopher Miller also suggests expanding “military recruiters’ access to secondary schools,” and increasing the number of Junior ROTC programs. [Project 2025, *Mandate for Leadership*, [2023](#)]
- **In order to “restore standards of lethality and excellence,” Project 2025 would remove medical exemptions for individuals who are HIV positive or experience gender dysphoria and “reverse policies that allow transgender individuals to serve in the military.”** Miller wrote that “gender dysphoria is incompatible with the demands of military service” and that “and those with gender dysphoria should be expelled from military service.” [Project 2025, *Mandate for Leadership*, [2023](#)]
- **Project 2025 would bar the Veterans Health Administration from providing abortions or gender-affirming surgeries, claiming that neither of these procedures “aligns with service-connected conditions that would warrant VA’s providing this type of clinical care, and both follow the Left’s pernicious trend of abusing the role of government to further its own agenda.”** [Project 2025, *Mandate for Leadership*, [2023](#)]
- **Project 2025 calls to “audit all curricula and health policies in DOD schools for military families, remove all inappropriate materials, and reverse inappropriate policies.”** Project 2025 partner Family Research Council runs a tip line for such “inappropriate materials” and promoted it in a piece on “anti-American propaganda,” such as DEI and CRT, in DOD-run schools. [Project 2025, *Mandate for Leadership*, [2023](#); Family Research Council, [4/12/22](#)]
- **Project 2025 would have the National Security Council review all military promotions during the Biden administration to assure officers were promoted “to prioritize the core roles and responsibilities of the military over social engineering and non-defense matters, including climate change, critical race theory, manufactured extremism, and other polarizing policies that weaken our armed forces.”** [Project 2025, *Mandate for Leadership*, [2023](#)]
- **The policy book calls to militarize the southern border: “This could include use of active-duty military personnel and National Guardsmen to assist in arrest operations along the border—something that has not yet been done.”** [Project 2025, *Mandate for Leadership*, [2023](#)]
- **Implementing Project 2025 would prevent the military from researching or considering climate change, calling it an example of “progressive social policies.”** [E&E News, [3/15/24](#); Project 2025, *Mandate for Leadership*, [2023](#)]
- **The policy book proposes recruiting private companies to conduct medical examinations of disabled veterans to support the VA.** [Project 2025, *Mandate for Leadership*, [2023](#)]
- **To increase recruitment, The Heritage Foundation has suggested emphasizing to young people that “most veterans leave stronger and healthier than when they entered, not riddled with mental scars and physical injuries.”** In reality, according to a 2020 VA study of veterans, “a majority were dealing with chronic physical health conditions and a third reported chronic mental health conditions” immediately after leaving service, citing pain and poor sleep as top concerns. [The Heritage Foundation, [6/26/23](#); Department of Veterans Affairs, [1/2/20](#)]
- **Project 2025 partner The Claremont Institute published a report titled “Grooming Future Revolutionaries,” which claimed that the Department of Defense Education Activity has “fully dedicated itself to the woke agenda,” calling out diversity and inclusion initiatives in DOD-run schools.** Fellow partner organization Eagle Forum referred to these initiatives as “left-wing extremism.” [The Claremont Institute, [9/7/22](#); Eagle Forum, [April 2024](#)]



## Who's who

### Leadership

- **Paul Dans:** Paul Dans was the Heritage Foundation's director of Project 2025 until he resigned from the position at the behest of the Trump campaign. He served in the Trump administration as chief of staff at the Office of Personnel Management, where he oversaw the federal workforce. Dans was a frequent guest across MAGA media, serving as a figurehead for the public rollout of Heritage's *Mandate for Leadership* policy book. While appearing on right-wing media, Dans called Project 2025 an "instruction manual" for a second Trump administration and explained how the Heritage Foundation plans to staff a future conservative White House with Trump loyalists. [The Heritage Foundation, accessed [7/17/24](#); Real America's Voice, *War Rooms*, [6/20/24](#), [2/29/24](#)]
- **John McEntee:** John McEntee is a senior adviser for Project 2025 overseeing the personnel database collected by Heritage to recruit, vet, and staff a potential future GOP administration. McEntee previously served as director of the White House Presidential Personnel Office under the Trump presidency. On staffing a next Republican administration, McEntee has claimed that "sometimes experience is bad." He also said Project 2025 is "in charge of staffing the next administration should Trump win" and that Project 2025 will "integrate a lot of our work" into the next conservative White House. [The Heritage Foundation, [5/2/23](#); Ballard Partners, *13th & Park*, [1/27/24](#); The Momentum Podcast, [4/23/24](#); The Daily Wire, *Morning Wire*, [4/21/24](#)]
- **Kevin Roberts:** Kevin Roberts is the president of the Heritage Foundation and the main spokesperson for Project 2025. Roberts is a regular guest on right-wing media, where he touts Project 2025 and his organization's connections to Trump and his campaign. During one of his appearances, he celebrated the Supreme Court's presidential immunity decision, saying, "We are in the process of the second American Revolution, which will remain bloodless if the left allows it to be." [The Heritage Foundation, accessed [7/10/24](#); The Daily Signal, *The Daily Signal Podcast*, [7/12/24](#); Real America's Voice, *War Room*, [7/2/24](#)]
- **Troup Hemenway:** Troup Hemenway is a Project 2025 associate director. He previously served as a Trump appointee within the departments of Defense, Homeland Security, and Energy, and as an associate director of the Presidential Personnel Office in the White House. He was also a senior adviser at America First Policy Institute's America First Transition Project. [Newsweek, [7/16/24](#); Project2025.org, accessed [7/17/24](#); Heritage Foundation, [9/25/23](#)]
- **Spencer Chretien:** Spencer Chretien is an associate director of Project 2025. Chretien was previously a special assistant to Trump, working to recruit and place political appointees, and before that he worked within Trump's Department of Housing and Urban Development. [Newsweek, [7/16/24](#); Project2025.org, accessed [7/17/24](#); Heritage, accessed [7/17/24](#)]

### Authors

- **Russ Vought** is the president of the Center for Renewing America, a Project 2025 partner organization that has been at the institutional forefront of the Christian nationalist movement to instill a biblical worldview into the federal government. Vought penned *Mandate for Leadership's* chapter on the Executive Office of the President, where he argued for a considerably more powerful presidency, rollbacks of Biden-era climate research programs, and the abolishment of the Gender Policy Council within the executive branch, which was established by Biden to "advance gender equity and equality in both domestic and foreign policy development and implementation." Vought served as director of the Office of Management and Budget in the Trump administration. [Media Matters, [7/14/22](#); Project 2025, *Mandate for Leadership*, [2023](#); WhiteHouse.gov, accessed [7/23/24](#); The Heritage Foundation, [7/24/20](#)]
- **Roger Severino** is a fellow and the vice president of domestic policy at the Heritage Foundation and authored the Department of Health and Human Services chapter of *Mandate for Project 2025*. Severino formerly served as the director of the Office of Civil Rights at the U.S. Department of Health and Human Services under the Trump administration. The Human Rights Campaign has described Severino as a "radical anti-LGBTQ activist," and he has a history of specifically attacking transgender rights. [The Heritage Foundation, accessed [7/10/24](#); Project 2025, *Mandate for Leadership*, [2023](#); Human Rights Campaign, [3/24/17](#)]
- **Gene Hamilton**, who authored the Project 2025 chapter on the Department of Justice, currently serves as the vice president of the far-right legal group America First Legal, a former Project 2025 partner organization. Hamilton previously served as a lawyer within Trump's departments of Justice and Homeland Security [America First Legal, accessed [7/17/24](#); Project 2025, *Mandate for Leadership*, [2023](#); Media Matters, [7/15/24](#)]

- **Daren Bakst** wrote *Mandate's* section on the Department of Agriculture. Bakst previously worked as a senior fellow at Heritage working on environmental policy. He currently works at the Competitive Enterprise Institute, an original partner of Project 2025 that has reportedly since left. [Project 2025, *Mandate for Leadership*, [2023](#); Heritage, accessed [7/17/24](#)]
- **Jonathan Berry** wrote *Mandate's* section on the Department of Labor and related agencies. Berry worked in the Department of Justice, as acting assistant secretary for policy at the Department of Labor, and on Trump's presidential transition team in 2016 and 2017. [Project 2025, *Mandate for Leadership*, [2023](#); Newsweek, [7/10/24](#)]
- **Lindsey M. Burke** wrote *Mandate's* section on the Department of Education. She is the director of the Center for Education Policy at Heritage. [Project 2025, *Mandate for Leadership*, [2023](#)]
- **David R. Burton** is a senior fellow at Heritage with a focus on economic policy. He authored the *Mandate* section on the Securities and Exchange Commission and related agencies and co-authored the chapter on the Treasury Department. [Project 2025, *Mandate for Leadership*, [2023](#)]
- **Adam Candeub** wrote *Mandate's* section on the Federal Trade Commission. He served as acting assistant secretary of commerce and deputy associate attorney general at the Justice Department during the Trump administration. [Project 2025, *Mandate for Leadership*, [2023](#)]
- **Dustin J. Carmack** is a former research fellow at Heritage. He previously worked in the intelligence community under former Director of National Intelligence John Ratcliffe. Carmack wrote the *Mandate* section on the intelligence community. [Project 2025, *Mandate for Leadership*, [2023](#); Heritage, accessed [7/23/24](#)]
- **Brendan Carr** is the senior Republican on the Federal Communications Commission. He penned *Mandate's* section on the Federal Communications Commission. [Project 2025, *Mandate for Leadership*, [2023](#)]
- **Benjamin S. Carson Sr.** worked as the secretary of the U.S. Department of Housing and Urban Development during the Trump administration. He wrote a section on the Department of Housing and Urban Development for *Mandate*. [Project 2025, *Mandate for Leadership*, [2023](#)]
- **Ken Cuccinelli** is the former attorney general of Virginia who served as the acting director of U.S. Citizenship and Immigration Services and the acting deputy secretary for the U.S. Department of Homeland Security for a period during the Trump administration. He authored *Mandate's* section on the Department of Homeland Security. [Project 2025, *Mandate for Leadership*, [2023](#)]
- **Rick Dearborn** worked in the Trump administration as deputy chief of staff and is currently a fellow at Heritage on the 2025 Presidential Transition Project. He wrote the *Mandate* section on the White House office. [Heritage, accessed [7/18/24](#); Project 2025, *Mandate for Leadership*, [2023](#)]
- **Veronique de Rugy** is a right-wing writer and a fellow at George Mason University. She wrote a *Mandate* section on the Export-Import Bank. [George Mason University, accessed [7/18/24](#); Project 2025, *Mandate for Leadership*, [2023](#)]
- **Donald Devine** worked in the Office of Personnel Management during the Reagan administration. He assisted in writing the *Mandate* section on central personnel agencies. [Project 2025, *Mandate for Leadership*, [2023](#)]
- **Diana Furchtgott-Roth** wrote *Mandate's* section on the Department of Transportation. Furchtgott-Roth is a director and fellow at Heritage and a professor at George Washington University. [Heritage, accessed [7/18/24](#); Project 2025, *Mandate for Leadership*, [2023](#)]
- **Thomas F. Gilman** worked as assistant secretary of commerce for administration and chief financial officer of the Department of Commerce during the Trump administration. He wrote the *Mandate* section on the Department of Commerce. [Project 2025, *Mandate for Leadership*, [2023](#)]
- **Mandy M. Gunasekara** worked in the Trump administration as chief of staff at the Environmental Protection Agency and as principal deputy assistant administrator for the Office of Air and Radiation. She wrote the section of *Mandate* on the Environmental Protection Agency. [Project 2025, *Mandate for Leadership*, [2023](#)]
- **Jennifer Hazelton** wrote about the Export-Import Bank for *Mandate*. She has held positions at the U.S. Agency for International Development, the State Department, and the Export-Import Bank. [Project 2025, *Mandate for Leadership*, [2023](#)]
- **Karen Kerrigan** is the president and CEO of the Small Business & Entrepreneurship Council. She wrote the *Mandate* section on the Small Business Administration. [Project 2025, *Mandate for Leadership*, [2023](#)]
- **Dennis Dean Kirk** assisted in writing the section of *Mandate* covering central personnel agencies. Kirk worked in the Trump administration in the Office of Personnel Management and currently works as associate director for personnel policy for Heritage's 2025 Presidential Transition Project. [Project 2025, *Mandate for Leadership*, [2023](#); Heritage, accessed [7/18/24](#)]
- **Kent Lassman** wrote the *Mandate* section on "the case for free trade." He is the president and CEO of the Competitive Enterprise Institute — a former Project 2025 partner organization. [Heritage, accessed [7/18/24](#); Project 2025, *Mandate for Leadership*, [2023](#)]
- **Bernard L. McNamee** wrote the *Mandate* section on the Department of Energy and related commissions. He

- previously worked for the Federal Energy Regulatory Commission. [Project 2025, *Mandate for Leadership*, [2023](#)]
- **Christopher Miller** served in various positions in the Trump administration, including as acting U.S. secretary of defense, director of the National Counterterrorism Center, and deputy assistant secretary of Defense for Special Operations and Combating Terrorism. He wrote the *Mandate* section on the Department of Defense. [Project 2025, *Mandate for Leadership*, [2023](#)]
  - **Stephen Moore** is a fellow at Heritage and was an economist at the now-shuttered FreedomWorks, a right-wing advocacy group. He helped write the Department of Treasury section of *Mandate*. [Project 2025, *Mandate for Leadership*, [2023](#)]
  - **Mora Namdar** worked as assistant secretary of state for consular affairs in the Trump administration. She wrote a section of *Mandate* on the U.S. Agency for Global Media. [Project 2025, *Mandate for Leadership*, [2023](#)]
  - **Peter Navarro** served in the Trump administration as director of the Office of Trade and Manufacturing Policy and defense production act policy coordinator. He served a prison sentence for defying a congressional subpoena ordered by the House select committee investigating the January 6 insurrection. He wrote the *Mandate* section on “the case for fair trade.” [CBS News, [7/17/24](#); Project 2025, *Mandate for Leadership*, [2023](#)]
  - **William Perry Pendley** briefly served as the head of the Bureau of Land Management in the Trump administration but was never confirmed by the U.S. Senate. He wrote the *Mandate* section for the Department of the Interior. [The Guardian, [10/10/20](#); Project 2025, *Mandate for Leadership*, [2023](#)]
  - **Max Primorac** previously served as acting deputy administrator at the U.S. Agency for International Development and the U.S. vice president’s envoy to Iraq in the Trump administration. Primorac is a senior fellow at the Heritage Foundation’s Margaret Thatcher Center for Freedom. He wrote the *Mandate* section on the U.S. Agency for International Development. [Heritage, accessed [7/18/24](#); Project 2025, *Mandate for Leadership*, [2023](#)]
  - **Kiron K. Skinner** was the director of policy planning and senior adviser to Secretary of State Mike Pompeo at the State Department during the Trump administration. Skinner is currently a visiting fellow and presidential adviser at Heritage’s Davis Institute for National Security and Foreign Policy. She wrote the section on the Department of State for the *Mandate*. [Heritage, accessed [7/18/24](#); Project 2025, *Mandate for Leadership*, [2023](#)]
  - **Brooks D. Tucker** was the former acting chief of staff and also assistant secretary for congressional and legislative affairs for the Department of Veterans Affairs under the Trump administration. Tucker also previously served on Trump’s presidential transition team and is a retired lieutenant colonel for the U.S. Marine Corps. He wrote the *Mandate* section on the Department of Veterans Affairs. [Department of Veterans Affairs, accessed [7/18/24](#); Project 2025, *Mandate for Leadership*, [2023](#)]
  - **Hans A. von Spakovsky** was appointed by Trump to the Presidential Advisory Commission on Election Integrity in 2017 and previously worked for the Department of Justice as counsel to the assistant attorney general for civil rights. Spakovsky is a senior legal fellow at the Heritage Foundation’s Edwin Meese III Center for Legal and Judicial Studies. He wrote the *Mandate* section on the Federal Election Commission. [Heritage, accessed [7/18/24](#); Project 2025, *Mandate for Leadership*, [2023](#)]
  - **William L. Walton** is the founder and chairman of Rappahannock Ventures LLC, a private equity firm, and has been a trustee at the Heritage Foundation since 2015. Walton is a board member of the Media Research Center, a Project 2025 partner, and a senior fellow at the Discovery Institute, a former partner.. He wrote the section on the Department of the Treasury for *Mandate*. [Heritage, accessed [7/18/24](#); Project 2025, *Mandate for Leadership*, [2023](#); Project2025.org, accessed [7/23/24](#)]
  - **Paul Winfree** was the deputy assistant to the president for domestic policy, the deputy director of the Domestic Policy Council, and the director for budget policy at the White House during the Trump administration. He later was a distinguished fellow in economic policy and public leadership at the Heritage Foundation. He wrote the Federal Reserve section for *Mandate*. [Heritage, accessed [7/18/24](#); Project 2025, *Mandate for Leadership*, [2023](#)]

## Partner organizations:

Project 2025 is backed by over 100 conservative organizations on its [advisory board](#) and list of [partners](#).

The following list identifies these partner groups, largely comprised of right-wing nonprofit think tanks, advocacy groups, and legal organizations, and what they stand for. (Following public backlash to Project 2025's toxic extremism, a [number](#) of partner [organizations left](#) the coalition. Those organizations are marked in this list with an asterisk.)

- **1792 Exchange:** A right-wing nonprofit organization focused on combating “woke capitalism” and “the dangers of ESG (environmental, social, and governance) policies.” [1792 Exchange, accessed [7/8/24](#)]
- **American Accountability Foundation:** A conservative organization primarily aimed at providing rapid-response opposition research on officials nominated by the Biden administration. The group has promised to publish a McCarthy-esque list of 100 current government officials “to show a potential new administration who might be ... ripe for scrutiny, reclassifications, reassignments or firings,” with a focus on “those in senior executive positions who could put up roadblocks to Trump’s plans for tighter borders and more deportations.” [American Accountability Foundation, accessed [7/8/24](#); Media Matters, [6/27/24](#)]
- **American Association of Pro-Life Obstetricians and Gynecologists:** A misleadingly named right-wing anti-abortion lobbying and advocacy group that reportedly pushes “pseudoscience and other intentionally misleading content.” [Mother Jones, [6/4/20](#)]
- **Alabama Policy Institute:** An Alabama-based right-wing public policy lobbying firm and think tank which has supported charter school legislation, opposed same-sex marriage, and published positive environmental reports to push back on EPA plans to fight climate change. [The Gadsden Times, [1/1/10](#); The New York Times, [3/3/15](#); Advance Local, [8/20/14](#)]
- **Alliance Defending Freedom:** A far-right legal advocacy and training group designated an extremist hate group by the Southern Poverty Law Center. SPLC notes that ADF “has supported the recriminalization of sexual acts between consenting LGBTQ adults in the U.S. and criminalization abroad; has defended state-sanctioned sterilization of trans people” across the globe; and advocates for numerous other extreme positions, including working “to develop ‘religious liberty’ legislation and case law that will allow the denial of goods and services to LGBTQ people.” [Southern Poverty Law Center, accessed [7/8/24](#)]
- **American Center for Law and Justice Action:** A right-wing nonprofit advocacy arm of the American Center for Law and Justice, founded by conservative evangelist Pat Robertson. ACLJ president and CEO Jordan Sekulow and his father, ACLJ chief counsel Jay Sekulow, served on Trump’s legal team for the Mueller investigation and his first impeachment trial. [ACLJ Action, accessed [7/8/24](#); Fox News, [9/12/10](#)]
- **American Commitment:** A right-wing nonprofit organization which purports to stand for “restoring and protecting the American Commitment to free markets, economic growth, Constitutionally-limited government, property rights, and individual freedom.” The group is headed by former Americans for Prosperity Vice President Phil Kerpen. [American Commitment, accessed [7/8/24](#); Americans for Prosperity, [4/12/12](#)]
- **American Compass:** Founded by conservative political commentator Oren Cass, American Compass is a think tank focusing on reforming and reorienting labor unions and groups toward conservative principles. The organization opposes free trade and tax cuts and has advocated for increased corporate regulations. [Influence Watch, accessed [7/8/24](#)]
- **American Cornerstone Institute:** A right-wing nonprofit advocacy organization founded by former Trump official Ben Carson which publishes conservative “educational material” for children and distributes legal briefs and policy papers. American Cornerstone has published policy proposals on “election integrity,” calling to end mail-in ballots and early voting, after claiming there were “widespread irregularities in the 2020 presidential election and problems in the 2022 midterms.” [American Cornerstone Institute, accessed [7/8/24](#), [3/7/23](#)]
- **The American Conservative:** A magazine published by the American Ideas Institute founded in 2002 by Pat Buchanan and Taki Theodoracopulos of the far-right, often white nationalist publication *Taki’s Magazine*. It releases biweekly issues which grew in popularity with the Trump administration, described by its executive director as Trump’s “in-house, in-flight magazine.” [The American

- Conservative, accessed [7/8/24](#); The New Republic, [5/9/08](#); Vanity Fair, [4/27/20](#)]
- **American Council of Trustees and Alumni** : A right-wing nonprofit advocacy organization which claims to promote higher education accountability and defend academic freedom and free speech. The organization's website has posted blogs opposing student activism against Israel's war in Gaza and DEI initiatives on college campuses. [ACTA, accessed [7/8/24](#), [4/23/24](#), [7/23/24](#), [7/12/24](#)]
  - **American Family Association**: A right-wing, anti-LGBTQ Christian fundamentalist nonprofit advocacy organization designated as a hate group by the Southern Poverty Law Center. AFA holds extreme stances against LGBTQ rights and abortion access. [Southern Poverty Law Center, accessed [7/8/24](#)]
  - **America First Legal\***: A far-right legal organization founded and run by former Trump adviser Stephen Miller. AF Legal takes up litigation claims on supposed anti-white discrimination and attacks "woke" DEI initiatives and Biden administration policies. America First Legal was previously listed as an advisory board member of Project 2025 but has since left the board . [Influence Watch, accessed [7/8/24](#); Media Matters, [7/15/24](#)]
  - **American Juris Link**: A right-wing legal organization based in Arizona which has worked to combat COVID-19 restrictions and union organizing. American Juris Link is a part of the State Policy Network and has ties to the Koch brothers and Coors Foundation. [Source Watch, accessed [7/8/24](#)]
  - **American Legislative Exchange Council** : A large-scale, nationwide right-wing think tank made up of numerous state legislators and representatives from the private sector drafting conservative "model bills" frequently proposed by GOP elected officials. The group has advocated for harsh private prison programs and stricter voter identification policy and opposed gun control laws. [The New York Times, [4/21/21](#)]
  - **The American Main Street Initiative**: A right-wing think tank which provides general conservative commentary pieces as well as analysis. Heather Mac Donald, an extremist commentator with a history of making racist statements, is on the group's board of advisers. [American Main Street Initiative, accessed [7/8/24](#); Media Matters, accessed [7/22/24](#)]
  - **American Moment**: A right-wing youth networking and training organization aiming "to develop lists of thousands of younger 'America First' personnel for the next GOP administration." Trump 2024 running mate JD Vance is on the group's emeritus board, Newsweek senior editor-at-large Josh Hammer sits on the current board of advisers, and former Trump adviser Steve Bannon has given an address to the group, telling its members that "you have to be prepared to go to prison" for "deconstructing the administrative state." [Axios, [7/22/22](#); American Moment, accessed [7/8/24](#); Media Matters, [3/19/24](#)]
  - **American Principles Project**: A right-wing think tank opposed to abortion, same-sex marriage, and voting rights legislation. It promotes restrictions on teaching critical race theory and LGBTQ topics in schools. [PBS, [6/24/22](#); CNN, [4/22/22](#); The Guardian, [4/9/21](#)]
  - **The American Family Project**: A right-wing think tank which publishes a "family sentiments" scorecard rating U.S. House members and hosts a seminar for congressional staffers on the Constitution and the family. [The American Family Project, accessed [7/8/24](#), [7/22/24](#)]
  - **The American Redistricting Project**: Launched in 2020 by "the nonprofit 501(c)3 arm of the National Republican Redistricting Trust (NRRT), the group run ... to raise money and coordinate the GOP's redistricting efforts." The American Redistricting Project was conceived as "an alternative to groups like the Brennan Center for Justice, which advocates against gerrymandering and for nonpartisan redistricting." [The American Redistricting Project, accessed [7/8/24](#); The Hill, [6/1/20](#)]
  - **Americans United for Life\***: A right-wing legal organization focusing on litigation against abortion rights, embryo research, assisted reproductive technology, and end-of-life care. Americans United for Life was previously listed on Project 2025's advisory board but has since reportedly left. [Americans United for Life, accessed [7/8/24](#); The Intercept, [7/17/24](#)]
  - **Association of Mature American Citizens Action**: A right-wing nonprofit advocacy organization promoted as the conservative "alternative to AARP," lobbying for states to "opt out" of the Affordable Care Act's "abortion mandate," raising the age for Social Security, and supporting the oil and gas industry. [AMAC Action, archived [7/10/10](#), accessed [7/8/24](#)]
  - **The Bull Moose Project**: A right-wing nonprofit opposing "horrendous" free trade deals like NAFTA, "harmful regulation" policies by the EPA, and "dangerous sanctuary city policies nationwide." [Bull Moose Project, accessed [7/8/24](#)]
  - **California Family Council**: A right-wing nonprofit advocacy group based in California which opposes LGBTQ rights and end-of-life care. The group filed an amicus brief in Colorado federal court on behalf of a web designer refusing service to LGBTQ customers. [Influence Watch, accessed [7/8/24](#)]
  - **Calvert Task Group**: A right-wing nonprofit made up of U.S. Naval Academy alumni. The group purports to battle against critical race theory and diversity, equity, and inclusion initiatives in military training.

- [Calvert Task Group, accessed [7/9/24](#)]
- **Centennial Institute:** A right-wing think tank based in Colorado as part of Colorado Christian University supporting so-called election integrity laws while opposing abortion and regulation of the oil and gas industry. [Influence Watch, accessed [7/8/24](#)]
  - **Center for Equal Opportunity:** A right-wing nonprofit think tank focused on opposing affirmative action and critical race theory and diversity, equity, and inclusion initiatives in schools. The group has also been critical of bilingual education in public schools. [Center for Equal Opportunity, accessed [7/8/24](#); Influence Watch, accessed [7/8/24](#)]
  - **Center for Family and Human Rights:** A right-wing nonprofit focused on anti-LGBTQ and anti-abortion policy advocacy at the United Nations and across the globe. The group's president, Austin Ruse, has said that "the hard-left, human-hating people that run modern universities should be taken out and shot." [The Guardian, [5/16/19](#)]
  - **Center for Immigration Studies:** An anti-immigrant think tank designated as a hate group by the Southern Poverty Law Center CIS has a record of hosting white nationalist and antisemitic contributors. [Southern Poverty Law Center, accessed [7/8/24](#)]
  - **Center for Military Readiness:** A right-wing nonprofit think tank which opposes LGBTQ people serving in the military and "and a decades-long critic of expanded opportunities for military women." [Center for Military Readiness, accessed [7/8/24](#); HuffPost, [7/20/11](#)]
  - **Center for Renewing America:** A right-wing nonprofit think tank founded by former Heritage Action For America Vice President Russ Vought with close ties to the Trump team and Steve Bannon's *War Room*. The organization has advocated for supporting Christian nationalism, dismantling the DOJ and FBI, and attacking critical race theory. [Media Matters, [7/14/22](#), [1/4/23](#)]
  - **Center for a Secure Free Society:** A right-wing nonprofit think tank which claims to spearhead "the effort to counter Venezuela, Russia, Iran, and China's expansion in Latin America and the Caribbean and deter the growing convergence of international terrorism and transnational organized crime that is plaguing the U.S. southern border." The organization publishes books and opinion pieces about a variety of foreign policy and national security issues. [Center for a Secure Free Society, accessed [7/8/24](#)]
  - **Citizens Against Government Waste:** A right-wing nonprofit advocacy group that claims to act as a watchdog organization against government waste. The group has a history of lobbying for Big Tobacco and technology companies against anti-trust and health and safety regulations. [St. Petersburg Times, [4/2/06](#), [4/2/06](#); Newsfactor, [8/23/01](#)]
  - **The Claremont Institute:** A right-wing think tank at the forefront of promoting Trump's anti-democratic and authoritarian policies as well as publishing white nationalist content. Trump "coup memo" author John Eastman is a senior fellow at the institute, which also publishes the Claremont Review of Books and The American Mind. [The New Republic, [8/10/23](#); The Daily Beast, [6/16/22](#)]
  - **Coalition for Liberty:** A right-wing nonprofit advocacy and legal assistance organization that claims to be "filling a major hole in the battle against Cancel Culture" by providing funding, networking support, and other services to fight "a culture of fear that discourages Americans from exercising their constitutionally protected rights to free speech and expression." [Coalition for Liberty, accessed [7/23/24](#), [7/23/24](#)]
  - **Coalition for a Prosperous America:** A right-wing nonprofit advocacy group aimed at policy issues related to domestic manufacturing and agriculture. CPA supports "tariff reform" to "bring domestic production back to the United States" and "offset purely domestic taxes." [Coalition for a Prosperous America, accessed [7/9/24](#), accessed [7/19/24](#)]
  - **Competitive Enterprise Institute\*:** A libertarian nonprofit think tank that has promoted climate denialism and deregulation in the energy sector. As with several other partner organizations, the Competitive Enterprise Institute has since reportedly left the Project 2025 advisory board of partners. [Competitive Enterprise Institute, accessed [7/23/24](#), accessed [7/23/24](#); The Intercept, [7/17/24](#)]
  - **Committee for Justice:** A D.C.-based think tank focused on endorsing right-wing "constitutionalist" interpretations of the federal judiciary, performing legal advocacy and media campaigns, and lobbying. [Committee for Justice, accessed [7/9/24](#)]
  - **Concerned Women for America:** A right-wing nonprofit advocacy group devoted to incorporating Christian nationalist ideals into the federal government, opposing feminism, abortion, and LGBTQ rights while promoting traditional gender roles. [Concerned Women for America, accessed [7/9/24](#)]
  - **The Conservative Caucus:** A right-wing public policy and lobbying firm based in Virginia focusing on

- promoting privatization and “Freedom from Indoctrination in Schools” as well as opposition to “open borders,” abortion, and “Wokeness.” [The Conservative Caucus, accessed [7/23/24](#), [7/24/24](#)]
- **Conservative Partnership Institute:** A right-wing nonprofit advocacy group aimed at training its staff to support GOP members of Congress and acting as “a networking hub for conservatives.” Former Trump White House chief of staff Mark Meadows is a senior partner at CPI, which brags that it “has provided the administrative, staffing, and legal support needed to launch more than a dozen” other right-wing groups including America First Legal, the Center for Renewing America, and Election Integrity Network. [Conservative Partnership Institute, accessed [7/9/24](#)]
  - **Consumers Defense:** The 501(c)(4) arm of right-wing nonprofit Consumers’ Research that claims to have “exposed numerous companies that have chosen to put woke politics above consumer interests,” promotes “model legislation,” and publishes a legislation tracker to fight “ESG,” or “environmental, social, and governance” policies. [Consumers’ Research, accessed [7/23/24](#); Consumers Defense, accessed [7/23/24](#), [7/23/24](#)]
  - **Defense of Freedom Institute:** A right-wing nonprofit advocacy group “focused on providing thoughtful, conservative solutions to the challenges presented by education, workforce, labor, and employment issues” and seeking “to limit the power of federal agencies and government-sector unions,” led by former Trump administration officials Robert S. Eitel and Jim Blew. [Defense of Freedom Institute, accessed [7/9/24](#)]
  - **Discovery Institute\*:** A right-wing nonprofit think tank promoting the theory of intelligent design, which holds that life was designed by a higher power, and encouraging schools to have students question evolution. The Discovery Institute is one of the organizations that have reportedly left Project 2025’s list. [Discovery Institute, accessed [7/9/24](#); ABC News, [9/9/05](#); The Intercept, [7/19/24](#)]
  - **Eagle Forum:** A right-wing nonprofit advocacy group that promotes socially conservative policies alongside anti-feminist ideas. Founded by Republican activist Phyllis Schlafly, the Eagle Forum opposed the Equal Rights Amendment and pushed English-only education in public schools. [Eagle Forum, accessed [7/9/24](#); The Associated Press, [9/5/16](#)]
  - **Ethics and Public Policy Center:** A right-wing nonprofit advocacy group that claims to support applying “the riches of the Jewish and Christian traditions” to federal policy, focused on anti-abortion and anti-LGBTQ issues. [Ethics and Public Policy Center, accessed [7/9/24](#); Ethics and Public Policy Center, [7/12/24](#), [5/15/24](#)]
  - **Fairer America:** A right-wing nonprofit advocacy organization purported to focus on issues important to conservative minorities and people of color. North Carolina Lt. Gov. Mark Robinson is one of the group’s “minority coalition leaders,” as are former Trump spokesperson Katrina Pierson and former Texas GOP Chair Allen West. [Fairer America, accessed [7/9/24](#)]
  - **Family Policy Alliance:** An anti-LGBTQ and anti-abortion right-wing Christian nonprofit. In an article for the organization criticizing LGBTQ Pride Month, Executive Director Nathan Winters wrote that “we should never bow to today’s social intimidation and contempt for traditional values which break down the very fabric of Liberty.” [The Denver Post, [2/27/19](#); Family Policy Alliance, [6/24/21](#)]
  - **Family Research Council:** A prominent anti-LGBTQ and anti-abortion organization. FRC focuses efforts against “same-sex marriage, hate-crime laws, anti-bullying programs and the repeal of the military’s ‘Don’t Ask, Don’t Tell’ policy.” Designated a hate group by the Southern Poverty Law Center, FRC also hosts the *Washington Watch* show. [Southern Poverty Law Center, accessed [7/9/24](#)]
  - **Feds for Freedom:** A right-wing nonprofit advocacy group which focuses on reform of the federal civil service on behalf of conservative employees, including by filing “agency class action lawsuits to uphold religious freedom.” [Feds for Freedom, accessed [7/9/24](#)]
  - **First Liberty Institute:** A right-wing legal organization aimed at protecting “religious freedom.” First Liberty has supported cases against LGBTQ rights and vaccine mandates. [First Liberty Institute, accessed [7/9/24](#)]
  - **ForAmerica:** A conservative nonprofit advocacy group that has been called “the right wing’s Facebook army.” ForAmerica has opposed abortion, the Affordable Care Act, and deportation protections for undocumented immigrants. [ForAmerica, accessed [7/9/24](#); The Atlantic, [12/8/14](#)]
  - **Forge Leadership Network:** A right-wing nonprofit youth networking and training organization that hosts an annual leadership summit described as a “year-long on-ramp into the conservative movement.” [Forge Leadership Network, accessed [7/9/24](#)]
  - **Foundation for American Innovation:** A right-wing nonprofit think tank focused on trade, free markets, and technology. [Foundation for American Innovation, accessed [7/9/24](#)]
  - **Foundation for Government Accountability:** A right-wing nonprofit think tank focused on “reducing the welfare state,” privatizing Medicaid, and loosening legal restrictions on child labor. [Source Watch,

- accessed [7/9/24](#)]
- **Freedom’s Journal Institute:** A “nonprofit Black Christian Conservative organization” opposing “cultural Marxism.” The group’s website states its goal: “To advance the Kingdom of God through sociopolitical education and engagement rooted in a Biblical Worldview.” [Freedom’s Journal Institute, accessed [7/9/24](#)]
  - **The Frederick Douglass Foundation:** A right-wing nonprofit focused on “free market and limited government” policy agendas. The group works with “Black, Faith Based organizations, Conservative candidates, party and elected officials” to train volunteers and political workers. [The Frederick Douglass Foundation, accessed [7/9/24](#)]
  - **Gun Owners Foundation:** A right-wing nonprofit Second Amendment advocacy group and legal organization engaging in pro-gun education as well as legal aid in federal firearm cases. [Gun Owners Foundation, accessed [7/9/24](#)]
  - **The Heartland Institute:** A right-wing nonprofit think tank with close ties to Big Tobacco and the fossil fuel industry. The group is known for its climate change denial and its rejection of science surrounding the health effects of smoking. [Source Watch, accessed [7/9/24](#)]
  - **The Heritage Foundation:** A prominent right-wing nonprofit think tank that has become a foremost training ground for young conservatives and far-right policy items. Heritage has served as a primary transition adviser for the Trump administration in 2016 and a potential future Trump administration with Project 2025. [Media Matters, accessed [7/9/24](#)]
  - **Herzog Foundation:** A right-wing Christian foundation that focuses on promoting “the development of quality Christ-centered K-12 education.” The group hosts a number of Christian training events and has ties to dark money groups promoting “woke heat-maps” targeting schools. [Herzog Foundation, accessed [7/23/24](#), [7/23/24](#); Open Secrets, [8/12/22](#)]
  - **MacArthur Society of West Point Graduates:** A right-wing nonprofit advocacy group focused on combating supposed CRT and DEI initiatives in the curriculum of the U.S. Military Academy at West Point. [MacArthur Society of West Point Graduates, accessed [7/9/24](#)]
  - **Hillsdale College:** A right-wing private Christian college in Michigan focusing on the “great books” of the West. [Hillsdale College, accessed [7/9/24](#)]
  - **Honest Elections Project:** A right-wing nonprofit advocacy group that gained attention for pushing for more restrictive voting laws as well as for promoting the debunked “independent state legislature” theory. [NPR, [8/12/22](#)]
  - **Independent Women’s Forum:** A right-wing nonprofit think tank that works to attack “radical feminists.” The group also “opposes affirmative action, gender equity programs like Title IX, and the Violence Against Women Act.” [Source Watch, accessed [7/9/24](#)]
  - **Institute for Education Reform:** A right-wing nonprofit think tank that works to ban all government workers from joining unions in order “to stop corrupt political interests from infiltrating our schools.” [Institute for Education Reform, accessed [7/9/24](#)]
  - **Institute for Energy Research:** A right-wing nonprofit think tank co-founded by oil billionaire Charles Koch. The group is primarily understood to be a front for the fossil fuel industry, pushing climate denial and attacks on greenhouse gas regulations. [Source Watch, accessed [7/9/24](#)]
  - **Institute for the American Worker:** A right-wing nonprofit think tank that publishes anti-union content focused on attacking teachers unions and reducing workplace regulations. [Institute for the American Worker, accessed [7/9/24](#)]
  - **The Institute for Women’s Health:** A right-wing nonprofit anti-abortion advocacy group that also works with anti-abortion partners across the globe. [The Institute for Women’s Health, accessed [7/9/24](#); Catholic News Agency, [5/24/24](#)]
  - **Intercollegiate Studies Institute:** A right-wing nonprofit youth organization co-founded by William F. Buckley which has grown to be one of the foremost conservative training and networking organizations in the country. [Intercollegiate Studies Institute, accessed [7/9/24](#)]
  - **Dr. James Dobson Family Institute:** A Christian nonprofit think tank founded by evangelical author James Dobson Jr. The group works against LGBTQ and abortion rights and to promote traditional gender roles and an overall biblical worldview in U.S. society. [Dr. James Dobson Family Institute, accessed [7/9/24](#)]
  - **The James Madison Institute:** A right-wing nonprofit think tank based in Florida with strong ties to the Koch brothers and State Policy Network. The James Madison Institute works to promote programs giving public funds to charter schools and to oppose environmental regulations and single-payer health care proposals. [Influence Watch, accessed [7/9/24](#)]



- **Job Creators Network:** A right-wing nonprofit advocacy group founded by the former CEO of Home Depot. The Job Creators Network advocates for tax cuts for businesses, oversaw hydroxychloroquine ads during the COVID-19 pandemic, and worked against student loan forgiveness during the Biden administration. [Influence Watch, accessed [7/9/24](#); OpenSecrets, [4/8/20](#); Fortune, [10/10/22](#)]
- **Keystone Policy Center:** A Colorado-based think tank which hosts the Keystone Energy Board and other public policy discussion forums. [Keystone Policy, accessed [7/9/24](#)]
- **The Leadership Institute:** A right-wing nonprofit youth networking and training organization founded by Morton Blackwell. Prominent neo-Nazi Matthew Heimbach, a Leadership Institute alumnus, has said the group “trained this entire next generation of white nationalists.” [HuffPost, [9/3/16](#)]
- **League of American Workers:** A right-wing advocacy nonprofit that claims labor unions have been “totally captured by The Democrat Party and a cringe radical agenda.” The group also pushes strong anti-immigrant rhetoric. Founder and President Steve Cortes is a longtime right-wing media figure and former Trump campaign adviser. [League of American Workers, accessed [7/9/24](#); Media Matters, [1/16/20](#)]
- **Liberty University:** One of the largest right-wing private Christian colleges in the country. The school was founded by religious extremist Jerry Falwell and later run by his son Jerry Falwell Jr., a prominent Trump supporter. [Liberty University, accessed [7/9/24](#); The Washington Post, [7/24/19](#); Politico, [12/14/24](#)]
- **Mackinac Center for Public Policy\*:** A right-wing nonprofit think tank based in Michigan focusing on tax cuts, anti-labor laws, and school privatization. The Mackinac Center for Public Policy has reportedly since left the Project 2025 advisory board. [Mackinac Center for Public Policy, accessed [7/9/24](#); The Intercept, [7/19/24](#)]
- **The Malone Institute:** A right-wing nonprofit advocacy group founded by disgraced Dr. Robert Malone, known for his COVID misinformation. The group publishes “documents exposing government corruption” and claims its mission is to “bring back integrity to government” as it relates to health policy and vaccines. The organization also promotes a number of climate denialist and deep state conspiracy theories. [The Malone Institute, accessed [7/9/24](#), accessed [7/23/24](#); The New York Times, [4/3/22](#)]
- **Middle East Forum:** A right-wing think tank aimed at “ways to defeat radical Islam; work for Palestinian acceptance of Israel; develop strategies to contain Iran; and deal with advancing anarchy. Domestically, the Forum emphasizes the danger of lawful Islamism; protects the freedoms of anti-Islamist authors and activists; and works to improve Middle East studies.” [Middle East Forum, accessed [7/9/24](#)]
- **Media Research Center:** A right-wing opposition research organization that founded CNSNews and NewsBusters as well as the Culture and Media Institute. [Media Research Center, accessed [7/9/24](#)]
- **Mississippi Center for Public Policy:** A right-wing nonprofit think tank based in Mississippi that advocates for lower taxes, school privatization, and less government regulation. [Mississippi Center for Public Policy, accessed [7/9/24](#)]
- **Moms for Liberty:** A right-wing nonprofit advocacy group at the forefront of attacking teachers, librarians, and school districts for supposedly teaching critical race theory and diversity, equity, and inclusion. Moms for Liberty chapters advocate for book bans and have been responsible for numerous incidents of alleged targeted abuse and harassment of teachers and other school staff. [Media Matters, accessed [7/9/24](#)]
- **Mountain States Policy Center:** A right-wing nonprofit think tank focused on funding for charter schools, lowering taxes, and rejecting efforts to expand Medicaid. [Mountain States Policy Center, accessed [7/9/24](#)]
- **National Association of Scholars:** A right-wing nonprofit advocacy group focused on attacking “the diversity bureaucracy” and pushing to “defund irredeemably politicized components of higher education.” [National Association of Scholars, accessed [7/9/24](#)]
- **National Center for Public Policy Research:** A right-wing nonprofit think tank specializing in climate change denial which focuses on lessening environmental regulations and also launched Project 21, a group created to “promote conservative and libertarian black leaders in the media.” [DeSmog, accessed [7/23/24](#); National Center for Public Policy Research, accessed [7/9/24](#), accessed [7/23/24](#)]
- **National Religious Broadcasters:** A right-wing nonprofit advocacy group of evangelical educators, pastors, and “Christian communicators” lobbying for free speech issues and protecting the rights of gospel radio and TV platforms. [National Religious Broadcasters, accessed [7/9/24](#)]
- **National Rifle Association:** A right-wing nonprofit advocacy group that is one of the largest and most influential gun lobbyists in the country. The NRA continues to lobby against gun safety legislation and

has also pushed to have armed guards in public schools following mass shootings. [Influence Watch, accessed [7/9/24](#)]

- **National Right to Work Legal Defense Foundation:** An anti-union nonprofit advocacy group and legal organization that seeks to “eliminate coercive union power and compulsory unionism abuses through strategic litigation, public information, and education programs.” [National Right to Work Legal Defense Foundation, accessed [7/9/24](#)]
- **Native Americans for Sovereignty and Preservation:** A right-wing nonprofit advocacy group focused on indigenous and Native American communities. The organization works toward promoting “traditional values,” “strengthening our borders,” and “achieving energy independence, harnessing the power of all our energy sources while respecting our Creator-given lands.” [Native Americans for Sovereignty Preservation, accessed [7/9/24](#)]
- **Nevada Policy Research Institute:** A right-wing nonprofit policy research organization in support of “policies that encourage free-market solutions, protect individual liberties, and eliminate unnecessary governmental restrictions on the citizens and businesses of Nevada.” The group has a podcast called *Free to Offend* that is “dedicated to radically defending free speech” and hosts a “RCV Academy” for individuals “concerned about the potential harms of ranked-choice voting.” [Nevada Policy Research Institute, accessed [7/23/24](#), [7/23/24](#), [7/23/24](#)]
- **Noah Webster Educational Foundation:** A right-wing nonprofit advocacy group that hosts summits and training seminars focused on religious education, culture war issues in schools, and anti-LGBTQ policy. [Noah Webster Educational Foundation, accessed [7/9/24](#), [6/10/24](#), [7/2/24](#)]
- **Oklahoma Council of Public Affairs:** A right-wing nonprofit advocacy group based in Oklahoma focusing on school privatization, lower taxes, and conservative principles on college campuses. [Oklahoma Council of Public Affairs, accessed [7/9/24](#)]
- **Project 21 Black Leadership Network:** A right-wing nonprofit advocacy initiative of the National Center for Public Policy Research. The group’s stated goal is to “promote the views of African-Americans whose entrepreneurial spirit, sense of family and commitment to individual responsibility have not traditionally been echoed by the nation’s civil rights establishment.” [Project 21 Black Leadership Network, accessed [7/22/24](#)]
- **Pacific Research Institute:** A right-wing nonprofit think tank promoting limited government and free market capitalist ideas in California. PRI has pushed climate denial and anti-environmentalist policy. [Pacific Research Institute, accessed [7/9/24](#); DeSmog, accessed [7/9/24](#)]
- **The Palm Beach Freedom Institute:** A right-wing nonprofit think tank focused on “rejecting ‘wokeness’ and ‘cancel culture.’” The group hosts regular seminars and events as well as offering legal aid and scholarships. [The Palm Beach Freedom Institute, accessed [7/9/24](#)]
- **Palmetto Promise:** A right-wing nonprofit think tank based in South Carolina that promotes issues of school privatization and lower taxes. [Palmetto Promise, accessed [7/9/24](#)]
- **Patrick Henry College:** A right-wing private college in Virginia that promotes Christian doctrine and an “unwavering biblical worldview” in education, with strict student regulations against premarital sex and drug or alcohol use. [Patrick Henry College, accessed [7/9/24](#), [4/27/20](#)]
- **The Patriot Foundation Trust:** A right-wing think tank which promotes constitutional principles alongside free market and limited government principles and “traditional American values.” [Patriot Foundation Trust, accessed [7/9/24](#)]
- **Personnel Policy Operations:** A right-wing nonprofit advocacy group that focuses on providing “conservative, America First civil servants” with training, legal aid, and educational resources. [Personnel Policy Operations, accessed [7/9/24](#)]
- **Public Interest Legal Foundation:** A right-wing legal organization focused on purging voter rolls and spreading misinformation about the extent of voter fraud in U.S. elections. [Influence Watch, accessed [7/9/24](#)]
- **Protect Our Kids:** A right-wing nonprofit advocacy group pushing anti-CRT and anti-LGBTQ propaganda and claiming “today’s public schools threaten our children’s welfare.” The group “adheres to Biblical truth,” provides informational toolkits for parents, teachers, and pastors, and endorses private schooling and homeschooling as alternatives to public education. [Protect Our Kids, accessed [7/9/24](#)]
- **Recovery for America Now Foundation:** A nonprofit advocacy group focused on issues of substance abuse and mental illness, providing scholarships and workshops. [Recovery for America Now Foundation, accessed [7/9/24](#)]
- **Republicans Overseas Foundation:** A right-wing nonprofit advocacy group affiliated with the Republican National Committee working to promote events and speeches by conservatives abroad

and seeking to influence U.S. policy to “switch from ‘citizenship-based taxation’ to ‘residence-based taxation.’” [Republicans Overseas Foundation, accessed [7/9/24](#)]

- **Stop Abusive and Violent Environments:** A right-wing nonprofit advocacy group reported primarily as a men’s rights organization. “SAVE lobbies against domestic violence protections, claims that the ‘leading reason’ for abuse is ‘female initiation of partner violence’ and calls falsely accused perpetrators the ‘true victims of abuse.’” [Slate, [7/11/17](#); Southern Poverty Law Center, [3/1/12](#)]
- **Stand Together Against Racism and Radicalism in the Services:** A right-wing nonprofit advocacy group focused on combating critical race theory and diversity, equity, and inclusion in the military. STARRS also claims to be among “the first and most active objectors to the Department of Defense mandatory Covid-19 vaccine policy.” [Stand Together Against Racism and Radicalism in the Services, accessed [7/9/24](#)]
- **Students for Life of America:** A right-wing nonprofit advocacy group focused on networking and training events for anti-abortion student organizations across the country. [Students for Life of America, accessed [7/9/24](#)]
- **Susan B. Anthony Pro-Life America:** A right-wing nonprofit advocacy group that works to elect anti-abortion candidates to office and carries out lobbying efforts. It also founded anti-abortion think tank the Charlotte Lozier Institute. [Susan B. Anthony Pro-Life America, accessed [7/9/24](#); Charlotte Lozier Institute, accessed [7/9/24](#)]
- **Tea Party Patriots:** A right-wing political organization founded by Jenny Beth Martin which fought against the Affordable Care Act during the Obama administration and emerged as a prominent far-right political movement during the Trump administration and COVID-19 pandemic, boasting over 15 million members nationwide as of 2021. [Influence Watch, accessed [7/9/24](#)]
- **Texas Public Policy Foundation:** A right-wing nonprofit think tank focused on climate denialism and “the moral case for fossil fuels.” The group also supports public school vouchers and criminal justice reform. [Texas Public Policy Foundation, accessed [7/9/24](#); The New York Times, [12/4/22](#)]
- **Teneo Network:** A right-wing nonprofit dark money group of conservative activists working to “roll back” liberal influence in Wall Street and Silicon Valley and combat “woke capitalism.” [ProPublica, [3/9/23](#)]
- **Turning Point USA:** A right-wing nonprofit youth networking and training organization founded by Charlie Kirk. TPUSA has a long history of hosting far-right extremists and promoting election denial conspiracy theories. [Media Matters, accessed [7/9/24](#)]
- **Young America’s Foundation:** A right-wing nonprofit youth networking and training organization founded in the 1960s with college campus chapters across the country hosting conferences, training programs, political rallies, and outreach programs. [Young America’s Foundation, accessed [7/9/24](#)]