

# 25 CARDS ON PROJECT 2025



## Presidential Power

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- Concentrate Presidential Power by Gutting Checks and Balances
- Concentrate Presidential Power by Weaponizing Funding
- Concentrate Presidential Power by Weaponizing Emergency Powers

## Democratic Backsliding & Rule of Law

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- Alter How America Conducts Elections
- Politicize Law Enforcement and Our Judicial System
- Deploy Lawfare Against Corporate Political Rivals

## National Security

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- Risk National Security
- Advance a MAGA Military Agenda
- Dismantle America's International Standing and Abandon Our Alliances
- Politicize Intelligence
- Restrict Immigration

## Economy

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- Gut the Federal Reserve
- Diminish Consumer Financial Protections
- Implement a Protectionist, Pro-Tariff Trade Agenda
- Weaken Organized Labor

## Infrastructure and Housing

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- Impede Public Transit and Infrastructure Projects
- Restrict Affordable Housing

## Rights and Freedoms

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- Pursue a Nationwide Abortion Ban
- Restrict Reproductive Healthcare
- Assault LGBTQ+ Rights
- Defund Education and Child Care

## Environment

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- Expose Americans to Pollutants, Toxins, and Harmful Chemicals
- Reverse Climate Progress, Increase Pollution, and Endanger Animals

## Health and Nutrition

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- Erode Healthcare and Hamstring the CDC
- Endanger Farmers, Food Quality, and Food Security

# PROJECT 2025: CONCENTRATE PRESIDENTIAL POWER BY GUTTING CHECKS AND BALANCES

Project 2025 guts checks and balances that protect American freedoms, paving the way for extremists to take control of our government and lives.

## THE POLICIES

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- Implement Schedule F to purge at least tens of thousands of public servants, including national security and scientific experts, enabling the Administration to replace them with partisan, political operatives who are hand-picked for their loyalty to the President.
- Interpret the long-standing legal precedent, *Humphrey's Executor*, as unconstitutional, allowing the President to fire leaders of independent agencies and to defy congressional efforts to insulate such entities from political interference – daring the Supreme Court to intervene.
- Seize control of independent agencies and require personnel to align agency activities with the President's agenda – regardless of professional judgment or expertise.
- Make structural shifts to consolidate or move sub-offices within agencies to other agencies.
- Exploit the Federal Reform Vacancies Act (FVRA) to govern by appointing “acting” officials to roles that require Senate confirmation (e.g. Cabinet Secretary), purportedly to ensure that “agencies have robust cadres of political staff,” bypassing the Senate's constitutional role as a check on the qualifications of appointees.

## THE PEOPLE

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Russ Vought is a self-described Christian nationalist who was Trump's Director of the Office of Management and Budget (OMB). Vought is behind Trump's “Day One” plans for a sweeping expansion of executive power, including deploying the military to quash civil unrest, and seizing more control over DOJ (which he called “not an independent agency.”) Vought is the 2024 RNC Policy Director and founder of Center for Renewing America, a Project 2025 Advisory Board member.



John McEntee was Trump's Presidential Personnel Office (PPO) Director. Trump aides likened McEntee's PPO to the “Gestapo.” McEntee is a senior advisor to Project 2025, and is expected to have a senior role in implementing Schedule F and removing up to 50,000 civil servants. McEntee recently posted that he gives unhoused people fake money so “when they go to use it, they get arrested.”

## PROJECT 2025 HAS ALREADY STARTED

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- In October 2020, Trump issued an executive order that established Schedule F, which created the framework for the President to fire non-partisan civil servants and replace them with political appointees. Trump ran out of time post-election to fully execute his plan to fire civil servants.
- In June 2018, Trump attempted to bypass Congress to reorganize the executive branch, including through potential consolidations of federal agencies, attempting to concentrate executive power.
- The Trump Administration also circumvented the FVRA by illegally installing loyalists, giving leadership posts to Senate-rejected candidates, and leaving strategic vacancies in order to effectively give substantial power to people without Senate confirmation.

## HOW ARE PROJECT 2025'S POLICIES POSSIBLE?

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- The President has the authority to install extreme loyalists in key management positions and could implement Schedule F to fire experts. The President could abuse the FVRA to circumvent checks and balances.
- If the President pressures the MAGA-majority Supreme Court to overturn the *Humphrey's Executor* protections for independent agencies, the President could also remove independent agency heads without cause.

## WHO ELSE IS IN THE PROJECT 2025 ARMY?

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

Kevin Roberts, Project 2025 Architect & Heritage President

## WE'RE NOT GOING BACK

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Project 2025 concentrates power in a President to limit our freedoms. Most Americans oppose this MAGA agenda, and we're not going back.

# PROJECT 2025: CONCENTRATE PRESIDENTIAL POWER BY WEAPONIZING FUNDING

Project 2025 guts checks and balances that protect American freedoms, paving the way for extremists to take control of our government and lives.

## THE POLICIES

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- Condition federal funding, including FEMA funding, for state and local governments on compliance with the Administration's extremist agenda, requiring states to provide abortion and immigration related data.
- Eliminate grant funding and subsidies for organizations the Administration disfavors across CDC, NIH, NOAA, FEMA, NSF, EPA, DOE, among others.
- Going beyond withholding funding in the ways Project 2025 specifies, Trump and his allies could ignore the Impoundment Control Act, which bars presidents from unilaterally substituting their funding preferences for those of Congress, and block congressionally mandated spending. For example, if the Administration could not repeal the Inflation Reduction Act, Trump could ignore the Impoundment Control Act, asserting it is unconstitutional and refuse to deploy renewables-related funds at the behest of the fossil fuel industry.

## THE PEOPLE

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Ken Cuccinelli served as Acting Director of the U.S. Citizenship and Immigration Services for the Trump Administration from 2019-2021, a position he was unlawfully appointed to in violation of the Federal Vacancies Reform Act. The author of the DHS chapter of Project 2025, Cuccinelli stated that FEMA-issued grant funding should only go to states or cities that are “in compliance with federal law” or policy and which are committed to “total information-sharing” in the context of both federal law and immigration enforcement.



Mark Paoletta was General Counsel under Russ Vought in Trump's Office of Management and Budget (OMB). A major proponent of impoundment, Paoletta has called the Impoundment Control Act “unconstitutional.” While at OMB, Paoletta provided the legal framework Trump used to redirect congressionally allocated funds from the Pentagon to the border wall. Paoletta – a close friend of Leonard Leo and a key defender of Clarence Thomas – is a Senior Fellow at Vought's Center for Renewing America, a Project 2025 Advisory Board member.

## PROJECT 2025 HAS ALREADY STARTED

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- Trump conditioned military support for personal gain, notably withholding congressionally authorized U.S. security assistance to Ukraine to solicit foreign interference in the 2020 election, for which he was impeached.
- The Trump Administration threatened to withhold DOJ grants and federal funding, including COVID-19 related relief, from sanctuary cities and withheld National Guard funding from some states.
- Trump's HUD delayed ~\$20 billion of congressionally mandated federal aid to Puerto Rico after the deadly 2017 Hurricane Maria and then obstructed the HUD Inspector General's subsequent investigation.
- Trump threatened to pull federal aid for California's deadly wildfires as a political stunt intended to harm Democratic governor Gavin Newsom.

## HOW ARE PROJECT 2025'S POLICIES POSSIBLE?

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- Impoundment could be used to allow agencies to delay spending or refuse to spend appropriated funds for policies with which the President disagrees. The Impoundment Control Act requires congressional approval for the President to delay spending or refuse to spend appropriated funds, and if either chamber passes a resolution disapproving the President's proposed deferral action, those funds must be released and made available for obligation.
- The Supreme Court has upheld funding conditions by the federal government on states when: (1) Congress provides clear notice of the condition; (2) the condition relates to the program or funding stream it restricts; (3) the condition is not unduly coercive; and (4) the condition does not induce the recipient to violate an independent constitutional provision (South Dakota v. Dole). Courts have already upheld conditions on state funding, such as restricting funding to states that refuse to cooperate with federal immigration officials.

## WHO ELSE IS IN THE PROJECT 2025 ARMY?

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# PROJECT 2025: CONCENTRATE PRESIDENTIAL POWER BY WEAPONIZING EMERGENCY POWERS

Project 2025 guts checks and balances that protect American freedoms, paving the way for extremists to take control of our government and lives.

## THE POLICIES

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- Deploy “active-duty military personnel and National Guardsmen to assist in arrest operations along the border” and pressure Congress to “unequivocally authorize state and local law enforcement to participate in immigration and border security.”
- Trump has gone beyond Project 2025’s recommendations and has considered using the Insurrection Act to deploy the U.S. military against citizens. Trump expressed regret over not deploying the military in response to protests during his first term, stating: “next time, I’m not waiting.”
- Declare a “mass migration” crisis or “invasion” to trigger Presidential emergency powers and circumvent the Administrative Procedure Act when issuing new “rules and regulations,” in service of rounding-up millions of undocumented immigrant workers, including DREAMERS, and then punishing cities and states that do not cooperate with the raids.

## THE PEOPLE

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**Jeffrey Clark** was Trump’s Acting Assistant Attorney General for DOJ’s Civil Division and Trump’s choice to be Attorney General in the days before the insurrection, a move that spurred senior DOJ officials to threaten to resign en masse. Clark stated: “Well, that’s why there’s an Insurrection Act” in discussions around riots that could occur if Trump did not leave office. Clark is a senior fellow at Russ Vought’s Center for Renewing America, a Project 2025 Advisory Board member.



**Stephen Miller** was Trump’s senior advisor and the shaping force behind Trump’s draconian anti-immigration policies. Following the Administration, Miller launched America First Legal (AFL), a litigation group whose activities include filing lawsuits against “woke corporations” and defending Trump’s immunity claims. AFL is a Project 2025 Advisory Board member, and Miller appeared in a Project 2025 “presidential administration academy” video. Per Axios, Miller also leads an effort to assemble lawyers to “aggressively implement Trump’s orders.”

## PROJECT 2025 HAS ALREADY STARTED

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- Trump and his allies openly discussed using the Insurrection Act leading up to the 2020 Presidential election. Washington Post reporters wrote that General Mark Milley “told his staff that he believed Trump was stoking unrest, possibly in hopes of an excuse to invoke the Insurrection Act and call out the military.”
- In 2020, during Black Lives Matter protests, eleven governors sent their National Guard to D.C., under a loophole urged by then-AG Bill Barr. In that same period, Trump deployed unidentified ICE and Customs and Border Protection agents to Portland, OR, where federal agents in camouflage seized dozens of Americans off the streets, threw them into unmarked vans, took them to secret locations, searched their belongings, and did not inform them of probable cause for arrest before releasing them.
- In 2019, Trump declared a national emergency along the southern border to reallocate funding for his border wall under the National Emergencies Act.

## HOW ARE PROJECT 2025'S POLICIES POSSIBLE?

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- The Posse Comitatus Act states that members of the federal military may not participate in civilian law enforcement unless doing so is expressly authorized by a statute or the Constitution, such as during an insurrection.
- The Supreme Court has generally held that the President has wide latitude to determine what constitutes an insurrection (*Martin v. Mott*) for purposes of the Insurrection Act. Neither the judicial branch nor the legislative branch will be able to interfere with many of the national security and emergency power protections constitutionally granted to the President.
- The Ninth Circuit held that Trump's funding transfer for the border wall was unlawful, but the U.S. Supreme Court agreed to review that ruling and suggested it could side with the Trump-appointed judge who dissented from that circuit court opinion.

## WHO ELSE IS IN THE PROJECT 2025 ARMY?

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# PROJECT 2025: ALTER HOW AMERICA CONDUCTS ELECTIONS

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## THE POLICIES

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- Remove DOJ's Civil Rights Division's authority to investigate and prosecute election-related crimes, such as "voter registration fraud and unlawful ballot correction," and transfer that authority to the Criminal Division instead.
- Investigate and prosecute the Pennsylvania Secretary of State for purported "violations of law in the 2020 election" regarding mail-in ballots during the deadly COVID-19 pandemic.
- Direct the Attorney General to defend the Federal Election Commission (FEC) if the FEC fails to authorize its general counsel to defend the agency and urge Congress to amend the Federal Election Campaign Act to remove the agency's independent litigating authority.

## THE PEOPLE

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Cleta Mitchell is a lawyer who aided Trump's efforts to try to overturn the 2020 election results and has been working on efforts that could disrupt the 2024 election. Mitchell, a Project 2025 contributor, runs the Election Integrity Network, which, per Center for Media and Democracy, trains right-wing poll watchers as part of an effort to "create enough disputes to justify intervention in the election by Republican-controlled state legislatures." She is also Board Chair of the Public Interest Legal Foundation, which backs groups accused of intimidating voters and has sought to limit mail-in voting.



John Eastman is a criminally indicted election denier who urged Trump to overturn the 2020 election. Eastman was recommended to be disbarred in California based on evidence that he "abandoned his ethical and legal duties as an attorney to conspire with then-President Donald Trump to develop and implement a strategy to obstruct the counting of electoral votes on January 6, 2021, and illegally disrupt the peaceful transfer of power to President-elect Joseph Biden." Eastman is a Senior Fellow at the Claremont Institute, a Project 2025 Advisory Board member.



## PROJECT 2025 HAS ALREADY STARTED

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- Three of the five members of Georgia's State Election Board approved a new rule in August 2024 requiring "reasonable inquiries" prior to election certification that could be exploited to delay certification and threaten the statewide election certification deadline of November 22.
- A Republican county commission in New Mexico refused to certify its primary election results in June 2022. The commission, which includes a convicted insurrectionist, cited issues it had with vote-tabulating machines but was unable to document any specific errors.
- At least eight states, all led by Republican governors or Republican super-majority legislatures, have passed laws that diminish secretaries of states' authority over elections or shift aspects of election administration to highly partisan bodies, including state legislatures themselves or partisan election boards, echoing Trump's Jan. 6 pre-riot speech.

## HOW ARE PROJECT 2025'S POLICIES POSSIBLE?

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- The President largely controls DOJ through the Attorney General, who the President can remove without cause, and can do many things through executive action, including making prosecutorial decisions and shifting the Civil Rights Division's authority to investigate election-related crimes to the Criminal Division. Any sense of DOJ's independence has resulted from presidents following norms that Trump began to unravel and would continue to erode.
- For almost 50 years after the landmark Voting Rights Act was passed in 1965, DOJ played a key role in protecting the integrity of elections and policing efforts to suppress the vote or intimidate voters. However, the right-wing Supreme Court has limited DOJ's ability to require pre-clearance of changes to voting rules in jurisdictions with a history of documented voter suppression. Project 2025's proposed changes could easily result in DOJ prioritizing false claims of voter fraud over voter intimidation efforts by the President's allies.

## WHO ELSE IS IN THE PROJECT 2025 ARMY?

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# PROJECT 2025: POLITICIZE LAW ENFORCEMENT AND OUR JUDICIAL SYSTEM

Project 2025 guts checks and balances that protect American freedoms, paving the way for extremists to take control of our government and lives.

## THE POLICIES

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- Terminate all FBI investigations/activities into Russian collusion, MAGA operatives, January 6th suspects, Freedom of Access to Clinic Entrances Act (FACE Act) violations, and more.
- Curtail the independence of the FBI, including by eliminating the agency's General Counsel's Office and pushing Congress to end the 10-year term for the FBI Director in order to make the FBI Director dependent on the President's approval—abandoning a key Nixon-era reform.
- Pursue “legal action” against local District Attorneys and officials that the Administration claims are “refusing to prosecute criminal offenses in their jurisdictions.”
- Expand the investigation of leaks, including using powerful tools to identify records of unauthorized disclosures to the media.

## THE PEOPLE

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Gene Hamilton served in Trump's DOJ and DHS and is Executive VP and General Counsel of Stephen Miller's America First Legal. Hamilton is the author of Project 2025's DOJ chapter, where he calls for moving the FBI under political control and initiating legal action against local District Attorneys who “[refuse] to prosecute criminal offenses in their jurisdictions.” Kevin Roberts, Heritage Foundation president and Project 2025 architect, describes Hamilton as “vital” to “the plan to revitalize this country.”



Rep. Jim Jordan is Chairman of the House Judiciary Committee and a leader of Trump's efforts to subvert the 2020 presidential election. Jordan has been criticized for creating an “antidemocratic, two-tiered system of justice.” Despite defying his own lawful subpoena, he has issued at least 91 subpoenas to others. Jordan is also focused on investigating state and local law enforcement officials who are prosecuting Trump for attempts at election interference.

## PROJECT 2025 HAS ALREADY STARTED

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- Trump tried to weaponize DOJ to overturn the 2020 election. Per CNN: “Perhaps the most disturbing aspect of Trump’s attempted coup was how he relentlessly tried to weaponize DOJ to nullify President Joe Biden’s victory. The Democratic-run Senate Judiciary Committee investigated Trump’s conduct and concluded in a recent report that he ‘grossly abused the power of the presidency.’”
- Throughout his Presidency, Trump repeatedly called to prosecute his opponents. As reported in Vox: “He told Hillary Clinton that once he won, she’d be ‘in jail.’ He said that John Kerry ‘should be prosecuted.’ He wants Adam Schiff ‘questioned at the highest level for Fraud & Treason.’ John Bolton, he says, should be ‘in jail, money seized.’ James Comey should face ‘years in jail.’” In July 2024, Trump also amplified social posts calling for televised military tribunals of Liz Cheney.

## HOW ARE PROJECT 2025’S POLICIES POSSIBLE?

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- The President largely controls DOJ through the Attorney General, who is removable by the President without cause. DOJ could try to take legal action against local District Attorneys but would likely face challenges.
- Any sense of DOJ’s independence has resulted from presidents following norms that Trump began to unravel and would continue to erode.
- Federal and local prosecutorial discretion (the ability of prosecutors and law enforcement to exercise judgment in which cases and violations to pursue) is a bedrock principle that Trump would deploy to punish those he dislikes and favor what he prefers.

## WHO ELSE IS IN THE PROJECT 2025 ARMY?

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# PROJECT 2025: DEPLOY LAWFARE AGAINST CORPORATE POLITICAL RIVALS

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## THE POLICIES

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- Weaponize DOJ's Civil Rights Division "to investigate and prosecute all state and local governments, institutions of higher education, corporations, and any other private employers" that have diversity, equity, and inclusion (DEI) policies in hiring, promotion, or admission.
- Ban corporate moderation of toxic posts or dangerous misinformation/disinformation on their platforms, asserting that moderation is censorship of protected political views/speech.
- Establish, under the Federal Trade Commission (FTC), an "ESG/DEI Collusion Task Force" to investigate and prosecute corporations, "particularly in private equity."
- Institute "unfair trade practices proceedings against entities that enter into contracts with children without parental consent," using the FTC to target Big Tech firms the Administration disfavors.
- Elevate State Attorneys General to suggest antitrust investigations and aid in enforcement on Big Tech mergers, while adding regional FTC offices.

## THE PEOPLE

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Brent Webster is the First Assistant Attorney General of Texas and AG Ken Paxton's top deputy. During Webster's tenure, Texas sued the Biden administration more than 75 times, with Webster's name frequently appearing right below Paxton's on lawsuits. In September 2021, Webster and Paxton, along with nine Republican AGs, filed an amicus brief in the 11th Circuit Court of Appeals in support of a Florida law regulating how large social media companies moderate content.



Vivek Ramaswamy is a Trump "sycophant," anti-ESG leader, and author of the book *Woke, Inc.: Inside Corporate America's Social Justice Scam*, in which he assails corporate social responsibility and social justice initiatives. In 2021, Vivek co-founded Strive Asset Management which is backed by Peter Thiel and J.D. Vance. Vivek has claimed he is "one of the biggest opponents of the ESG agenda [...] it's not just because it ruins companies, though it does that too, what it does is it ruins our democratic process itself."

## PROJECT 2025 HAS ALREADY STARTED

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- A group of 13 Republican AGs sent a letter to Fortune 100 CEOs asserting that diversity quotas in hiring are “immoral” and calling for the CEOs “to immediately cease any unlawful race-based quotas or preferences your company has adopted for its employment and contracting practices. If you choose not to do so, know that you will be held accountable.”
- In 2023, Texas banned Citigroup from underwriting municipal bonds after the state claimed that Citigroup “discriminates” against firearm entities. Post-Parkland school shooting, Citigroup stopped providing banking services to retailers who sell guns to anyone under 21 or sell bump stocks.
- In 2022, Florida pulled \$2 billion worth of its assets managed by BlackRock, due to BlackRock’s focus on ESG investing and related policies.

## HOW ARE PROJECT 2025’S POLICIES POSSIBLE?

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- The President largely controls DOJ through the Attorney General, who is removable by the President without cause, and who can do many things through executive action, including making prosecutorial decisions and establishing task forces.
- Other Project 2025 priorities, such as banning corporate moderation of misinformation, would likely require congressional action and would also run afoul of First Amendment principles.
- Any sense of DOJ’s independence has resulted from presidents following norms that Trump began to unravel and would continue to erode. Prosecutorial discretion (the ability of prosecutors and law enforcement to exercise judgment in which cases and violations to pursue) is a bedrock principle Trump would utilize to its fullest extent. The FTC could also be deployed in a similar manner.

## WHO ELSE IS IN THE PROJECT 2025 ARMY?

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# PROJECT 2025: RISK NATIONAL SECURITY

Project 2025 guts checks and balances that protect American freedoms, paving the way for extremists to take control of our government and lives.

## THE POLICIES

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- Accelerate and bolster nuclear warhead production and increase the number of nuclear weapons above current treaty limits and program goals, while testing nuclear weapons for the first time since 1992.
- Operate with active hostility towards arms control and abandon formal and informal nuclear nonproliferation treaties, frameworks, and conversations, while also expanding the list of external threats that officially justify nuclear retaliation (e.g. a major hacking event, as added by Trump in 2019), escalating tensions with U.S. adversaries and increasing the risk of a nuclear disaster.
- Pressure Mexico to take the Administration's recommendations on eradicating cartels in Mexico. Trump goes beyond Project 2025, planning to take military action against Mexican cartels in Mexico.

## THE PEOPLE

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**Bernard McNamee**, who served in the Trump Administration from 2017-2020, including as a commissioner of the Federal Energy Regulatory Commission is the author of Project 2025's Department of Energy chapter. McNamee argues that the U.S. should continue to develop new nuclear warheads, reject ratification of the Comprehensive Nuclear Test Ban Treaty (which prohibits nuclear tests), and prepare to test new nuclear weapons “in response to adversary nuclear developments.”



**Elbridge Colby** was Trump's Deputy Assistant Secretary of Defense for Strategy and Force Development. Per Politico, he is a leading proponent of the view that “China is the principal threat abroad, and that the U.S. should focus on Asia to the near-exclusion of everywhere else, including Russia and Ukraine.” Colby has argued that the best way to secure peace is to “prepare for nuclear war” and that “great-power competition” has returned. Colby is a contributor to Project 2025, and in March 2023, Colby and Project 2025 architect Kevin Roberts co-wrote an article in *Time* calling for a shift away from Ukraine to China.

## PROJECT 2025 HAS ALREADY STARTED

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- Trump previously conditioned military support on personal gain, withholding congressionally authorized U.S. security assistance to Ukraine for political gain, for which he was impeached.
- The Trump Administration dismantled anti-nuclear commitments including withdrawing from the 1992 Open Skies Treaty and the 1987 Intermediate-Range Nuclear Forces Treaty, failing to reach an agreement with Russia to extend New START – the only treaty regulating strategic nuclear weapons between U.S. and Russia – and most notably, renegeing on the Iran nuclear deal.
- In 2020, Trump discussed a plan with Secretary of Defense Mark Esper to fire missiles at cartel targets in Mexico and to then frame another country to take the blame, risking economic damage by harming one of America’s most important trade alliances.

## HOW ARE PROJECT 2025’S POLICIES POSSIBLE?

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- As Commander-in-Chief, President Trump would carry broad powers over the U.S. armed forces, with only potential congressional funding restrictions and court oversight as limited checks.
- Congress could try to enforce a need to authorize a new Authorization for Use of Military Force were Trump to try to invade another nation without seeking congressional approval, but it is unlikely either Congress or the courts would interfere with the President’s use of force as designated in the War Powers Resolution.

## WHO ELSE IS IN THE PROJECT 2025 ARMY?

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# PROJECT 2025: ADVANCE A MAGA MILITARY AGENDA

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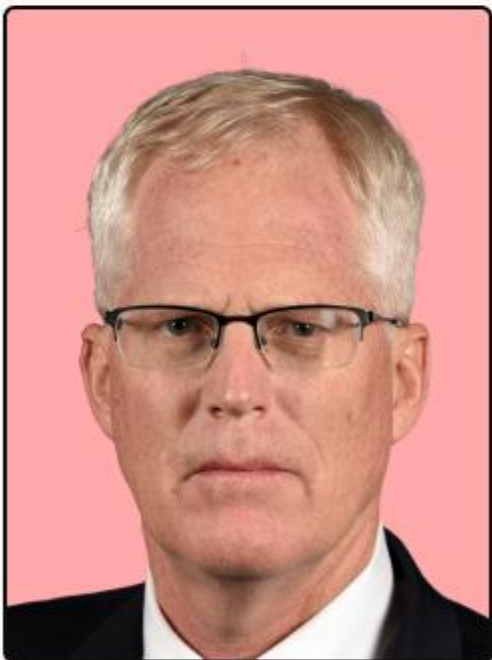
## THE POLICIES

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- Diminish the Department of Defense's (DOD) autonomy and concentrate defense decision making at the White House, under political control.
- Purge and replace military leadership unwilling to execute the President's orders.
- Reduce the number of U.S. generals and limit the advancement of "many of the existing cadre," with specific focus on any individuals the Trump Administration determines to have not earned their promotion.
- Aim to increase military compliance by ensuring "Military and civilian IC [Intelligence Community] training should include stronger emphasis on [...] repercussions for abuse in the execution of duties in all degree programs at the National Intelligence University."

## THE PEOPLE

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Christopher Miller is the author of the DOD chapter of Project 2025. Trump named Miller Acting Secretary of Defense after his 2020 loss. Miller is partially responsible for the Pentagon's delay in deploying the National Guard to protect Members of Congress and the Capitol Police after Trump incited a violent insurrection on January 6, 2021. Miller also took actions to impede the peaceful transfer of power by ordering a Pentagon-wide halt to cooperation with the transition of President-elect Biden.



Kash Patel was Trump's senior advisor to the Acting Director of National Intelligence and chief of staff to Acting Secretary Christopher Miller. A key Trump loyalist, Patel worked with Richard Grenell to declassify transcripts of Russia probe interviews to try to discredit DOJ's Trump-Russia investigation. Patel also argued that Secretary of Defense Mark Esper was disloyal for not deploying the National Guard during the 2020 George Floyd protests. On Bannon's War Room, Patel stated, "We will go out and find the conspirators not just in government, but in the media."



## PROJECT 2025 HAS ALREADY STARTED

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- Trump fired his Secretary of Defense Mark Esper and several other senior Pentagon officials following his election loss, punishing resisters who discouraged Trump from invoking the Insurrection Act to quell protests or who refuted Trump's stolen election lies.
- Where past presidents took careful measures to ensure diplomatic communications were strategic, aligned with national interests, and conveyed with tact, Trump used Twitter to issue reckless policy statements, including threatening and provoking Iran, improvidently announcing U.S. troop withdrawal from Syria, ending joint military exercises with South Korea, and divulging classified information.
- Trump used the U.S. military and flag officers as political props. General Mark Milley, chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, reflected "I should not have been there," referring to his appearance with Trump when walking after protestors were forcibly dispersed in Lafayette Square.
- Trump's former National Security Advisor Michael Flynn proposed declaring martial law and using the U.S. military to seize voting machines to overturn the 2020 election.

## HOW ARE PROJECT 2025'S POLICIES POSSIBLE?

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- The President has nearly complete authority over directing the U.S. military and may appoint key DOD officials subject to Senate confirmation. Nominated but unconfirmed officials can serve in an acting capacity.
- The 6-3 MAGA-majority Supreme Court decision, written by Chief Justice John Roberts in the case granting Trump unprecedented immunity for "official acts," creates a perilous situation where a president cannot be prosecuted for an illegal military order. This could create dangerous confusion within the military's chain of command in the case of an illegal order, such as an order to assassinate a President's political opponent.

## WHO ELSE IS IN THE PROJECT 2025 ARMY?

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# PROJECT 2025: DISMANTLE AMERICA'S GLOBAL STANDING AND ABANDON OUR ALLIANCES

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## THE POLICIES

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- Retreat from global alliances, frameworks, and treaties that have protected the post-World War II world order.
- Pressure European North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) allies to reduce their reliance on U.S. support for defending against threats including Russian aggression.
- Upend the post-WWII world order by abandoning U.S. commitments to allies and partners, destabilizing diplomatic channels with allies and adversaries alike, and withdrawing from international organizations and multilateral systems, including the World Health Organization, the United Nations Human Rights Council, the Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD), the World Bank, and the International Monetary Fund, among others.
- Consolidate and reduce U.S. foreign assistance and condition all remaining foreign assistance on clearly and unambiguously supporting the Administration's agenda, including anti-abortion policies.

## THE PEOPLE

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Richard Grenell served as Trump's Acting Director of National Intelligence (DNI) and U.S. Ambassador to Germany. While Acting DNI, Grenell declassified transcripts of Russia probe interviews to try to discredit the DOJ's Trump-Russia investigation. In the words of Steve Bannon: "Trump trusts [Grenell] as a pair of safe hands in deconstructing the administrative state and confronting the deep state." The Guardian highlights Grenell's work "courting the global far right" to "form [an] authoritarian axis" and reports that Trump has called Grenell "my envoy."



Douglas Macgregor was brought on as senior advisor to Acting Secretary of Defense Christopher Miller following a wave of Pentagon firings in November 2020. Described by Liz Cheney as part of the "Putin wing of the GOP," Macgregor has appeared on Russia Today and called Ukrainian President Zelensky "a puppet." Macgregor is a senior fellow with The American Conservative, a Project 2025 Advisory Board member. Macgregor has argued that it is "time to reexamine U.S. investment in 'allies' that are doing too little to secure their own sovereign interests."

## PROJECT 2025 HAS ALREADY STARTED

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- Trump diminished America's leverage, reputation, and its global leadership role, weakened regional security, and hindered global progress on shared challenges, including climate change, global health, and economic security.
- Trump undermined U.S. military alliances, threatened U.S. withdrawal from NATO, pulled U.S. troops from Germany, emboldened Russia, and sided with Russian claims on election interference over the FBI's intelligence.
- Trump destabilized U.S.-China relations across diplomatic, economic, and military lines, including via inflammatory rhetoric against China, pushing COVID conspiracies, and an escalating trade war.
- Mike Pompeo, Trump's Secretary of State, created and led the Geneva Consensus Declaration, which claims that there is no international right to abortion. A group of 32 governments, primarily illiberal and authoritarian, co-signed the declaration.

## HOW ARE PROJECT 2025'S POLICIES POSSIBLE?

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- The Constitution grants the President broad authority to control U.S. foreign policy in addition to operational control of the U.S. military as Commander-in-Chief.
- Senate approval is required for entering treaties, but Presidents have unilaterally terminated treaties without a super-majority vote, even though the Supreme Court has not ruled that the President has such authority.

## WHO ELSE IS IN THE PROJECT 2025 ARMY?

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Kevin Roberts, Project 2025 Architect & Heritage President

## WE'RE NOT GOING BACK

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# PROJECT 2025: POLITICIZE INTELLIGENCE

Project 2025 guts checks and balances that protect American freedoms, paving the way for extremists to take control of our government and lives.

## THE POLICIES

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- Purge the Intelligence Community (IC) of non-loyalists and replace expert national security civil servants with allies from outside of the IC or from IC personnel loyal to Trump through January 6, 2021.
- Halt any Central Intelligence Agency (CIA) program or operation “inconsistent with the President’s agenda.”
- Expand distribution of IC intelligence to more areas of government, military, and in some cases, private corporations or the public. Additionally, reduce auditing and vetting by “[adopting] an ‘obligation to share’ policy process, including the capacity for ‘write to release’ intelligence products,” a change that removes key safeguards and expert oversight of intelligence products and increases the risk of unreliable or unsubstantiated intelligence going to the White House.
- Trump goes beyond the Project 2025 intelligence proposals, treating nation-level negotiations and foreign relations as Trump Organization deals and relationships, unilaterally sharing U.S. intelligence with foreign leaders, and pressuring IC staff to support his approach, while also threatening to reduce intelligence sharing with NATO allies.

## THE PEOPLE

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John Ratcliffe was Trump’s Director of National Intelligence (DNI) from May 2020 - Jan. 2021. Per Sen. Schumer, Ratcliffe was selected to this position “because he exhibited blind loyalty to President Trump.” Ratcliffe made public assertions that contradicted professional intelligence assessments, sidelined career intelligence briefers, and declassified materials to benefit Trump. Ratcliffe is a visiting fellow at the Heritage Foundation and a Project 2025 contributor.



Robert O'Brien was Trump’s National Security Advisor from 2019 - 2021, where he purged more than 60 policy staffers to root out what Trump called “snakes.” Per the NYT, O'Brien would open National Security Council meetings by distributing printouts of Trump’s latest tweets, which signaled that the meeting attendees’ job was to find ways of justifying, enacting, or explaining Trump’s policy. Per ABC, Trump’s chief of the DHS intelligence agency claimed O'Brien instructed personnel “to cease providing intelligence assessments on the threat of Russian interference in the U.S., and instead start reporting on interference activities by China and Iran.”

## PROJECT 2025 HAS ALREADY STARTED

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- Trump recklessly disclosed classified material to foreign actors and private citizens and illegitimately retained highly classified information for personal gain.
- Trump publicly undermined U.S. intelligence agencies and U.S. intelligence reporting, notably siding with Russia against the FBI at the Helsinki summit in 2018. He also routinely referred to career U.S. intelligence officials as the “Deep State.”
- Trump encouraged foreign interference in U.S. elections and undermined the consensus U.S. intelligence conclusions that both Russia and China interfered in U.S. presidential elections.
- Trump placed political allies and brazen partisans in charge of U.S. intelligence entities, including at DNI, CIA, DOD, National Security Administration, and National Security Council-Intel, and purged intelligence officials who did not prioritize loyalty to Trump.

## HOW ARE PROJECT 2025'S POLICIES POSSIBLE?

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- Since most of these powers fall within the President's foreign affairs and national security powers, the President would receive a great deal of deference in the courts.
- Furthermore, internal guidance documents can achieve much of what Project 2025 proposes. These documents would likely not be subject to judicial review and may not even be public information.

## WHO ELSE IS IN THE PROJECT 2025 ARMY?

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# PROJECT 2025: RESTRICT IMMIGRATION

Project 2025 guts checks and balances that protect American freedoms, paving the way for extremists to take control of our government and lives.

## THE POLICIES

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- Increase use of Expedited Removal from the current limit (within 100 miles of the border) to the full country. Trump has also promised to take immigration authority further, stating: “On Day One of my new term in office, I will sign an executive order making clear to federal agencies that...going forward, the future children of illegal aliens will not receive automatic U.S. citizenship.” This disregards the 14th Amendment’s express provision on birthright citizenship.
- Cap, reduce, restrict, or phase out visas, reducing legal immigration that is essential to American supply chains and industries. Project 2025’s and Trump’s proposals could eliminate ~300,000 H2-A, ~64,000 H2-B, and some portion of ~445,000 student visas for students who hail from countries the Administration disfavors.
- Grant Intelligence Community security privileges to ICE and Customs and Border Protection officers, agencies and agents that have demonstrated loyalty to Trump.
- Eliminate T visas (for victims of human trafficking) and U visas (for victims of certain crimes who are helpful to law enforcement).

## THE PEOPLE

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Tom Homan, Trump’s Acting Director of ICE, was considered the intellectual “father” of the Administration’s family separation policy. While Acting Director, he also led ‘workplace raids’ targeting undocumented workers and stated that elected officials in ‘sanctuary cities’ should be charged with crimes and arrested. He is a contributor to Project 2025 and was a speaker at the 2024 RNC Convention.



Chad Wolf was the Acting DHS Secretary from Nov. 2019 through Jan. 2021. Wolf’s appointment was deemed unlawful by the Government Accountability Office. In this role, Wolf executed some of Trump’s most aggressive immigration policies, including issuing a memo to suspend the Deferred Action for Childhood Arrivals program and making broad changes to the asylum system, including restricting work permits. Wolf is a fellow at the Heritage Foundation.

## PROJECT 2025 HAS ALREADY STARTED

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- In June 2020, Trump harmed American businesses by suspending visas and banning certain workers until the end of the year. Despite the fact that every H-2B job was offered to a U.S. worker first as is required by law, Trump considered extending the ban into 2021.
- The Trump Administration separated and detained immigrant children, ripping them away from their parents; as of 2023, nearly 1,000 children affected by this policy remained separated.
- The Trump Administration circulated a plan within the Department of Homeland Security to use 100,000 National Guard troops to round up millions of undocumented immigrants in 11 states for deportation.

## HOW ARE PROJECT 2025'S POLICIES POSSIBLE?

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- The federal government has “plenary power” over immigration, which has been confirmed in numerous Supreme Court cases dating back to the Chinese Exclusion Cases. This means that Congress, in enacting laws, and the President, in implementing them, retain broad powers to prohibit the entry of immigrants and implement other policies so long as there is a “facially legitimate and bona fide” reason for implementing the policy.
- Most recently, the MAGA-majority Supreme Court upheld Trump’s Muslim Ban in Trump v. Hawaii. Challenges to immigration policies are generally possible only when an action conflicts with either a congressional statute or due process rights, which are limited for immigrants at the border.

## WHO ELSE IS IN THE PROJECT 2025 ARMY?

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# PROJECT 2025: GUT THE FEDERAL RESERVE

Project 2025 guts checks and balances that protect American freedoms, paving the way for extremists to take control of our government and lives.

## THE POLICIES

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- Cause *Humphrey's Executor v. United States* to be overturned or distinguished, which could give the President the power to remove the Chairman of the Federal Reserve without cause. The Administration could then, by simple Senate majority, confirm a new, loyalist Chairman of the Federal Reserve. Project 2025 doubles down on the intent to end the Federal Reserve's autonomy: "take the monetary steering wheel out of the Federal Reserve's hands and return it to the people."
- Move to a "free" banking system, an extremist alternative to a stable central bank where "the Federal Reserve is effectively abolished." While unlikely to have congressional support, the call for "abolishing the federal role in money altogether" is an example of the destabilizing economic ideologies that would animate a Project 2025 Administration's economic policies.
- Project 2025 calls for eliminating the Federal Reserve's dual mandate to maintain low unemployment and to prevent inflation, prioritizing instead only policies that would actually devalue the dollar.

## THE PEOPLE

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Kevin Hassett served as Trump's Chair of the Council of Economic Advisors from 2017-2019. Hassett was a chief promoter of the Trump tax cuts that disproportionately benefited wealthy individuals and large corporations. He returned to the White House in March 2020 to advise President Trump on the Administration's response to the COVID-19 pandemic, where he touted inaccurate and unfounded COVID-19 death projections, minimizing its deadly effects. A Trump ally, Hassett has reportedly been shortlisted for Trump's Chair of the Federal Reserve.



Judy Shelton is an economic advisor to Trump, a failed Trump nominee for the Federal Reserve Board, and a contributor to the Project 2025 Federal Reserve chapter. Shelton has floated abolishing the Federal Reserve, she opposes central bank independence, and has claimed that the Fed is "almost a rogue agency." Shelton is a proponent of free banking and moving to the gold standard. Shelton endorsed Trump's call to cut interest rates to 0%, which would mean the Fed would be unable to respond to inflationary pressures.



## PROJECT 2025 HAS ALREADY STARTED

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- Trump pressured Chairman Jerome Powell to lower interest rates, tweeting and using public appearances to chide Powell. Trump tweeted, “The Federal Reserve should get our interest rates down to ZERO, or less, and we should then start to refinance our debt,” and “the USA should always be paying the lowest rate.”
- Trump tried to confirm Judy Shelton to the Federal Reserve, but her confirmation failed by four votes. Trump tried to re-nominate Shelton in January 2021 to prevent Biden from filling the last seat on the Federal Reserve board.

## HOW ARE PROJECT 2025'S POLICIES POSSIBLE?

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- Congress would need to legislate to eliminate the Federal Reserve because it was authorized by Congress, but Trump would likely continue demanding lower interest rates and would likely try to replace Powell with a new Chairman, either before or after Chairman Powell's term ends.
- A second Trump term Federal Reserve Chairman nominee would likely be a MAGA loyalist ready to end central bank independence.

## WHO ELSE IS IN THE PROJECT 2025 ARMY?

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# PROJECT 2025: DIMINISH CONSUMER FINANCIAL PROTECTIONS

Project 2025 guts checks and balances that protect American freedoms, paving the way for extremists to take control of our government and lives.

## THE POLICIES

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- Abolish the purportedly “unconstitutional” Consumer Financial Protection Bureau (CFPB), which was created by Congress after the financial crisis caused by Wall Street engaging in highly speculative, risky repackaging of subprime mortgages.
- Privatize government-backed entities Fannie Mae and Freddie Mac, which support the mortgage market, thereby redirecting profit that helps fund the government to private corporations instead and raising qualifying credit scores and restricting consumers’ ability to access and afford mortgages.
- Prevent a central bank digital currency that would curb private crypto asset market abuses and protect consumers from scams: “the institution of a central bank digital currency [would provide] unprecedented surveillance and potential control of financial transactions.”

## THE PEOPLE

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John Paulson, a hedge fund billionaire who made millions betting against the U.S. housing market in 2007-2009, is among those likely to lead the Treasury in a second Trump term. Paulson has been pushing for the privatization of Fannie Mae and Freddie Mac, moving government dollars to instead benefit Paulson’s investments and entities. Paulson hosted a \$50M fundraiser for Trump’s 2024 Presidential race.



Kathy Kraninger was Director of the CFPB from December 2018-January 2021, despite not having a background in consumer issues. Under her leadership, the CFPB was left “toothless” and enforcement activity dropped precipitously. For example, in July 2020, CFPB announced that payday lenders would not have to verify a borrower’s ability to repay a loan before lending that borrower money. Following the Administration, she took the role as top regulatory official for a cryptocurrency startup.

## PROJECT 2025 HAS ALREADY STARTED

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- Trump rolled back Dodd-Frank protections designed to prevent a repeat of the 2008 financial crisis that cost millions of Americans their homes. Following these actions, only banks with >\$250B are considered 'too big to fail', reducing federal oversight over all but the largest banks.
- Trump's CFPB Director, Mick Mulvaney, delayed payday lending regulations, ended a CFPB investigation into a payday lending firm that contributed to Mulvaney's congressional campaign, and dropped a lawsuit against an online loan-shark who was facing allegations of charging customers up to 950% interest rates.
- Trump's CFPB worked to create a loophole allowing payday lenders to operate even where local governments sought to ban predatory lenders in hopes of protecting residents from unfair practices. Trump's CFPB also fined a man just \$1 for illegally exchanging veterans' pensions for high-interest cash advances.

## HOW ARE PROJECT 2025'S POLICIES POSSIBLE?

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- Congress holds the authority to wind down and privatize Freddie Mac and Fannie Mae because Congress originally established both agencies in statute, and because they are in conservatorship, the executive branch has significant power over Fannie Mae and Freddie Mac and can effectively privatize them by releasing them from conservatorship
- The Supreme Court considered the CFPB's constitutionality twice in recent years: once striking down the removal protections for CFPB's director and once upholding its structure and funding stream. Congress could pass legislation eliminating the CFPB.

## WHO ELSE IS IN THE PROJECT 2025 ARMY?

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# PROJECT 2025: IMPLEMENT A PROTECTIONIST, PRO-TARIFF TRADE AGENDA

Project 2025 guts checks and balances that protect American freedoms, paving the way for extremists to take control of our government and lives.

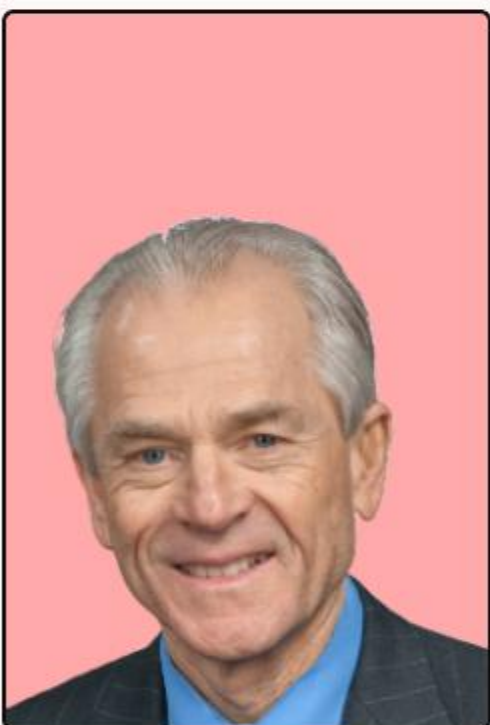
## THE POLICIES

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- Implement reciprocal trade, a policy that matches U.S. tariffs to those of its trade counterparts. Trump has been more specific, calling for a 60% tariff on Chinese goods and a minimum 10% universal tariff on all goods, which experts warn would cause inflation and price hikes.
- Limit imports of goods from China and restrict investments by both limiting U.S. corporations' ability to invest in Chinese assets and prohibiting Chinese corporations the Administration deems affiliated with the Chinese Community Party (CCP) from investing in U.S assets.
- Dissolve the Export-Import Bank of the United States, making the U.S. the only developed country without an export credit agency (a long-time goal of billionaire Charles Koch).

## THE PEOPLE

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Peter Navarro was Trump's White House trade advisor, where he said his job was to "provide the underlying analytics that confirm [Trump's] intuition [on trade]" and asserted that "his intuition is always right in these matters." Navarro authored the Fair Trade chapter of Project 2025, where he casts the World Trade Organization and China as the main villains. Navarro was also a central figure in the attempts to overturn the results of the 2020 election and is the first former White House official to be imprisoned for a conviction of contempt of Congress.



Robert Lighthizer served as the Trump Administration's U.S. Trade Representative (USTR), where he was responsible for a radical shift in U.S. trade policy, moving away from decades of support for a rules-based, multilateral trading system toward a more nationalist, protectionist approach. Lighthizer holds a very aggressive stance towards China and was a key architect behind Trump's trade war with China.

## PROJECT 2025 HAS ALREADY STARTED

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- Trump's Administration initiated a trade war with China and imposed tariffs on hundreds of billions of dollars' worth of Chinese imports, ultimately costing the U.S. billions of dollars and an estimated 245,000 American jobs.
- Trump's USTR officials imposed inconsistent and costly tariffs against key U.S. allies such as the EU, Canada, and Mexico.

## HOW ARE PROJECT 2025'S POLICIES POSSIBLE?

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- If Congress does not reclaim its tariff power through legislation, the President will likely have essentially unilateral power to impose tariffs so long as the President provides an accompanying national security rationale.
- The President has the authority to regulate foreign affairs. The combination of the President's foreign affairs power and Congress's acquiescence to unilateral executive tariffs makes the President's authority to unilaterally impose sweeping tariffs murky but feasible. Courts have not upheld the President's ability to unilaterally impose tariffs without authority delegated to him by Congress, as Congress has done before.

## WHO ELSE IS IN THE PROJECT 2025 ARMY?

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## WE'RE NOT GOING BACK

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# PROJECT 2025: WEAKEN ORGANIZED LABOR

Project 2025 guts checks and balances that protect American freedoms, paving the way for extremists to take control of our government and lives.

## THE POLICIES

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- Fire the National Labor Relations Board (NLRB) general counsel "on Day One," threatening the NLRB's ability to protect workers trying to organize for good, middle-class jobs.
- Gut the capacity of the Department of Labor (DOL) to protect workers by calling for state waivers from key labor standards such as the minimum wage, overtime pay, and the right to organize.
- Remove DOL's hazard-order regulations to allow teenagers to work "inherently dangerous job[s]."
- Weaken overtime pay requirements.
- Rescind labor protections including those "prohibiting discrimination on the basis of sexual orientation, gender identity, transgender status, and sex characteristics."
- Work with Congress to "amend the National Labor Relations Act (NLRA) to authorize collective bargaining to treat national employment laws and regulations as negotiable defaults."

## THE PEOPLE

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Jonathan Berry led the DOL's regulatory office under Trump, overseeing the development of workplace deregulation rules. Per the AFL-CIO, Berry's DOL was "catastrophic for workers." Berry authored Project 2025's DOL chapter, where he calls for weakening unions, reducing overtime regulations, and allowing corporations more freedom in classifying workers as independent contractors. In private practice, Berry has been part of unsuccessful efforts to try to overturn the Affordable Care Act in *King v. Burwell*.



Andrew Puzder, a major Trump donor and Heritage Foundation visiting fellow, was Trump's failed nominee for Secretary of Labor. Puzder opposes raising the federal minimum wage, paid sick leave, and overtime. He also led fast food companies that were accused of discrimination, and some of his employees claimed he showed "disdain" for workers.

## PROJECT 2025 HAS ALREADY STARTED

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- Trump's NLRB adopted rules that made it easier for large corporations to evade liability for labor violations and to avoid bargaining obligations by relying on smaller intermediary companies—including franchisees, temporary staffing agencies, and labor contractors—to supply labor.
- Trump's NLRB made rules that make it harder for workers to unionize by giving anti-union corporations more opportunities to fight workers' organizing campaigns and reduce the likelihood of union victory.



- Florida passed an anti-union bill requiring most public sector unions to boost the rate of members paying dues or be disbanded. If fewer than 60 percent of eligible employees are members, their unions would have to be recertified as bargaining agents.

## HOW ARE PROJECT 2025'S POLICIES POSSIBLE?

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- Amending the NLRA to authorize collective bargaining to treat national employment laws and regulations as negotiable defaults will require congressional approval, since the current system is based on statute.
- Many of Project 2025's proposed labor policies will require simple rulemaking (no congressional action needed), and Trump's DOL already achieved some. The Biden Administration then rescinded those policies.

## WHO ELSE IS IN THE PROJECT 2025 ARMY?

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# PROJECT 2025: IMPEDE PUBLIC TRANSIT AND INFRASTRUCTURE PROJECTS

Project 2025 guts checks and balances that protect American freedoms, paving the way for extremists to take control of our government and lives.

## THE POLICIES

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- Wind down the Highway Trust Fund, which provides funding for thousands of highway and public transportation projects each year.
- Give the Department of Transportation (DOT) priority over the Environmental Protection Agency (EPA) in setting vehicle-related carbon dioxide emission standards, and gut fuel economy standards, which, Project 2025 alleges, “have no meaningful effect on global temperature trends” and which “force the auto industry to transition to [...] the production of EVs,” contrary to climate science and emissions data.
- Reject the International Civil Aviation Organization (ICAO) and the airplane efficiency standards ICAO prescribes.
- Alter or eliminate the Cleaner Trucks Initiative to avoid what Project 2025 alleges are “significant costs” or “complex burdens on the industry.”
- Urge Congress to repeal the Inflation Reduction Act and Bipartisan Infrastructure Law.

## THE PEOPLE

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Diana Furchtgott-Roth served as Trump’s Deputy Assistant Secretary for Research and Technology at the DOT, and authored the DOT chapter of Project 2025. A denier of human-caused climate change, Furchtgott-Roth has argued that “the Biden fuel economy regulations are predicted to have no meaningful effect on global temperature trends over the long term,” that fuel economy standards kill people, and that “green jobs are the most recent reappearance of a perennial bad idea.”



Steven Bradbury was Trump’s General Counsel of DOT from November 2017-January 2021 and is a contributor to the DOT chapter of Project 2025. During his tenure, DOT led the Trump administration’s agencies on deregulation, cutting 23 regulations for every new regulation it issued. DOT’s extreme deregulatory agenda had significant safety and environmental implications, including sidelining rules that required states to conduct annual inspections of commercial bus operators and for railroads to operate trains with at least two crew members.



## PROJECT 2025 HAS ALREADY STARTED

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- Trump's DOT consistently delayed infrastructure projects and transportation improvements, which caused bottlenecks in various supply chains and transportation networks.
- Trump's DOT revoked a requirement that state and regional authorities track tailpipe emissions from vehicles on federal highways, using program costs of ~\$1.67M per year as an excuse.
- Trump weakened Obama-era fuel economy and greenhouse gas standards for passenger cars and light trucks and froze civil penalties for companies that violate fuel efficiency standards.
- Trump also attempted to cut the Highway Trust Fund in his 2018 budget proposal.

## HOW ARE PROJECT 2025'S POLICIES POSSIBLE?

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- Repealing the Inflation Reduction Act would require legislation, but many of the Biden DOT policies can be rescinded via the rulemaking process (no congressional action needed).
- New deregulatory rules can be issued so long as the Trump Administration complies with the Administrative Procedure Act.

## WHO ELSE IS IN THE PROJECT 2025 ARMY?

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# PROJECT 2025: RESTRICT AFFORDABLE HOUSING

Project 2025 guts checks and balances that protect American freedoms, paving the way for extremists to take control of our government and lives.

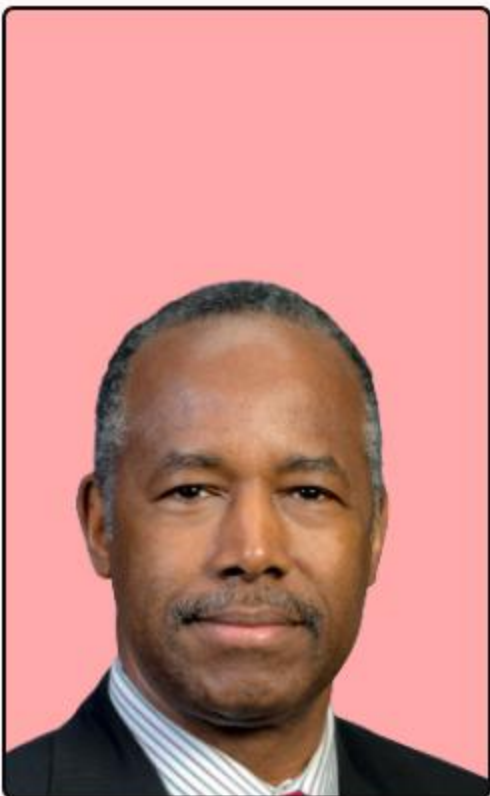
## THE POLICIES

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- Increase the mortgage insurance premium on all products with above 20-year terms.
- Privatize Fannie Mae and Freddie Mac increasing mortgage costs for homeowners.
- Restrict the role of the Federal Reserve in stabilizing the economy during housing and other economic crises.
- Allow public land and housing to be sold to the private market “and put to greater economic use.”
- Immediately end the Biden Administration’s PAVE policies, a set of guidelines that remove racial and ethnic biases from home appraisals.
- Repeal the Affirmatively Furthering Fair Housing regulation, increasing barriers to federally funded housing for protected and underrepresented groups.
- Eliminate the Housing Supply Fund, which provides grants to states and localities to reduce affordable housing barriers.
- End the supposed “anti-marriage bias” in housing assistance programs, designing programs to instead benefit couples most.

## THE PEOPLE

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**Ben Carson** is the author of the Housing and Urban Development (HUD) chapter in Project 2025, and his organization, the American Cornerstone Institute, is a Project 2025 Advisory Board member. Carson has claimed “poverty is really more of a choice than anything else.” Under Carson’s leadership, the Trump administration proposed eliminating funding that ensures public housing agencies have capital to address pressing issues. HUD also effectively reduced housing benefits by increasing rents and imposing stricter work requirements on those who receive federal housing assistance.



**Stephen Moore** was an economic advisor to Trump’s 2016 campaign and is a co-author of the Treasury chapter of Project 2025. In 2019, Trump announced his intent to nominate Moore to serve on the Federal Reserve Board of Governors, but Moore withdrew his name after immense public pushback due to his history of controversial claims, such as calling for privatizing Social Security. In his chapter, Moore calls for winding down Fannie Mae and Freddie Mac.

## PROJECT 2025 HAS ALREADY STARTED

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- The Trump Administration revised an existing HUD rule, making it harder to prove discrimination in housing.
- Trump proposed massive cuts to federal affordable housing programs, as well as other essential programs that ensure basic living standards for low-income Americans.
- In the first hours of his presidency, Trump suspended a plan that would have cut mortgage insurance premiums on federally insured home loans. The U.S. government estimated the plan was expected to save eligible homeowners an average of \$500 per year.
- In 2019, the Trump Administration released its first formal plan to overhaul the housing finance system and remove Fannie Mae and Freddie Mac from government conservatorship.

## HOW ARE PROJECT 2025'S POLICIES POSSIBLE?

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- The Trump Administration could use the rulemaking process to repeal Biden Administration regulations, such as the Affirmatively Furthering Fair Housing rule, and replace them with its own policies.
- Congress holds the authority to wind down and privatize Freddie Mac and Fannie Mae because Congress originally established both agencies in statute, and because they are in conservatorship, the executive branch has significant power over Fannie Mae and Freddie Mac and can effectively privatize them by releasing them from conservatorship.

## WHO ELSE IS IN THE PROJECT 2025 ARMY?

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# PROJECT 2025: PURSUE A NATIONWIDE ABORTION BAN

Project 2025 guts checks and balances that protect American freedoms, paving the way for extremists to take control of our government and lives.

## THE POLICIES

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- Resurrect and enforce the Comstock Act, a 150-year old statute, to ban the shipment of abortion pills, medical devices, and informational materials that could be used in providing abortion care.
- Reverse the FDA's approval of abortion medication.
- Work with Congress to pass the Protecting Life in Foreign Assistance Act; Title X Abortion Provider Prohibition Act; No Taxpayer Funding for Abortion and Abortion Insurance Full Disclosure Act of 2023; and the Born Alive Abortion Survivors Protection Act.
- Stop all DOJ investigations and prosecutions of violators of the Freedom of Access to Clinic Entrances (FACE) Act, allowing anti-abortion activists to intimidate and harass reproductive healthcare providers and their patients.

## THE PEOPLE

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Erin Hawley is an anti-abortion lawyer and Senior Counsel at Alliance Defending Freedom, a Project 2025 Advisory Board member. Hawley has urged the U.S. Supreme Court to overturn the FDA's approval of mifepristone, asserting that the medication is a danger to women. Hawley has challenged the Biden Administration's guidance that emergency room doctors have an obligation to protect patient health if they need abortion care under the Emergency Medical Treatment and Active Labor Act, even if they are not on the brink of death. Hawley also played a key role in overturning *Roe v. Wade*.



Jonathan Mitchell is an anti-abortion legal operative who drafted the Texas Heartbeat Act, a six-week "bounty hunter" abortion bill that effectively banned abortion in the state by empowering private citizens to act as vigilantes to enforce a fetal heartbeat abortion ban. Mitchell has also filed dozens of petitions regarding "suspected" abortions and is also behind litigation that aims to restrict access to preventative HIV medication, known as PrEP.

## PROJECT 2025 HAS ALREADY STARTED

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- Trump took credit for overturning *Roe v. Wade* through his appointments to the U.S. Supreme Court: “After 50 years of failure, with nobody coming even close, I was able to kill *Roe v. Wade*, much to the ‘shock’ of everyone [...] Without me the pro Life movement would have just kept losing.”
- Expanding on the Supreme Court’s *Burwell v. Hobby Lobby* ruling, Trump rolled back the Obama-era requirement that guaranteed birth control coverage at no out-of-pocket cost to 55 million women, by allowing employers to claim a religious or moral objection to the birth control coverage requirements in the Affordable Care Act.
- Federal Judge Matthew Kacsmaryk suspended the FDA’s approval of mifepristone, which has been on the market for more than 20 years, with numerous studies demonstrating its safety.



- Idaho prohibits almost all abortions at any stage of pregnancy. If a provider is prosecuted under Idaho’s abortion law, they face 2-5 years in prison and could have their medical license suspended or revoked. Family members of an Idaho abortion patient can sue, for at least \$20,000, medical providers who violated Idaho’s abortion law by providing abortion healthcare to that patient.

## HOW ARE PROJECT 2025’S POLICIES POSSIBLE?

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- It is likely that the President would appoint a loyal FDA head who will conduct rulemaking aligned with the Administration’s agenda.
- The DOJ could use the Comstock Act, which has never been fully repealed, to ban mailing of abortion medication, as J.D. Vance has urged.

## WHO ELSE IS IN THE PROJECT 2025 ARMY?

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Kevin Roberts, Project 2025 Architect & Heritage President

## WE’RE NOT GOING BACK

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# PROJECT 2025: RESTRICT REPRODUCTIVE HEALTHCARE

Project 2025 guts checks and balances that protect American freedoms, paving the way for extremists to take control of our government and lives.

## THE POLICIES

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- Replace the Reproductive Healthcare Access Task Force with a pro-life task force that restricts the Teen Pregnancy Prevention Program and censors comprehensive sexual education content in schools.
- Prohibit Planned Parenthood and abortion providers from receiving Medicaid funds.
- Alter CDC's public messaging about the purportedly "unsurpassed effectiveness of modern fertility awareness-based methods (FABMs) of family planning" (more widely known as "the rhythm method") and funnel discretionary grant money into groups that promote FABMs.
- Rename the Department of Health and Human Services (HHS) the Department of Life. Create and implement a federal government research agenda that "supports pro-life policies and explores the harms, both mental and physical, that abortion has wrought on women and girls."
- Form a National Council on Bioethics to prevent surrogacy and gene editing, particularly for LGBTQ families.

## THE PEOPLE

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Valerie Huber served in a series of roles in Trump's Department of Health and Human Services where she fought against pregnancy prevention programs and censored information about reproductive health. Under her leadership, the Trump administration cut more than \$200 million in federal grants to 81 teen pregnancy prevention programs around the country. Huber is a Project 2025 contributor and runs the Institute for Women's Health, a Project 2025 Advisory Board member.



John Sauer is an anti-abortion attorney who represented Donald Trump in his immunity claims. Sauer, a former solicitor general of Missouri, has routinely used his power to attack reproductive rights. In 2019, he defended the state health department's effort to revoke the license for Missouri's only abortion clinic; the state had monitored some patients' period data. In 2021, he filed an amicus brief for the Missouri attorney general, signed by sixteen other states, in support of a sweeping Arizona law that outlawed abortions based on genetic fetal abnormalities.

## PROJECT 2025 HAS ALREADY STARTED

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- Trump reinstated and massively expanded the Global Gag Rule, restricting \$8.8 billion in U.S. foreign aid funding for international health programs that provide, or even mention, abortions.
- Under Trump, HHS announced guidelines for how it would assess Title X grants—guidelines that favored “natural family planning” and “fertility awareness” methods like the rhythm method or the “calendar method” over more effective contraceptive methods.



- Per ProPublica, “U.S. House Republicans are advocating for allowing federal dollars from the Temporary Assistance for Needy Families program — intended to help low-income families — to flow to crisis pregnancy centers.”

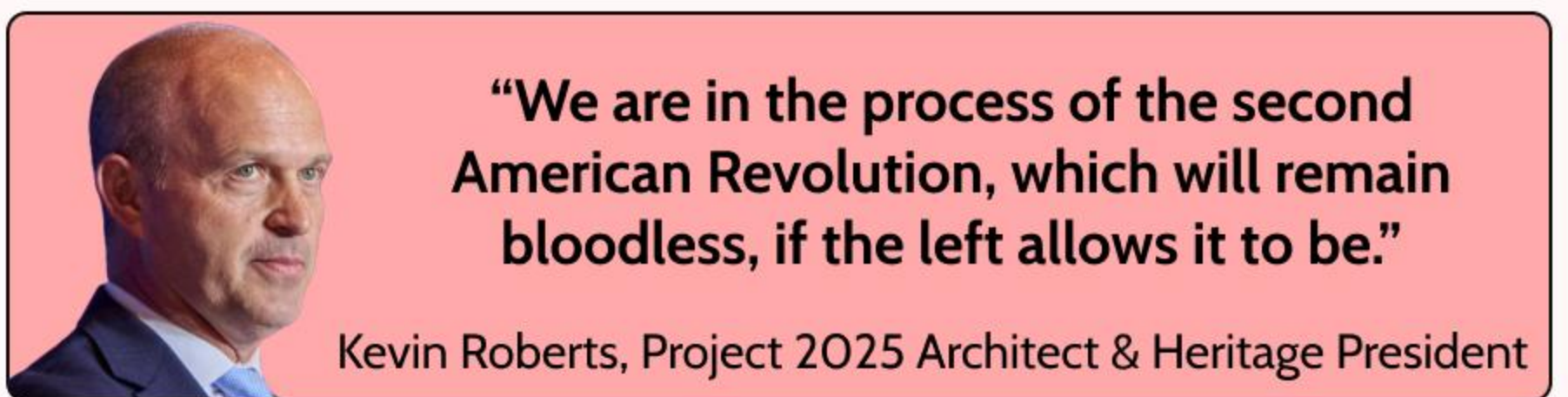
## HOW ARE PROJECT 2025'S POLICIES POSSIBLE?

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- The CDC and HHS can implement funding conditions on organizations in order to restrict the organizations' ability to promote contraception, sexual education, or reproductive health. Organizations may be faced with the choice between accepting federal funds and providing services related to abortion care.

## WHO ELSE IS IN THE PROJECT 2025 ARMY?

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## WE'RE NOT GOING BACK

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# PROJECT 2025: ASSAULT LGBTQ+ RIGHTS

Project 2025 guts checks and balances that protect American freedoms, paving the way for extremists to take control of our government and lives.

## THE POLICIES

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- Allow faith-based adoption agencies to discriminate against same-sex couples “due to their religious belief that a child should have a married mother and father.”
- Repeal and replace Biden Health and Human Services (HHS) policies that focus on supporting all families and instead orient HHS towards supporting heterosexual married parents only.
- Restrict “regulations prohibiting discrimination on the basis of sexual orientation, gender identity, transgender status, and sex characteristics.”
- Exclude gender reassignment surgery from coverage under Medicare or Medicaid.
- Immediately end gender identity data collection, which purportedly “legitimizes the unscientific notion that men can become women (and vice versa).”

## THE PEOPLE

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Roger Severino was Trump’s Office of Civil Rights (OCR) Director at HHS and is the author of Project 2025’s HHS chapter. Severino has been called “the man behind” the Trump Administration’s embrace of religion as an exception to anti-discrimination measures. During Severino’s tenure, OCR created the Conscience and Religious Freedom Division, as part of a rule to enable religious exemptions for medical providers. The Human Rights Campaign has called Severino a “radical anti-LGBTQ-rights activist.”



Jay Sekulow is chief counsel of the American Center for Law and Justice, a right-wing litigation operation and Project 2025 Advisory Board member that works to overturn church-state separation, women’s rights, and LGBTQ+ rights across the U.S. and abroad. Sekulow has attacked federal LGBTQ hate crimes law as a “dangerous trend” that “chills free speech.” Sekulow is one of Trump’s longest-serving personal lawyers and was co-lead outside counsel for Donald Trump in his first impeachment trial.



## PROJECT 2025 HAS ALREADY STARTED

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- Trump's HHS proposed a federal regulation that stripped nondiscrimination requirements from adoption and foster care agencies, opening the door for discrimination against LGBTQ people, religious minorities, and women.
- Trump's Department of Labor issued a regulation that let federal contractors claim a religious exemption to fire LGBTQ workers because of their sexual orientation or gender identity.
- Trump's HHS reversed the Obama administration's transgender health protections and announced a ban on transgender individuals serving in the military.

## HOW ARE PROJECT 2025'S POLICIES POSSIBLE?

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- Most of these policies – such as instituting a ban on transgender individuals in the military, as well as the Section 1557 nondiscrimination protections for LGBTQ individuals under the Affordable Care Act – can be done by rulemaking or other executive action.
- Excluding gender-affirming surgery from Medicare and Medicaid could require congressional legislation, as was attempted before.

## WHO ELSE IS IN THE PROJECT 2025 ARMY?

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## WE'RE NOT GOING BACK

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# PROJECT 2025: DEFUND EDUCATION AND CHILD CARE

Project 2025 guts checks and balances that protect American freedoms, paving the way for extremists to take control of our government and lives.

## THE POLICIES

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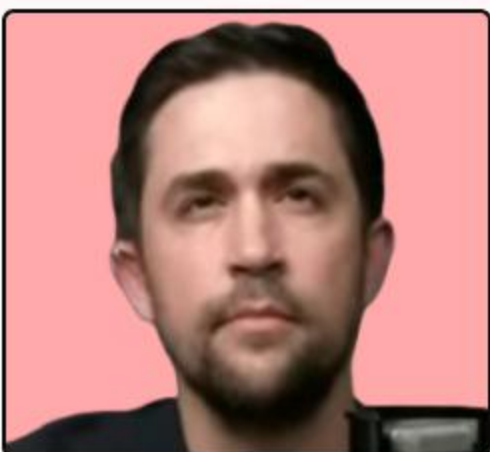
- Eliminate the Department of Education and “federal education policy.”
- Eliminate the Head Start Program to cut off access for quality early childhood education. Head Start is one of the longest-running efforts to address systemic poverty and has served over 22 million preschool children.
- Phase out Title I federal funding for public schools, abandoning America’s highest-need schools and their students.
- Cut off federal funding for schools, districts, school boards, counties, and states that resist Administration policies. Trump has even vowed to end federal funding for schools that require vaccinations, a long-standing policy that has prevented the spread of polio and other serious diseases that can disable children for life.
- Prioritize funding for childcare by parents or family over communal or universal childcare, making care more expensive for two-working-parent households.
- Re-establish Trump’s religious exemption waivers for state and child social service agencies.
- Classify books and materials that the Administration deems to include “transgender ideology,” as “pornography,” and then charge “the educators and librarians who purvey it” as “sex offenders.”

## THE PEOPLE

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Sarah Huckabee Sanders was Trump’s Press Secretary. As Governor of Arkansas, she signed the LEARN Act into law, allowing public school funding dollars to fund students attending private schools. She removed college credits for AP African American studies and made it easier to use child labor.



Christopher Rufo is a right-wing operative behind the GOP’s major attack on “critical race theory.” He played a central role in the attacks against DEI practices, as well as attacks against gender-affirming healthcare. Rufo has even claimed that public schools are often “hunting grounds for sexual predators.”

## PROJECT 2025 HAS ALREADY STARTED

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- Florida Governor Ron Desantis passed the WOKE Act in 2023, banning schools' ability to “promote, support, or maintain any programs or campus activities” that “espouse diversity, equity, and inclusion or critical race theory rhetoric.” Florida’s Department of Education also rejected an AP African American studies course, asserting it was “filled with” critical race theory.



- A Grosse Pointe, Michigan, school board turned down major grant funding and lost at least \$150,000 in sunk costs for its previously approved mental health clinic. The newly elected right-wing majority on the board reopened and voted down the prior decision to establish the clinic.



- PEN America found that more than 4,300 books were removed from schools across 23 states, including books like *Just Mercy* by Bryan Stevenson, *The Handmaid's Tale* by Margaret Atwood, and *Maus: A Survivor's Tale* by Art Spiegelman.



- Missouri legislators passed a law in 2022, which according to AP, subjects librarians to “fines and possible imprisonment for allowing sexually explicit materials on bookshelves.”

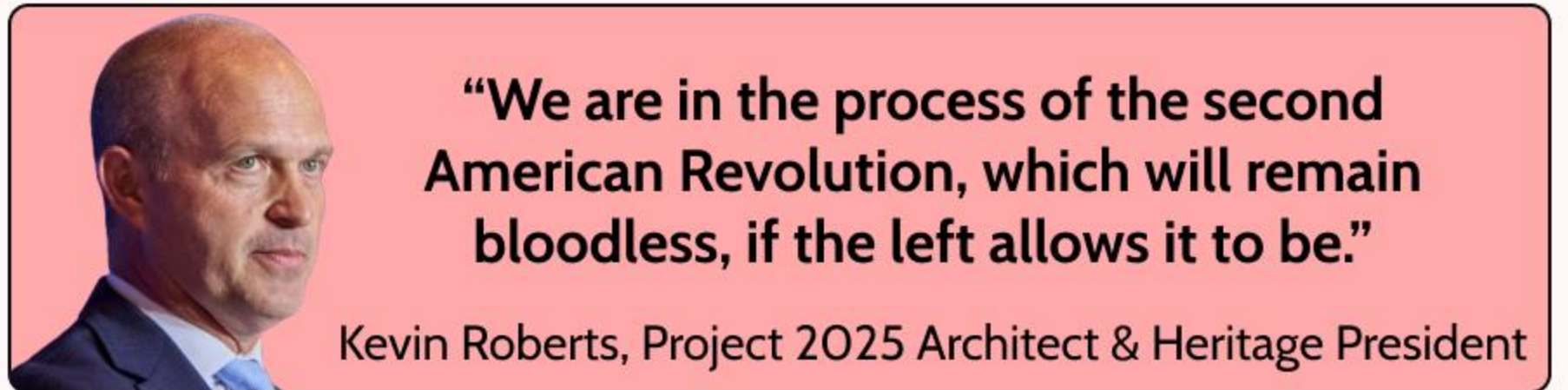
## HOW ARE PROJECT 2025'S POLICIES POSSIBLE?

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- Eliminating the Head Start Program will require congressional approval since it was authorized by Congress. Congress would also need to legislate phasing out funding for Title I schools.
- Other proposed Project 2025 education policy changes can either be rescinded or enacted through rulemaking.

## WHO ELSE IS IN THE PROJECT 2025 ARMY?

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# PROJECT 2025: EXPOSE AMERICANS TO POLLUTANTS, TOXINS AND HARMFUL CHEMICALS

Project 2025 guts checks and balances that protect American freedoms, paving the way for extremists to take control of our government and lives.

## THE POLICIES

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- Eliminate programs focused on climate change and reducing greenhouse gasses, including repealing regulations for hydrofluorocarbons, lowering standards on what constitutes radiological risk, and “reconsidering” the Cleaner Trucks Initiative.
- Eliminate the Integrated Risk Information System, a chemical assessment program that analyzes chemicals for toxicity and health impacts.
- Return to a Trump-era approach that allows corporations to withhold information about hazardous or toxic substances by categorizing the information as “sensitive information.”
- Reverse hard-won progress on protecting Americans from lead poisoning, dangerous forever chemicals and soot pollution, including removing the definition of PFAS as a “hazardous substance.”
- Eliminate the Office of Energy Efficiency and Renewable Energy (EERE), renewable energy incentives and subsidies, and urge Congress to rescind \$4.0B in funding for EERE.

## THE PEOPLE

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Mandy Gunasekara was Chief of Staff, among other senior roles, at Trump’s Environmental Protection Agency (EPA), where she helped roll back Obama-era climate protection regulations and pushed Trump to exit the Paris Agreement. Upon the overturning of the *Chevron* precedent, she gleefully stated that the “era of trust the experts has ended.” Gunasekara authored Project 2025’s EPA Chapter.



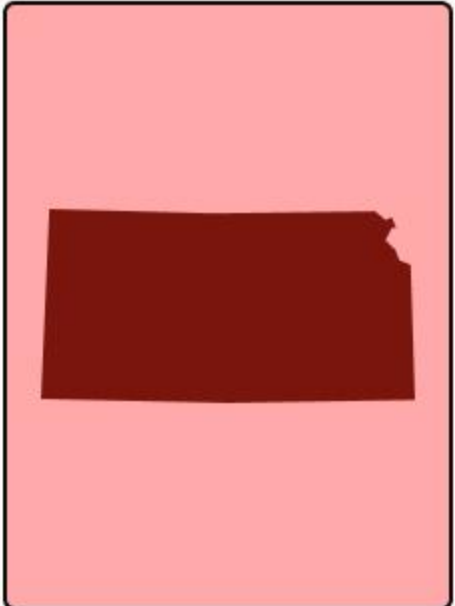
Andrew Wheeler, a coal lobbyist, was Trump’s second EPA administrator. Under Wheeler, career experts stated that “scientific integrity was assassinated inside EPA,” and the EPA’s Science Advisory Board complained that his actions were inconsistent “with established EPA recognized science.” In one example, Wheeler gutted an Obama-era rule credited with reducing emissions of mercury in coal plants. Mercury is a neurotoxin that is demonstrably dangerous to a baby’s brain and nerves.

## PROJECT 2025 HAS ALREADY STARTED

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- Trump’s EPA team overruled career scientists to weaken a major health assessment for a toxic chemical (PFBS, part of a class of chemicals known as PFAS) and to “lay as many landmines as possible” for then President-elect Biden’s ability to support environmental regulations.



- Kansas Attorney General Kris Kobach, along with 14 other AGs, attacked a proposal by the EPA to remove 9 million lead water lines across the country. In a comment letter to the EPA, these AGs called the proposal “unworkable, underfunded, and unnecessary” and said the benefits of removing lead pipes is “entirely speculative,” even though lead pipes can leach into drinking water and lead poisoning is proven to cause brain damage in children.

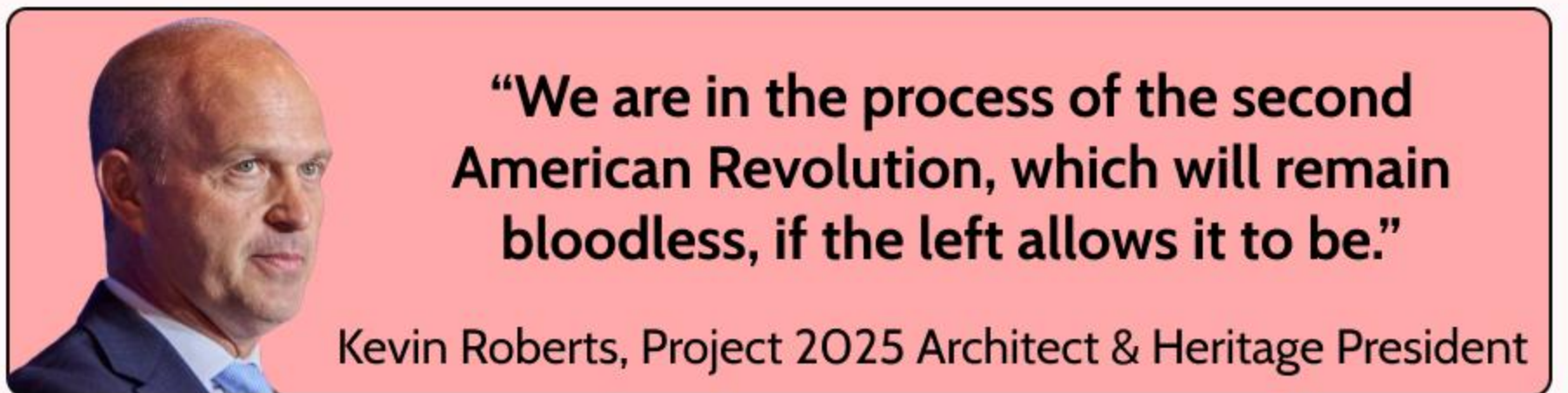
## HOW ARE PROJECT 2025’S POLICIES POSSIBLE?

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- In June 2022, the MAGA-majority Supreme Court curtailed the EPA’s authority to mitigate climate change by regulating utility energy sources under the Clean Air Act.
- By firing EPA civil servant experts via Schedule F (possible by executive action), Trump could render the EPA toothless.
- Eliminating the Office of Enforcement and Compliance Assurance can happen without Congress because this office was established administratively (without Congress).

## WHO ELSE IS IN THE PROJECT 2025 ARMY?

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## WE’RE NOT GOING BACK

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# PROJECT 2025: REVERSE CLIMATE PROGRESS, INCREASE POLLUTION, & ENDANGER ANIMALS

Project 2025 guts checks and balances that protect American freedoms, paving the way for extremists to take control of our government and lives.

## THE POLICIES

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- Reward extractive industry allies by dramatically weakening environmental requirements for projects on federal lands, so that industry can maximize production of logging, oil & gas drilling, fracking, and coal mining.
- Urge Congress to kneecap the National Environmental Policy Act (NEPA), which requires federal agencies to assess the environmental effects of their proposed actions.
- Reinstate SO 3352 (National Petroleum Reserve—Alaska), which opens public lands to oil and gas extraction and reinstate President Trump's 2020 Alaska Roadless Rule to allow for timber logging and massive infrastructure projects in the Tongass National Forest.
- Urge Congress to limit the Endangered Species Protection Act in addition to revoking rules that protect bears from bear baiting.
- Push Congress to repeal the Antiquities Act of 1906, which protects cultural and natural resources on federal lands from destruction.

## THE PEOPLE

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**William Perry Pendley** is the author of Project 2025's Department of Interior (DOI) chapter. A climate science denier with significant connections to the fossil fuel industry, Pendley served unlawfully as Trump's Acting Director of the Bureau of Land Management from 2019-2021. Pendley is known for his extreme position advocating for the sell-off of public lands, asserting that "the Founding Fathers intended all lands owned by the federal government to be sold."



**David Bernhardt** was Trump's Secretary of the Interior from 2019-2021 and Deputy Secretary from 2017-2019. Bernhardt, who spent his career representing the fossil fuel industry, was called a "walking conflict of interest" at an agency stewarding 20% of the country's land. In 2020, Bernhardt announced plans for an oil and gas leasing program in the 1.5 million acre Arctic National Wildlife Refuge. He also blocked the release of an agency report on risks to endangered species, which found that two pesticides were so toxic they "jeopardized the continued existence" of more than 1,000 endangered species.

## PROJECT 2025 HAS ALREADY STARTED

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- During Trump's first term, the DOI reversed rules established under the Obama Administration that prevent hunters on public lands in Alaska from using bacon and doughnuts to lure hibernating brown bears.
- Trump's DOI changed the way the Endangered Species Act is applied, making it more difficult to protect wildlife.
- Trump reversed Obama-era conservation protections, opening more than 18 million acres of land for drilling in the National Petroleum Reserve in Alaska and encouraging drilling in the pristine Arctic National Wildlife Refuge.
- Utah and Kentucky passed laws to make it harder for state regulators to approve utility plans retiring coal plants. A West Virginia law requires the state to sign off before a utility can retire a coal or gas plant. Montana passed a sweeping law that bars climate analyses for new power plants.



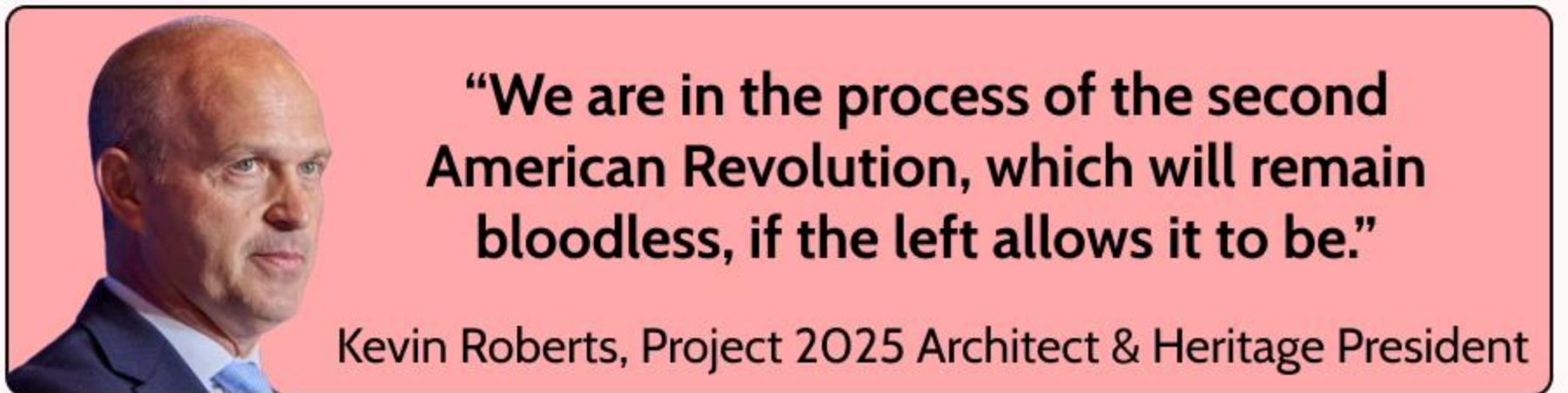
## HOW ARE PROJECT 2025'S POLICIES POSSIBLE?

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- Since the Antiquities Act was passed by Congress, its repeal would require legislation. However, many of Project 2025's other anti-environment deregulation policies could be achieved by unilateral executive branch action.

## WHO ELSE IS IN THE PROJECT 2025 ARMY?

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## WE'RE NOT GOING BACK

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# PROJECT 2025: ERODE HEALTHCARE AND HAMSTRINGING THE CDC

Project 2025 guts checks and balances that protect American freedoms, paving the way for extremists to take control of our government and lives.

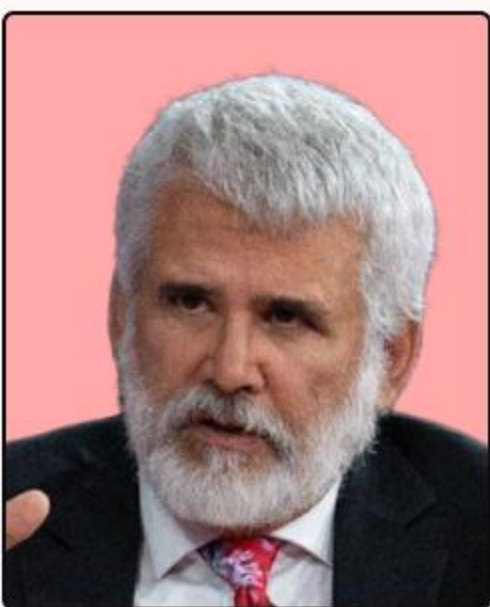
## THE POLICIES

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- Repeal, with the help of Congress, the provision in the Inflation Reduction Act (IRA) that allows Medicare to negotiate prescription drug prices.
- Separate the subsidized Affordable Care Act (ACA) exchange market from the non-subsidized insurance market to give the “non-subsidized market regulatory relief from the costly ACA regulatory mandates.”
- Eliminate the ability of the Centers for Disease Control (CDC) to take a “prescriptive character,” such as stating “school children must be vaccinated or masked.”
- Decommission the CDC Foundation (which supports the CDC) and National Institutes of Health Foundation (which supports the NIH).
- End research using “embryonic stem cells,” which Project 2025 describes as involving “the destruction of human life,” and restore authority for “religious accommodation of those who cannot take or administer vaccines, including those made or tested with aborted fetal cell lines.”

## THE PEOPLE

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**Robert Malone** is a major amplifier of medical disinformation and COVID-19 conspiracies. In 2022, he launched the Malone Institute, a Project 2025 Advisory Board member. He has called for a complete shutdown of the National Institute of Allergy and Infectious Diseases and applauded the MAGA-majority Supreme Court’s decision to discard *Chevron* deference, which he said led to “a massive, arrogant, parasitic administrative state.”



**Scott Stewart** is a former Trump DOJ official and the current Mississippi solicitor general. While he was solicitor general, Mississippi began allowing religious exemptions for vaccinations that children must receive before attending day care or school. Stewart is most known for arguing the *Dobbs* case before SCOTUS where he successfully urged the court to overturn *Roe v. Wade*—taking away Americans’ federal constitutional protections for accessing abortion healthcare.



## PROJECT 2025 HAS ALREADY STARTED

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- Republicans have attempted to repeal the ACA nearly 70 times, with a “skinny” repeal amendment failing 49 to 51, with 49 Republicans voting “yes” and only Senators Susan Collins, Lisa Murkowski, and John McCain voting “no.”
- When COVID-19 Medicaid protections ended, officials in Arizona, Arkansas, Idaho, New Hampshire, and South Dakota quickly removed many people from Medicaid.
- The 5th Circuit blocked the COVID-19 vaccine requirement for U.S. government workers.



- In 2023, Mississippi’s Attorney General declined to defend Mississippi’s long-standing vaccination requirements against lawsuits by anti-vaccine groups. Before this move, Mississippi’s vaccine requirements had resulted in one of the highest vaccination rates in the United States, with 99% of kindergarteners being immunized.

## HOW ARE PROJECT 2025’S POLICIES POSSIBLE?

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- Repealing the IRA would require congressional legislation.
- CDC has the authority to operationalize many of Project 2025’s CDC policy proposals, including those that specify not enforcing regulations, ending grant-making, and eliminating certain data collection functions.

## WHO ELSE IS IN THE PROJECT 2025 ARMY?

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## WE’RE NOT GOING BACK

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# PROJECT 2025: ENDANGER FARMERS, FOOD QUALITY, AND FOOD SECURITY

Project 2025 guts checks and balances that protect American freedoms, paving the way for extremists to take control of our government and lives.

## THE POLICIES

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- Increase the cost of crop insurance on farmers and reduce aid for farmers to cover the cost of their insurance premium, while eliminating farm subsidies.
- Install work requirements for people receiving food stamps and eliminate a so-called “loophole” for individuals to get food stamps if they receive a benefit from another program.
- Reverse Biden’s update to the Thrifty Food Plan, which increased food stamp benefits by “at least 23 percent.”
- Reject efforts to create universal free school meals and work with Congress to eliminate the Community Eligibility Provision, which enables the nation’s highest poverty schools and districts to serve no-cost breakfast and lunch to all enrolled students without households having to apply individually.
- Urge Congress to repeal the Federal Dietary Guidelines.
- Remove regulations that protect Americans from toxins and rules that ensure compliance with practices known to produce safe, non-toxic food.

## THE PEOPLE

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Sid Miller is the Commissioner of the Texas Agriculture Department and Trump’s likely pick for U.S. Department of Agriculture (USDA) Secretary. In January 2022, Miller challenged a Biden debt relief program to aid farmers of color, which USDA saw as a way to correct historic discrimination. Miller alleged that this aid discriminated against white farmers. Miller is fiercely against “green energy” and blamed the deadly 2021 winter storm in Texas on wind turbines, a false claim. Miller also has a history of pushing election denialism and conspiracies.



James R. Lawrence III, Trump’s HHS Deputy General Counsel, was installed as acting chief counsel of the Food and Drug Administration (FDA) during the tumultuous final weeks of the Trump Administration. In his roles, Lawrence was instrumental in weakening FDA regulations and limiting FDA authority. Experts called the torrent of last-minute changes, including a rule that would cause all FDA regulations to expire after 10 years unless they are reviewed, “a full-frontal assault on public health.” Lawrence is a contributor to Project 2025.

## PROJECT 2025 HAS ALREADY STARTED

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- In 2018, the Trump Administration weakened school lunch standards to allow refined grains and flavored low-fat milk with added sugar. The Center for Science in the Public Interest called it an example of “putting politics before children’s health.”
- Economists in the USDA’s research branch said the Trump Administration retaliated against them for publishing reports that shed negative light on Trump’s policies. Trump’s Administration also suppressed climate science throughout the USDA.
- In 2017, Trump’s FDA denied a petition filed by environmental groups to ban perchlorate, a chemical that can be dangerous for children and fetal development, in food packaging, and then dismissed concerns from outside scientists about levels of toxic chemicals known as PFAS in food.

## HOW ARE PROJECT 2025’S POLICIES POSSIBLE?

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- Since Congress authorized the Community Eligibility Provision, congressional approval would be required to eliminate the Community Eligibility Provision, as would repealing the Federal Dietary Guidelines. Other regulations can either be rescinded or enacted through rulemaking.

## WHO ELSE IS IN THE PROJECT 2025 ARMY?

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