Project 2025

Presidential Transition Project
Mandate *for* Leadership
The Conservative Promise

Politicize the professional civil service to concentrate power in the White House

- **Replace non-partisan professional federal civil servants (scientists, specialists, experts) with politically appointed loyalists** "to bend or break the bureaucracy to the presidential will" (pp21, 43-44).
  - **Reissue Trump's late 2020 Schedule F executive order** to reclassify tens of thousands federal employees as at-will workers who can be fired more easily (pp80-81, 535).
- **End the independence of the Dept of Justice (DoJ) and the FBI**: "…conservatives have long believed in either ending law enforcement activities of independent agencies or ending their independent status" (p873).
- **Turn DoJ and the FBI into enforcement arms of the President/White House**, and:
  - "Support a vast expansion of the number of [political] appointees in every office and component across the department [of Justice]—especially in the Civil Rights Division, the FBI, and the EOIR [Executive Office for Immigration Review]" (p569).
  - Politicize the FBI by repealing the FBI Director's 10-year term limit: "The Director of the FBI must remain politically accountable to the President…" (p552).

Impose government mandates for reproductive care

- **Impose a 50-state ban on abortion** by blocking access to both abortion pills and medical equipment used for abortion care—in effect banning abortion access nationwide (pp457-459, 562).
- **Restrict access to emergency abortion care**. Allow hospitals not to provide the emergency abortion care women need [e.g., for miscarriages, ectopic pregnancies, etc] (pp473-474).
- **Create a surveillance system to track women's reproductive health**, allowing the federal government to track births and abortions nationwide (pp455-456).
- **Prohibit abortion travel funding**, since it "violates the conscience and religious freedom rights of Americans who object to subsidizing the taking of life" (p471).
- **Restrict access to birth control** by banning certain forms of birth control and emergency contraception (pp483-485).
- **Defund Planned Parenthood**, which provides access to contraception for over 2 million women per year (p471).
- **Refuse to protect IVF** and other fertility treatments. Proposes that IVF become "fully obsolete and unthinkable" (p461).
- **Restore to federal policy the broad religious exceptions of previous centuries** to block abortion care and contraception (pp483, 491).

Limit Education Access, Promote Taxpayer-Funded Private and Religious Schools, Censorship

- **Eliminate the Dept of Education**: "ultimately, the federal Department of Education should be eliminated" (p319).
- **Cut federal student loan and grant programs**
  - **Privatize all lending programs**, both subsidized and unsubsidized (p353).
  - **End all federal student aid**, including "time-based and occupation-based student loan forgiveness," like the Public Service Loan Forgiveness Program (pp322, 353-354, 361).
  - **Rescind the Biden Admin's student loan forgiveness** initiatives (pp337, 340, 361).
  - **End competitive grant programs and reduce grants for K-12** education by 10% (pp360-361).
- Use p**ublic taxpayer funds for private or religious school vouchers** and expand eligibility to all families (pp319, 322, 346-349).
- Replace college-level foreign area studies with international business programs (p356).
- **Defund public broadcasting (PBS, NPR)** because it is "noneducational" and doesn't "run programming that would attract conservatives" (pp246-248).

Make sure that Big Corporations and the wealthy pay even less of their fair share

- **Restructure the tax code to benefit wealthy families** more by changing tax brackets so the wealthy pay an even lower percentage in taxes than they do now, by adding more tax breaks for corporations, and by raising taxes for the working class via the flat tax (pp691ff).
  - "The corporate income tax rate should be reduced to 18 percent" (p696).
  - "Capital gains and qualified dividends should be taxed at 15 percent"—which reduces taxes for the wealthy (p696).
  - Protect the new tax structure by making it almost impossible for Congress to change (p698).
  - Enact "a simple two-rate individual tax system of 15% and 30% that eliminates most deductions, credits and exclusions…to ensure the combined income and payroll tax structure **acts as a nearly flat tax on wage income** beyond the standard deduction" (p696).[1]
- **Abolish the** "highly politicized, damaging" **Consumer Financial Protection Bureau** (CFPB), "thus returning the consumer protection function of the CFPB to banking regulators…" (p839). [2]

Raise healthcare costs for seniors and the Medicare program; restrict Medicaid access

- **Raise prescription drug costs**: Re-impose ban on Medicare negotiating for lower prescription drug costs & eliminate the $35 monthly cap on the price of insulin for seniors (p465).
- **Promote Medicare Advantage**, a system of competing private health plans, and the major alternative to traditional Medicare, by making it the default enrollment option (pp464-465).
- **Restrict Medicaid coverage**: "Add work requirements." And: "Add targeted time limits or lifetime caps on benefits to disincentivize permanent dependence" (p468). [3]

1 [Low/middle income earners would pay more: https://www.cbsnews.com/news/project-2025-tax-trump-economy-heritage- foundation-how-it-works/.]

2 The CFPB is "dedicated to making sure you are treated fairly by banks, lenders, and other financial institutions," https://www.consumerfinance.gov/about-us/the-bureau/.

3 "In 2020, Medicaid paid for the care of 62 percent of all nursing home residents," https://www.ncbi.nlm.nih.gov/books/NBK584657/.

Weaken Worker Protections and Limit Jobs Programs

- Allow employers to **cut or eliminate overtime** (pp587, 589, 590, 592).
- **Weaken child labor protections** by amending hazard regulations to allow employers to put minors in unsafe working conditions. Minors to be able to work in "inherently dangerous jobs" and be able to "try the more dangerous job" (p595).
- **Cut funding for local job-creating programs**. Economic Development Administration grants "should be consolidated with other programs and/or eliminated" (p664).[4]
- **Eliminate public-sector labor unions and their right to collective bargaining**. Go back 75 years to the view "that these unions were not compatible with constitutional government" (pp81-82).
- **Make it more difficult for workers to unionize** (pp602-603).[5]

Damage or end essential safety net programs

- **Eliminate the Head Start program**, which helps over one million children who live in poverty become ready for school (p482).
- Cut costs by **limiting the disabilities or health conditions that qualify veterans for benefits** (pp649-650).
- **End the Affordable Care Act's cost & pre-existing conditions protections over time** (pp450, 469-470).
- **Restrict access to food assistance** through additional requirements (pp299-300).[6]
- **Restrict safety nets for farmers** to 'unusual situations'—though the difficult conditions farmers experience are common, not unusual (pp296-297).

Stop climate action, set polluters loose, encourage drilling

- **End climate action and renewable energy development** (pp417ff).
  - "Support repeal of massive spending bills like the Infrastructure Investment and Jobs Act (IIJA) and Inflation Reduction Act (IRA), which established new programs and are providing hundreds of billions of dollars in subsidies to renewable energy developers, their investors, and special interests..." (p365).
  - "End the focus on climate change and green subsidies" (p378).
  - "Eliminate energy efficiency standards for appliances" (p378).
  - Eliminate the Advanced Research Projects Agency-Energy, which enhances "economic and energy security of the US through the development of energy technologies" (pp384-385).
  - "Eliminate the Clean Energy Corps" (p386).
  - Transfer environmental funding to state regulators that may not support sustainable policies (p424).
  - Dismantle NOAA (pp664, 674-675) and privatize the National Weather Service (p675).
    - Downsize the Office of Oceanic and Atmospheric Research, which researches weather, ocean, and climate, and is "the source of much of NOAA's climate alarmism" (p676).

4 https://www.eda.gov/sites/default/files/2023-06/FY2022-Approved-EDA-Annual-Report.pdf

5 See for explanation: https://www.bloomberglaw.com/external/document/XB9VQF8O000000/labor-relations-professional-perspective-mandatory-card-check-re

6 Data on food stamps: https://www.pewresearch.org/short-reads/2023/07/19/what-the-data-says-about-food-stamps-in-the-u-s/

Stop climate action, set polluters loose, encourage drilling (continued)

- **Reverse efforts to combat pollution**
  - "Restructure" and "streamline" the Environmental Protection Agency (EPA): "greatly circumscribe" its mission and "encourage compliance over enforcement" (p420).
  - EPA: "Implement an approach that defaults to less restrictive regulatory outcomes" (p438).
    - Revisit the designation of PFAS chemicals as "hazardous substances" (p431). [7]
- **Expand oil and natural gas drilling** on public lands and waters "to the maximum extent permitted" (p523). [8]

Enable Discrimination Across Society

- **Enable discrimination against LGBTQ+ Americans**: "Rescind regulations prohibiting discrimination on the basis of sexual orientation, gender identity, transgender status and sex characteristics" (p475; also pp485, 584-585).
- **Abolish the White House's Gender Policy Council**, and revoke every policy produced by or for it (p62).
- **End Diversity, Equity, & Inclusion (DEI) protections in government** (pp4-5, 103, 258, 355, 561-562, 582, 708, 873).
- **Prohibit transgender military service**: "Reverse policies that allow transgender individuals to serve in the military. Gender dysphoria is incompatible with the demands of military service..." (p 104).
- **Redefine pornography as "the omnipresent propagation of transgender ideology"** and criminalize it (p5).
  - "Pornography should be outlawed. The people who produce and distribute it should be imprisoned. Educators and public librarians who purvey it should be classed as registered sex offenders. And telecommunications and technology firms that facilitate its spread should be shuttered" (p5).
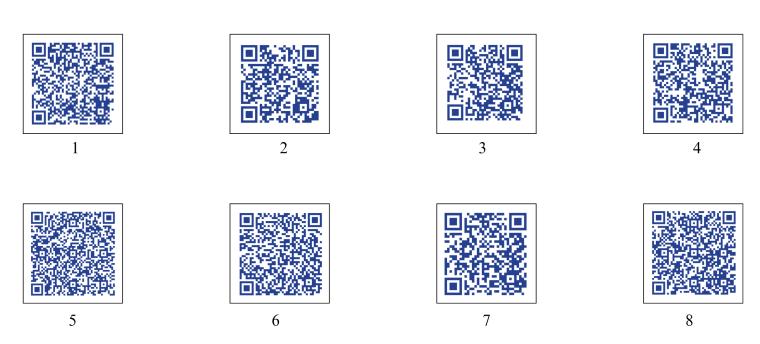
National and Homeland Security?

- **"Dismantle the Dept. of Homeland Security"** (DHS) (p133) and establish "a stand-alone border and immigration agency at the Cabinet level" (p89).
  - "Permanently authorize and make mandatory E-Verify," to verify work eligibility (pp146, 149). [9]
  - Require building the border wall, with Defense Dept. "aggressively" assisting (pp147, 166).
  - Privatize the Transportation Security Agency (pp134-135) and the Federal Emergency Management Agency's (FEMA's) National Flood Insurance Program (p135).
  - Downsize FEMA "to shift the majority of preparedness and response costs to states and localities…, eliminating most of DHS's grant programs" (p135).
  - DHS Office of Legislative Affairs: Refuse congressional reporting requirements DHS considers "outdated and needless"; refuse Congress access to DHS experts (pp163-164).

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7 See https://www.atsdr.cdc.gov/pfas/health-effects/index.html
8 The US is currently a net exporter of oil https://www.eia.gov/tools/faqs/faq.php?id=727&t=6#:~:text=Crude%20oil%20exports%20of%20about,million%20b%2Fd%20in%202023
9 NOTE: E-Verify is error-prone.

National and Homeland Security? (continued)

- **Cold War 2.0—Back to prioritizing nukes!**
  - **Prioritize nuclear weapons**, dramatically expand the US nuclear weapons arsenal, reject current arms control treaties (pp94-95, 123-125).
- **Leave European NATO allies to resist Russia alone**
  - "Transform NATO so that U.S. allies are capable of fielding the great majority of the conventional forces required to deter Russia while relying on the United States primarily for our nuclear deterrent and select other capabilities, while reducing the U.S. force posture in Europe" (p94).
- **Military Recruitment, Military Education**
  - Reverse recruiting deficits by targeting high schools: "Improve military recruiters' access to secondary schools and require completion of the Armed Services Vocational Aptitude Battery Department of Defense (ASVAB)—the military entrance examination—by all students in schools that receive federal funding" AND "Increase the number of Junior ROTC programs in secondary schools" (pp102-103).
  - "Audit the course offerings at military academies to remove Marxist indoctrination" (p104).

Scan the codes to easily access the links listed in the footnotes

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Notes