Project 2025

PRESIDENTIAL TRANSITION PROJECT



Introduction

OVERVIEW

Project 2025 is a comprehensive initiative aimed at dramatically reshaping the U.S. federal government in the event of a Republican victory in 2024. The plan involves replacing existing federal civil servants with individuals loyal to former President Donald Trump and aligned with GOP objectives, with the goal of solidifying conservative control over the executive branch.

BACKGROUND

The Heritage Foundation has been releasing its "Mandate for Leadership" series in sync with each presidential election since 1981, often referred to as a "policy bible." In 2022, Heritage Foundation president Kevin Roberts launched Project 2025 to support the 2024 Republican presidential nominee with a personnel database and ideological framework, following resistance from civil servants during Trump's presidency.

Such examples of resistance include the State Department's Dissent Channel memos, whistleblower complaints, leaked documents, inspector general reports, testimonies from career officials, and bureaucratic maneuvers to obstruct policies.

The 920-page Mandate, published in April 2023, was authored by hundreds of conservatives, including many former Trump officials, with significant funding from conservative donor Leonard Leo's network.

Prior to Trump becoming the presumptive nominee in March 2024, the plan was more generally applicable to whoever ended up as the Republican nominee, but since confirmation that it would be Trump, the plan has coalesced specifically around him.

The Trump campaign emphasizes "Agenda 47" as the only official plan for a second Trump term, but it remains appreciative of input from like-minded groups.

The project's advisory board consists of over 80 conservative organizations, including think tanks, universities, and the magazine The American Conservative.

Project 2025

THEORETICAL FOUNDATION

At its core, Project 2025 is built on a maximalist interpretation of the unitary executive theory, which posits that the president should have absolute authority over the executive branch. This theory challenges the traditional balance of power between the branches of government, contending that all executive power should be concentrated in the hands of the president, thereby granting them direct control over all federal agencies and their actions.

Prominent proponents of this theory include legal scholars and judges affiliated with the Federalist Society, a conservative legal organization. Key figures include former Attorney General Edwin Meese, Justice Samuel Alito, and the late Justice Antonin Scalia. Their advocacy has helped embed this theory within conservative jurisprudence. Under President Donald Trump, the unitary executive theory found a practical and forceful application. Trump's administration consistently sought to expand presidential powers and reduce the influence of other branches of government. This approach was evident in various actions, such as the firing of FBI Director James Comey, the assertion of executive privilege to block congressional investigations, and the use of executive orders to bypass legislative processes.

Project 2025 builds on this foundation by explicitly seeking to embed these principles within the federal government. By advocating for the replacement of civil servants with loyalists, the initiative aims to ensure that executive actions are carried out without resistance. This aligns with Trumpism's broader goal of consolidating power and marginalizing opposition, whether within the government or in the wider political landscape.

I. Understanding Project 2025

POLICY PROPOSALS

Project 2025 proposes a series of sweeping policy changes that would significantly alter the structure and function of the federal government.

Federal Agency Restructuring: The plan calls for drastic funding cuts to the Department of Justice (DOJ), the dismantling of the Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI) and the Department of Homeland Security (DHS), and the elimination of the Department of Commerce. These measures aim to streamline government operations but could also centralize power within the executive branch.

Military Deployment for Domestic Law Enforcement: Project 2025 advocates for using the military in domestic law enforcement roles, which could lead to increased militarization of law enforcement agencies. The plan also endorses the use of the Insurrection Act of 1807 to suppress dissent and target political adversaries, raising serious concerns about civil liberties and democratic norms.

Economic Policies: The initiative includes significant tax cuts and deregulation, particularly favoring the fossil fuel industry by relaxing environmental regulations. These policies aim to reduce government intervention in the economy, potentially boosting corporate profits while exacerbating pollution and climate change.

Scientific Research Funding: Project 2025 seeks to restrict federal funding for scientific research to projects that align with conservative principles. This shift could deprioritize certain areas of scientific inquiry and innovation, influencing the direction of federal research efforts.

Education Policy: The plan proposes abolishing the Department of Education and transferring control to the states. This could lead to varied education policies and funding levels across the country, reducing federal oversight and potentially increasing disparities in educational quality.

Reproductive Rights: The initiative rejects abortion as healthcare and seeks to restrict access to contraception, reflecting a socially conservative stance with significant implications for women's reproductive health and family planning.

Social Policies: Project 2025 aims to criminalize pornography and remove legal protections for LGBTQ+ individuals, promoting a conservative social agenda that could roll back rights and protections for marginalized communities.

Immigration and Law Enforcement: The plan calls for aggressive immigration enforcement and the expansion of capital punishment, highlighting a tough stance on national security and law and order with potentially severe impacts on immigrant communities and the criminal justice system.



This book is an invitation for you the reader—Mr. Smith, Mrs. Smith, and Ms. Smith—to come to Washington or support those who can. Our goal is to assemble an army of aligned, vetted, trained, and prepared conservatives to go to work on Day One to deconstruct the Administrative State.



II. The Risks of Project 2025

SHORT-TERM RISKS

Erosion of democratic norms

One of the most immediate risks posed by Project 2025 is the erosion of democratic norms. The initiative's plan to replace existing federal civil servants with loyalists and restructure federal agencies undermines the system of checks and balances that is fundamental to American democracy. By centralizing power within the executive branch and reducing oversight from Congress and the judiciary, Project 2025 threatens to weaken the mechanisms that prevent authoritarian rule.

Civil liberties and human rights

Project 2025 also poses significant risks to civil liberties and human rights. The proposal to increase militarization of law enforcement and the potential use of the Insurrection Act to suppress dissent reflect a troubling shift towards authoritarian practices. Such measures could result in the targeting of political adversaries, suppression of free speech, and widespread surveillance, all of which are antithetical to the principles of a free and open society.

Social and cultural impacts

The social and cultural impacts of Project 2025 are equally concerning. The initiative's stance on reproductive rights, LGBTQ+ protections, and conservative social values signals a significant rollback of progress in social justice and equality. Restrictions on access to contraception and reproductive healthcare, along with efforts to criminalize pornography and remove protections for LGBTQ+ individuals, reflect a socially regressive agenda.



LONG-TERM RISKS

Education and knowledge suppression

One of the most profound long-term risks of Project 2025 is the potential suppression of education and knowledge. By proposing the abolition of the Department of Education and shifting control to states, the initiative threatens to create significant disparities in educational quality across the country. States with fewer resources or more conservative leadership may implement curricula that align with specific ideological perspectives, potentially neglecting comprehensive, fact-based education. This decentralization could lead to a fragmented education system where students' access to quality education depends heavily on their geographic location, exacerbating existing inequalities and undermining national educational standards.

Furthermore, Project 2025's plan to restrict federal funding for scientific research to projects that align with conservative principles poses a grave threat to innovation and scientific progress. By prioritizing research that fits a particular ideological framework, the initiative risks stifling critical scientific inquiry and marginalizing important areas of study, such as climate science and social research. This suppression of knowledge not only hampers scientific advancements but also diminishes the United States' global leadership in research and development, potentially leading to a brain drain where top scientists and innovators seek opportunities in more supportive environments.

Economic inequality

The economic policies proposed under Project 2025 could lead to significant long-term economic inequality. The initiative advocates for substantial tax cuts and deregulation, primarily benefiting wealthy individuals and large corporations. While these measures are framed as efforts to stimulate economic growth, they often result in increased profits for the rich and minimal benefits for the broader population. The reduction of government intervention and social safety nets could exacerbate the wealth gap, leaving low- and middle-income Americans with fewer resources and opportunities for economic advancement.

Additionally, Project 2025's deregulation policies, particularly those favoring the fossil fuel industry, could have severe economic repercussions. By relaxing environmental regulations, the initiative may encourage short-term economic gains at the expense of long-term sustainability. This approach can lead to environmental degradation, health issues, and increased costs for future generations.

Environmental consequences

Project 2025's environmental policies pose significant long-term risks to both the environment and public health. By advocating for deregulation and prioritizing the interests of the fossil fuel industry, the initiative threatens to roll back critical environmental protections. This could result in increased pollution, habitat destruction, and a significant acceleration of climate change. Moreover, the initiative's approach would weaken America's position on the world stage by demonstrating that the U.S. is not fully committed to the fight against climate change... As one of the largest contributors to greenhouse gas emissions, the United States plays a crucial role in international climate agreements and initiatives. By relaxing environmental regulations and prioritizing short-term economic gains, Project 2025 risks isolating the U.S. from global climate efforts and diminishing its leadership role.

Legal and constitutional crises

Project 2025's proposals are likely to provoke significant legal and constitutional crises. By advocating for the dismissal of federal civil servants and the restructuring of federal agencies to serve the executive's agenda, the initiative risks numerous legal battles over the scope of executive authority. The expansion of presidential power as envisioned in Project 2025 could lead to constitutional challenges similar to those faced during the Watergate scandal and the Bush Administration's post-9/11 policies. Legal and constitutional crises can destabilize governance and erode public trust in democratic institutions. In the short term, the legal battles and potential

overreach could paralyze government functions. In the long term, repeated challenges to constitutional norms could weaken the rule of law, as seen in countries like Hungary under Viktor Orbán, where judicial independence has been curtailed.

Societal division and conflict

The policies proposed by Project 2025 are likely to exacerbate societal divisions and provoke conflict. By promoting conservative social values and rolling back protections for reproductive rights and LGBTQ+ individuals, the initiative risks alienating large segments of the population.

In the short term, heightened societal divisions can manifest in protests, civil disobedience, and even violent clashes, as communities resist policies that undermine their rights and freedoms. The militarization of law enforcement proposed by Project 2025 could exacerbate these tensions, leading to an escalation of violence and repression. In the long term, entrenched societal divisions can undermine social cohesion and stability, making it difficult to achieve consensus on critical national issues. Economic inequality, exacerbated by tax cuts and deregulation, can further deepen these divisions, as seen in Venezuela's economic crisis.

HISTORICAL PARALLELS AND CASE STUDIES

The Nixon Administration: Use of Executive Power and Attempts to Obstruct Justice (Watergate Scandal)	The Nixon Administration's Watergate scandal involved illegal activities by Nixon's re-election campaign, followed by attempts to cover them up, including using federal agencies to obstruct justice. This abuse of executive power led to significant political turmoil and Nixon's resignation. Project 2025's proposal to replace federal civil servants with loyalists mirrors Nixon's strategy of controlling federal agencies to protect his interests, risking executive overreach and normalization of obstructive behaviors.
The Reagan Administration: Iran-Contra Affair and Centralization of Executive Decision-Making	During the Reagan Administration, the Iran-Contra affair revealed the dangers of centralized executive decision-making, where senior officials conducted illegal covert operations in Iran to fund Contra rebels in Nicaragua, bypassing Congress. Project 2025's emphasis on centralizing executive power echoes these issues, facilitating unilateral decisions and reducing transparency, akin to the Iran-Contra affair.

The Bush Administration:
Post-9/11 Expansion of
Executive Power and
Surveillance (Patriot Act)After the 9/11 attacks, the Bush Administration expanded executive
power through the Patriot Act, increasing government surveillance
capabilities and infringing on civil liberties. This raised concerns
about the potential for abuse and erosion of freedoms. Project
2025's proposal for increased militarization and surveillance
parallels these policies, posing similar risks of overreach and
weakened democratic safeguards, reflecting the Patriot Act era's
expansions of power.

Adolf Hitler: Centralization of Power and Erosion of Democratic Institutions in Germany Adolf Hitler's rise to power in Germany involved dismantling democratic institutions and centralizing power through the Enabling Act of 1933, leading to a totalitarian regime marked by human rights abuses. Project 2025's vision of centralizing executive power and reducing checks and balances draws a concerning parallel to Hitler's consolidation of control, risking the erosion of democratic institutions and enabling potential authoritarian governance.

Benito Mussolini: Establishment of a Fascist Regime in Italy and Suppression of Political Opposition Benito Mussolini's establishment of a fascist regime in Italy involved suppressing political opposition and centralizing power, using propaganda, intimidation, and violence to maintain control. Project 2025's ideology of significant restructuring of federal agencies and increasing executive authority bears similarities to Mussolini's approach, risking the suppression of political adversaries and erosion of democratic norms, leading to potential authoritarian governance. Vladimir Putin: Consolidation of Power in Russia, Suppression of Dissent, and Undermining of Democratic Processes Vladimir Putin's tenure in Russia is marked by the consolidation of power, suppression of dissent, and undermining of democratic processes, creating an authoritarian regime. Project 2025's framework for centralizing executive power and restructuring federal agencies mirrors Putin's strategies, potentially facilitating the suppression of political dissent and weakening democratic processes, highlighting risks of authoritarian governance and undermining democratic foundations.

Hugo Chávez & Nicolás Maduro in Venezuela: Centralization of Executive Power, Undermining of Democratic Institutions, and Economic Mismanagement Leading to a Humanitarian Crisis Hugo Chávez and Nicolás Maduro's administrations in Venezuela centralized executive power and undermined democratic institutions, leading to economic mismanagement and a humanitarian crisis. Project 2025's vision of centralizing executive power and reducing oversight parallels these authoritarian tendencies, reflecting the dangers observed in Venezuela.

Viktor Orbán in Hungary: Erosion of Democratic Norms, Curtailment of Judicial Independence, and Suppression of Political Opposition Viktor Orbán's administration in Hungary has eroded democratic norms, curtailed judicial independence, and suppressed political opposition, leading to democratic backsliding and an illiberal regime. Project 2025's ideology of centralizing executive power and reducing checks and balances parallels Orbán's strategies, risking similar patterns of governance that could weaken democratic institutions and lead to authoritarian rule.

III. Prevention Strategies & Implementation Plan

VOTING IN THE 2024 ELECTION

Voting in the 2024 election is crucial to prevent Project 2025 and stop Donald Trump from reclaiming the executive branch. Ensure you are legally eligible to vote and that you are registered. Support candidates who prioritize democratic values by voting for Joe Biden for president and other Democrats and progressives down the ballot. For those who want to get even more involved, consider phone banking, canvassing, and donating to campaigns and organizations that support these candidates and causes.

REGULATORY AND POLICY PREVENTION

In the final months of Joe Biden's first term, robust regulatory and policy measures will be essential to safeguard democratic institutions for the future. This includes protecting civil servants from politically motivated dismissals, strengthening whistleblower protections, and enhancing oversight mechanisms. Congress should use its power to check executive actions and maintain a balance of power. Policy reforms should codify protections for reproductive rights, LGBTQ+ individuals, and other vulnerable communities into federal law.

AWARENESS CAMPAIGN

Raising public awareness about the dangers of Project 2025 is crucial for building a collective resistance to its implementation.Utilizing various media platforms, including social media, podcasts, and community outreach programs, can help disseminate information widely and mobilize public opinion. These campaigns should also focus on empowering individuals to take action. This includes promoting civic engagement, encouraging voter participation, and supporting grassroots movements that advocate for democratic reforms.

COURT CHALLENGES

If parts of Project 2025 are implemented, legal challenges will be a critical component of preventing its worst consequences from taking hold. By contesting unconstitutional actions and policies in court, opponents can utilize the judicial system to uphold the rule of law and protect democratic institutions. Public interest law firms and civil rights organizations can lead these efforts, filing lawsuits that challenge the legality of executive overreach, dismissal of civil servants, and other undemocratic measures.

INTERNATIONAL COOPERATION

If Project 2025 is carried out, international cooperation will be essential for countering its global implications and reinforcing democratic values worldwide. Building alliances with other democracies can create a united front against authoritarianism, promoting shared principles of governance and human rights. Collaborative initiatives can also focus on addressing transnational challenges, such as climate change, cybersecurity, and economic inequality, which require coordinated global responses. Through international cooperation, democracies can reinforce each other's efforts to resist authoritarian tendencies and uphold the principles of freedom and justice.

IV. Recap and time for action

The time to act is now. Project 2025 poses a direct threat to the democratic principles that form the foundation of our nation. We must come together to resist these authoritarian tendencies and protect our rights and freedoms. Your vote in November is crucial. By voting, you can help ensure that our government remains accountable, transparent, and committed to the values of democracy and justice. Support candidates who stand for these principles and oppose the centralization of power and suppression of civil liberties. Engage with your community, educate others about the risks, and advocate for policies that uphold democratic norms. Together, we can prevent the implementation of Project 2025 and safeguard the future of our democracy. Vote in November—our nation's future depends on it.

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