

THE HERITAGE FOUNDATION

Founded in 1973, The Heritage Foundation is a 501(c)(3) organization and conservative think tank. According to founder Edwin Feulner, the Heritage Foundation “set out to make conservative ideas not just respectable but mainstream” and to “offer not a lament for a lost America, but positive, practical, free market alternatives to the failed liberal policies of the old order.”

In 2010, Heritage Foundation [founded Heritage Action](#) as its research and policy arm. That group’s mission “is to fight for conservative policies in Washington DC and in state capitals across the country...Heritage Action reinforces the grassroots work...with our first-class team of state directors and government relations specialists.”

In 2022, the Heritage Foundation launched Project 2025 to form a conservative “administration-in-waiting” for Donald Trump should he win back the White House in 2024. Project 2025 outlined a vision of drastically reshaping the federal workforce, purging career government employees, installing Trump loyalists throughout the government, and significantly increasing executive authority. Project 2025 has over 75 conservative partners including several far-right groups. Project 2025 is led by former Trump administration official Paul Dans, who, in the final year of the Trump administration, gained notoriety for leading efforts to fire administration officials who were deemed disloyal to Trump.

Key findings include:

Led by “movement conservative Kevin Roberts,” the Heritage Foundation has wielded a wide political influence among conservatives for decades. In 2021, Heritage named Kevin Roberts, the former CEO of the Texas Public Policy Foundation, the President of the Heritage Foundation. Roberts has said his top priority at Heritage is education. Roberts has been described a “movement conservative” as one who opposes same-sex marriage and noted that there were other conservatives who were “weak and wrong on the social issues” like marriage and “transgender stuff.” The Heritage Foundation created Heritage Action For America, a 501(c)(4) organization that they claim “works with lawmakers to implement Heritage Foundation solutions” and organizes “more than 2 million local grassroots activists around the nation to push for their adoption.” On its website, Heritage Foundation boasts of its deep ties to legislative power. The Heritage Foundation and Heritage Action for America have claimed credit for leading the fight on tax cuts, paving the way for the confirmation of Justices Gorsuch and Kavanaugh, policy proposals implemented by Presidents Reagan and Trump, the expansion of school choice, and preventing amnesty in multiple immigration bills. However, [some](#) have claimed Heritage holds much less influence than it did prior to the Trump era. In 2021, the executive director of Heritage Action bragged to donors that Heritage had crafted the new voter suppression law in Georgia and was doing the same with similar bills for Republican state legislators across the country, saying “in some cases, we actually draft them for them.” The organization claims on its website to have over 500,000 members.

The Heritage Foundation is the mastermind of the controversial Project 2025, a plan to radically reshape American government in the event of a second Trump Administration. Project 2025 consisted of four key pillars, including a nearly 1,000-page book titled, *Mandate for Leadership: The Conservative Promise*, that lays out policy priorities and actions for every federal agency. Project 2025 developed an “online personnel database” that aims to become the “conservative LinkedIn.” Applicants are asked to answer a series of questions to vet their conservative ideology. Project 2025 has a Presidential Administration Academy to train potential appointees and is developing a “180-day playbook” to transform the ideas from the *Mandate for Leadership* book into an implementation plan for each federal agency. Project 2025 laid out a vision of aggressive action among federal agencies. Project

2025 questioned climate change and urged a conservative EPA to revisit the 2009 Endangerment Finding, which gave the authority for EPA to regulate greenhouse gas emissions and serves as the “basis for standards that protect the climate.” Project 2025 called for the repeal of the Antiquities Act and the downsizing of several National Monuments. Former Trump administration acting BLM Director William Perry Pendley, an advocate for land transfer and supporter of Cliven Bundy, wrote the chapter on the Department of the Interior. Former Trump-era EPA official and former Sen. Jim Inhofe (R-OK) staffer Mandy Gunasekara wrote the chapter on the Environmental Protection Agency. Project 2025 has reportedly worked with John Eastman and Jeffrey Clark, two co-conspirators of Trump’s efforts to overturn the 2020 election. Project 2025 advocated for a DOJ under a tighter grip of the president to pick and choose how to engage on election interference or voter suppression.

Press reports have called Project 2025 a “sweeping right-wing blueprint” and “an insurrection from within.” PBS reported in 2023 that Project 2025 sought to fire as many as 50,000 federal workers in the first days of a Republican administration. A Miami Times headline called it a “sweeping right-wing blueprint,” while Rolling Stone has called it “MAGA’s plan to attack birth control, surveil women and ban the abortion pill.” A Daily Oklahoman headline said Project 2025 was a plan “best described as an insurrection from within.” In February 2024, the Guardian reported that Heritage Foundation had poured \$22 million to Project 2025, calling the plan “disturbingly radical, even by the standards of the modern Republican party.” With Project 2025, the Heritage Foundation “seeks to become...the ideological foundation of a future Republican administration” according to a 2024 article in CE Latin America Migration. Heritage President Kevin Roberts has called Project 2025 “something that’s going to transcend...the next ten years.”

Project 2025’s goal is to alter the balance of power by increasing the president’s authority over every part of the federal government that now operates. The plan’s goal, according to the New York Times, is “to alter the balance of power by increasing the president’s authority over every part of the federal government that now operates.” Kevin Roberts has said that “the notion of independent federal agencies or federal employees who don’t answer to the president violates the very foundation of our democratic republic.” A January 2024 New York Times headline has referenced Heritage Foundation’s plan for “institutionalizing Trumpism.” The Week has reported that “many progressives have opined that Project 2025 is an effort to turn the country into an autocracy, with Trump and his MAGA movement at the top. ‘The right is intent on turning Trumpism into a governing agenda,’ Robert L. Borosage said for The Nation. The Heritage Foundation is looking to ‘recruit, train and plant MAGA operatives throughout the government, and arm them with clear marching orders.’”

BACKGROUND

2024: Heritage Foundation Claimed To Have Over 500,000 Members. “Heritage doesn’t do all of this alone, however. It’s only thanks to our 500,000 members that we have the ability to engage on all of these fronts in the fight to save America. In this fight, our members are truly our partners.” [About, Heritage Foundation, accessed [3/20/23](#)]

According To Its Website, Heritage Foundation Attributes Its Success To “The Quality, Rigor, Depth, And Independent Nature” Of Their Research And Analysis. “Heritage’s success rests on the quality, rigor, depth, and independent nature of our research and analysis. Heritage carefully protects this precious asset—its research independence and integrity—to ensure that our work is beholden to no outside party or interest.” [About, Heritage Foundation, accessed [3/20/23](#)]

Heritage Foundation’s Mission Is Promoting “Conservative Public Policies Based On The Principles Of Free Enterprise, Limited Government, Individual Freedom, Traditional American Values, And A Strong National Defense.” “To formulate and promote conservative public policies based on the principles of free enterprise, limited government, individual freedom, traditional American values, and a strong national defense.” [Form 990, Heritage Foundation, [2020](#)]

The Heritage Foundation Drafted Much Of Ronald Reagan’s Agenda To Slash Federal Spending And Launched A Campaign To Repeal The ACA. “The Heritage Foundation has long shaped mainstream Republican policy in Washington. It drafted much of Ronald Reagan’s agenda to slash federal spending and launched a ferocious campaign to repeal Barack Obama’s Affordable Care Act.” [Washington Post, [2/7/22](#)]

Heritage Foundation Created Heritage Action For America, A 501(c)(4) Organization That “Works With Lawmakers To Implement Heritage Foundation Solutions While It Also Organizes Nearly 20,000 Sentinel Activists And More Than 2 Million Local Grassroots Activists Around The Nation To Push For their Adoption.” “Recognizing that elected leaders are more responsive to adopting policy solutions when they know the American people already support them, Heritage created Heritage Action for America. Heritage Action works with lawmakers to implement Heritage Foundation solutions while it also organizes nearly 20,000 Sentinel activists and more than 2 million local grassroots activists around the nation to push for their adoption. Heritage Action ensures that citizens are speaking up and their elected officials hear their voices.” [About, Heritage Foundation, accessed [3/20/23](#)]

- **Heritage Action Claims To Have “Led The Fight For Both Spending Cuts And Tax Cuts.”** “We have led the fight for both spending cuts and tax cuts, and our bold stance against confirming any of Barack Obama’s judicial nominees in 2016 paved the way for Neil Gorsuch’s confirmation to the Supreme Court in 2017 and Brett Kavanaugh in 2018.” [About, Heritage Action, accessed [3/21/23](#)]
- **Heritage Action Claims That Its “Bold Stance Against Confirming Any Of Barack Obama’s Judicial Nominees In 2016” Paved The Way For The Confirmations Of Supreme Court Justices Neil Gorsuch And Brett Kavanaugh.** “We have led the fight for both spending cuts and tax cuts, and our bold stance against confirming any of Barack Obama’s judicial nominees in 2016 paved the way for Neil Gorsuch’s confirmation to the Supreme Court in 2017 and Brett Kavanaugh in 2018.” [About, Heritage Action, accessed [3/21/23](#)]

Heritage Foundation Claimed That The District Of Columbia Delayed The COVID-19 Vaccine Mandate For Schoolchildren After The Organization Applied Pressure Through Daily Signal Reports And Social Media Attention. “Just days before the start of school, the city abruptly announced Aug. 26 that it was delaying the vaccination requirement until Jan. 3, 2023. While that’s still problematic, it was a welcome reprieve for those students whose education has already suffered because of COVID-19 lockdowns. In addition to prohibiting unvaccinated students from attending school in person, the city was also refusing to offer a remote learning option. The city’s announcement came after several Daily Signal reports and widespread social media attention, starting with Blair’s questioning of Bowser and follow-up stories.” [Impact, Heritage Foundation, [8/29/22](#)]

Politico: The Heritage Foundation “Emerged As One Of The Most Influential Forces Shaping President-Elect Donald Trump’s Transition Team, Embedding The Veteran Washington Group Into The Operation Of A Candidate Who Ran Loudly Against The Beltway.” “A year ago, the political arm of the conservative Heritage Foundation dismissed Donald Trump as a big-government

enthusiast and left-wing sympathizer. Now, the Heritage Foundation has emerged as one of the most influential forces shaping President-elect Donald Trump's transition team, embedding the veteran Washington group into the operation of a candidate who ran loudly against the Beltway. Part gatekeeper, part brain trust and part boots on the ground, Heritage is both a major presence on the transition team itself and a crucial conduit between Trump's orbit and the once-skeptical conservative leaders who ultimately helped get him elected." [Politico, 11/22/16]

2021: Heritage Action For America Executive Director Jessica Anderson Bragged That Heritage Had Crafted The New Voter Suppression Law In Georgia. "In a private meeting last month with big-money donors, the head of a top conservative group boasted that her outfit had crafted the new voter suppression law in Georgia and was doing the same with similar bills for Republican state legislators across the country. 'In some cases, we actually draft them for them,' she said, 'or we have a sentinel on our behalf give them the model legislation so it has that grassroots, from-the-bottom-up type of vibe.' The Georgia law had 'eight key provisions that Heritage recommended,' Jessica Anderson, the executive director of Heritage Action for America, a sister organization of the Heritage Foundation, told the foundation's donors at an April 22 gathering in Tucson, in a recording obtained by the watchdog group Documented and shared with Mother Jones. Those included policies severely restricting mail ballot drop boxes, preventing election officials from sending absentee ballot request forms to voters, making it easier for partisan workers to monitor the polls, preventing the collection of mail ballots, and restricting the ability of counties to accept donations from nonprofit groups seeking to aid in election administration." [Mother Jones, [5/13/21](#)]

Heritage Foundation Involved With Policy Set By GOP House Leader McCarthy. "Roberts, the new Heritage president, downplayed these challenges in an interview and stressed that he and other Heritage officials are in close communication with senior GOP officials in crafting the party's agenda. A spokesman for Rep. Kevin McCarthy (Calif.), the House GOP minority leader, said Heritage remains involved with McCarthy's office on policy and on oversight measures related to the Biden administration." [Washington Post, [2/7/22](#)]

Chretien Said "American Conservatives Stood On The Verge Of Greatness" After The Election Of Donald Trump. "In November 2016, American conservatives stood on the verge of greatness. The election of Donald Trump to the presidency was a triumph that offered the best chance to reverse the left's incessant march of progress for its own sake. Many of the best accomplishments, though, happened only in the last year of the Trump administration, after our political appointees had finally figured out the policies and process of different agencies, and after the right personnel were finally in place." [American Conservative, [6/30/23](#)]

Heritage Members Staffed Trump's Cabinet, Including EPA Administrator Scott Pruitt And DOE Secretary Rick Perry. "Heritage's recommendations included some of the most prominent members of Trump's cabinet: Scott Pruitt, Betsy DeVos (whose in-laws endowed Heritage's Richard and Helen DeVos Center for Religion and Civil Society), Mick Mulvaney, Rick Perry, Jeff Sessions and many more. Dozens of Heritage employees and alumni also joined the Trump administration — at last count 66 of them, according to Heritage, with two more still awaiting Senate confirmation. It is a kind of critical mass that Heritage had been working toward for nearly a half-century." [New York Times Magazine, [6/20/18](#)]

Mike Pence Joined Heritage As Visiting Fellow. "The Heritage Foundation announced today that former Vice President Mike Pence will join the organization as a distinguished visiting fellow. 'Over the course of the past four years, our team at Heritage has worked closely with members of the Trump

administration on a host of policy accomplishments,’ said Heritage President Kay C. James. ‘That’s why I am excited Vice President Mike Pence will join forces with Heritage to ensure we continue to advance conservative principles and policy solutions. His allegiance to the Constitution and commitment to advancing a conservative policy agenda make him an outstanding fit for The Heritage Foundation.’” [Heritage Foundation, [2/4/21](#)]

Heritage Foundation Called January 6th Committee “Partisan Primetime Programming.” “The best thing Americans can do tonight is turn off ABC, NBC, and CBS, who long ago abandoned any semblance of fairness, and spend time with their families. Their decision to carry this partisan primetime programming is tantamount to an in-kind donation to Democrats, whose goal is to distract Americans from President Biden’s long list of policy failures—from record-breaking gas prices and out-of-control inflation to rising crime and the crisis at our southern border.” [Heritage Foundation, [6/9/22](#)]

Former President Trump Gave Keynote Speech At 2022 Heritage Foundation Event. [Heritage Foundation, [4/5/22](#)]

PHILOSOPHY

Purge Of The Federal Government

Project 2025 Aimed To “Do Away With What Republicans Deride As The ‘Deep State’ Bureaucracy.” “With more than a year to go before the 2024 election, a constellation of conservative organizations is preparing for a possible second White House term for Donald Trump, recruiting thousands of Americans to come to Washington on a mission to dismantle the federal government and replace it with a vision closer to his own. Led by the long-established Heritage Foundation think tank and fueled by former Trump administration officials, the far-reaching effort is essentially a government-in-waiting for the former president’s second term — or any candidate who aligns with their ideals and can defeat President Joe Biden in 2024. With a nearly 1,000-page ‘Project 2025’ handbook and an ‘army’ of Americans, the idea is to have the civic infrastructure in place on Day One to commandeer, reshape and do away with what Republicans deride as the ‘deep state’ bureaucracy, in part by firing as many as 50,000 federal workers.” [PBS, [8/29/23](#)]

Late 2020: Trump Issued Executive Order To Establish New Category For Federal Workers Called “Schedule F” Which Would Allow The President The Power To Terminate As Many As 50,000 Career Government Officials. “In late 2020, Mr. Trump issued an executive order that would establish a new employment category for federal workers, called ‘Schedule F.’ Barely anyone noticed because the order was developed in strict secrecy over more than a year and issued only two weeks before the 2020 election. The news was lost amid the postelection chaos as Mr. Trump desperately tried to overturn the result. But key officials involved with the federal civil service immediately grasped the significance of Schedule F and its potential to create a new federal work force in which loyalty to Mr. Trump was the highest criteria, they said. Everett Kelley, who as national president of the American Federation of Government Employees represents more than half a million government workers, described Schedule F, at the time it was released, as ‘the most profound undermining of the civil service in our lifetimes.’ Mr. Trump’s staff estimated that Schedule F would give the president the power to terminate and replace as many as 50,000 career government officials who served in roles that influenced federal policy.” [New York Times, [4/20/23](#)]

- **American Federation Of Government Employees President Everett Kelley Called Schedule F The Most “Profound Undermining Of The Civil Service In Our Lifetimes.”** But key

officials involved with the federal civil service immediately grasped the significance of Schedule F and its potential to create a new federal work force in which loyalty to Mr. Trump was the highest criteria, they said. Everett Kelley, who as national president of the American Federation of Government Employees represents more than half a million government workers, described Schedule F, at the time it was released, as ‘the most profound undermining of the civil service in our lifetimes.’” [New York Times, [4/20/23](#)]

- **Biden Rescinded The Schedule F Order On His Third Day In Office.** “President Biden rescinded the Schedule F order on his third day in office, but over the past two years, several of Mr. Trump’s confidants, including his former budget director Russell T. Vought, have been working on a plan to re-enact the order and gut the federal civil service in a second Trump administration. Now, the two plans — Mr. Trump’s and Heritage’s — are dovetailing, even as Mr. Trump himself has shown no interest in the details. Conveniently, Dennis Kirk, a former Trump administration lawyer who was involved with the adoption of Schedule F, is now employed by Heritage. Mr. Kirk is busy at work on Project 2025, Dr. Roberts said.” [New York Times, [4/20/23](#)]
- **Project 2025 Sought To Fire As Many As 50,000 Federal Workers In The First Days Of A Republican Administration.** “Led by the long-established Heritage Foundation think tank and fueled by former Trump administration officials, the far-reaching effort is essentially a government-in-waiting for the former president’s second term — or any candidate who aligns with their ideals and can defeat President Joe Biden in 2024. With a nearly 1,000-page ‘Project 2025’ handbook and an ‘army’ of Americans, the idea is to have the civic infrastructure in place on Day One to commandeer, reshape and do away with what Republicans deride as the ‘deep state’ bureaucracy, in part by firing as many as 50,000 federal workers.” [PBS, [8/29/23](#)]

Project 2025’s Goal Was To “Avoid The Pitfalls” Of Trump’s First Year In Office When His Team Was Not Prepared, Nominees Had Confirmation Troubles, And Policies Were Met With Resistance. “The goal is to avoid the pitfalls of Trump’s first years in office, when the Republican president’s team was ill-prepared, his Cabinet nominees had trouble winning Senate confirmation and policies were met with resistance — by lawmakers, government workers and even Trump’s own appointees who refused to bend or break protocol, or in some cases violate laws, to achieve his goals. While many of the Project 2025 proposals are inspired by Trump, they are being echoed by GOP rivals Ron DeSantis and Vivek Ramaswamy and are gaining prominence among other Republicans. And if Trump wins a second term, the work from the Heritage coalition ensures the president will have the personnel to carry forward his unfinished White House business.” [Associated Press, [8/29/23](#)]

December 2023: Miami Times Headline: “Project 2025 Is a Sweeping Right-Wing Blueprint.” “The instrument they plan to use to implement this strategy is Project 2025. In a nutshell, as Harold Meyerson explained in a recent article, Project 2025 is a blueprint for a conservative presidency. ‘The actions of liberal politicians in Washington have created a desperate need and unique opportunity for conservatives to start undoing the damage the Left has wrought and build a better country for all Americans in 2025,’ the Project 2025 manifesto said. ‘It is not enough for conservatives to win elections. If we are going to rescue the country from the grip of the radical Left, we need both a governing agenda and the right people in place, ready to carry this agenda out on day one of the next conservative administration.’ Project 2025 is a sweeping right-wing blueprint for the next Republican president, Trump or not, to run the country for the foreseeable future. Funded by The Heritage Foundation, the Koch brothers and a vast and secretive dark-money network, the project has recruited at least 80 far-right organizations and entities to the cause.” [Miami Times, 12/20/23]

December 2023: Rolling Stone Headline: “Inside the MAGA Plan to Attack Birth Control, Surveil Women and Ban the Abortion Pill.” [Rolling Stone, 12/22/23]

Daily Oklahoman Headline: “Project2025 Plan Best Described as an Insurrection from within.”
“Launching Project 2025 to coincide with the 2024 presidential election campaign is aimed at avoiding the pitfalls encountered by former President Trump's first years in office, when he and his inexperienced team were not capable of providing proper leadership. Former President Donald Trump's policies were met with resistance by lawmakers, existing government workers and even his own appointees who refused to violate regulations to please him. In short, our democracy was working to stop dictatorial behavior.” [Daily Oklahoman, 1/7/24]

2024: Guardian Reported Heritage Foundation Poured \$22 Million into Project 2025. “The Heritage Foundation has poured \$22m into Project 2025, their plan to gut the ‘deep state’ and radically reshape the government with a souped-up version of the unitary executive theory, which contends that the president should be allowed to enact his agenda without pesky checks and balances. To paraphrase one speaker at CPAC: ‘Welcome to the end of democracy.’ The Heritage Foundation’s policy agenda is disturbingly radical, even by the standards of the modern Republican party. They want to dismantle the administrative state, ban abortion completely at the state and federal level, and, as always, cut taxes for the rich. They would put religious liberties over civil ones, and Christian rights over the rights of women, people of color, LGBTQ+ people and really anyone who does not look and think exactly like they do.” [Guardian, 2/27/24]

February 2024: Nation Headline: “Will the Heritage Foundation’s Project 2025 Turn Trumpism into a Governing Agenda?” “This time, the right is intent on turning Trumpism into a governing agenda. The Heritage Foundation, the right's premier policy institute, has launched a multi-million Project 2025 to recruit, train and plant MAGA operatives throughout the government, and arm them with clear marching orders. Project 2025 includes four elements: a 900-plus-page Mandate for Leadership: The Conservative Promise that details the right's agenda for each major department and agency in the federal government; the Playbook, a still secret compilation of executive orders and initiatives for the first 180 days of the administration, a right-wing 'LinkedIn' designed to recruit and vet thousands of MAGA movement operatives to staff the government; and a Presidential Academy to train them on how to operate.” [The Nation, 2/8/24]

The Week: “The Project Is Mainly Led by the...Heritage Foundation...” “The project is mainly led by the aforementioned Heritage Foundation. Led by Kevin D. Roberts and Paul Dans, the foundation is a think tank ‘based on the principles of free enterprise, limited government, individual freedom, traditional American values and a strong national defense,’ according to its website. The foundation has grown to become one of the most influential conservative groups in the country. Other people and groups involved with the project include like-minded right-wing think tanks and institutes, including individuals who once worked in the prior Trump administration. This includes Turning Point USA, a college-based nonprofit led by right-wing activist Charlie Kirk, as well as a conservative advocacy organization called the Center for Renewing America. Former Trump staffers involved with Project 2025 include former White House chief of staff Mark Meadows and Trump's former senior adviser Stephen Miller, the latter of whom has been described as a white nationalist.” [The Week, 2/26/24]

Heritage Foundation “Seeks to Become...the Ideological Foundation of a Future Republican Administration...” “In recent decades, the Heritage Foundation has been the most influential right-wing think tank close to the Republican Party. Based on its recent history and place among the right-

wing think tanks, the Heritage Foundation seeks to become, as in 1980, the ideological foundation of a future Republican administration and provide the blueprint for policy formulation. As a precedent, there is the same institution's 'Mandate for Leadership' report, delivered to Ronald Reagan's transition team after the 1980 election process was over. The 1,100-page report was a roadmap for wresting control of the state from the advocates of the Keynesian approach developed during the Franklin D. Roosevelt administration and which lasted until the late 1970s. This approach was replaced in the 1980s by neoliberalism, the undermining of the social contract, free market ideology, the expansion of the military-industrial complex and imperialism. The Heritage Foundation had some impact then, as 60% of the 2000 proposals were implemented during Reagan's 8 years in the White House. On this occasion, it is proposed to make the Christian nationalist ideal 'one of the priorities' of Donald Trump's second term[6] in view of the growing influence of the evangelical electorate within the Republican base." [CE Latin America Migration, 5/12/24]

Kevin Roberts: "Project 2025 Is Something that's Going to Transcend...the Next Ten Years."

"Project 2025 is something that's going to transcend the next 4 years, the next 10 years. It really is for the first time in the history of the conservative movement, the apparatus for policy and personnel. That's the most important thing to remember." [Media Matters, [8/24/24](#)]

Increase In Presidential Power

Trump And His Allies Forged A Plan To Increase Presidential Power In 2025. "Donald J. Trump and his allies are planning a sweeping expansion of presidential power over the machinery of government if voters return him to the White House in 2025, reshaping the structure of the executive branch to concentrate far greater authority directly in his hands. Their plans to centralize more power in the Oval Office stretch far beyond the former president's recent remarks that he would order a criminal investigation into his political rival, President Biden, signaling his intent to end the post-Watergate norm of Justice Department independence from White House political control." [New York Times, [7/17/23](#)]

Project 2025's Goal Was To "Alter The Balance Of Power By Increasing The President's Authority Over Every Part Of The Federal Government That Now Operates." "Mr. Trump and his associates have a broader goal: to alter the balance of power by increasing the president's authority over every part of the federal government that now operates, by either law or tradition, with any measure of independence from political interference by the White House, according to a review of his campaign policy proposals and interviews with people close to him. Mr. Trump intends to bring independent agencies — like the Federal Communications Commission, which makes and enforces rules for television and internet companies, and the Federal Trade Commission, which enforces various antitrust and other consumer protection rules against businesses — under direct presidential control. He wants to revive the practice of 'impounding' funds, refusing to spend money Congress has appropriated for programs a president doesn't like — a tactic that lawmakers banned under President Richard Nixon." [New York Times, [7/17/23](#)]

Heritage Foundation President Kevin Roberts: "The Notion Of Independent Federal Agencies Or Federal Employees Who Don't Answer To The President Violates The Very Foundation Of Our Democratic Republic." "'The notion of independent federal agencies or federal employees who don't answer to the president violates the very foundation of our democratic republic,' said Kevin D. Roberts, the president of the Heritage Foundation, adding that the contributors to Project 2025 are committed to 'dismantling this rogue administrative state.' Personal power has always been a driving force for Mr. Trump. He often gestures toward it in a more simplistic manner, such as in 2019, when he declared to a

cheering crowd, ‘I have an Article 2, where I have the right to do whatever I want as president.’” [New York Times, [7/17/23](#)]

Project 2025 Was Created To “Lay The Groundwork For A White House More Friendly To The Right.” “With the Biden administration half over and with the immediate dangers inherent to one-party rule in Washington behind us for now, it’s past time to lay the groundwork for a White House more friendly to the right. For decades, as the left has continued its march through America’s institutions, conservatives have been outgunned and outmatched when it comes to the art of government. One reason is because the Republican establishment never moved on from the 1980s. Beltway conservatives still prioritize supply-side economics and a bellicose foreign policy above all else. Belief in small government, strangely enough, has manifested itself in a belief among some conservatives that we should lead by example and not fill all political appointments. Belief in the primacy of the national security state has caused conservative administrations to defer political decisions to the generals and the intelligence community.” [Analysis, Spencer Chretien, Heritage Foundation, [1/31/23](#)]

Heritage Foundation’s Spencer Chretien Called Trump’s Presidency A “Triumph” That Did Not Achieve Its Best Accomplishments Until “The Right Personnel” Were In Place During His Last Year. “In November 2016, American conservatives stood on the verge of greatness. The election of Donald Trump to the presidency was a triumph that offered the best chance to reverse the left’s incessant march of progress for its own sake. Many of the best accomplishments, though, happened only in the last year of the Trump administration, after our political appointees had finally figured out the policies and process of different agencies, and after the right personnel were finally in place. The usual suspects in the permanent political class will be ready for the next conservative administration. Will we be ready for them? That’s where Project 2025 comes in. We have two years, and one chance, to get this right.” [Analysis, Spencer Chretien, Heritage Foundation, [1/31/23](#)]

Project 2025 Seeks To Centralize Power In The Oval Office. “Since we know the title of each pillar, it might bode well to understand the foundation upon which they’re built. According to a sentence that sounds like a mission statement, Project 2025 website states, ‘[We’re] building now for a conservative victory through policy, personnel and training.’ In other words, their mission is to centralize unlimited power to the man in the Oval Office. This means he would possess unrestrained and unopposed authoritarian rule over every agency and employee he considers a threat to his authority.” [Petoskey News Review, 8/1/23]

January 2024: NYT Headline: “Inside the Heritage Foundation’s Plans for ‘Institutionalizing Trumpism.’” “Since taking over the Heritage Foundation in 2021, Kevin D. Roberts has been making his mark on an institution that came to prominence during the Reagan years and has long been seen as an incubator of conservative policy and thought. Roberts, who was not well known outside policy circles when he took over, has pushed the think tank away from its hawkish roots by arguing against funding the war in Ukraine, a turnabout that prompted some of Heritage’s policy analysts to leave. Now he’s looking ahead, to the 2024 election and beyond. Roberts told me that he views Heritage’s role today as ‘institutionalizing Trumpism.’ This includes leading Project 2025, a transition blueprint that outlines a plan to consolidate power in the executive branch, dismantle federal agencies and recruit and vet government employees to free the next Republican president from a system that Roberts views as stacked against conservative power. The lesson of Trump’s first year in office, Roberts told me, is that ‘the Trump administration, with the best of intentions, simply got a slow start. And Heritage and our allies in Project 2025 believe that must never be repeated.’” [New York Times, 1/21/24]

2024: Politico Headline: “Beyond Shock and Awe: Inside Trump’s Potential Second-Term Agenda.” “The Heritage Foundation's 2025 Presidential Transition Project - a coalition led by former Trump administration officials that includes groups such as Students for Life and Susan B. Anthony Pro-Life America - is brainstorming ways to use executive power to cut off access to both abortion pills and the surgical procedure. They also want to funnel taxpayer dollars to organizations that work to deter people from terminating a pregnancy. The Project 2025 manifesto includes plans, for example, for Trump to revoke the Food and Drug Administration's two-decade-old approval of mifepristone - a drug used in most abortions. The groups are also counting on Trump enforcing a long-dormant law from the 1870s to punish anyone who sends or receives either mifepristone or medical equipment used for abortions through the mail. Taken together, those two policies could amount to a de facto national abortion ban.” [Politico, 2/25/24]

2024: The Week: “Many Progressives Have Opined that Project 2025 Is an Effort to Turn the Country into an Autocracy, with Trump and His MAGA Movement at the Top.” “Many progressives have opined that Project 2025 is an effort to turn the country into an autocracy, with Trump and his MAGA movement at the top. ‘The right is intent on turning Trumpism into a governing agenda,’ Robert L. Borosage said for The Nation. The Heritage Foundation is looking to ‘recruit, train and plant MAGA operatives throughout the government, and arm them with clear marching orders.’” [The Week, 2/26/24]

LEADERSHIP

Paul Dans – Director

Paul Dans Of The Heritage Foundation Is The Director Of Project 2025. “Paul Dans directs Heritage’s 2025 Presidential Transition Project, organizing policy and personnel recommendations and training for appointees in the next presidential administration.” [Heritage Foundation, accessed [11/20/23](#)]

Dans Wanted To Fire As Many As 50,000 Federal Workers In A New Republican Administration And “Flood The Zone With Conservatives” In The Federal Government. “With a nearly 1,000-page ‘Project 2025’ handbook and an ‘army’ of Americans, the idea is to have the civic infrastructure in place on Day One to commandeer, reshape and do away with what Republicans deride as the ‘deep state’ bureaucracy, in part by firing as many as 50,000 federal workers. ‘We need to flood the zone with conservatives,’ said Paul Dans, director of the 2025 Presidential Transition Project and a former Trump administration official who speaks with historical flourish about the undertaking.” [PBS, [8/29/23](#)]

Dans: “Never Before Has The Whole Conservative Movement Banded Together To Systematically Prepare To Take Power Day One And Deconstruct The Administrative State.” “‘Project 2025 is not a white paper. We are not tinkering at the edges. We are writing a battle plan, and we are marshaling our forces,’ said Paul Dans, director of Project 2025 at the Heritage Foundation, which compiled the plan as a road map for the first 180 days of the next GOP administration. ‘Never before has the whole conservative movement banded together to systematically prepare to take power day one and deconstruct the administrative state.’ The initiative has previously drawn attention for its efforts to prepare a systematic conservative takeover of the federal bureaucracy, in contrast to the perceptions of chaos that marked much of former President Donald Trump’s term. Those include plans to assemble a database of as many as 20,000 people who could serve in the next administration — ‘a right-wing LinkedIn,’ as The New York Times described it in April — and proposals to impose sweeping Oval

Office control over spending decisions, civil service employees and independent federal agencies.” [E&E News, [7/26/23](#)]

Dans Gained Prominence At End Of Trump Administration For Purging “Alleged Disloyalists” And Sought To Resurrect “Schedule F” Executive Order To Expand Federal Workers A President Could Fire. “Dans gained prominence in the latter stages of the Trump term when he joined John McEntee, the former body man for Trump who rose to head of the Presidential Personnel Office at age 29. They ousted alleged disloyalists such Dale Cabaniss, who ran the Office of Personnel Management, which manages benefits and retirement issues for the federal government’s civil service. Now McEntee is on board at Project 2025 and what he started in 2020 is the GOP template for the future. Together, with James Sherk (another former Trump official) they are seeking to resurrect ‘Schedule F,’ an executive order Trump adopted in the last weeks of his administration—and Biden later rescinded—to expand the number of federal workers he could fire from the usual 4,000 or so political appointees to 20,000 or more who occupy key policy-making positions.” [POLITICO, [9/19/23](#)]

Dans Stated That He Wanted To Remove The “Tenured Class Of Political High Priests” Of Career Bureaucrats Within The Federal Government. “Together, with James Sherk (another former Trump official) they are seeking to resurrect ‘Schedule F,’ an executive order Trump adopted in the last weeks of his administration—and Biden later rescinded—to expand the number of federal workers he could fire from the usual 4,000 or so political appointees to 20,000 or more who occupy key policy-making positions. The exact number being targeted is still being decided, says Russell Vought, Trump’s former director of the Office of Management and Budget, who has been tasked with implementing the Project 2025 policy program. But ultimately the goal is to remove what Dans calls the ‘tenured class of political high priests.’” [POLITICO, [9/19/23](#)]

POLITICO: Dans And His Partners Wanted To Use Project 2025 To “Roll Back Nothing Less Than 100 Years Of What They See As Liberal Encroachment On Washington.” “In truth, the program laid out by Dans and his fellow Trumpers, called Project 2025, is far more ambitious than anything Ronald Reagan dreamed up. Dans, from his seat inside The Heritage Foundation, and scores of conservative groups aligned with his program are seeking to roll back nothing less than 100 years of what they see as liberal encroachment on Washington. They want to overturn what began as Woodrow Wilson’s creation of a federal administrative elite and later grew into a vast, unaccountable and mostly liberal bureaucracy (as conservatives view it) under Franklin Roosevelt’s New Deal and Lyndon Johnson’s Great Society, numbering about two and a quarter million federal workers today. They aim to defund the Department of Justice, dismantle the FBI, break up the Department of Homeland Security and eliminate the Departments of Education and Commerce, to name just a few of their larger targets.” [POLITICO, [9/19/23](#)]

Dans Envisioned An Administration That Would “Defund The Department Of Justice, Dismantle The FBI, Break Up The Department Of Homeland Security And Eliminate The Departments Of Education And Commerce.” “They want to overturn what began as Woodrow Wilson’s creation of a federal administrative elite and later grew into a vast, unaccountable and mostly liberal bureaucracy (as conservatives view it) under Franklin Roosevelt’s New Deal and Lyndon Johnson’s Great Society, numbering about two and a quarter million federal workers today. They aim to defund the Department of Justice, dismantle the FBI, break up the Department of Homeland Security and eliminate the Departments of Education and Commerce, to name just a few of their larger targets.” [POLITICO, [9/19/23](#)]

Dans' Vision With Project 2025 Was To Give "The President Complete Power Over Quasi-Independent Agencies Such As The Federal Communications Commission." "They want to give the president complete power over quasi-independent agencies such as the Federal Communications Commission, which makes and enforces rules for television and internet companies that have been the bane of Trump's political existence in the last few years." [POLITICO, [9/19/23](#)]

Dans Used Anthony Fauci As An Example Of "The Archetype Of What We Want To End In A Bureaucrat." "'The archetype of what we want to end in a bureaucrat is none other than Dr. [Anthony] Fauci,' Dans says. Many conservatives believe that Fauci, the longtime director of the National Institute of Allergy and Infectious Diseases, helped cost Trump a second term by allegedly overreacting to the Covid crisis without taking directions from the president and helping to shut down the economy unnecessarily. 'No bureaucrat should have an action figure made of him,' jokes Dans. 'Fauci had 50 years on the job in one of the most technically demanding and ever-changing professions in bio-science. Either the person is a genius on the order of Einstein or is Machiavellian in terms of keeping power. I would submit the latter.'" [POLITICO, [9/19/23](#)]

January 2021 – February 2021: Dans Was Appointed By Former President Trump To Serve As Chairman Of The National Capital Planning Commission. "He also served as OPM's White House liaison and worked integrally with the White House Office of Presidential Personnel to staff the approximately 4000 presidential appointees across the federal government. In January 2021, President Trump appointed Dans to serve as Chairman of the National Capital Planning Commission." [Heritage Foundation, accessed [11/20/23](#)]

December 2020 – January 2021: Dans Served In The Trump Administration As Chief Of Staff At The Office Of Personnel Management (OPM). "Prior to joining Heritage, Dans served in the Trump Administration as Chief of Staff at the U.S. Office of Personnel Management where he managed the federal agency in charge of human resources policy for the more than two million federal workers. He also served as OPM's White House liaison and worked integrally with the White House Office of Presidential Personnel to staff the approximately 4000 presidential appointees across the federal government." [Heritage Foundation, accessed [11/20/23](#); LinkedIn, Paul Dans, accessed [11/20/23](#)]

February 2020 – December 2020: Dans Served As The White House Liaison At OPM Under Former President Trump. "Prior to joining Heritage, Dans served in the Trump Administration as Chief of Staff at the U.S. Office of Personnel Management where he managed the federal agency in charge of human resources policy for the more than two million federal workers. He also served as OPM's White House liaison and worked integrally with the White House Office of Presidential Personnel to staff the approximately 4000 presidential appointees across the federal government." [Heritage Foundation, accessed [11/20/23](#); LinkedIn, Paul Dans, accessed [11/20/23](#)]

July 2019 – February 2020: Dans Served As A Senior Advisor At The Office Of Community Planning And Development At The Department Of Housing And Urban Development (HUD) Under Trump Administration. According to his LinkedIn page, Paul Dans served as the Senior Advisor, Office of Community Planning and Development at the U.S. Department of Housing and Urban Development from July 2019 to February 2020. [LinkedIn, Paul Dans, accessed [11/20/23](#)]

1997 – 2019: Dans Was A Practicing Attorney For 22 Years Prior To Joining The Trump Administration. According to his LinkedIn page, Paul Dans was an associate at Dewey & LeBoeuf LLP from 1997 to 2000; an associate at Debevoise & Plimpton from 2000 to 2002; a senior associate at Edwards Wildman Palmer LLP from 2005 to 2009; Counsel at Rivero Mestre & Castro from August

2009 to December 2011; and Attorney at Law at the Law Office of Paul E. Dans from January 2012 to June 2019. [LinkedIn, Paul Dans, accessed [11/20/23](#)]

Spencer Chretien – Associate Director

Heritage Foundation’s Spencer Chretien Is The Associated Director Of Project 2025. “Spencer Chretien serves as Associate Director of Heritage’s 2025 Presidential Transition Project, supporting each pillar of the project’s work.” [Heritage Foundation, accessed [11/20/23](#)]

2020 – 2021: Chretien Was A Special Assistant To President Trump And The Associate Director Of Presidential Personnel. “From 2020-2021, Chretien was a Special Assistant to President Donald J. Trump and Associate Director of Presidential Personnel, helping to identify, recruit, and place hundreds of political appointees at all levels of government. Before his role at the White House, Chretien served as a political appointee at the Department of Housing and Urban Development.” [Heritage Foundation, accessed [11/20/23](#)]

Chretien Previously Served As The Director Of Programs At FreedomWorks, A Conservative Advocacy Organization. “Spencer Chretien is Director of Programs at FreedomWorks, a conservative advocacy organization that breaks down barriers between beltway insiders and grassroots America. From 2020-2021, he served as a Special Assistant to President Donald J. Trump and Associate Director of Presidential Personnel, identifying strong leaders for key positions in the Trump administration.” [Hillsdale College, accessed [11/20/23](#)]

Chretien Previously Served As A Membership Manager At The American Legislative Exchange Council (ALEC). “Spencer Chretien works as the Membership Manager at ALEC. In this role, he oversees the legislative recruitment and renewal processes, serves as the primary point of contact for members in the Southeast and Southwest regions, works with State Chairs, and helps to solicit and serve exhibitors for ALEC meetings. A lifelong Virginian, Spencer graduated from The College of William and Mary. During college, he interned at other nonprofit organizations in the DC area. He has participated in the Koch Internship Program and the Koch Associate Program. Currently, Spencer moonlights as a professional musician, singing at St. John the Beloved Church in McLean, VA.” [ALEC, accessed [11/20/23](#)]

Chretien Called For Conservatives To “Dismantle” What He Called The “Fourth Branch” Of Career Federal Officials That “Some Call” The Deep State. “In America, we’re supposed to have three branches of government and a robust system of checks and balances. What we’re not supposed to have is an unaccountable fourth branch of government that is impervious to the changes promised by winning presidential candidates. Yet, thanks to the idea that government should be run by supposedly nonpartisan, apolitical experts, we have that fourth branch. Some call it the administrative state; some call it the managerial state; some call it the Deep State. For the sake of our constitutional republic, conservatives must dismantle much of the bureaucracy and return the power to those who are elected by—and accountable to—the American people. The bureaucracy is notoriously unfriendly to conservative ideas.” [Spencer Chretien, Heritage Foundation, [8/23/23](#)]

Troup Hemenway – Associate Director

September 2023: Hemenway Joined Heritage Foundation And Project 2025 As Senior Advisor And Associate Director Of Personnel Placement. “The Heritage Foundation today announced Troup Hemenway, a former associate director of the Presidential Personnel Office (PPO) under President

Donald Trump, has joined the 2025 Presidential Transition Project as a senior advisor and associate director of personnel placement.” [Heritage Foundation, [9/25/23](#)]

Hemenway Previously Was Senior Advisor For The American Leadership Initiative At America First Policy Institute. “At AFPI, he was a senior advisor for the American Leadership Initiative, the think tank’s effort to help prepare and staff an incoming Republican administration. Though he’s switching organizations, Hemenway will notably have a similar role at Heritage: He’ll be focusing on all four pillars of Heritage’s ‘Project 2025,’ an effort that also aims to help launch the next Republican administration. As an associate director at Heritage, he’ll help with personnel recruitment, vetting, and placement in addition to being involved in training potential political appointees, according to the source familiar with the situation.” [Newsweek, [9/13/23](#)]

- **American Leadership Initiative Was AFPI’s “Effort To Help Prepare And Staff An Incoming Republican Administration.”** “At AFPI, he was a senior advisor for the American Leadership Initiative, the think tank’s effort to help prepare and staff an incoming Republican administration. Though he’s switching organizations, Hemenway will notably have a similar role at Heritage: He’ll be focusing on all four pillars of Heritage’s ‘Project 2025,’ an effort that also aims to help launch the next Republican administration. As an associate director at Heritage, he’ll help with personnel recruitment, vetting, and placement in addition to being involved in training potential political appointees, according to the source familiar with the situation.” [Newsweek, [9/13/23](#)]

Hemenway Was A Trump Appointee As Associate Director For National Security In The Office Of Presidential Personnel. “The groups planning to staff the next GOP president are competing to staff themselves: The Heritage Foundation recently poached Troup Hemenway from the America First Policy Institute, according to a source familiar with the situation. Hemenway served in the Trump administration as Associate Director for National Security in the Office of Presidential Personnel. At AFPI, he was a senior advisor for the American Leadership Initiative, the think tank’s effort to help prepare and staff an incoming Republican administration.” [Newsweek, [9/13/23](#)]

Hemenway Served In The Trump Administration And Oversaw Presidential Appointments In The Department Of Defense, Homeland Security, Energy, And The Intelligence Community. “The Heritage Foundation today announced Troup Hemenway, a former associate director of the Presidential Personnel Office (PPO) under President Donald Trump, has joined the 2025 Presidential Transition Project as a senior advisor and associate director of personnel placement. Hemenway most recently worked as a senior advisor at America First Policy Institute’s America First Transition Project. At the Trump White House, he oversaw presidential appointments in the Departments of Defense, Homeland Security, Energy, and the Intelligence Community.” [Heritage Foundation, [9/25/23](#)]

- **Hemenway Claimed That He Served Under John McEntee To “Conduct A Thorough Review Of All Presidential Appointments” By Purging Staffers Deemed Disloyal To Trump.** “Some of these efforts are being led by people who sounded an early alarm about the Trump administration’s staffing problem—including myself. I began at the Presidential Personnel Office (PPO) just as the president was implementing a personnel overhaul. John McEntee was appointed head of PPO to conduct a thorough review of all presidential appointees—roughly 4,000 people. My job under McEntee was similar to what I had done at the Defense Department: conducting interviews to vet and hire new appointees and to replace those who warranted dismissal. With the president’s new direction, PPO was finally exercising its

critical function of quality control—so the will of the people, and the agenda they voted for, was being implemented.” [Op-Ed, Troup Hemenway, Newsweek, [2/23/23](#)]

Hemenway Served As A Primary Campaign Staffer For The 2016 Trump Campaign And On The Transition Team. “I had a front-row seat to the Trump team’s personnel snafus as a primary campaign staffer for candidate Trump, then serving on his transition team, then on the Department of Defense beachhead team, and finally joining the Pentagon’s White House Liaison Office. In these roles, I watched President Trump and his advisers hire active opponents of his national security and foreign policy agenda—often camouflaged—for coveted and key roles in the administration. There was no shortage of eager applicants aiming to implement their own policy objectives in conflict with the American people’s choice for chief executive.” [Op-Ed, Troup Hemenway, Newsweek, [2/23/23](#)]

February 2023: Hemenway: “Conservatives Must Hold Their Candidates' Feet To The Fire And Insist They Have A Plan To Root Out Entrenched Bureaucrats Opposed To The People's Agenda And Will Enact A Staffing Process To Replace Them.” “In the future, conservatives can avoid the critical staffing failures of the past with careful forethought. Groups dedicated to vetting prospective federal employees for the next administration play a vital role—but so do the voters themselves. Conservatives must hold their candidates' feet to the fire and insist they have a plan to root out entrenched bureaucrats opposed to the people's agenda and will enact a staffing process to replace them. No Republican should receive the people's support unless flanked by a strong and tough team with a plan to turn elections into real policy change.” [Op-Ed, Troup Hemenway, Newsweek, [2/23/23](#)]

PUBLICATIONS

Mandate For Leadership Book

“Mandate For Leadership” Was Facilitated By The Heritage Foundation, Which Claimed The Book Was “The Work Of The Entire Conservative Movement.” “This book is the product of more than 400 scholars and policy experts from across the conservative movement and around the country. Contributors include former elected officials, world-renowned economists, and veterans from four presidential Administrations. This is an agenda prepared by and for conservatives who will be ready on Day One of the next Administration to save our country. The Heritage Foundation is once again facilitating this work, but as our dozens of partners and hundreds of authors will attest, this book is the work of the entire conservative movement.” [Project 2025, accessed [11/16/23](#)]

Project 2025’s “Mandate For Leadership” Book Featured “The Work Of More Than 350 Leading Conservatives And Outlines A Vision Of Conservative Success At Each Federal Agency During The Next Administration.” “The first pillar, the upcoming production of the policy book Mandate for Leadership, represents the work of more than 350 leading conservatives and outlines a vision of conservative success at each federal agency during the next administration. Presidential candidates won’t be able to ignore what the conservative movement demands in this book.” [Analysis, Spencer Chretien, Heritage Foundation, [1/31/23](#)]

The Goal Of “Mandate For Leadership” Was To “Assemble An Army Of Aligned, Vetted, Trained, And Prepared Conservatives To Go To Work On Day One To Deconstruct The Administrative State.” “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.” [Project 2025, accessed [11/16/23](#)]

“Mandate For Leadership” Was Described By Project 2025 As An “Agenda Prepared By And For Conservatives Who Will Be Ready On Day One Of The Next Administration To Save Our Country.” “This book is the product of more than 400 scholars and policy experts from across the conservative movement and around the country. Contributors include former elected officials, world-renowned economists, and veterans from four presidential Administrations. This is an agenda prepared by and for conservatives who will be ready on Day One of the next Administration to save our country. The Heritage Foundation is once again facilitating this work, but as our dozens of partners and hundreds of authors will attest, this book is the work of the entire conservative movement.” [Project 2025, accessed [11/16/23](#)]

PROJECTS AND PLATFORMS

Online Personnel Database

Project 2025 Created An “Online Personnel Database” That They Claimed Would Be A “Conservative LinkedIn.” “The second is our online personnel database. This ‘Conservative LinkedIn’ will launch in March and will provide an opportunity for rock-solid conservatives to place themselves in contention for roles in the next administration. This pillar will bring Mr. (and Mrs.) Smith to Washington.” [Analysis, Spencer Chretien, Heritage Foundation, [1/31/23](#)]

Project 2025 Set A Goal Of Having Up To 20,000 Potential Administration Officials In The Personnel Database By The End Of 2024. “They have already identified several thousand potential recruits and have set a goal of having up to 20,000 potential administration officials in their database by the end of 2024, according to Kevin Roberts, the president of Heritage. Heritage has contracted the technology company Oracle to build a secure personnel database, Dr. Roberts said.” [New York Times, [4/20/23](#)]

Project 2025’s Online Personnel Database “Will Provide An Opportunity For Rock-Solid Conservatives To Place Themselves In Contention For Roles In The Next Administration.” “The second is our online personnel database. This ‘Conservative LinkedIn’ will launch in March and will provide an opportunity for rock-solid conservatives to place themselves in contention for roles in the next administration. This pillar will bring Mr. (and Mrs.) Smith to Washington.” [Analysis, Spencer Chretien, Heritage Foundation, [1/31/23](#)]

Project 2025 Online Personnel Database Stated That Applicants Would Be “Considered For Positions In A Presidential Administration.” “Want to be considered for positions in a presidential Administration? Submit your resume today to be included in the personnel database. Please fill out the questionnaire below and upload your resume for inclusion in the 2025 Presidential Transition Project Talent Database if you would like to be considered for positions in a presidential Administration. Project 2025 is the effort of a massive coalition of conservative organizations that have come together to ensure a successful Administration begins in January 2025. With the right conservative policy recommendations and properly vetted and trained personnel to implement them, we will take back our government. Project 2025 is being organized by The Heritage Foundation.” [Project 2025, accessed [11/16/23](#)]

Project 2025 Online Personnel Database Questionnaire Asks Prospective Applicants To Name People And Books That Most Influenced Personal Political Philosophy. According to the Project 2025 “Presidential Personnel Database & Presidential Administration Academy Questionnaire”,

applicants are asked to “briefly explain your choice(s) of philosophy [...] Name one person, past or present, who has most influenced the development of your political philosophy [...] Name a book that has most significantly shaped your political philosophy, and please explain its influence on your thinking [...] Name one living public policy figure whom you greatly admire and why [...] Name one public policy issue you are most passionate about. Why are you passionate about this issue and how would you like to see it addressed in the future?” [Project 2025, accessed 11/16/23]

Project 2025 Questionnaire Screened Candidates Through 18 Questions That Tested Political Philosophy And Stance On Relevant Issues, Including Energy, Abortion, Immigration, Racism, And Health Care. According to the Project 2025 “Presidential Personnel Database & Presidential Administration Academy Questionnaire”, applicants were asked if they agreed with “the following statements.” The application listed 18 questions and a drop-down box to choose an answer. [Project 2025, accessed 11/16/23]

- **Project 2025 Questionnaire Asked Whether A Candidate Agreed With The Statement: “Government Should Subsidize The Use Or Production Of Energy, Particularly For New And Innovative Energy Technologies.”** According to the Project 2025 “Presidential Personnel Database & Presidential Administration Academy Questionnaire”, applicants are asked to select whether they agree with the statement, “Government should subsidize the use or production of energy, particularly for new and innovative energy technologies.” [Project 2025, accessed 11/16/23]
- **Project 2025 Questionnaire Asked Whether A Candidate Agreed With The Statement: “Life Has A Right To Legal Protection From Contraception To Natural Death.”** According to the Project 2025 “Presidential Personnel Database & Presidential Administration Academy Questionnaire”, applicants are asked to select whether they agree with the statement, “life has a right to legal protection from contraception to natural death.” [Project 2025, accessed 11/16/23]
- **Project 2025 Questionnaire Asked Whether A Candidate Agreed With The Statement: “The U.S. Has The Right To Select Immigrants Based On Country Of Origin.”** According to the Project 2025 “Presidential Personnel Database & Presidential Administration Academy Questionnaire”, applicants are asked to select whether they agree with the statement, “The U.S. has the right to select immigrants based on country of origin.” [Project 2025, accessed 11/16/23]
- **Project 2025 Questionnaire Asked Whether A Candidate Agreed With The Statement: “The Police In America Are Systemically Racist.”** According to the Project 2025 “Presidential Personnel Database & Presidential Administration Academy Questionnaire”, applicants are asked to select whether they agree with the statement, “The police in America are systemically racist.” [Project 2025, accessed 11/16/23]
- **Project 2025 Questionnaire Asked Whether A Candidate Agreed With The Statement: “The U.S. Needs Nationalized Health Care.”** According to the Project 2025 “Presidential Personnel Database & Presidential Administration Academy Questionnaire”, applicants are asked to select whether they agree with the statement, “The U.S. Needs Nationalized Health Care.” [Project 2025, accessed 11/16/23]

Presidential Administration Academy

The Presidential Administration Academy Sought To Ensure The Staff Of A Conservative Administration Would Know “How To Seize The Gears Of Power Effectively.” “The third is our Presidential Administration Academy. When conservatives do finally make it into an administration, they often don’t know what to do or how to seize the gears of power effectively. Through their action, inaction, and their encyclopedic knowledge of volumes of technicalities about the federal workforce, certain career federal employees are masterful in tripping us up. Our interactive, on-demand training sessions will change that. They will turn future conservative political appointees into experts in governmental effectiveness.” [Analysis, Spencer Chretien, Heritage Foundation, [1/31/23](#)]

Project 2025: The Academy “Will Turn Future Conservative Political Appointees Into Experts In Governmental Effectiveness.” “Through their action, inaction, and their encyclopedic knowledge of volumes of technicalities about the federal workforce, certain career federal employees are masterful in tripping us up. Our interactive, on-demand training sessions will change that. They will turn future conservative political appointees into experts in governmental effectiveness.” [Analysis, Spencer Chretien, Heritage Foundation, [1/31/23](#)]

Presidential Administration Academy Aimed To Prepare Appointees To “Begin Rolling Back Destructive Policy And Advancing Conservative Ideas In The Federal Government.” “The Presidential Administration Academy is a one-of-a-kind educational and skill-building program designed to prepare and equip future political appointees now to be ready on Day One of the next conservative Administration. This academy provides aspiring appointees with the insight, background knowledge, and expertise in governance to immediately begin rolling back destructive policy and advancing conservative ideas in the federal government.” [Project 2025, accessed [11/16/23](#)]

Presidential Administration Academy Was A Fully Online Program With Courses On-Demand. “Currently, the Presidential Administration Academy is a fully online program where participants can take courses on-demand. As the presidential election approaches, additional online courses will be added and in-person training sessions will be available. Intense instruction tailored for high-level positions will be in-person. The Presidential Administration Academy offers individual classes as well as full certificate programs. In order to receive a certificate of completion, all classes within the certificate program must be completed and each quiz must be passed.” [Project 2025, accessed [11/16/23](#)]

Presidential Administration Academy Taught Its Participants Budget Process, Media Relations, Congressional Relations, Federal Procurement And “Dozens Of Other Topics.” “If you are a former political appointee or you’re exploring appointed service for the first time there is something for you to learn. The Presidential Administration Academy covers topics ranging from how to identify appointee positions for which you qualify to navigating the necessary background and security clearance processes to recognizing and addressing the dangers of the administrative state. Potential appointees will learn the intricacies of the federal budget process, how to work with the media, managing congressional and stakeholder relations, the federal procurement process, and dozens of other topics that provide the knowledge and skills you’ll need to be an effective presidential appointee.” [Project 2025, accessed [11/16/23](#)]

Presidential Administration Academy Was Open To Applicants From All Levels Of Experience. “If you’re interested in serving the next conservative President, you’ve come to the right place. Presidential Administration Academy participants are professionals at all career levels from across the country and in our nation’s capital who want to learn, engage, get credentialed, and BE PREPARED to serve the next President and the American people by advancing conservative policy at the federal level. Applicants ranging from new college grads to experienced professionals in all career fields are

encouraged to apply. We also welcome those who have not previously served in an Administration as well as those who are former appointees.” [Project 2025, accessed [11/16/23](#)]

Project 2025 Playbook

Project 2025’s Fourth Pillar Is The Playbook That Aimed To “Take The Policy Ideas Expressed In Mandate For Leadership And Transform Them Into An Implementation Plan For Each Agency To Advocate To The Incoming Administration.” “The fourth and final pillar of Project 2025 is our Playbook, which will take the policy ideas expressed in Mandate for Leadership and transform them into an implementation plan for each agency to advocate to the incoming administration. What regulations and executive orders must be signed on Day One? Where are the greatest needs for more political appointees? How can we effectively use the mechanisms of government to face our most challenging problems? Our Playbook will put our movement to work answering questions like these.” [Analysis, Spencer Chretien, Heritage Foundation, [1/31/23](#)]

The Project 2025 Playbook Would Be A 180-Day Transition Playbook Including A “Comprehensive, Concrete Transition Plan For Each Federal Agency.” “The fourth pillar of Project 2025 is our 180-day Transition Playbook and includes a comprehensive, concrete transition plan for each federal agency. Only through the implementation of specific action plans at each agency will the next conservative presidential Administration be successful. Pillar IV will provide the next President a roadmap for doing just that. To learn more about Project 2025’s vision for a conservative administration, please read our recently published book, Mandate for Leadership: The Conservative Promise.” [Project 2025, accessed [11/21/23](#)]

Elections & Voting Rights

Project 2025 Is Led By Two Members Of The Heritage Foundation, A Conservative Think Tank Know To Promote False Claims Of Voter Fraud. “The director and associate director of Project 2025 both come from the Heritage Foundation, a more widely known conservative think tank. The Heritage Foundation is known for its far-reaching support of Republican politicians, such as former presidents Ronald Reagan and Donald Trump. The foundation embraces its accomplishment in promoting Supreme Court Justices who allowed for the overturning of Roe v. Wade in 2022. The foundation has also been known to deny climate change, push forward anti-critical race theory legislation and promote false claims of voter fraud. Project 2025 includes a 180-day playbook, administrative training, a personnel database and a policy agenda to enact as soon as a conservative president takes power. The project’s comprehensive plan is chronicled in a book, ‘Mandate for Leadership: A Conservative Promise,’ with over 900 pages and free access for anyone to read.” [University Wire, 10/30/23]

Project 2025 Attempted To Influence Voting Through The Census. “Why do these conservative groups want a citizenship question? It’s not clear exactly why these conservative groups want the next census to ask for the U.S. citizenship status of every person living in every household in the United States. Research by the bureau has shown that including the question ‘Is this person a citizen of the United States?’ on forms is likely to discourage many households with Latino or Asian American residents from getting counted in official population totals. The bureau’s annual American Community Survey already produces estimates of U.S. citizens, which are used to help enforce the Voting Rights Act. And a future Republican administration could, as the Trump administration tried to, seek citizenship data from an alternate source — government records. The agency’s researchers said those would be more accurate and less costly to use than people’s self-reported answers. (President Biden stopped that work in 2021.)” [NPR, [10/28/23](#)]

John Eastman And Jeffrey Clark, Two Co-Conspirators In Trump's Plot To Overturn The 2020 Election, Were Reportedly Working With Project 2025. “Two reported co-conspirators in former President Donald Trump’s scheme to remain in office after his loss in 2020 are high-ranking members of organizations working to staff the next Republican administration. Special counsel Jack Smith’s indictment of Trump for allegedly attempting to overturn the results of the 2020 election lists six unnamed co-conspirators, two of whom have been widely reported to be John Eastman, Senior Fellow at The Claremont Institute, and Jeffrey Clark, Senior Fellow and Director of Litigation at the Center for Renewing America. According to the indictment, Clark suggested deploying the military to suppress political unrest in the event that the coup proved successful. Eastman appears to have been comfortable with that plan as well.” [Media Matters, [8/2/23](#)]