

# PROJECT 2025

## QUICK READ

**COMPILED BY:**

Wiley Davi, PhD  
Professor of English & Media Studies  
Bentley University  
BRIDGE Facilitator

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## **The Heritage Foundation**

A non-profit public policy research institute based in Washington, D.C. with a mission 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. More than 500,000 individual, foundation and corporate supporters

## **Project 2025**

A 900+ page manifesto developed through a coalition of over 90 conservative organizations 30 chapters (we focus here on select chapters and select policy recommendations)

As Dr. Sesha Joi Moon said on stage at BRIDGE24, Project 2025 is  
**"A 180-day plan to dismantle not just parts of our lives,  
but our work in this world."**

## **Pillar 1**

A consensus view of how federal agencies must be governed

## **Pillar II**

A personnel database of vetted conservatives for the president to select for positions. Project 2025 describes it as a database “that allows candidates to build their own professional profiles and coalition members to review and voice recommendations — as a way to streamline the appointment process.”

## **Pillar III**

Presidential Administration Academy, an online education system on how the government functions

## **Pillar IV**

The playbook: agency teams and transition plans for the first 180 days in office

## **RESTORE THE FAMILY AS THE “CENTERPIECE” OF AMERICAN LIFE/ PROTECT CHILDREN**

- a. Eliminate marriage penalties in federal welfare programs and the tax code
- b. Pornography is equated with “transgender ideology”
  - “Purveyors” to be imprisoned
  - Librarians & educators who purvey it will be classified as “sex offenders”
  - Telecommunications and technology firms that facilitate the spread of it “shuttered.”
- c. Install work requirements for food stamps
- d. Eliminate terms: sexual orientation and gender identity, diversity, equity and inclusion, gender, gender equality, gender equity, gender awareness, gender sensitive, abortion, reproductive rights, and any other term used to “deprive Americans of their First Amendment rights” out of every “federal rule, agency regulation, contract, grant, regulation, and piece of legislation that exists.”
- e. Federal policy to get tech out of the hands of children

### **DISMANTLE THE ADMINISTRATIVE STATE AND RETURN SELF-GOVERNANCE TO THE AMERICAN PEOPLE.**

- a. Reduce size and scope of federal government
- b. How to fire “un-fireable” federal bureaucrats
- c. Close “wasteful,” corrupt bureaus
- d. “Muzzle” woke propaganda
- e. Increase national defense
- f. Reduce the oversight power of Congress and Supreme Court

### **DEFEND SOVEREIGNTY, BORDERS, AND BOUNTY AGAINST DEATH THREATS**

- a. Eliminate international treaties
- b. Stop extreme environmentalists
- c. Defend America's "energy interests"
- d. Stop fostering a global economy

### **SECURE OUR GOD-GIVEN INDIVIDUAL RIGHT TO ENJOY “THE BLESSINGS OF LIBERTY.”**

- a. “Economic Freedom”



# GENERAL OVERVIEW OF POLICY RECOMMENDATIONS

1. A total ban on abortion
2. Ban gender-affirming care
3. Dismantle agencies that oversee laws that enforce equality:
  - Title VII of the Civil Rights Act of 1964
  - Title IX of the Education Amendments of 1972
  - Remove rights of LGBTQIA+ community
4. Ban critical race theory and gender ideology from public institutions:

The next conservative President must make the institutions of American civil society hard targets for woke culture warriors. This starts with deleting the terms sexual orientation and gender identity ("SOGI"), diversity, equity, and inclusion ("DEI"), gender, gender equality, gender equity, gender awareness, gender-sensitive, abortion, reproductive health, reproductive rights, and any other term used to deprive Americans of their First Amendment rights out of every federal rule, agency regulation, contract, grant, regulation, and piece of legislation that exists. (p.4)
5. Deregulate big business/oil industry
6. Eliminate labor protections
7. "Close the borders"
8. Free market capitalism
9. Eliminate environmental protections and foster tapping reserves of oil and natural gas
10. Removal of federal government employees and replace with individuals from their personnel database (Pillar II)

## CHAPTER 1: WHITE HOUSE OFFICE

1. Throughout the chapter, the author stresses the idea of staffing all of these positions with “activist” conservatives
2. Restructuring proposed, presumably to give president more power to act more quickly
3. Limiting mainstream press access to the White House
4. Allow for outside conservative legal advice

## CHAPTER 4: DEPARTMENT OF THE DEFENSE

1. Entrance criteria for military service and specific occupational career fields should be based on the needs of those positions. Exceptions for individuals who are already predisposed to require medical treatment (for example, HIV positive or suffering from gender dysphoria) should be removed, and those with gender dysphoria should be expelled from military service. Physical fitness requirements should be based on the occupational field without consideration of gender, race, ethnicity, or orientation.(p.103)
2. Eliminate Marxist indoctrination and divisive critical race theory programs and abolish newly established diversity, equity, and inclusion offices and staff. (p.103)
3. Audit the course offerings at military academies to remove Marxist indoctrination, eliminate tenure for academic professionals, and apply the same rules to instructors that are applied to other DOD contracting personnel. (p.104)
4. Reverse policies that allow transgender individuals to serve in the military. Gender dysphoria is incompatible with the demands of military service, and the use of public monies for transgender surgeries or to facilitate abortion for service members should be ended. (p.104)
5. Audit all curricula and health policies in DOD schools for military families, remove all inappropriate materials, and reverse inappropriate policies. (p.104)

## CHAPTER 5: HOMELAND SECURITY

1. Replacement of the Entire Homeland Security Advisory Committee.
  - a. The Secretary should plan to quickly remove all current members of the Homeland Security Advisory Committee and replace them as quickly as is feasible. (p.138)
2. U.S. Immigration and Customs Enforcement (ICE)
  - a. Prioritize national security in the Student and Exchange Visitor Program (SEVP). ICE should end its current cozy deference to educational institutions and remove security risks from the program. This requires working with the Department of State to eliminate or significantly reduce the number of visas issued to foreign students from enemy nations. (p.141)
3. The Office of the Citizenship and Immigration Services Ombudsman
  - i. CISOMB should be eliminated. (p.166)

1. Corporation for Public Broadcasting
  - a. Every Republican President since Richard Nixon has tried to strip the Corporation for Public Broadcasting (CPB) of taxpayer funding. Conservatives will thus reward a President who eliminates this tyrannical situation...The 47th President can just tell the Congress—through the budget he proposes and through personal contact—that he will not sign an appropriations spending bill that contains a penny for the CPB... Defunding CPB would by no means cause NPR or PBS—or other public broadcasters that benefit from CPB funding, including the even-further-to-the Left Pacifica Radio and American Public Media—to file for bankruptcy...The next President should instruct the FCC to exclude the stations affiliated with PBS and NPR from the NCE denomination and the privileges that come with it. (p.247-248)

## CHAPTER 9: AGENCY FOR INTERNATIONAL DEVELOPMENT

1. USAID Diversity, Equity, and Inclusion Agenda
  - a. Rescind President Biden's 2022 Gender Policy and refocus it on Women, Children, and Families and revise the agency's regulation on "Integrating Gender Equality and Female Empowerment in USAID's Program Cycle." It should remove all references, examples, definitions, photos, and language on USAID websites, in agency publications and policies, and in all agency contracts and grants that include the following terms: "gender," "gender equality," "gender equity," "gender diverse individuals," "gender aware," "gender sensitive," etc. It should also remove references to "abortion," "reproductive health," and "sexual and reproductive rights" and controversial sexual education materials. (p.259)

## CHAPTER 10: DEPARTMENT OF AGRICULTURE

1. The chapter provides specific recommendations for the next Administration about how to lay out a conservative vision for what the USDA should look like in the future.
2. Congress must limit the USDA's role.
3. Core principles should be included within any mission statement, including a recognition that farmers, and the food system in general, should be free from unnecessary government intervention.
4. Reform SNAP:
  - a. Re-implement work requirements.
  - b. Reform broad-based categorical eligibility.
  - c. Re-evaluate the Thrifty Food Plan
5. School meals
  - a. Congress should eliminate Community Eligibility Provision (CEP). Further, the USDA should not provide meals to students during the summer unless students are taking summer-school classes. (p.303)
6. Dietary Guidelines
7. The USDA should help lead an effort to repeal the Dietary Guidelines. (p.310)

## CHAPTER II: DEPARTMENT OF EDUCATION

1. Eliminate the Department of Education (p.319)
2. "Safeguarding civil rights" - Enforcement of civil rights should be based on a proper understanding of those laws, rejecting gender ideology and critical race theory (p.322)
3. Title VI (pp.335-336)
  - a. Title VI of the Civil Rights Act of 1964 provides that no person in the United States shall, on the ground of race, color, or national origin, be excluded from participation in, be denied the benefits of, or be subjected to discrimination under any program or activity receiving federal financial assistance.
  - b. The next Administration should continue the policy of the Trump Administration in this area and direct the department to conduct a comprehensive review of all Title VI cases to ascertain to what extent these cases include allegations of disparate impact.
  - c. As part of this effort, the new Administration should also direct the department and DOJ jointly to issue enforcement guidance stating that the agencies will no longer investigate Title VI cases that exclusively rest on allegations of disparate impact.
  - d. In addition to rescinding the policy and any related guidance, the next Secretary should work with the next Attorney General on a regulation that would clarify current regulations to state that Title VI of the Civil Rights Act does not include a disparate impact standard.
4. Assistance to States for the Education of Children with Disabilities; Preschool Grants for Children with Disabilities (Equity in IDEA)
  - a. Effective January 18, 2017, the department issued final regulations under Part B of IDEA that require states to consider race and ethnicity in the identification, placement, and discipline of students with disabilities. The new Administration should rescind this regulation. (p.336)



## CHAPTER 14: DEPARTMENT OF HEALTH & HUMAN SERVICES

1. Promoting Stable and Flourishing Married Families
  - a. "Families comprised of a married mother, father, and their children are the foundation of a well-ordered nation and healthy society. Unfortunately, family policies and programs under President Biden's HHS are fraught with agenda items focusing on "LGBTQ+ equity," subsidizing single-motherhood, disincentivizing work, and penalizing marriage. These policies should be repealed and replaced by policies that support the formation of stable, married, nuclear families." (p. 451)
2. Health and Human Services (HHS) is described as "the belly of the massive behemoth that is the modern administrative state"
  - a. "HHS is home to Medicare and Medicaid, the principal drivers of our \$31 trillion national debt. When Congress passed and President Lyndon B. Johnson signed into law these programs, they were set on autopilot with no plan for how to pay for them. The first year that Medicare spending was visible on the books was 1967. From that point on through 2020—according to the American Main Street Initiative's analysis of official federal tallies—Medicare and Medicaid combined cost \$17.8 trillion, while our combined federal deficits over that same span were \$17.9 trillion. In essence, our deficit problem is a Medicare and Medicaid problem"
  - b. With the goal of being a societal safety net, Medicare and Medicaid touch more American lives than does any other federal program. While they help many, they operate as runaway entitlements that stifle medical innovation, encourage fraud, and impede cost containment, in addition to which their fiscal future is in peril (p. 462).
3. Medicare should be reformed according to four goals and principles:
  - a. Increase Medicare beneficiaries' control of their health care. Patients are best positioned to determine the value of health care services, working with their health care providers. They also benefit from increased choice of doctors, hospitals, and insurance plans. Access to reliable information with respect to physicians, hospitals, and insurers is therefore essential.
  - b. Reduce regulatory burdens on doctors. Doctors must be free to focus on treating patients first, not entering codes on computers, and should not be tempted to change their medical judgment based on arbitrary or illogical reimbursement incentives.
  - c. Ensure sustainability and value for beneficiaries and taxpayers. Prices are best for patients when determined by economic value rather than political power and when they are known in advance of the receipt of services. Government's use of

## CHAPTER 14: DEPARTMENT OF HEALTH & HUMAN SERVICES

non-market-based methods to determine reimbursement leads to overspending on low-value services and products and underpayment for high-value services and products, stifles beneficial innovation, and because of Medicare's size distorts payments throughout the health care system. Intermediate entities that can manage financial risk and ensure quality of care are important in transitioning to value-based care within the Medicare program (p. 463).

- d. Reduce waste, fraud, and abuse, including through the use of artificial intelligence for their detection.
4. Medicare Legislative Proposals
    - a. Remove restrictions on physician-owned hospitals. The Affordable Care Act (ACA)<sup>24</sup> imposed restrictions prohibiting Medicare from reimbursing physician-owned and specialty hospitals. The current restrictions do little more than serve the special interests of large hospital systems and undercut consumer choice of high-quality, specialty care. These restrictions should be removed so that physician-owned hospitals can compete with other hospitals in serving Medicare patients.
    - b. Encourage more direct competition between Medicare Advantage and private plans. Medicare Advantage (MA), a system of competing private health plans, is the major alternative to traditional Medicare for America's large and growing cohort of seniors. The program provides beneficiaries with a wide range of competitive health plan choices—a richer set of benefits than traditional Medicare provides and at a reasonable cost. Equally as important, the MA program has been registering consistently high marks for superior performance in delivering high-quality care. Critical reforms are still needed to strengthen and improve the program for the future. Specifically:
      - i. Make Medicare Advantage the default enrollment option.
      - ii. Give beneficiaries direct control of how they spend Medicare dollars
      - iii. Remove burdensome policies that micromanage MA plans.
      - iv. Replace the complex formula-based payment model with a competitive bidding model.
      - v. Reconfigure the current risk adjustment model.
      - vi. Remove restrictions on key benefits and services, including those related to prescription drugs, hospice care, and medical savings account plans (p. 464-465)

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5. Medicare: Part D Reform
  - a. The Inflation Reduction Act (IRA) created a drug price negotiation program in Medicare that replaced the existing private-sector negotiations in Part D with government price controls for prescription drugs. These government price controls will limit access to medications and reduce patient access to new medication.
  - b. This “negotiation” program should be repealed, and reforms in Part D that will have meaningful impact for seniors should be pursued. Other reforms should include eliminating the coverage gap in Part D, reducing the government share in the catastrophic tier, and requiring manufacturers to bear a larger share. Until the IRA is repealed, an Administration that is required to implement it must do so in a way that is prudent with its authority, minimizing the harmful effects of the law’s policies and avoiding even worse unintended consequences (p.465).
6. Drug Shortages
  - a. The very thin profit margins and the regulatory burdens associated with generic drug manufacturing discourage inventory and capacity investments by manufacturers and contribute to drug shortages. HHS and the FDA should encourage more dependable generic drug manufacturing.
  - b. The FDA should expand its current pass/fail approach to drug facility inspections into a graded system that recognizes manufacturers that exceed minimum standards by investing in improving production reliability. The FDA should also add facility codes to drug packaging and construct a searchable database that cross-references product codes and facility codes. That would enable wholesalers and pharmacy benefit managers to identify and preference drugs manufactured at more reliable facilities, thus encouraging generic drug manufacturers to compete on reliability as well as on price (p. 457).

## CHAPTER 18: DEPARTMENT OF LABOR & RELATED AGENCIES

1. Reverse the DEI Revolution in Labor Policy
2. Eliminate Racial Classifications and Critical Race Theory Trainings
  - a. Issue an executive order banning, and Congress should pass a law prohibiting the federal government from using taxpayer dollars to fund all critical race theory training (CRT).
  - b. Amend Title VII
  - c. To prevent EEOC data collection (for private and public workplaces)
  - d. Direct DOJ and EEOC to enforce Title VII.
  - e. Eliminate EEO-1 data collection.
  - f. Eliminate disparate impact liability
  - g. Sign an executive order explicitly forbidding OFCCP from using disparate impact in its analysis.
  - h. Eliminate Office of Federal Contract Compliance Programs by rescinding EO 11246
3. Sex discrimination
  - a. Restrict *Bostock v. Clayton County*.
  - b. "An employer who fires someone simply for being homosexual or transgender" violates Title VII's prohibition against sex discrimination."
  - c. Rescind regulations prohibiting discrimination on the basis of sexual orientation, gender identity, transgender status, and sex characteristics.
  - d. Direct agencies to focus their enforcement of sex discrimination laws on the biological binary meaning of "sex."
4. Pro-Life Measures
  - a. Pass a law requiring equal (or greater) benefits for pro-life support for mothers and clarifying abortion exclusions.
    - i. Congress should pass a law requiring that to the extent an employer provides employee benefits for abortion, it must provide equal or greater benefits for pregnancy, childbirth, maternity, and adoption. That law should also clarify that no employer is required to provide any accommodations or benefits for abortion.
  - b. Keep anti-life "benefits" out of benefit plans.

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For more information email:  
[project2025@wearebridge.com](mailto:project2025@wearebridge.com)

