

INTRODUCTION. NOTES ON PROJECT 2025. Authors: Paul Dans, Steve Groves.

Dans is Director of the Presidential Transition Project at the Heritage Foundation, and former Trump Administration Chief of Staff at the US Office of Personnel Management. Groves is the Margaret Thatcher Fellow at The Heritage Foundation and former Trump Administration Ambassador Nikki Haley's Chief of Staff at the U.S. Mission to the UN.

In their *Introduction*, Dans and Groves preview the administrative blueprint goal and scope. Project 2025's goals are guided by four thematic pillars, they say:

- ✓ Pillar 1 "puts in one place a consensus view of how major federal agencies must be governed and, where disagreement exists, brackets out these differences for the next President to choose a path."
- ✓ Pillar II creates a personnel database for would-be candidates to build up their resumes to join the new government, vetted by Project 2025 members, then recommended to the Presidential-elect team, in order to fast-track loyalist appointments to key positions.
- ✓ Pillar III sets up the "Presidential Administration Academy."
- ✓ Pillar IV—the Playbook—calls for forming "agency teams" and drafting transition plans for each department, to be implemented starting on January 1, 2025.

FOREWORD. A PROMISE TO AMERICA. Author: Kevin D. Roberts, PhD. Roberts is President of the Heritage Foundation and former CEO of the Texas Public Policy Foundation in Austin, Texas, and former president of Wyoming Catholic College.

In a *Foreword* that warns of the perils of liberal America, Roberts compares today's political moment with 44 years ago, and describes America's political class as "discredited by wholesale dishonesty and corruption." He employs inflammatory rhetoric and discredited antigay stereotypes to launch a culture war attack on LGBTQ+ persons, blaming gender identity and diversity as corrupting elements. Writes Roberts: "...children suffer the toxic normalization of transgenderism with drag queens and pornography invading their school libraries...."

Here (and throughout the document), transgender identity and "wokeness" are presented as morally corrosive, and a threat to America's children in particular. Conservative strategists also note the effectiveness of "weaponizing" gender and identity as polarizing wedge issues to unite conservative voters.

Roberts identifies the four fronts of the conservative movement's battle:

- 1. "Restore the family as the centerpiece of American life and protect our children."
- 2. "Dismantle the administrative state and return self-governance to the American people."
- 3. "Defend our nation's sovereignty, borders, and bounty against global threats."



4. "Secure our God-given individual rights to live freely—what our Constitution calls "the Blessings of Liberty."

Roberts reviews how conservatives are battling on each front.

- ✓ Regarding Promise No. 1, they are fighting to defend against "unnatural" vs. "natural" love -- a thinly veiled reference to homosexuality. Here, Roberts recycles homophobic stereotypes of gay people as child predators intent on destroying the nuclear family. Practically, he calls for "eliminating marriage penalties in the welfare program and the tax code," to support families, and defending the tax status of religious institutions. He celebrates the repeal of *Roe v. Wade* as a great conservative victory, while stating, "…the *Dobbs* decision is just the beginning," and calls for "the most robust protections for the unborn," and enforcement of statutory bans on federal funding of abortion.
- ✓ On Pillar 2, Roberts declares his support for the conservative goal of removing "unfireable" federal bureaucrats and "corrupt bureaus and offices" and silencing "woke propaganda at all levels of government," while restoring "the American people's constitutional authority over the Administrative State." On the topic of military defense, he backs a social clean-up of America's military, to "restore warfighting as its sole mission" – an indirect call for removal of LGBTQ+ persons from the armed forces, and ending reforms to counter gender inequality.
- ✓ On Pillar 3, he denounces the Left's "open-borders activism" and pits progressive elites as out of touch with the common man, branding elites as socialists. He disparages environmental protection, stating, "At its very heart, environmental extremism is decidedly anti-human." He denounces globalism, and directs ire at China, Communism, and the company Tik Tok, arguing for a nativist, closed borders foreign policy.
- ✓ On Pillar 4 the blessings of liberty' Roberts supports "ordered liberty" a concept that calls for limiting some activities to establish the public order. He backs the conservative call for a pro-growth free market economy, while decrying the political influence of corporations who don't support a conservative agenda. He takes aim at technology firms run by elites.
- ✓ In his conclusion, Roberts accuses the elite Left of seeking 'special' rights and calls for conservatives to unite against "elite rule and woke cultural warriors," to save America, calling it "a republic" (versus a democracy).

Foreword - Key Points:

- ✓ "Liberal elites" and LGTBQ+ individuals are a corrosive element and seek special rights
- ✓ Conservatives champion "natural" love vs. "unnatural" love (homosexuality)
- ✓ Gender reforms of the military, including LGBTQ+-supportive policies, must be eliminated
- ✓ Seal America's borders, reject climate protection, fight China and globalism
- ✓ "Ordered liberty" limiting some civil rights -- may be needed to save America



STC 2025 Commentary: Roberts and many authors of Project 2025 seek to position themselves as Conservatives who speak for the common man versus liberals and Democrats who represent Washinton insiders and elites and seek 'special' rights -- the latter a common accusation made against LGBTQ+ persons. This is ironic, since the key architects of Project 2025, and many of the authors of Project 2025, are high-earning graduates of the very elite, liberal academic institutions they criticize as "woke", while Project 2025's work is funded by the multibillion-dollar Koch family.

While Project 2025's focus is on conservative family values, its criminalization of homosexuality, and its nativist and isolationist foreign policy position are hardly a surprise. What merits critical attention is Project 2025's embrace of 'ordered liberty' – a clear indication of the conservative movement's plan to test the limits of the law and disenfranchise the civil rights of some groups, in order to impose their extreme, theocratic vision for America.

