

ONE HUNDRED EIGHTEENTH CONGRESS

# Congress of the United States

## House of Representatives

COMMITTEE ON THE JUDICIARY

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October 4, 2024

The Honorable Jim Jordan  
Chairman  
House Committee on the Judiciary  
Select Subcommittee on the Weaponization of the Federal Government  
2138 Rayburn House Office Building  
Washington, DC 20515

Dear Chairman Jordan:

We, the Democratic members of the House Judiciary Select Subcommittee on the Weaponization of the Federal Government, write to ask you to call a hearing before the Select Subcommittee examine the Heritage Foundation's 2025 Presidential Transition Project and its *Mandate for Leadership*, a near-900-page policy roadmap described as "the conservative movement's unified effort to be ready for the next conservative Administration to govern at 12:00 noon, January 20, 2025."<sup>1</sup> The *Mandate for Leadership* calls for a drastic, unconstitutional restructuring of the government that would infringe on the rights of millions of Americans by delivering unbridled power to the President.

This Select Subcommittee has held 13 hearings to examine what the majority has deemed "weaponization" of the federal government. It has called in witnesses and public officials to examine issues like alleged retaliation by government agencies against conservative employees;<sup>2</sup> alleged First Amendment violations by government agencies, when these agencies were in fact trying to prevent malign foreign actors from interfering in our elections;<sup>3</sup> alleged politicization of

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<sup>1</sup> THE HERITAGE FOUNDATION, *MANDATE FOR LEADERSHIP* at xiii (2023), [https://static.project2025.org/2025\\_MandateForLeadership\\_FULLL.pdf](https://static.project2025.org/2025_MandateForLeadership_FULLL.pdf).

<sup>2</sup> *Hearing on the Weaponization of the Federal Government: Hearing Before the Select Subcomm. on the Weaponization of the Fed. Gov't*, 118th Cong. (May 18, 2023); *Hearing on the Weaponization of the Fed. Gov't: Hearing Before the Select Subcomm. on the Weaponization of the Federal Government*, 118th Cong. (Sept. 25, 2024).

<sup>3</sup> *Hearing on the Weaponization of the Federal Government: Hearing Before the Select Subcomm. on the Weaponization of the Fed. Gov't*, 118th Cong. (Mar. 9, 2023); *Hearing on the Weaponization of the Federal Government: Hearing Before the Select Subcomm. on the Weaponization of the Fed. Gov't*, 118th Cong. (Mar. 30, 2023); *Hearing on the Weaponization of the Federal Government: Hearing Before the Select Subcomm. on the Weaponization of the Fed. Gov't*, 118th Cong. (Jul. 20, 2023); *Hearing on the Weaponization of the Federal Government: Hearing Before the Select Subcomm. on the Weaponization of the Fed. Gov't*, 118th Cong. (Nov. 30,

state and federal prosecutions of former President Donald Trump;<sup>4</sup> alleged abuse of financial tools regularly used by law enforcement to take down traffickers and transnational organized crime groups;<sup>5</sup> and other allegations.

These hearings have proved to be a waste of time. After dozens of hours of hearings, thousands of hours of staff time, and millions of taxpayer dollars used across 21 months, this Select Subcommittee has found no credible evidence of systematic weaponization of the federal government against Americans. Yet, 900 pages of evidence of such proposed weaponization lays at our fingertips. After our failure to use this Select Subcommittee to truly serve the American people up until now, we owe it to them to investigate Project 2025 before it is too late.

Project 2025's *Mandate for Leadership* (hereinafter "The Mandate") calls for outrageous and terrifying proposals that would subject the American people to the whims of the next far-right leader in control of the White House. For example, The Mandate lays out a series of dramatic overhauls to strip the Department of Justice (DOJ) of its checks and balances and gives superior, unchecked power to a future administration run by Donald Trump and his supporters. It calls to terminate all Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI) investigations that do not directly benefit the goals of a far-right president.<sup>6</sup> It proposes to hamstring the FBI's authority to combat malign foreign actors trying to influence American elections.<sup>7</sup> It demands that the Justice Department make litigation decisions based on the President's political goals, rather than law and order.<sup>8</sup> It justifies taking legal action against all left-leaning state district attorneys for not conforming to the administration's policy agenda.<sup>9</sup> It calls to ensure that business owners are allowed to discriminate against individuals in protected classes, such as LGBTQ+ individuals, and for the aggressive prosecution of private businesses for any diversity initiatives.<sup>10</sup> It demands criminal punishment for abortion providers who distribute abortion medication.<sup>11</sup> And, perhaps most alarmingly, it calls for the removal and replacement of career civil servants with as many conservative loyalists as possible, who will put the President's agenda over the U.S. Constitution.<sup>12</sup> Even Inspector General Horowitz testified to this Subcommittee last week that

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2023); *Hearing on the Weaponization of the Federal Government: Hearing Before the Select Subcomm. on the Weaponization of the Fed. Gov't*, 118th Cong. (Feb. 6, 2024); *Hearing on the Weaponization of the Federal Government: Hearing Before the Select Subcomm. on the Weaponization of the Fed. Gov't*, 118th Cong. (May 1, 2024).

<sup>4</sup> *Hearing on the Weaponization of the Federal Government: Hearing Before the Select Subcomm. on the Weaponization of the Fed. Gov't*, 118 Cong. (May 15, 2024); *Hearing on the Weaponization of the Federal Government: Hearing Before the Select Subcomm. on the Weaponization of the Fed. Gov't*, 118 Cong. (Jul. 9, 2024).

<sup>5</sup> *Hearing on the Weaponization of the Federal Government: Hearing Before the Select Subcomm. on the Weaponization of the Fed. Gov't*, 118th Cong. (Mar. 7, 2024).

<sup>6</sup> THE HERITAGE FOUNDATION, MANDATE FOR LEADERSHIP at 549-79 (2023), [https://static.project2025.org/2025\\_MandateForLeadership\\_FULLL.pdf](https://static.project2025.org/2025_MandateForLeadership_FULLL.pdf).

<sup>7</sup> *Id.* at 550-51.

<sup>8</sup> *Id.* at 559.

<sup>9</sup> *Id.* at 553.

<sup>10</sup> *Id.* at 560-62.

<sup>11</sup> *Id.* at 562.

<sup>12</sup> *Id.* at 569.

Congress “has found where the appropriate balance is” between the number of political appointees and civil servants in the DOJ—a balance Project 2025 would eradicate.<sup>13</sup>

The terror does not stop with DOJ proposals. The Mandate calls for draconian, un-American restructuring of all federal agencies. It would severely restrict abortion access nationwide by reversing the Food and Drug Administration approval of the abortion drug mifepristone,<sup>14</sup> and mandate the tracking of women across state lines so that their movements and abortion data are systematically reported to the federal government.<sup>15</sup> It would limit the use of emergency contraceptives and training for doctors on abortion care.<sup>16</sup> The Mandate states that “families comprised of a married mother, father, and their children are the foundation of a well-ordered nation and healthy society,” calls to “maintain a biblically based, social science-reinforced definition of marriage and family” that it claims is more stable than other family types, and admonishes support for LGBTQ+ parents and single mothers.<sup>17</sup> It calls to end support for any form of gender-affirming care,<sup>18</sup> would eradicate LGBTQ+ education in schools.<sup>19</sup> It would end civil rights protections for LGBTQ+ youth and roll back protections for students against sex-based discrimination.<sup>20</sup>

The Mandate calls to enact mass deportations and challenge birthright citizenship,<sup>21</sup> and it would dismantle the Department of Education.<sup>22</sup> It would reinstate Trump’s Schedule F policy, meaning experienced career civil servants would be replaced by conservative sycophants more loyal to Republican policy goals than the U.S. Constitution throughout the government.<sup>23</sup> It calls for the review and firing of seasoned national security professionals who would not heed to every one of the President’s demands.<sup>24</sup> It would stop federal agencies from working to combat

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<sup>13</sup> *Hearing on the Weaponization of the Federal Government: Hearing Before the Select Subcomm. on the Weaponization of the Fed. Gov’t*, 118th Cong. (Sept. 25, 2024).

<sup>14</sup> THE HERITAGE FOUNDATION, MANDATE FOR LEADERSHIP at 458 (2023), [https://static.project2025.org/2025\\_MandateForLeadership\\_FULLL.pdf](https://static.project2025.org/2025_MandateForLeadership_FULLL.pdf).

<sup>15</sup> *Id.* at 455-56.

<sup>16</sup> *Id.* at 485-86.

<sup>17</sup> *Id.* at 451, 481.

<sup>18</sup> *Id.* at 474, 485.

<sup>19</sup> *Id.* at 1, 451.

<sup>20</sup> *Id.* at 332-34; Rachel M. Perera, Jon Valant, & Katharine Meyer, *Project 2025 and education: A lot of bad ideas, some more actionable than others*, BROOKINGS INST. (Aug. 12, 2024), <https://www.brookings.edu/articles/project-2025-and-education-a-lot-of-bad-ideas-some-more-actionable-than-others/>.

<sup>21</sup> Murad Awawdeh; *Is Citizenship a Birthright? Maybe Not if Trump Gets His Way*, NEWSWEEK (Jul. 23, 2024), <https://www.newsweek.com/citizenship-birthright-maybe-not-if-trump-gets-his-way-opinion-1928779>; *Project 2025: Immigration*, DOCTORS OF THE WORLD (Sep. 13, 2024), <https://doctorsoftheworld.org/blog/project-2025-immigration/>.

<sup>22</sup> Rachel M. Perera, Jon Valant, & Katharine Meyer, *Project 2025 and education: A lot of bad ideas, some more actionable than others*, BROOKINGS INST. (Aug. 12, 2024), <https://www.brookings.edu/articles/project-2025-and-education-a-lot-of-bad-ideas-some-more-actionable-than-others/>.

<sup>23</sup> See THE HERITAGE FOUNDATION, MANDATE FOR LEADERSHIP at 79-81, 271, 524, 535 (2023), [https://static.project2025.org/2025\\_MandateForLeadership\\_FULLL.pdf](https://static.project2025.org/2025_MandateForLeadership_FULLL.pdf).

<sup>24</sup> Alan Yu, Allison McManus, & Dan Herman, *Project 2025 Will Undermine America’s National Security*, CTR. FOR AM. PROGRESS (Aug. 19, 2024), <https://www.americanprogress.org/article/project-2025-will-undermine-america-national-security/>.

online disinformation and threats to secure elections, and it would reduce federal technical assistance to state and local governments close to Election Day.<sup>25</sup>

Project 2025 represents a far-right, extremist agenda, as demonstrated by the above examples. Perhaps if it was proposed by a fringe, obscure group, it would be easier to dismiss. This Mandate, however, has been largely adopted by Donald Trump on his campaign trail, and was mostly created by former Trump administration officials who collectively hold incredible power and influence in the U.S. government.<sup>26</sup>

Though Trump has disclaimed any involvement in Project 2025, in reality he has extensive connections to this radical plan.<sup>27</sup> At least 140 people who worked in Trump’s administration have had a hand in Project 2025, with many serving as authors, editors, and contributors to The Mandate.<sup>28</sup> Trump even said himself in 2022 after sharing a 45-minute flight with the Heritage Foundation’s president, Kevin Roberts, that the Heritage Foundation is “going to lay the groundwork and detail plans for exactly what our movement will do.”<sup>29</sup> He only disavows it now because The Mandate is severely unpopular with the American electorate.

Despite the failures of this Select Subcommittee, we now have a chance to conduct oversight over a *real* form of weaponization: Project 2025. We desperately urge you to take this opportunity to serve the American people before the end of the 118<sup>th</sup> Congress and hold a bipartisan hearing examining this dangerous plan.

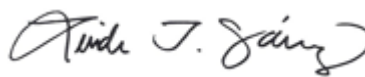
Sincerely,



**Stacey E. Plaskett**  
Ranking Member



**Stephen F. Lynch**  
Member of Congress



**Linda T. Sánchez**  
Member of Congress

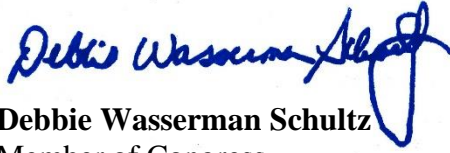
<sup>25</sup> *Project 2025: What’s At Stake for Voting Rights*, LEADERSHIP CONFERENCE ON CIVIL & HUM. RTS. (Aug. 2024), <https://civilrights.org/wp-content/uploads/2024/08/Project-2025-Voting-Rights.pdf>.

<sup>26</sup> Steve Contorno, *Trump claims not to know who is behind Project 2025. A CNN review found at least 140 people who worked for him are involved*, CNN (Jul. 11, 2024), <https://www.cnn.com/2024/07/11/politics/trump-allies-project-2025/index.html/>.

<sup>27</sup> Vaughn Hillyard and Alexandra Marquez, *Trump disavows Project 2025, but he has long-standing ties to some key architects*, NBC NEWS (Jul. 11, 2024), <https://www.nbcnews.com/politics/donald-trump/project-2025-trump-heritage-foundation-what-know-rcna161338>.

<sup>28</sup> Steve Contorno, *Trump claims not to know who is behind Project 2025. A CNN review found at least 140 people who worked for him are involved*, CNN (Jul. 11, 2024), <https://www.cnn.com/2024/07/11/politics/trump-allies-project-2025/index.html/>.

<sup>29</sup> Isaac Arnsdorf, Josh Dawsey, & Hannah Knowles, *Trump took a private flight with Project 2025 leader in 2022*, WASH. POST (Aug. 7, 2024), <https://www.washingtonpost.com/elections/2024/08/07/trump-heritage-project-2025-roberts/>.



**Debbie Wasserman Schultz**  
Member of Congress



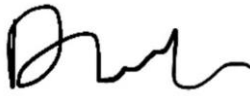
**Gerald E. Connolly**  
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**John Garamendi**  
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**Sylvia R. Garcia**  
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