

Project 2025 Summary

Original Document Publication Data:

© 2023 by The Heritage Foundation

214 Massachusetts Ave., NE

Washington, DC 20002

(202) 546-4400 | heritage.org

All rights reserved.

Printed in the United States of America.

ISBN: 978-0-89195-174-2

This Project 2025 summary document is presented as educational news reporting, an independent review, criticism, and or comment on the original work described above. Prepared using AI and human reviewed. Reader assumes all responsibility for any inferences or actions related to viewing.

project2026.icu

Table of Contents

Section 1 — Taking the Reins of Government	PAGE
• <u>Chapter 1 — The White House Office</u>	<u>4</u>
• <u>Chapter 2 — Executive Office of the President</u>	<u>5</u>
• <u>Chapter 3 — Central Personnel Agencies</u>	<u>6</u>
Section 2 — The Common Defense	
• <u>Chapter 4 — Department of Defense</u>	<u>7</u>
• <u>Chapter 5 — Department of Homeland Security.....</u>	<u>8</u>
• <u>Chapter 6 — Department of State</u>	<u>9</u>
• <u>Chapter 7 — Intelligence Community</u>	<u>10</u>
• <u>Chapter 8 — Media Agencies</u>	<u>11</u>
• <u>Chapter 9 — Agency for International Development</u>	<u>11</u>
Section 3 — The General Welfare	
• <u>Chapter 10 — Department of Agriculture</u>	<u>13</u>
• <u>Chapter 11 — Department of Education</u>	<u>14</u>
• <u>Chapter 12 — Department of Energy</u>	<u>15</u>
• <u>Chapter 13 — Environmental Protection Agency</u>	<u>16</u>
• <u>Chapter 14 — Department of Health and Human Services</u>	<u>17</u>
• <u>Chapter 15 — Department of Housing and Urban Development</u>	<u>18</u>
• <u>Chapter 16 — Department of the Interior</u>	<u>19</u>
• <u>Chapter 17 — Department of Justice</u>	<u>20</u>
• <u>Chapter 18 — Department of Labor ..</u>	<u>21</u>
• <u>Chapter 19 — Department of Transportation</u>	<u>22</u>

- Chapter 20 — Department of Veterans Affairs 23

Section 4 — The Economy

- Chapter 21 — Department of Commerce 24
- Chapter 22 — Department of Treasury 25
- Chapter 23 — Export-Import Bank 26
- Chapter 24 — Federal reserve 27
- Chapter 25 — Small Business Administration 28
- Chapter 26 — Trade 29

Section 5 — Independent Regulatory Agencies

- Chapter 27 — Financial Regulatory Agencies 31
- Chapter 28 — Federal Communications Commission 32
- Chapter 29 — Federal Election Commission 33
- Chapter 30 — Federal Trade Commission 34

Section 1 — Taking the Reins of Government

This section calls for preparing a new conservative administration to **seize control of the federal government** immediately upon entering office, before entrenched forces can resist. It frames the federal bureaucracy as a hostile "Administrative State" that will fight to block conservative policies.

It argues past Republican administrations waited too long to plan, allowing sabotage from within. **Calls for building a ready-made army of loyal political appointees** to flood into agencies on day one. Pushing for centralizing power in the White House to override dissent and force compliance is a primary tenet of this section. It treats the early months as a power struggle that must be won quickly to succeed.

Implementing this plan would trigger a shockwave of rapid personnel and policy changes across the federal government. It would shift from slow, consultative governance to fast, top-down control, with little role for career staff. Americans would see swift reversals of prior policies as new appointees replace the old guard almost overnight.

Chapter 1 — The White House Office (by Rick Dearborn)

Objective

Transform the White House Office into a war room for imposing the President's will across the entire government.

Themes & Proposals

- Purge resistance and enforce loyalty by using a database of pre-screened, ideologically aligned staff and blocking career officials from key roles.
- Centralize power by collapsing staff layers and routing all policy through a tight inner circle around the President and Chief of Staff.
- Move fast by launching major initiatives in the first 180 days through executive orders and directives before opponents can organize.
- Crush internal dissent by imposing strict message discipline, eliminating leaks, and demanding total alignment from all staff.
- Dominate policy coordination by making the White House—not agencies—the command center for all decisions.

Implications If carried out, this would create a highly centralized and aggressive presidency that rapidly dismantles existing policies and reshapes federal agencies. Decisions affecting daily life could shift suddenly and without debate, because power would be concentrated in a small circle of loyal operatives answerable only to the President.

Chapter 2 — Executive Office of the President (*by Russ Vought*)

Objective

Turn the Executive Office of the President (EOP) into a centralized command center that makes policy inside the White House and forces agencies to carry it out quickly and without resistance.

Themes & Proposals

- Run policy from inside the White House. Impose a strict tiered process (working groups → deputies → principals → President) to force decisions fast and prevent agencies from slow-rolling or freelancing.
- End turf wars. Assign overlapping topics (immigration/border, health/energy/environment, trade/international economics) to one council each to eliminate duplication and infighting.
- Make the National Economic Council the hub. Put the National Economic Council in charge of both domestic and international economic policy. Use the Council of Economic Advisers for data and forecasts only — not for running policy.
- Shrink and tighten the National Security Council. Keep staff small, limit temporary detailees, and ensure leaders are loyal and experienced to maintain tight presidential control.
- Weaponize Intergovernmental Affairs. Use the White House Office of Intergovernmental Affairs as the one-stop shop to push policy down to governors, counties, cities, and tribal governments — and to rally external political support around controversial moves.
- Drive cross-cutting reversals. Use the EOP machinery to coordinate rapid rollbacks on immigration, energy regulations, DEI/“woke” initiatives, and to push aggressive action on China, religious liberty, and other cultural flashpoints.

Implications

Americans would experience a faster, more hard-driving presidency. Big decisions would be made inside the White House and pushed down onto departments to carry out. Expect fewer delays and more sudden, top-down directives — especially on immigration enforcement, energy approvals, and culture-war issues — as a tightly controlled White House machine overrides agency resistance and rallies state and local officials to support its agenda.

Chapter 3 — Central Personnel Agencies: Managing the Bureaucracy (*by Donald Devine, Dennis Dean Kirk, and Paul Dans*)

Objective

Seize control of the federal government’s personnel machinery to **install ideologically loyal staff and purge resistant career officials**, ensuring the administration can dominate the bureaucracy from within.

Themes & Proposals

- Capture the Office of Personnel Management (OPM) as a strategic hub to reshape the federal workforce, rewriting rules to favor political appointees and ideological allies.
- Dismantle civil service protections to allow disloyal career officials to be rapidly reassigned, demoted, or removed.
- Expand the use of “Schedule F” to convert thousands of policy-related civil service jobs into at-will political appointments.
- Appoint allies to the Merit Systems Protection Board and Federal Labor Relations Authority to break union resistance and limit employee appeals.
- Embed political personnel officers across agencies to enforce alignment and block hostile hires.
- Build a pre-vetted database of conservative staff to bypass competitive hiring pipelines and flood agencies with loyal operatives on Day One.

Implications

If enacted, this would **politicize the federal workforce on a scale not seen in modern times**. Career employees could be swept out en masse and replaced with political loyalists, erasing long-standing nonpartisan norms. For everyday Americans, this could mean sudden policy swings, possible service disruptions, and fewer internal checks on presidential power as neutral expertise is replaced by ideological operatives.

Section 2 — The Common Defense

This section frames the current U.S. defense posture as **hollowed out by decades of bureaucracy, slow procurement, and misplaced focus on counterterrorism** while peer adversaries have grown stronger. It calls for a **rapid military buildup**—especially in nuclear forces, naval and air power, and advanced technologies—and urges **dramatically increased spending and responsibility from allies in Europe and the Indo-Pacific**.

It stresses that the United States Department of Defense must **streamline acquisition, cut obsolete programs, and rebuild depleted stockpiles**, while **reorienting away from culture-war politics and social experimentation inside the military**. The section positions the armed forces as needing to be **“lethal, focused, and unpoliticized”** to meet this new era of great-power rivalry.

If adopted, this vision would shift U.S. defense away from long, low-intensity wars and toward **high-stakes competition with China and Russia**. Americans would likely see **larger defense budgets, pressure on allies to spend more, faster weapons development, and fewer internal political initiatives inside the military**, as the Pentagon is retooled into a warfighting machine built for speed, deterrence, and direct confrontation.

Chapter 4 — Department of Defense (*by Christopher Miller*)

Objective

Refocus U.S. defense on **deterring China and Russia simultaneously** while forcing allies to shoulder far more of the conventional military burden; **modernize the nuclear arsenal**, and **break the Pentagon’s slow, risk-averse acquisition culture** so forces can field new tech at speed.

Themes & Proposals

- Make allies carry more weight. Make burden-sharing central: push NATO to field the majority of conventional forces needed to deter Russia, with the U.S. concentrating on its nuclear deterrent and select high-end capabilities. In the Indo-Pacific, press Taiwan, Japan, and Australia to build a collective defense; enable South Korea to lead on its conventional defense; sustain support for Israel while Gulf partners expand their own air/missile defenses.
- Expand and modernize U.S. nuclear forces. Undertake a significant nuclear buildup and modernization, including theater-level capabilities, to ensure the U.S. can deter both Russia and China without gaps.
- Shift counterterrorism to partners. Keep U.S. counterterrorism forces credible but at a sustainable cost, with a stronger emphasis on allies and partners taking the lead in their regions.

- Fix acquisition and budgeting (PPBE). Attack the core bottleneck—the 1961 PPBE process—by creating faster funding paths for prototyping/experimentation, implementing PPBE Reform Commission recommendations, and running “Night Court” to kill outdated or underperforming programs and redirect money to what works.
- Strengthen the defense industrial base. Replenish depleted stockpiles (e.g., ammunition) and collaborate with industry on reforms that speed production and innovation so the U.S. can outpace adversaries.

Implications

Americans would likely see more pressure on allies to spend and field real combat power, possible U.S. posture reductions in Europe, and larger investments in nuclear forces and rapid procurement. Expect efforts to shorten acquisition timelines and rebuild munitions production, with ripple effects for defense-sector jobs and budgets. Inside the Pentagon, expect a push to override bureaucratic caution in favor of speed and measurable results.

Chapter 5 — Department of Homeland Security (*by Ken Cuccinelli*)

Objective

Transform the United States Department of Homeland Security (DHS) into a **hardline domestic security force singularly focused on immigration enforcement and border control**, while rolling back or dismantling much of its broader post-9/11 bureaucracy.

Themes & Proposals

- **Refocus DHS on border security and immigration.** Reorganize or eliminate DHS components unrelated to immigration enforcement; place nearly all emphasis on **sealing the southern border** and **maximizing deportations**.
- **Aggressively expand enforcement capacity.** Surge funding, personnel, and detention space for U.S. Immigration and Customs Enforcement (ICE) and U.S. Customs and Border Protection (CBP); reinstate rapid removals, mandatory detentions, and mass expedited deportations.
- **Eliminate legal and procedural constraints.** Roll back asylum pathways, narrow refugee admissions, and curb legal protections that delay removals. Reimpose policies like “**Remain in Mexico**” and expand use of **Title 42-style rapid expulsion powers**.
- **Dismantle or repurpose non-enforcement functions.** Downsize or relocate DHS offices covering cybersecurity, emergency management, transportation security, and disaster response if they are seen as distracting from the immigration mission.
- **Empower states to enforce immigration law.** Broaden state and local enforcement powers and revive programs like 287(g) deputization to let local police act as federal immigration officers.

Implications

If enacted, DHS would become **almost exclusively an immigration and border-control agency**, with most other missions stripped away. Americans would likely see **mass immigration raids, detentions, and deportations on a scale not seen in decades**, more frequent immigration checkpoints and ID enforcement within the U.S., and a **sharp reduction in asylum and refugee admissions**. At the same time, **federal disaster response, cybersecurity coordination, and transportation security could weaken**, as funding and staff are diverted to border enforcement. For communities, this could mean **sudden workforce disruptions, fear among immigrant populations, and strained local services** as deportations and state-level crackdowns accelerate.

Chapter 6 — Department of State *(by Kiron K. Skinner)*

Objective

Refocus the United States Department of State on **advancing U.S. national interests through hard-edged diplomacy backed by economic and military leverage**, while **purging progressive ideological influence** and cutting its global bureaucracy down to size.

Themes & Proposals

- **Recenter State on U.S. strategic interests.** Require every bureau and embassy to tie their activities directly to national security priorities—especially competition with China, Russia, and hostile regimes. End initiatives on climate, gender, and DEI unless they serve core security or economic goals.
- **Purge ideological activism.** Conduct a top-down personnel overhaul to remove officials viewed as aligned with “globalist” or progressive agendas; block their advancement into senior roles.
- **Assert U.S. leverage in international institutions.** Use funding and membership as bargaining chips to force organizations like the United Nations and World Health Organization to align with U.S. priorities—or withdraw support.
- **Streamline the foreign service bureaucracy.** Cut layers of management, reduce overseas postings that don’t serve strategic aims, and consolidate overlapping offices; move resources from “soft diplomacy” to security, intelligence, and trade functions.
- **Elevate economic statecraft.** Make economic pressure—including sanctions, export controls, and trade deals—a primary tool of diplomacy, and embed economic specialists in all regional bureaus.
- **Reinforce alliance discipline.** Push allies to spend more, align closely with U.S. positions, and impose consequences when they drift or hedge toward adversaries.

Implications

If enacted, the State Department would shift from a sprawling diplomatic bureaucracy into a **leaner, more coercive arm of U.S. power projection**. Americans could see **more**

confrontational U.S. stances abroad, increased use of sanctions and trade leverage, and reduced involvement in global development or humanitarian programs. Embassy services might shrink in some regions, while policy messaging grows sharper and more nationalistic. The tone of U.S. foreign policy would become **more transactional and hard-edged**, focused on forcing outcomes rather than building consensus.

Chapter 7 — The Intelligence Community (*by Dustin J. Carmack*)

Objective

Reorient the United States Intelligence Community (IC) to **focus narrowly on foreign threats—especially China and Russia—while purging perceived political bias and dismantling domestic intelligence roles** viewed as hostile to conservatives.

Themes & Proposals

- **Refocus on external threats.** Prioritize strategic competition with China and Russia, and reduce emphasis on domestic extremism or social-political movements inside the U.S.
- **Purge political bias.** Conduct an aggressive personnel overhaul in agencies like the Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI) and Central Intelligence Agency (CIA) to remove staff viewed as politically partisan or hostile to conservative leaders.
- **Strip domestic roles from intelligence agencies.** Move domestic security and surveillance authorities out of the IC entirely; bar the FBI and Department of Homeland Security intelligence offices from monitoring U.S. citizens' political or social activities.
- **Increase oversight and political control.** Give the Office of the Director of National Intelligence (ODNI) tighter control over all intelligence budgets and senior appointments to ensure loyalty and alignment with the White House.
- **Crack down on leaks and dissent.** Impose strict message discipline, reduce access to classified information, and penalize whistleblowers or leakers to prevent internal resistance.
- **Prioritize counterintelligence.** Intensify operations to root out foreign espionage, especially Chinese and Russian infiltration of U.S. government, academia, and industry.

Implications

If enacted, the Intelligence Community would become **more centralized, tightly controlled, and outward-facing**, with far less tolerance for internal dissent or independent analysis. Americans would likely see **reduced federal monitoring of domestic political activity, greater secrecy, and harsher crackdowns on internal whistleblowing or leaks.** Intelligence assessments could become **more closely aligned with political priorities** rather than objective analysis, potentially reducing public trust but accelerating action against foreign adversaries.

Chapter 8 — Media Agencies - USAGM (Mora Namdar); CPB (Mike Gonzalez)

Objective

Bring U.S. international media agencies under direct White House messaging control to ensure that publicly funded media reinforces the administration's worldview abroad.

Themes & Proposals

- Replace leadership of key international broadcasters — especially Voice of America, Radio Free Europe/Radio Liberty, and Radio Free Asia — with political loyalists aligned with White House priorities.
- Eliminate statutory protections for editorial independence, allowing White House oversight of all content.
- Reorient coverage to support administration foreign policy goals and suppress reporting that contradicts or undermines U.S. positions.
- Cut or defund programs that emphasize independent journalism, press freedom training, or critical coverage of U.S. actions abroad.
- Centralize international media strategy under the U.S. Agency for Global Media and embed it within National Security Council coordination to ensure policy alignment.
- Cut funding entirely for the Corporation for Public Broadcasting which includes NPR, PBS, and numerous others.

Implications

International broadcasting would shift from providing independent news to functioning as a partisan propaganda arm. Americans would see reduced global credibility for U.S. media, diminished support for press freedom worldwide, and greater use of taxpayer-funded outlets to promote domestic political narratives abroad. Public support for non-partisan programs like “Sesame Street” would cease to exist.

Chapter 9 — U.S. Agency for International Development (*by Max Primorac*)

Objective

Refocus the United States Agency for International Development (USAID) on **supporting U.S. strategic and security interests** rather than broad humanitarian or development goals, and **eliminate progressive ideological programs** seen as unrelated to hard national power.

Themes & Proposals

- **Tie all foreign aid to U.S. strategic aims.** Condition grants and development projects on advancing U.S. policy goals, especially competition with China, countering adversaries, and reinforcing allies.
- **Defund or eliminate “soft” programs.** Cut funding for climate, gender, diversity, or civil society initiatives that do not directly serve U.S. geopolitical objectives.
- **Centralize control over aid allocation.** Move decision-making from field missions back to Washington and place it under closer coordination with the United States Department of State and United States Department of Defense.
- **Purge ideological staff.** Remove or sideline career officials aligned with progressive development agendas, and replace them with personnel committed to “America First” priorities.
- **Leverage aid as a bargaining chip.** Use development funding as a tool to reward governments that align with U.S. positions and cut off those that do not.

Implications

If enacted, USAID would be transformed from a humanitarian development agency into a **strategic arm of U.S. foreign policy**, with aid funding used primarily to reward allies and punish adversaries. Americans would see **less U.S. involvement in global poverty, health, and civil society programs**, and **more aid tied to military and security goals**. This could mean **reduced disaster and health relief in non-strategic regions** and **more politically conditional aid deals**, making U.S. foreign assistance look less like charity and more like transactional power politics.

Section 3 — The General Welfare

This section portrays the federal government’s domestic policy apparatus as **bloated, misaligned, and captured by progressive ideology**, warning that it has **shifted away from promoting prosperity toward redistributing wealth, regulating behavior, and entrenching dependency**. It frames social and economic programs not as safety nets but as **mechanisms of centralized control** that stifle innovation, erode work ethic, and expand federal power into every aspect of daily life.

The authors call for a **sweeping rollback of federal domestic functions**, redirecting them toward what they describe as “core constitutional purposes” such as enforcing contracts, protecting property, and preserving market competition. They advocate **massive deregulation, large-scale budget cuts, and privatization** of services currently provided by federal agencies. Simultaneously, they emphasize **restoring traditional social and cultural values** within federal policy, including policies on family structure, education, and public health.

If enacted, this approach would fundamentally reshape the federal role in domestic life. Americans would see **major cuts to federal programs in health care, education, housing, labor, and welfare**, coupled with **expanded state and private-sector control** over these areas. Daily impacts could include **reduced federal benefits, fewer consumer and workplace protections, and greater state-to-state disparities** in public services, as Washington retreats from its current central role in managing social and economic policy.

Chapter 10 — Department of Agriculture *(by Daren Bakst)*

Objective

Restructure the United States Department of Agriculture (USDA) to **abandon social and environmental activism and focus solely on supporting U.S. farmers, ranchers, and consumers through free-market policies**, while **dramatically reducing the Department’s size, scope, and regulatory footprint**.

Themes & Proposals

- **Refocus USDA on core agriculture mission.** Eliminate or transfer programs unrelated to farming, ranching, food safety, and basic research (e.g. rural development subsidies, conservation programs framed as climate policy, nutrition advocacy).
- **Dismantle climate and environmental agendas.** End greenhouse gas reduction mandates, climate-smart agriculture funding, and conservation initiatives used to regulate private land use.
- **Reduce subsidies and market distortions.** Phase down commodity subsidies, crop insurance subsidies, and marketing orders that shield producers from competition; encourage competition and market pricing.

- **Shrink USDA bureaucracy.** Cut duplicative offices and reduce USDA's workforce; stop using the agency to deliver non-agriculture social programs (e.g. broadband, housing, community development).
- **Move food assistance out of USDA.** Transfer nutrition programs like Supplemental Nutrition Assistance Program (SNAP) to the United States Department of Health and Human Services or states to decouple food welfare from agricultural policy.
- **Strengthen property rights and deregulate.** Roll back federal interventions that constrain private agricultural activity; protect farmers from new regulations under environmental and labor laws.

Implications

If implemented, the USDA would become **a much smaller, market-oriented department focused narrowly on farm production and food safety**. Americans would see **deep cuts to farm subsidies, conservation programs, rural development grants, and food aid**, and likely **fewer federal regulations on agribusiness**. Food assistance could become **more state-driven with tighter eligibility**, and **environmental protections tied to agriculture would weaken**. This would mean **lower federal spending and more competition in agriculture**, but also **less support for small farmers, rural communities, and low-income families** who currently benefit from USDA-administered programs.

Chapter 11 — Department of Education (*by Lindsey M. Burke*)

Objective

Dismantle the United States Department of Education (ED) as a centralized bureaucracy and **shift authority for education almost entirely back to states, local districts, and parents**, while using federal leverage in the short term to **enforce school choice policies and eradicate progressive influence** from curricula and administration.

Themes & Proposals

- **Eliminate federal role in education.** Begin phasing out ED and return all primary responsibility for K–12 and higher education to states and localities, arguing the federal government has no constitutional role in schooling.
- **Mandate universal school choice.** Use remaining federal funds as leverage to require states to adopt education savings accounts (ESAs), vouchers, and charter school expansion, allowing funding to follow students.
- **End federal curriculum and standards influence.** Prohibit ED from promoting national standards like Common Core or social-emotional learning frameworks; ban federal grants tied to particular curricula.

- **Cut federal education funding streams.** Consolidate or eliminate federal grant programs and formula funding, and redirect residual funds to parents directly through school-choice mechanisms.
- **Dismantle higher education loan and aid systems.** Phase out federal student loans and grants, shifting responsibility to private lenders, states, and institutions; eliminate programs that forgive or subsidize loans.
- **Purge progressive ideology from education.** Strip funding from programs promoting diversity, equity, inclusion, gender ideology, or critical race theory, and impose transparency mandates on curricula.

Implications

If enacted, the Department of Education would be **dismantled and its functions devolved to states, localities, and private actors**. Americans would see **an end to most federal education funding and regulation, rapid expansion of vouchers and ESAs, and shrinking roles for school districts as funding follows students to private and religious schools**. Public schools could face major funding losses and closures, while **college costs might rise** as federal loan programs disappear. Supporters would see this as **restoring parental control and market competition** in education; critics would see **privatization, loss of equity protections, and destabilization of public schooling**.

Chapter 12 — Department of Energy and Related Commissions *(by Bernard L. McNamee)*

Objective

Refocus the United States Department of Energy (DOE) on its **original mission of energy security, reliability, and affordability** while **dismantling climate-focused programs and regulatory interventions** that the chapter frames as hostile to fossil fuels and U.S. industry.

Themes & Proposals

- **Re-center on energy abundance.** Prioritize expanding domestic production of oil, natural gas, coal, and nuclear energy; reject policies that constrain fossil fuel use in the name of decarbonization.
- **Dismantle climate agenda and net-zero goals.** Eliminate DOE offices and programs focused on greenhouse gas reduction, renewable energy subsidies, and climate risk analysis.
- **Reform energy permitting and infrastructure approvals.** Accelerate federal approvals for pipelines, refineries, LNG export facilities, power plants, and transmission lines; preempt state/local barriers.

- **Strengthen grid reliability.** Prioritize dispatchable baseload generation (coal, gas, nuclear) over intermittent renewables; resist mandates for renewable integration that undermine grid stability.
- **Realign DOE research and development.** Focus DOE’s national labs and R&D funding on basic science and breakthrough technologies for all energy sources rather than subsidizing commercial deployment of favored technologies.
- **Rein in regulatory overreach.** Roll back DOE appliance efficiency standards, building energy codes, and other regulations that dictate consumer choices or industrial design.

Implications

If implemented, DOE would **abandon climate policy leadership and become an enabler of fossil fuel expansion and infrastructure growth.** Americans would likely see **increased domestic energy production, more pipelines and power plants built faster, and lower regulatory costs for manufacturers and utilities.** Renewable energy deployment could slow sharply, and **climate risk planning would be deprioritized.** This would mean **cheaper energy in the short term, but higher emissions, greater environmental risks, and reduced federal action on climate change.**

Chapter 13 — Environmental Protection Agency (*by Mandy M. Gunasekara*)

Objective

Reorient the United States Environmental Protection Agency (EPA) to **narrowly focus on core environmental health functions (air, water, waste) while dismantling climate-driven regulatory programs and enforcement actions** that are seen as undermining energy production and economic growth.

Themes & Proposals

- **Restrict EPA’s mission to statutory basics.** Limit EPA authority to enforcing core provisions of the Clean Air Act, Clean Water Act, and waste laws; end its role in regulating greenhouse gases or mandating decarbonization.
- **Dismantle climate and greenhouse gas regulations.** Repeal or rewrite rules on power plant CO₂ emissions, methane standards for oil and gas, and vehicle greenhouse gas rules.
- **Rollback expansive interpretations of federal power.** Reverse the EPA’s broad definitions of “waters of the United States” and other jurisdictional expansions; defer to states on most land and water use decisions.
- **Curtail enforcement and litigation.** Reduce EPA’s use of enforcement actions, consent decrees, and settlements to shape policy; emphasize technical assistance instead of punitive enforcement.

- **Streamline permitting.** Set strict deadlines for environmental reviews and permits; coordinate with the United States Department of Energy and United States Department of the Interior to expedite energy and infrastructure projects.
- **Downsize EPA bureaucracy.** Cut staff and budget, eliminate regional offices or consolidate them, and end EPA grants to advocacy-oriented NGOs.

Implications

If enacted, the EPA would **retreat from climate policy, carbon regulation, and aggressive enforcement, and become a smaller agency focused on traditional pollution control.** Americans would likely see **fewer environmental reviews delaying energy and industrial projects, weaker enforcement of environmental violations, and reduced federal oversight of air and water quality.** This could result in **faster development and lower costs for industry,** but also **higher pollution risks, weaker climate mitigation, and greater reliance on states with uneven enforcement capacity.**

Chapter 14 — Department of Health and Human Services (by *Roger Severino*)

Objective

Transform the United States Department of Health and Human Services (HHS) from what the chapter frames as **a sprawling progressive bureaucracy into a lean department focused on promoting traditional family values, individual responsibility, and limited government,** while **rolling back federal involvement in health care and social services.**

Themes & Proposals

- **Reorient HHS toward pro-family priorities.** Center all policies on promoting marriage, childbirth, and traditional family structures; prioritize programs that encourage work, self-sufficiency, and religious values.
- **Eliminate federal role in health care financing.** Begin dismantling Medicare and Medicaid by block-granting funds to states and privatizing functions; oppose universal coverage mandates.
- **Defund and eliminate public health bureaucracy.** Disband or sharply cut agencies like Centers for Disease Control and Prevention (CDC) and National Institutes of Health (NIH) as currently structured; shift research to private sector and reduce federal public health powers.
- **Roll back reproductive and gender-related policies.** Ban federal funding for abortion providers, reverse contraception and reproductive health mandates, and prohibit funding for gender-affirming care or LGBTQ+ advocacy.

- **Restructure welfare and social service programs.** Convert federal safety net programs into state block grants with strict work requirements, time limits, and faith-based provider preferences.
- **Shrink HHS bureaucracy.** Eliminate offices devoted to diversity, equity, inclusion, and civil rights enforcement; consolidate overlapping agencies and drastically reduce staff.

Implications

If implemented, HHS would **abandon its current role as the central federal health and social services provider and become a small, values-driven department focused on moral and cultural priorities.** Americans would likely see **massive cuts to Medicaid, Medicare, public health agencies, and safety net programs,** with states and private entities assuming most responsibilities. This could mean **reduced access to health care, especially for low-income and elderly Americans,** and **major restrictions on reproductive and gender-related services.** Supporters would see this as **restoring family values and reducing federal power;** critics would see **a dismantling of the public health and social safety net system.**

Chapter 15 — Department of Housing and Urban Development (*by Benjamin S. Carson, Sr. MD*)

Objective

Transform the United States Department of Housing and Urban Development (HUD) from a federal engine of urban policy and housing subsidies into **a much smaller department focused narrowly on temporary safety-net assistance, deregulation, and promoting private-sector housing development.**

Themes & Proposals

- **Shift responsibility to states and localities.** Convert federal housing programs (public housing, Section 8 vouchers, Community Development Block Grants) into state block grants with strict work requirements and time limits.
- **Reduce federal housing subsidies.** Phase out long-term federal rental assistance and homeownership subsidies, arguing they distort markets and create dependency.
- **Remove federal control over zoning and land use.** Prohibit HUD from pressuring local governments to adopt inclusionary zoning, density mandates, or fair-housing enforcement tied to federal funding.
- **Privatize public housing stock.** Sell or transfer federally owned housing units to private developers or local authorities, shifting upkeep and financing to the private market.
- **Eliminate HUD regulatory functions.** Abolish or scale back HUD's fair-housing enforcement, civil rights offices, and building code oversight, arguing these impose social engineering and stifle development.

- **Downsize HUD bureaucracy.** Cut staff and consolidate offices; end federal funding for advocacy-oriented housing nonprofits.

Implications

If enacted, HUD would become a **small block-granting agency with little regulatory power or policy influence**. Americans would likely see **reduced federal rental and housing assistance, fewer anti-discrimination enforcement actions, and greater local discretion over zoning and land use**. Housing policy would become **more market-driven and locally variable**, with **less federal funding for urban renewal, affordable housing, and homelessness programs**. This could mean **lower federal spending and more private development**, but also **reduced support for low-income renters and increased housing instability** in high-cost areas.

Chapter 16 — Department of the Interior *(by William Perry Pendley)*

Objective

Refocus the United States Department of the Interior (DOI) on **maximizing resource development and energy production on federal lands, while stripping away conservation, climate, and tribal regulatory roles** that the chapter portrays as obstructing economic growth and property rights.

Themes & Proposals

- **Open federal lands to energy and resource extraction.** Expand leasing for oil, gas, coal, uranium, and critical minerals on federal lands and waters; reverse withdrawals, moratoria, and conservation designations that restrict development.
- **Dismantle climate and conservation policies.** Eliminate land-use planning rules, endangered species protections, and habitat conservation plans that impede development; reject “30x30” conservation targets.
- **Curtail tribal sovereignty and co-management.** Reassert federal supremacy over tribal lands and resources; limit tribal veto power over energy projects and curtail expansion of tribal jurisdiction.
- **Shrink and restructure DOI agencies.** Cut staff and budgets at the Bureau of Land Management (BLM), U.S. Fish and Wildlife Service, and National Park Service; consolidate overlapping offices and reduce regulatory staff.
- **Streamline permitting and approvals.** Impose strict timelines and limits on environmental reviews for mining, drilling, and infrastructure projects on federal lands.
- **Privatize or devolve federal land holdings.** Transfer some federal lands to state control or private ownership to reduce federal regulatory reach.

Implications

If implemented, the Department of the Interior would be **transformed from a conservation-focused agency into a facilitator of large-scale energy and resource extraction**. Americans would likely see **more drilling, mining, and infrastructure development on public lands, reduced federal conservation efforts, and weaker protections for endangered species and tribal sovereignty**. This would mean **faster permitting, more resource-sector jobs, and lower energy costs**, but also **greater environmental damage, loss of protected lands, and diminished tribal control over ancestral territories**.

Chapter 17 — Department of Justice *(by Gene Hamilton)*

Objective

Transform the United States Department of Justice (DOJ) into a **politically accountable enforcer of conservative priorities**, by **purging its senior ranks, dismantling perceived partisan units, and centralizing prosecutorial power under the Attorney General and the President**.

Themes & Proposals

- **Purge and replace DOJ leadership.** Remove senior career officials, especially in the Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI), Civil Rights Division, and Office of Legal Counsel, and install political appointees aligned with administration priorities.
- **Centralize prosecutorial decision-making.** Require U.S. Attorneys to seek Main Justice approval for politically sensitive cases; give the Attorney General direct oversight over all high-profile prosecutions.
- **Dismantle politicized units.** Disband or defund divisions focused on civil rights, environmental enforcement, and police reform, reframing them as ideological and beyond DOJ's proper scope.
- **Reassert control over the FBI.** Move the FBI under tighter Attorney General supervision, cut its domestic intelligence role, and focus it on violent crime, foreign counterintelligence, and public corruption.
- **Crack down on internal dissent.** Impose strict messaging discipline, punish leaks and whistleblowers, and vet staff for ideological alignment.
- **Realign DOJ litigation stance.** Reverse positions taken in civil rights, voting rights, antitrust, and social regulation cases; use the Solicitor General's office to advance conservative legal doctrines.

Implications

If enacted, DOJ would become **highly centralized, politically directed, and purged of internal dissent**. Americans would likely see **civil rights and voting rights enforcement dramatically curtailed, fewer checks on presidential power, and more prosecutions of perceived political**

opponents. The FBI's domestic security role would shrink while **its independence would erode**, raising concerns about **politicization of federal law enforcement** and **reduced impartiality in the justice system.**

Chapter 18 — Department of Labor and Related Agencies (by Jonathan Berry)

Objective

Reorient the United States Department of Labor (DOL) to **abandon progressive labor regulation and instead promote employer flexibility, limit union power, and reduce federal involvement in workplace standards**—with the goal of maximizing economic growth and weakening organized labor as a political force.

Themes & Proposals

- **Roll back labor regulations.** Repeal rules on overtime, independent contractor classification, joint-employer liability, and workplace safety standards seen as burdensome to employers.
- **Curtail union power.** Overturn pro-union rules from the National Labor Relations Board (NLRB), support right-to-work laws nationwide, and restrict union access to workplaces and employee data.
- **Dismantle wage and hour enforcement.** Weaken the Wage and Hour Division by cutting enforcement staff and narrowing its mandate; limit back-pay remedies and collective actions.
- **Defund diversity, equity, and inclusion initiatives.** Eliminate DOL offices and grants that support DEI, affirmative action, or targeted protections for minority, LGBTQ+, and disabled workers.
- **Shift workforce programs to states and employers.** Block-grant federal workforce development funds to states with minimal federal oversight; prioritize employer-driven apprenticeships and training.
- **Downsize DOL bureaucracy.** Cut staff, eliminate overlapping offices, and consolidate enforcement agencies to reduce federal influence in labor relations.

Implications

If implemented, the DOL would become a **minimal regulator focused on basic wage enforcement, leaving most labor policy to states and employers.** Americans would likely see **weaker protections for wages, hours, and workplace safety; reduced union power; and fewer DEI and anti-discrimination initiatives.** Businesses would face **lower compliance costs and more hiring flexibility**, while workers could experience **greater job instability, lower bargaining power, and fewer federal protections.**

Chapter 19 — Department of Transportation (*by Diana Furchtgott-Roth*)

Objective

Refocus the United States Department of Transportation (DOT) on **facilitating infrastructure and freight movement with minimal federal regulation, while dismantling climate, equity, and transit-subsidy agendas** and shifting responsibility to states and the private sector.

Themes & Proposals

- **Limit DOT role to core infrastructure.** Prioritize highways, bridges, ports, and freight networks while phasing down federal involvement in mass transit, passenger rail, and urban planning.
- **Eliminate climate and equity mandates.** Repeal emissions reduction requirements, electric vehicle (EV) mandates, and funding preferences based on race, gender, or “equity” goals.
- **Deregulate transportation industries.** Roll back safety, labor, and environmental regulations on trucking, shipping, rail, and aviation seen as burdensome to commerce.
- **Decentralize transportation funding.** Block-grant federal transportation funds to states with minimal federal conditions; reduce the federal gas tax and allow states to raise revenue directly.
- **Privatize and commercialize infrastructure.** Encourage private financing, public-private partnerships, and tolling for highways, airports, and ports; explore privatizing Amtrak and air traffic control.
- **Shrink DOT bureaucracy.** Cut staff, eliminate offices focused on sustainability, equity, and community engagement, and consolidate modal agencies.

Implications

If implemented, the DOT would become a **small infrastructure funding pass-through with little regulatory or planning authority**. Americans would likely see **less federal oversight of transportation safety and labor, reduced investment in public transit, and more tolling and privatization**. Highways and freight systems might expand, but **urban transit systems could deteriorate** and **transportation equity and climate initiatives would disappear**. This would mean **lower federal costs and more market-driven infrastructure**, but also **greater state disparities and weaker protections for travelers and workers**.

Chapter 20 — Department of Veterans Affairs (*by Brooks D. Tucker*)

Objective

Transform the United States Department of Veterans Affairs (VA) from a government-run health and benefits bureaucracy into **a leaner coordinator that outsources most care and services to the private sector**, while sharply reducing its workforce and physical footprint.

Themes & Proposals

- **Expand privatization of veteran health care.** Greatly expand the Veterans Community Care Program to allow most veterans to seek private doctors and hospitals at federal expense; close or repurpose many VA hospitals and clinics.
- **Streamline and downsize the VA bureaucracy.** Reduce VA staff through attrition and consolidation; eliminate overlapping offices and cut administrative layers.
- **Digitize and automate benefits administration.** Use AI and automation to process disability claims, pensions, and education benefits; shrink the workforce handling paper-based systems.
- **Tighten eligibility and control costs.** Narrow the definition of eligible veterans for disability and health benefits; impose stricter verification and re-evaluation of claims.
- **Focus VA facilities on specialized care.** Retain only centers of excellence for complex, military-specific conditions (PTSD, TBI, amputee care) while outsourcing general care to the private sector.
- **Curb political advocacy within the VA.** Ban VA resources from being used to promote diversity, equity, inclusion, or union activity, and impose strict limits on employee political expression.

Implications

If implemented, the VA would be **radically downsized and converted into a benefits payor rather than a direct service provider**. Americans would see **many VA hospitals and clinics closed, most care shifted to private providers, and a large reduction in VA staff**. Veterans might experience **faster access to local care and less bureaucracy**, but also **uneven quality, more private-sector billing disputes, and potential erosion of veteran-specific expertise** as VA facilities close.

Section 4 — The Economy

This section frames the federal government’s economic and financial apparatus as **deeply distorted by regulation, central planning, and progressive ideology**, arguing it has **undermined free enterprise, driven inflation and debt, and concentrated power in unaccountable agencies**. The authors contend that economic policymaking has become **a vehicle for social engineering, climate activism, and wealth redistribution** rather than growth and competitiveness.

They call for a **fundamental reversal of federal economic policy**: deregulating financial markets, dismantling climate and social mandates on businesses, imposing strict limits on federal spending and borrowing, and restoring a market-driven monetary policy. The section also emphasizes **curbing the independence of federal financial regulators**, asserting that they must be brought under closer political control to ensure alignment with administration priorities.

If enacted, this vision would **reshape the U.S. economy around aggressive free-market principles and heavy fiscal restraint**. Americans could see **weaker federal oversight of banks and corporations, reduced social and environmental protections in economic policy, and deep cuts to federal spending**. This could produce **faster growth and lower regulatory costs**, but also **more financial volatility, diminished consumer and worker protections, and sharper economic inequality**.

Chapter 21 — Department of Commerce (by *Thomas F. Gilman*)

Objective

Refocus the United States Department of Commerce (DOC) on **promoting U.S. business competitiveness and industrial strength, while eliminating climate, equity, and social policy missions** and dismantling much of its current regulatory and statistical apparatus.

Themes & Proposals

- **Reorient DOC toward pro-business advocacy.** Make the Secretary an aggressive champion for U.S. industries and trade interests, especially manufacturing and energy, rather than a regulator or social policy actor.
- **Eliminate climate and equity programs.** Abolish DOC offices and grants tied to climate mitigation, environmental justice, diversity/equity initiatives, and progressive social policy goals.
- **Streamline and deregulate the DOC’s agencies.** Shrink or eliminate regulatory divisions like the National Oceanic and Atmospheric Administration (NOAA) and National Institute of Standards and Technology (NIST) programs that impose industrial or environmental standards.

- **Refocus economic data agencies.** Keep the Bureau of Economic Analysis and Census Bureau but cut “policy activism” and require strict neutrality and core statistical missions only.
- **Slash industrial subsidies and grants.** Phase out DOC-run corporate subsidy programs (e.g. tech incubators, minority business development centers) seen as market distortion.
- **Reorganize DOC for efficiency.** Consolidate or eliminate overlapping offices, reduce the workforce, and strip out internal policy offices that duplicate other agencies’ functions.

Implications

If enacted, the Department of Commerce would become a **lean, business-focused agency that promotes U.S. industry while abandoning social and environmental missions.** Americans would see **reduced federal involvement in industrial regulation, climate-related economic policy, and diversity-based business programs.** There would likely be **fewer federal grants or subsidies for small and minority-owned businesses, less federal economic data activism, and weaker enforcement of industrial standards.** This could lower compliance costs for businesses and accelerate industrial growth, but also **weaken consumer protections, diminish support for small firms, and increase economic concentration.**

Chapter 22 — Department of the Treasury *(by William L. Walton; Stephen Moore; David R. Burton)*

Objective

Refocus the United States Department of the Treasury on **enforcing strict fiscal discipline, dismantling progressive economic policies, and steering tax and financial policy to favor investment and growth,** while **removing climate, equity, and internationalist priorities from the Department.**

Themes & Proposals

- **Impose aggressive fiscal restraint.** Push for statutory spending caps, automatic sequestration, and debt-ceiling enforcement to limit federal spending growth.
- **Cut taxes and overhaul the tax code.** Pursue deep corporate and individual tax cuts, repeal climate-related tax credits, and move toward a flat or consumption-based tax system.
- **Dismantle climate and ESG financial policies.** Eliminate Treasury and Financial Stability Oversight Council (FSOC) climate-risk offices, end use of ESG factors in federal investment policy, and block “woke” banking regulation.
- **Limit Treasury’s international role.** Withdraw support for global tax agreements, climate finance, and international development lending; focus Treasury on U.S. competitiveness.

- **Increase political control over financial regulators.** Subject semi-independent agencies like the Office of the Comptroller of the Currency, Federal Reserve, and Securities and Exchange Commission to closer Treasury and presidential oversight.
- **Streamline and shrink the Department.** Consolidate overlapping bureaus, cut staff, and eliminate internal policy offices tied to progressive initiatives.

Implications

If enacted, the Treasury would become a **politically directed engine of fiscal austerity and supply-side tax policy, while abandoning climate and equity missions.** Americans would likely see **deep federal spending cuts, lower taxes, weaker financial regulation, and reduced U.S. participation in global financial agreements.** This could mean **faster economic growth and less regulatory drag,** but also **larger deficits if cuts fail to materialize, greater financial instability, and diminished U.S. influence in global markets.**

Chapter 23 — Export–Import Bank

The Export–Import Bank Should Be Abolished — Veronique de Rugy

The Case for the Export–Import Bank — Jennifer Hazelton

Objective

Debate the future of the Export–Import Bank of the United States (EXIM): One side argues for abolishing the bank as corporate welfare and market distortion. The other argues for preserving it as a strategic tool to counter foreign export credit and support U.S. manufacturers.

Themes & Proposals (Abolition Perspective)

- **Eliminate corporate subsidies.** End taxpayer-backed export financing that primarily benefits large corporations like The Boeing Company.
- **Restore market discipline.** Let private lenders handle export credit without federal guarantees or risk transfers.
- **Reduce political favoritism and corruption risks.** Shut down an agency seen as fostering crony capitalism and lobbying-driven financing decisions.
- **Cut federal spending and liabilities.** Eliminate the bank’s credit exposure and staff, and transfer any residual functions to the United States Department of the Treasury.

Themes & Proposals (Preservation Perspective)

- **Maintain competitiveness against foreign export credit agencies.** Use EXIM to level the playing field against aggressive export financing by China, Germany, and Japan.
- **Support U.S. manufacturing and jobs.** Provide financing to help U.S. companies win major international contracts that create domestic employment.

- **Focus on strategic sectors.** Prioritize export credit for energy, critical minerals, advanced manufacturing, and defense-related goods.
- **Reform governance and transparency.** Tighten conflict-of-interest rules, require more rigorous risk assessments, and streamline operations to avoid politicization.

Implications

The two proposals would lead to **radically different outcomes**:

- **Abolition** would fully remove EXIM from federal activity, **reducing taxpayer risk and federal intervention** but potentially **putting U.S. exporters at a disadvantage** against foreign-subsidized competitors.
- **Preservation** would keep EXIM as a **government-backed financing arm for U.S. industry**, likely increasing **federal exposure to credit risk and politicized lending**, but also **boosting U.S. exports and manufacturing jobs** in key sectors.

Chapter 24 — Federal Reserve (*by Paul Winfree*)

Objective

Refocus the Federal Reserve (Fed) on a **narrow mandate of price stability and sound money, while stripping away its independence, regulatory powers, and involvement in social or climate policy.**

Themes & Proposals

- **Reassert political control over the Fed.** Make the Fed more directly accountable to the United States Department of the Treasury and the President; subject monetary policy decisions to congressional oversight and potential review.
- **Narrow the Fed's mandate to price stability.** Remove its statutory goals for employment and financial stability to prevent “mission creep.”
- **End Fed involvement in climate, equity, or social policy.** Ban the use of ESG factors or climate-risk analysis in supervision, and prohibit lending or regulation tied to social objectives.
- **Reduce the Fed's regulatory role.** Transfer most bank supervisory and financial stability functions to the Office of the Comptroller of the Currency, Federal Deposit Insurance Corporation, and Securities and Exchange Commission.
- **Impose monetary discipline.** Require the Fed to follow a strict rules-based policy framework (e.g. a fixed money supply growth rule or price-level target) to prevent discretionary stimulus.
- **Audit and downsize the Federal Reserve System.** Conduct full public audits, consolidate regional banks, and reduce staff and facilities.

Implications

If enacted, the Fed would become a **politically controlled central bank focused solely on controlling inflation**. Americans would likely see **less Fed intervention during recessions or financial crises, weaker regulation of big banks, and no climate or equity initiatives**. This could mean **more predictable interest rates and tighter control of inflation**, but also **greater risk of financial instability and politicized monetary policy** driven by short-term political pressures.

Chapter 25 — Small Business Administration (*by Karen Kerrigan*)

Objective

Refocus the Small Business Administration (SBA) on **acting as a temporary safety net rather than a permanent subsidy engine, while dismantling equity-based programs and dramatically shrinking its size and scope**.

Themes & Proposals

- **Phase out long-term SBA loan and grant programs.** End federal guarantees for small business loans, shifting risk and financing decisions fully to private lenders.
- **Eliminate SBA equity and set-aside programs.** Abolish programs prioritizing loans or contracts for minority-owned, women-owned, or disadvantaged businesses, framing them as discriminatory.
- **Reduce SBA disaster and pandemic roles.** Limit disaster loans and emergency assistance, arguing these encourage dependency and crowd out private insurance and credit.
- **Privatize SBA technical assistance services.** Shut down SBA-run business development centers and transfer advisory functions to the private sector or state/local governments.
- **Shrink the SBA workforce and budget.** Consolidate offices, cut staff, and eliminate overlapping programs to minimize federal presence in small business support.
- **Reorient SBA as a last-resort guarantor.** Keep only a small emergency loan backstop for truly catastrophic events, with strict limits and automatic phase-outs.

Implications

If enacted, the SBA would become a **tiny, rarely used backstop rather than an active federal small business lender or advocate**. Americans would likely see **fewer federal loans, grants, or training programs for small businesses; elimination of equity-based support programs; and reduced federal intervention during disasters**. This could mean **lower taxpayer costs and more market-driven credit decisions**, but also **less access to capital for startups, minority-owned firms, and small businesses in underserved areas**.

Chapter 26 — Trade

The Case for Fair Trade — Peter Navarro

The Case for Free Trade — Kent Lassman

Objective

Debate the direction of U.S. trade policy: One side advocates **an aggressive protectionist “fair trade” approach** using tariffs, industrial policy, and supply-chain reshoring. The other promotes **a market-based “free trade” strategy** emphasizing open markets, low tariffs, and minimal government intervention.

Themes & Proposals (Fair Trade Perspective)

- **Use tariffs and quotas to defend U.S. industry.** Impose high tariffs on China and other trade competitors to protect domestic manufacturing and jobs.
- **Reshore strategic supply chains.** Offer subsidies and tax credits to bring production of critical goods (semiconductors, pharmaceuticals, rare earths) back to U.S. soil.
- **Prioritize trade balance over trade volume.** Judge trade agreements by their impact on U.S. trade deficits, not just aggregate growth.
- **Tie trade to national security.** Block imports from adversaries and prevent offshoring of defense-related production.
- **Expand enforcement of trade rules.** Aggressively use anti-dumping, countervailing duties, and WTO dispute actions to punish unfair practices.

Themes & Proposals (Free Trade Perspective)

- **Lower tariffs and barriers.** Unilaterally cut U.S. tariffs and push for reciprocal tariff reductions from partners.
- **Reject industrial policy and subsidies.** Eliminate tariffs, quotas, and corporate subsidies, arguing they distort markets and breed cronyism.
- **Focus on consumer benefit and innovation.** Promote competition and lower prices through global supply chains and market-driven specialization.
- **Negotiate broad free trade agreements.** Expand U.S. access to foreign markets via new multilateral and bilateral trade deals.
- **Use trade to promote liberal values.** Deepen integration with market democracies to counter authoritarian influence.

Implications

The two approaches would lead to **very different trade regimes**:

- **Fair Trade** would create a **protectionist, state-directed system** with high tariffs and domestic content mandates, likely boosting U.S. manufacturing jobs short term but **raising consumer prices, increasing global tensions, and risking retaliatory tariffs.**
- **Free Trade** would preserve a **liberalized, globally integrated system** with low tariffs and minimal government intervention, likely **lowering prices and spurring innovation** but **exposing U.S. workers to foreign competition and offshoring.**

Section 5 — Independent Regulatory Agencies

This section portrays the network of independent regulatory agencies as **an unaccountable “fourth branch” of government that wields vast power without democratic oversight**. It argues that these agencies — from financial regulators to communications, election, and competition authorities — have been **captured by progressive ideology and insulated from presidential control, Congress, and the courts**.

The authors call for a **sweeping rollback of their power and independence**: bringing agencies like the Securities and Exchange Commission, Federal Communications Commission, Federal Trade Commission, and Consumer Financial Protection Bureau under direct presidential supervision; stripping away their quasi-legislative and quasi-judicial functions; and dismantling or consolidating many of them. They frame this as essential to restoring constitutional accountability and ending “regulation without representation.”

If implemented, this vision would **centralize control of the regulatory state in the White House**, reducing the independence of watchdog agencies and **sharply limiting their ability to act without political approval**. Americans would likely see **weaker consumer, investor, and election protections; less oversight of corporate power; and more politically driven regulation and enforcement**. Supporters would see this as **restoring democratic accountability**, while critics would see **politicization and erosion of independent checks on executive power**.

Chapter 27 — Financial Regulatory Agencies

Securities and Exchange Commission and Related Agencies — David R. Burton
Consumer Financial Protection Bureau — Robert Bowes

Objective

Dismantle the current independent regulatory structure overseeing U.S. financial markets and consumer protection, by **stripping these agencies of independence, slashing their regulatory powers, and bringing them under direct presidential and congressional control**.

Themes & Proposals (SEC and related agencies)

- **End independent agency status.** Make the SEC, Commodity Futures Trading Commission (CFTC), Federal Deposit Insurance Corporation (FDIC), and Public Company Accounting Oversight Board (PCAOB) directly accountable to the United States Department of the Treasury and subject to at-will presidential removal.
- **Slash disclosure and corporate governance rules.** Eliminate ESG reporting, diversity mandates, and climate-related financial disclosures; limit shareholder activism rules.
- **Rollback enforcement powers.** Limit ability to pursue civil penalties and administrative enforcement actions without federal court oversight.

- **Weaken rulemaking authority.** Require all major financial regulations to be approved by Congress before taking effect.
- **Consolidate and downsize agencies.** Merge overlapping financial regulators, cut staff, and eliminate duplicative offices.

Themes & Proposals (CFPB)

- **End CFPB independence.** Convert it from a standalone bureau into a Treasury office; place its director under presidential removal and make its budget subject to congressional appropriations.
- **Narrow its mandate.** Limit CFPB jurisdiction to preventing clear fraud and deception, not regulating loan terms or pricing.
- **Roll back rules and enforcement.** Repeal regulations on payday lending, mortgage servicing, credit cards, and data collection; cut enforcement staff.
- **Restrict consumer lawsuits.** Bar CFPB from supporting class actions or issuing rules enabling consumer litigation.
- **Eliminate politically oriented offices.** Shut down CFPB units focused on fair lending, racial equity, and student lending policy.

Implications

If enacted, U.S. financial regulation would shift from **independent, rules-based oversight to politically directed, minimalist enforcement**. Americans would likely see **weaker consumer protections, looser corporate governance rules, and less regulatory stability**. Investors and banks could face **lower compliance costs and more freedom**, while consumers and financial markets could face **greater fraud risk, instability, and politicization**.

Chapter 28 — Federal Communications Commission (*by Brendan Carr*)

Objective

Transform the Federal Communications Commission (FCC) into a **narrow-spectrum licensing and competition agency by stripping away its content oversight powers, repealing net neutrality rules, and blocking progressive regulation of broadband and media companies**.

Themes & Proposals

- **End FCC content regulation.** Bar the FCC from imposing fairness rules, political content oversight, or misinformation policies on broadcasters and online platforms.
- **Repeal net neutrality and broadband regulation.** Permanently eliminate Title II “common carrier” rules on broadband providers and prevent future reimposition.

- **Limit FCC's authority over digital platforms.** Explicitly deny jurisdiction over social media and most internet content moderation issues.
- **Accelerate spectrum auctions.** Speed licensing of wireless spectrum for 5G and beyond, while curbing conditions and fees seen as slowing deployment.
- **Preempt state/local broadband regulations.** Block states and municipalities from imposing their own net neutrality or rate regulations.
- **Shrink FCC bureaucracy.** Cut staff, close field offices, and consolidate enforcement and licensing functions.

Implications

If enacted, the FCC would become a **small technical agency focused on spectrum and competition, with almost no role in content oversight or broadband regulation.** Americans would likely see **fewer protections against ISP discrimination, weaker consumer safeguards for internet access, and faster spectrum deployment** — but also **less oversight of dominant broadband and media companies and no federal recourse against misinformation or political bias in online platforms.**

Chapter 29 — Federal Election Commission (*by Hans A. von Spakovsky*)

Objective

Refocus the Federal Election Commission (FEC) on **strict enforcement of campaign finance law while curbing its independence, weakening disclosure requirements, and preventing regulation of political speech.**

Themes & Proposals

- **Reassert political control over the FEC.** Restructure it to give the President power to appoint and remove commissioners at will, ending its current bipartisan design.
- **Narrow FEC jurisdiction.** Limit it strictly to enforcing contribution limits and prohibitions, excluding regulation of political speech, online ads, or issue advocacy.
- **Weaken disclosure and reporting requirements.** Reduce the scope and frequency of donor disclosure rules and eliminate reporting for most small-dollar contributions and independent expenditures.
- **Curb investigations and penalties.** Impose higher thresholds to open investigations, shorten deadlines, and cap civil penalties to reduce enforcement activity.
- **Bar coordination with the United States Department of Justice (DOJ).** Prohibit the FEC from referring cases or collaborating with DOJ on campaign-related prosecutions.

- **Shrink the FEC bureaucracy.** Cut staff, consolidate offices, and automate disclosure processing to reduce its footprint.

Implications

If enacted, the FEC would become a **politically controlled and weaker campaign finance watchdog with limited authority and fewer transparency requirements**. Americans would likely see **less disclosure of political spending, fewer investigations of campaign finance violations, and reduced separation between political campaigns and government regulators**. This could lower compliance burdens for campaigns but also **increase the risk of corruption, foreign influence, and dark money in elections**.

Chapter 30 — Federal Trade Commission *(by Adam Candeub)*

Objective

Transform the Federal Trade Commission (FTC) from a broad antitrust and consumer protection agency into a **narrow fraud-policing office under direct presidential control, stripped of independence, rulemaking power, and progressive competition policies**.

Themes & Proposals

- **End FTC independence.** Convert it into an executive agency inside the United States Department of Justice or United States Department of the Treasury, with its chair serving at the pleasure of the President.
- **Limit jurisdiction to fraud and deception.** Remove authority to challenge mergers, regulate “unfair competition,” or issue competition policy guidance.
- **Eliminate rulemaking power.** Bar the FTC from issuing substantive rules or regulations and require all enforcement to be case-by-case in federal courts.
- **Rollback antitrust enforcement.** End efforts to block large mergers or break up dominant firms; shift antitrust exclusively to the Antitrust Division of DOJ.
- **Shut down progressive policy offices.** Abolish FTC units focused on privacy, data security, labor competition, or environmental and equity initiatives.
- **Slash staff and consolidate functions.** Cut most of the FTC workforce, close regional offices, and centralize residual fraud enforcement functions.

Implications

If enacted, the FTC would become a **small, politically directed anti-fraud office with no role in competition policy or consumer protection beyond fraud cases**. Americans would likely see **fewer merger challenges, weaker oversight of dominant corporations, and less privacy and data protection enforcement**. This could reduce regulatory costs and speed business

consolidation, but also **increase market concentration, consumer harm, and political interference in enforcement.**

—End of Document—