

# WHAT IS PROJECT 2025?

## THE CONSERVATIVE PLAN FOR AUTOCRATIC AND MINORITY RULE

### How will this extremism impact LGBTQI+ people?

The Heritage Foundation, working with more than 90 other organizations, has made public its plans for 2025 in their multi-pronged [2025 Presidential Transition Project](#).<sup>1</sup> Their 920-page long [Mandate for Leadership](#) provides the substantive details.<sup>2</sup>

The Project is bluntly anti-democratic, with detailed plans for partisan courts, when to withdraw from the United Nations, and removing the apolitical career civil service and putting far-right political partisans in their place across all federal government agencies. Removing career bureaucrats who take an independent oath to uphold the Constitution is an extraordinary proposal far outside normal policy differences. The Mandate for Leadership uses LGBTQI+ rights as grounds for attacking the civil service as well, asserting among other things that

**“BUREAUCRATS AT THE DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE FORCE SCHOOL DISTRICTS TO UNDERMINE GIRLS’ SPORTS AND PARENTS’ RIGHTS TO SATISFY TRANSGENDER EXTREMISTS.”<sup>3</sup>**

A more robust unpacking of Project 2025 as an authoritarian, and Christian Nationalist, roadmap to dismantle inclusive democracy has been done by The Global Project Against Hate and Extremism.<sup>4</sup>

Like all authoritarian propaganda, Project 2025 positions itself as a shield protecting against imagined outside threats. Those threats are identified as coming primarily from China (as a principal international threat) and DEI (diversity, equity, and inclusion) and the LGBTQI+ community (as principal domestic threats). Both of these pose unique harm for black, brown, and immigrant LGBTQI+ people as well.

### So, what is the conservative plan for the LGBTQI+ community in 2025?

**“The next conservative President must make the institutions of American civil society hard targets for woke culture warriors. This starts with deleting the terms sexual orientation and gender identity (“SOGI”), diversity, equity, and inclusion, gender, gender equality, gender equity, gender awareness, gender-sensitive, abortion, reproductive health, reproductive rights, and any other term used to deprive Americans of their First Amendment rights out of every federal rule, agency regulation, contract, grant, regulation, and piece of legislation that exists.”<sup>5</sup>**

The Project demonizes the transgender community, equating “transgenderism” with “pornography” on the very first page.<sup>6</sup>

Calls on the Secretary of Health and Human Services to **“proudly state that men and women are biological realities that are crucial to the advancement of life sciences and medical care and that married men and women are the ideal, natural family structure because all children have a right to be raised by the men and women who conceived them.”<sup>7</sup>**

**“Rescind regulations prohibiting discrimination on the basis of sexual orientation, gender identity, transgender status, and sex characteristics.”<sup>8</sup>**

Proclaims that “[F]amilies comprised of a married mother, father, and their children are the foundation of a well-ordered nation and healthy society. Unfortunately, family policies and programs under President Biden’s HHS are fraught with agenda items focusing on ‘LGBTQ+ equity,’ subsidizing single-motherhood, disincentivizing work, and penalizing marriage. These policies should be repealed and replaced by policies that support the formation of stable, married, nuclear families.”<sup>9</sup>

The previous Administration created the Geneva Consensus Declaration and Commission on Unalienable Human Rights to propose a hierarchy of human rights entirely excluding LGBTQI+ rights and sexual and reproductive rights as human rights, and the intention is to bring them back.<sup>10</sup> **All U.S. foreign policy engagements that were produced and expanded under the Obama and Biden Administrations must be aligned with the Geneva Consensus Declaration and the work of the U.S. Commission on Unalienable Human Rights.”<sup>11</sup>**

“In Africa ... the U.S. ‘should focus on core security, economic, and human rights’ rather than impose radical abortion and pro-LGBT initiatives. **Divisive symbols such as the rainbow flag or the Black Lives Matter flag have no place next to the Stars and Stripes at our embassies.**”<sup>12</sup>

“The next conservative Administration should dismantle USAID’s DEI apparatus by eliminating the Chief Diversity Officer position along with the DEI advisers and committees; cancel the DEI scorecard and dashboard; remove DEI requirements from contract and grant tenders and awards; issue a directive to cease promotion of the DEI agenda, including the bullying LGBTQ+ agenda; and provide staff a confidential medium through which to adjudicate cases of political retaliation that agency or implementing staff suffered during the Biden Administration. It should eliminate funding for partners that promote discriminatory DEI practices and consider debarment in egregious cases.”<sup>13</sup>

**“The Left has commandeered the term “gender,” which used to mean either “male” or “female,” to include a spectrum of others who are seeking to alter biological and societal sexual norms.** The promotion of gender radicalism is anathema to the traditional norms of many societies where USAID works, causes resentment by tying lifesaving assistance to rejecting the aid recipient’s own firmly held fundamental values regarding sexuality, and produces unnecessary consternation and confusion among and even outright bias against men.”<sup>14</sup>

“In addition, the next conservative Administration ... should remove all references, examples, definitions, photos, and language on USAID websites, in agency publications and policies, and in all agency contracts and grants that include the following terms: “gender,” “gender equality,” “gender equity,” “gender diverse individuals,” “gender aware,” “gender sensitive,” etc. It should also remove references to “abortion,” “reproductive health,” and “sexual and reproductive rights” and controversial sexual education materials.”<sup>15</sup>

End the U.S. Refugee Admission Program (USRAP) which provides life-saving opportunities for the most vulnerable refugees, including at-risk LGBTQI+ refugees, from claiming expedited protection through an orderly application process abroad, thereby avoiding the risks associated with seeking refugee protection at our Mexican border. **“The federal government’s obligation to shift national security-essential screening and vetting resources to the forged border crisis will necessitate an indefinite curtailment of the number of USRAP refugee admissions.”**<sup>16</sup>

Extends the harmful Protecting Life in Global Health Assistance (PLGHA) to all of foreign assistance, previously exempt U.S.- based organizations, multilaterals, and government-to-government funds. PLGHA has previously harmed LGBTQI+ and other communities worldwide by closing clinics, restricting sexual and reproductive health and HIV services and information, and severing coalitions and partnerships.<sup>17</sup> “To stop U.S. foreign aid from supporting the global abortion industry, the next conservative Administration should issue an executive order that, at a minimum, reinstates PLGHA and summarily blocks funding to UNFPA but also closes loopholes by applying the policy to all foreign assistance, including humanitarian aid, and improving its enforcement.” “The new pro-life executive order should apply to foreign NGOs, including subgrantees and subcontractors, and remove exemptions for U.S.-based NGOs, public international organizations, and bilateral government-to-government agreements.”<sup>18</sup>

<sup>1</sup>The Heritage Foundation, Project 2025 Presidential Transition Project, <https://www.project2025.org/> (last visited Feb. 2, 2024).

<sup>2</sup>The Heritage com/project2025/2025\_MandateForLeadership\_FULL.pdf (last visited Feb. 2, 2024) [hereinafter Mandate for Leadership].

<sup>3</sup>Id. at 8. Foundation, Mandate for Leadership: The Conservative Promise (2023), available at [https://thf\\_media.s3.amazonaws.com/](https://thf_media.s3.amazonaws.com/)

<sup>4</sup>Global Project Against Hate and Extremism, The Far-Right Playbook for American Authoritarianism: Project 2025 (2023), available at <https://global-extremism.org/project-2025-the-far-right-playbook-for-american-authoritarianism/> (last visited Feb. 2, 2024).

<sup>5</sup>Mandate for Leadership, supra note 2, at 4.

<sup>6</sup>Mandate for Leadership, supra note 2, at 1.

<sup>7</sup>Mandate for Leadership, supra note 2, at 489.

<sup>8</sup>Mandate for Leadership, supra note 2, at 584.

<sup>9</sup>Mandate for Leadership, supra note 2, at 451.

<sup>10</sup>Geneva Consensus Declaration on Promoting Women’s Health and Strengthening the Family,” October 22, 2021, <https://www.theiwh.org/wp-content/uploads/2022/02/GCD-Declaration-2021-2.pdf> (accessed Feb. 5, 2024). See also U.S. Department of State, Report on the Commission of Unalienable Rights, <https://www.state.gov/wp-content/uploads/2020/07/Draft-Report-of-the-Commission-on-Unalienable-Rights.pdf> (accessed Feb. 5, 2024).

<sup>11</sup>Mandate for Leadership, supra note 2, at 192.

<sup>12</sup>Mandate for Leadership, supra note 2, at 89.

<sup>13</sup>Mandate for Leadership, supra note 2, at 258.

<sup>14</sup>Mandate for Leadership, supra note 2, at 259.

<sup>15</sup>Id.

<sup>16</sup>Mandate for Leadership, supra note 2, at 178.

<sup>17</sup>Beirne Roose-Snyder, LGBTQI+ People Need a Permanent End to the Global Gag Rule, Think Global Health, May 15, 2023, <https://www.thinkglobalhealth.org/article/lgbtqi-people-need-permanent-end-global-gag-rule>

<sup>18</sup>Mandate for Leadership, supra note 2, at 261.