

# PROJECT 2025 TOOLKIT

Samuel DeWitt Proctor Conference, Inc.



*Image: "Oh Say Can You See" Phillipe Gibson, Artist*

# **SAMUEL DEWITT PROCTOR CONFERENCE, INC. PROJECT 2025 TOOLKIT**

We find ourselves in political climate fraught with chaos with a real threat to democracy. Project 2025, the blueprint for erasing the democratic government as we know it and replacing it with an authoritarian government where the executive branch has full control, contains information that we feel all Americans should know. Even now, many aspects of this plan are being pushed through on state/local levels.

This toolkit contains information that we believe will assist religious leaders – particularly in the Black church – wrestling with the implications of Project 2025 for Americans who are not white, wealthy, male, and Christian. The policies proposed for a Conservative administration might be said to be in alignment with what the Founding Fathers intended when they wrote the United States Constitution, but that vision clashes with the fact that this country is “home” to the marginalized as well as to the privileged. It is our hope that the information contained in this toolkit will make it easier for clergy and community leaders to address and answer the questions that his plan evokes.

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**Project 2025 is a plan of action to usher in more anti-democratic policies and programs** in the U.S. and the world, sustaining racial and class injustice. It is more of the same emanating from the conservative right and propped up by conservative evangelical dominion theology. The roots are deep in the vision and values for global “white control” and “white power” over the distribution of resources and public policies, local national, and global. Regardless of increasing wealth gaps; the demographic shifts and diversity in points of view, faith traditions and cultural experiences, consequential war and impoverishment of millions of people of color, the Project 2025 agenda asserts its plans of action as a mandate and a strategy.

Project 2025 exemplifies the spirit and will of the Empire at the highest level of power and principalities, squeezing basic freedoms and human dignity from the masses of people. It has revealed an autocratic agenda, while proposing policies and structures of repression and control, from the Supreme Court to eligibility for health care and control over one’s body and identity.

It is standing on the shoulders of the earlier 21<sup>st</sup> century Blitz Document and organizing of the conservative political caucuses with a goal to create and implement a road map to change the trajectory of “democracy for all,” “separation of religion and state” and towards a racial theocracy where interests of corporate greed, political power and white dominion theology would converge in America, one town at a time.

Not only must we, who believe in a God of righteousness and justice, a God that hears the prayers of the impoverished, deconstruct and know what is being planned. We need to create an agenda and roadmap to disrupt Project 2025’s agenda, the principles which prop it up, and the evil intent it imposes upon communities in need of God’s love, justice, mercy and grace.

The Samuel DeWitt Proctor Conference, Inc. is pleased to share this toolkit for faith leaders and the public as we meet these difficult challenges head-on. We are especially grateful for the gifts and ministries of Rev. Dr. Susan Smith and Rev. Marcus Tabb, who have led our efforts to produce resources and organized our ongoing public conversations and trainings.

Most of all, we are grateful and privileged to serve a God who offers a vision and hope for justice, peace and human dignity for all.

A Luta Continua,

**Rev. Dr. Iva E. Carruthers**

General Secretary

Samuel DeWitt Proctor Conference, Inc.



**FROM THE GENERAL SECRETARY  
PROJECT 2025 TOOLKIT**



As we witness the relentless attack on democracy in our nation, Project 2025 represents yet another chapter in a very toxic playbook that has been used before. Decades in the making, Project 2025 is the strategic response to the various forms of progress that have occurred over the last 40 years. It is the response to the numerous strides that are being made to create a more just and equitable world.

As we know, whenever pieces of legislation pass (e.g. Civil Rights Act, Voting Rights Act, Roe v Wade, etc.) or when new leaders win elections or challenge the status quo by centering the needs of the vulnerable, there is a backlash! This backlash is oftentimes manifested in the form of hate speech, violence and the nurturing and spreading of fear. A fear that promotes the notion that “gains for a few (often long overdue), means a loss for the many,” or “new options for a better life for some mean little to no options for the many/others,” etc.

The rhetoric and actions taken in response to change, justice and equity tend to demonstrate a short-sightedness, self-centeredness and a moral bankruptcy based on a toxic theology that is rooted in superiority and resistant to the only constant: the inevitability of change. Although it may not look or feel like it, our nation has changed, and conscious people have engaged in radical truth-telling, turned out to vote in record numbers during a pandemic; removed symbols of hate and violence across the country, refused to remain silent about misuses and abuses of power; and refused to just shut up and dribble. We did all that while removing people from office who would not prosecute those who kill innocent black and brown people.

Just as Project 2025 is a product of those who want to relive history by sustaining, expanding, or reinventing a system of control, fear and domination, history has also produced others who remain resilient, hopeful, courageous and resistant to forces that seek to deny people the opportunity to reach their full God-invested potential. It is in that spirit of hope, courage, moral authority and prophetic resistance, the Samuel DeWitt Proctor Conference, Inc. offers this toolkit/educational resource to aid those who want to understand what’s at stake. It is our hope that this toolkit provides clergy, people of faith, justice seekers and others an additional resource to promote civic literacy and sustained civic engagement.

Peace and Power,

**Rev. Damien Durr**

Chief Operating Officer

Samuel DeWitt Proctor Conference, Inc.



**FROM THE CHIEF OPERATING OFFICER  
PROJECT 2025 TOOLKIT**



## **The Black Church in a Time of Domestic Warfare: Establishing a Network that Will Study Political Issues and Create Strategies to Save Democracy**

One of the most powerful statements I have ever heard came from Ruby Sales, who was a member of the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC) during the Civil Rights Era of the 60s. Said Sales: “We were able to get what we wanted without firing a single shot.” Her statement was as true as it was powerful; through engaging in nonviolent direct action, the leaders and participants of the Civil Rights Era were able to get the Voting Rights Act of 1965 and the Civil Rights Bill of 1964 passed. Those laws opened doors for Black people so that they could vote and witness the elimination of laws upholding segregation in transportation, housing, and in public facilities.

The Black church was a major factor and participant in that work. That statement does not and should not suggest that every Black church was involved in the fight, but there were enough Black churches and clergy leaders who put themselves on the battlefield. They were assisted by some white clergy, churches and young white students. Together with citizens of both races who knew white supremacy had to be challenged, there was a concerted effort to tear down walls of discrimination and oppression that had plagued the Black community for hundreds of years, and perhaps, more vehemently so after the Civil War.

Democracy was threatened and challenged in the Civil War and afterwards. Reconstruction, which supposedly would have made America a true democracy “with liberty and justice for all,” was attacked mercilessly and ultimately failed in the goal of establishing a true democracy. Over time during Reconstruction, the attack on democracy by angry whites or by the white political machine increased. The successful coup, carried out in Wilmington, North Carolina in 1899, resulted in Black people being voted out of office, or in some cases, run out of town. The election of Black candidates were thrown out by white people who declared that they would never again be ruled by Black people.

We are in yet another critical moment, where democracy is on the line. There is a concerted effort underway to overthrow the government, outlined “Project 2025,” dedicated to getting Conservatives into office – on all levels of government.

(<https://www.project2025.org/about/about-project-2025/>) Organized by the Heritage Foundation and building off that organization’s “Mandate for Leadership” document, Project 2025 has been dubbed the “Presidential Transition Project,” and includes a strategic plan to “build now for a conservative victory through policy, personnel, and training.”

The rhetoric that this nation has heard since 2016, if not before, about a so-called “deep state” being at the core of America’s problems is a major theme of Project 2025 and its goal is to destroy democracy severely curtail the rights and privileges of many Americans whose rights as citizens are already gravely compromised. The goal of the writers of this policy plan is to take over the government in a Republican president’s first 180 days in office by employing the policy initiatives described in this toolkit.

Similar to the claim of the Civil Rights Movement of the 60s, Project 2025 is a plan to dismantle the American government **without a single shot being fired – although proponents of this government overthrow readily suggest that violence may be necessary.**

The coup begun on January 6, 2021, continues, and if successful, will mean a diminution of the basic rights of all Americans, and if that becomes the case, it is a certainty that Black and Brown people will lose the most.

Written by

**Rev. Dr. Susan K. Smith**

Director of Clergy Leadership and Resource Development

Samuel DeWitt Proctor Conference, Inc.

**PROJECT 2025 TOOLKIT**



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# WHAT IS PROJECT 2025?

- A political initiative published by the [Heritage Foundation](#) that aims to promote [conservative](#) and [right-wing](#) policies to reshape the [United States federal government](#) and consolidate [executive power](#) if Republicans win the 2024 Presidential election. The goal is to implement policies in the plan within the first 180 days of a Republican/Conservative presidency.
- A plan to overhaul the federal government and targets progressive policies, including the Civil Rights Act, the Voting Rights Act and policies that protect the LGBTQIA community. The ACLU recognizes that [“...Project 2025 would erode our freedoms and democracy.”](#)
- It targets all of the departments of the federal government, including:
  - The Department of Justice
  - The Department of Defense
  - The Department of Education
  - The Department of Health and Human Services
- The Charles F. Kettering Foundation stresses, [“The implication is clear: The values of Christian fundamentalists would hold sway, not separation of church and state, secular science, or the current rule of law.”](#) (<https://kettering.org/project-2025-the-blueprint-for-christian-nationalist-regime-change/>)



# WHAT IS PROJECT 2025? (CONT'D)

- It threatens the economic stability of employees of the federal government. Schedule F, conceived during the first Trump administration, was canceled by the Biden administration. If MAGA/Republicanism wins the White House, an estimated 50-80,000 civil service employees could be fired within the first 180 days of a MAGA/Republican administration, replaced by persons appointed by the executive branch of the government, who would be hired specifically to be loyal to the executive branch and its policy/program demands.
- Other threats to full and fair citizenship for Black Americans, POC and women:
  - Elimination of Affirmative Action
  - Elimination of equity-based programs in universities and corporations
  - Reduction in the number of Black people able to get affordable health care
  - End of the Inflation Reduction Act, which promises 10 million climate/environmental jobs and also reduces the number of projects in Black communities that are most threatened by climate change and economic degradation.
  - Complete loss of privacy for women as the government assumes the right to gather health care data on women, specifically those of child-bearing age. .

# GLOSSARY

- What is Democracy?
  - Democracy is a system of government by the whole population or all the eligible members of a state, typically through elected representatives. It is government by the people, of the people and for the people.
- What is Socialism?
  - Socialism is a political and economic system that is based on the idea that the community should own and control the means of production, rather than individuals. The goal of socialism is to create a more equitable society that aims to meet the needs of the people.
- What is Authoritarianism?
  - Authoritarianism is the enforcement or advocacy of strict obedience to authority at the expense of personal freedom.
- What is Fascism?
  - Fascism is a way of organizing a society in which a government ruled by a dictator controls the lives of the people and in which people are not allowed to disagree with the government..

# GLOSSARY (CONT'D)

- What is Christianity?
  - Christianity is the religion derived from the teachings of Jesus the Christ, as found in the gospels of the Christian Bible. Christianity is practiced by the Eastern Orthodox and (Western) Roman Catholic and Protestant denominations. The Greek word for Christianity literally means “follower of Christ.”
- What is Christian Nationalism?
  - From journalist and author Katherine Stewart: “**Christian nationalism is a political ideology that ties the ideas of America to specific cultural and religious identities.** It’s an anti-democratic ideology because it says the foundation of legitimate government is not our constitution, our democratic system of governance or our imperfect history of absorbing different people from all over the world into pluralistic society — but rather, our government is tied to specific cultural and religious identities.”
  - From author, theologian and professor Obery Hendricks: “Christian Nationalism is the ideology that the United States is intended by God to be a Christian nation.” “It is the political ideology that holds that America's government is not legitimate...”

# GENERAL QUESTIONS

- Where can I find it?
  - Project 2025 is online, [www.Project2025.Org](http://www.Project2025.Org)
- How will a Republican administration, following the guidelines of Project 2025, change America as we know it?
  - The Project asserts that the entire executive branch shall be under the president's direct control under the unitary executive theory. It proposes reclassifying tens of thousands of federal civil service workers as political appointees and replace them with people loyal to the president.
- What is Agenda 47?
  - Agenda 47 is former President Donald J. Trump's abbreviated version of Project 2025. It includes “20 core promises to make America great again” according to Trump. It can be accessed at <https://www.Donaldjtrump.Com/platform>

# GENERAL QUESTIONS

- Is Project 2025 a threat to democracy in this country?
  - Yes, because it proposes putting all power in the hands of the president/executive branch of the government. It dilutes or eliminates the “checks and balances” system put in place by the framers of the Constitution to prevent monopoly of power exercised by **ANY** of the three branches of government – Executive, Legislative and Judicial. Under Project 2025 all power will come from the executive branch of government, in the person of the president.
- Will the policies of Project 2025 make America an authoritarian government?
  - Yes, because the other two branches of government will have little to no authority to challenge or question the executive branch

# TALKING POINTS

1. I've heard that Project 2025 will end public education. Is that true?
  - Your answer: Yes. The document says, “the federal Department of Education should be eliminated.” (p. 319)
  - The project proposes that parents be given vouchers – funded by the federal government – to be used to send their children to private or religious schools – which would effectively end available federal funding for public schools.
2. What happens to daycare under Project 2025 ?
  - Your answer: the document says on that “instead of providing universal daycare, funding should go to parents either to offset the cost of staying home with a child or to pay for familial, in-home childcare.” (p. 486)
3. Is Head Start in danger if Project 2025 is implemented?
  - Your answer: Yes. The document states, “research has demonstrated that federal Head Start centers...have little to no long-term academic value for children.” (p. 482)
4. Are authors of Project 2025 against daycare?
  - Your answer: Yes. The document states, “children who spend significant time in day care experience higher rates of anxiety, depression, and neglect, as well as poor educational and developmental outcomes.” (p. 486)

# TALKING POINTS (CONT'D)

5. Would I lose my health care under Project 2025?
  - Your answer: Yes. Funding for Medicaid and Medicare would be greatly reduced or eliminated, and there are plans to repeal the Affordable Care Act (Obamacare).
6. Will the Division of Civil Rights be eliminated?
  - Your answer: Yes. The division of civil rights falls under the jurisdiction of the Department of Justice, which Project 2025 plans to eliminate. This will greatly impede the capacity of schools and other individual entities to launch complaints of civil rights abuse.
7. Will overtime pay still be possible under the policies of Project 2025?
  - Your answer: Project 2025 proposes decreasing or eliminating access to overtime pay and giving employers more power to terminate employees who demand it. The plan's far-right vision of overtime eligibility and benefits is designed to confuse and disempower workers. It would give employers more freedom to exploit employees. Writers of the labor policies in the document wrote: "Congress should provide flexibility to employers and employees to calculate the overtime period over a longer number of weeks." (p. 592)  
([https://project2025.org/2025\\_mandateforleadership\\_chapter-18.pdf](https://project2025.org/2025_mandateforleadership_chapter-18.pdf))

# TALKING POINTS (CONT'D)

8. How would Project 2025 affect single mothers and/or non-traditional, same-sex families with children?
  - Your answer: In an effort to presumably “rescue” their nuclear, heterosexual, married family ideal, Project 2025 would further curtail reproductive rights, make childcare and applying for welfare benefits more difficult for single parents, and introduce “marriage and relationship education” to federally funded family planning programs. (<https://www.glamour.com/story/how-project-2025-would-restrict-womens-rights>)
9. Would men be required to register for the draft under Project 2025?
  - Your answer: The requirement to register for the draft has been a part of American policy since 1980. The Project says that the Republicans should enforce it. The House version of the Bill requires only men to register; the Senate version would expand that requirement to include women.
10. What would happen to the capacity to fight for voting rights under Project 2025?
  - Your answer: It would be all but impossible because of the elimination of the Department of Justice and the Civil Rights Division. The Department of Justice/Civil Rights Division have been responsible for enforcing voting rights, but with those departments being eliminated, the protections they advocated for will disappear.



# TALKING POINTS (CONT'D)

11. Why do we hear that Project 2025 wants to “defund the police?”
  - Your answer: Project 2025 co-opted the phrase “defund the police.” In actuality, it proposes cutting federal funding to the FBI which oversees investigating (policing) criminal activity.
12. Is there a risk of losing the First Amendment right to “peacefully assemble” under Project 2025:
  - Your answer: Yes. The Project contends that the Executive – i.e., the President – has full control over the military and the power to use it to stop domestic protests.
13. How will Project 2025 affect Black people who get arrested?
  - Your answer: Project 2025 calls for federal prosecutors to circumvent local district attorneys and to charge people for crimes when local prosecutors do not. (<https://www.themarshallproject.org/2024/07/20/trump-project-2025-crime-prosecutors>)
14. What happens to all civic employees if Schedule F is implemented?
  - Many people who work in the federal government will lose their jobs, as 50-80,000 people would be fired and replaced with political operatives. That will affect Black households across the country and seriously shrink the middle class.

# LOOKING AHEAD: OUR CALL TO ACTION

We have an obligation to address the political issues in this country and to address specific issues facing the Black community and design a strategy that hold political leaders accountable. We have an obligation to learn what is going on and be able to teach it to our congregations.

Too many Americans – of all colors and nationalities – are under the assumption that America is safe from becoming an authoritarian state. They are unaware of what a Fascist government looks like and who will be impacted. The Black Church is the most logical venue in which a campaign of awareness should be waged, a place that includes teaching “What Is At Stake” and planning how to combat it. There are issues that too few people are aware of or are talking about, including:

# LOOKING AHEAD: OUR CALL TO ACTION (CONT'D)

- A.** Whose America will this be if the goals of Project 2025 are met? Who do the would-be members of a new “deep state” consider to be Americans? And if everyone who is an American citizen is not considered to be American, what happens to them if an authoritarian regime takes over?
- What are the implications for Americans if the First Amendment freedoms – speech, religion, assembly and others are taken away and the religion of the new deep state is determined to be the only legitimate religion?
- B.** What happens to Black people, people of color and women if Medicare, Social Security and Medicaid as we know it are eliminated? What are the implications for Black, Brown and poor people and women if those programs are privatized? (<https://www.rollingstone.com/politics/politics-features/trump-republicans-privatize-medicare-1234960808/>)
- C.** Why should the elimination of the Department of Education concern Black families? How do we teach that the plan essentially cripples the struggling public education system, which educates the bulk of Black, Brown and poor students? The elimination of the Department of Education would make it harder to file a discrimination lawsuit (see Talking Point #10) and would result in fewer college-bound Black students, most of whom depend on Federal funding to pay for higher education. (<https://wordinblack.com/2024/07/how-will-project-2025-affect-black-americans/>)

# LOOKING AHEAD: OUR CALL TO ACTION (CONT'D)

- D.** How would Project 2025 affect Black people who get arrested? (See Talking Point #13)
- E.** What will be the implications for Black people if the current trend of establishing “Cop Cities” continues? Black people are already treated less fairly in the justice system as it is and has historically been, but the proposed changes will make a bad situation worse. (<https://pweresearch.org/short-reads/2020/06/03/things-we-know-about-race-and-policing-in-the-u-s/>)
- F.** What will be the role of a president – who will have complete executive power – in the event of civil protests and subsequent arrests? How does the church anticipate such situations and what can it present as its platform to elected officials to protect those who engage in peaceful protests?
- G.** What will happen to immigrants? Do people realize that the only desired immigrants are those who come from Europe, and that all others – including those who migrate here from Asia, Africa, and South America are unwanted?

# LOOKING AHEAD: OUR CALL TO ACTION (CONT'D)

- H.** How does the Black Church address and respond to the desire of Project 2025 authors and advisors to “end multiculturalism?” (<https://gizmodo.com/project-2025-author-says-in-leaked-video-that-trump-has-blessed-its-agenda-2000487655>)
- I.** Do people know what “anti-woke” is? Do they realize the restrictions on teaching Black, Hispanic, Native American, women, and LGBTQIA history are being developed even now?
- J.** The new “deep state” would get rid of public education. What would that mean for Black people? (<https://buckscountybeacon.com/2023/11/project-2025-wants-to-end-public-education-as-we-know-it/>)
- K.** What is Christianity? Are Black churches practicing White Christian Nationalism and not knowing it? What does the Jesus of Biblical Christianity require of those who claim to be Christian? Is the word “Christianity” becoming a dog whistle for whiteness?

# APPENDIX

To read the full Project 2025 document, visit

[https://static.project2025.org/2025\\_MandateForLeadership\\_FULL.pdf](https://static.project2025.org/2025_MandateForLeadership_FULL.pdf)

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## ○ Section 3 – The General Welfare – p. 283

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- Department of Commerce – p. 663
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- Trade – p. 765

## ○ Independent Regulatory Agencies – p. 825

- Financial Regulatory Agencies – p. 829
- Consumer Financial Protection Bureau – p. 837
- Federal Election Commission – p. 861
- Federal Trade Commission – p. 869

# APPENDIX

It is the civilians who are employed in these federal agencies who stand to lose their jobs if Schedule F is put into place. At this time, 2.87 million Americans work for the federal government; the federal government is the nation's largest employer. (For a complete breakdown of the numbers of people, by state, see <https://www.opm.gov/policy-data-oversight/data-analysis-documentation/federal-employment-reports/reports-publications/federal-civilian-employment/>)



# RESOURCES

We have included resources that give detailed information about Project 2025, including articles, videos, and news clips. We believe that there are several ways people learn, and if one is not inclined to read what is in the toolkit, these resources provide another, inclusive source for getting the information.

# RESOURCES

## Government

- Daily Kos article:  
<https://www.dailykos.com/stories/2024/7/2/2250602/-Extreme-Court-Repeals-the-Magna-Carta-and-Revokes-Declaration-of-Independence>
- House Oversight Committee hearing - June 27, 2024. (rt: 5:19)  
<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=WVRrd31nXas>
- (In-depth) English & Spanish (downloadable) Resources. [Stop The Coup 2025 is a 501(c)(3) initiative of GenDemocracy. (Where Gender and Democracy meet)]  
<https://www.stopthecoup2025.org/>

## Media

- MSNBC “The Weekend,” Jun 24, 2024 (rt 14:33)  
<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=1wJZb6POi94>
- MSNBC Ali Velshi “Velshi,” Jun 15, 2024 (rt 8:35)  
<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=VHE1HF02t5c>
- YT Reel, Ayanna Pressley (rt :40)  
<https://www.youtube.com/shorts/XQU11nml9Zw>
- Roland Martin Unfiltered, May 28, 2024 (House Oversight Committee Hearing Rep. Ayanna Pressley sounds the alarm about Project 2025 rt 14:43)  
<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=4lSriYQ0Lf4>

## Media

- Joy Reid, “The Reidout,” July 9, 2024 (rt 11:25)  
<https://www.msnbc.com/the-reidout/watch/project-2025-plans-to-dismantle-current-public-schools-system-if-trump-s-reelected-214536773536>
- Joy Reid, “The Reidout,” July 8, 2024 (rt 8:13)  
<https://www.msnbc.com/the-reidout/watch/maga-extremist-agenda-is-a-fascist-fever-dream-and-trump-claims-he-has-never-heard-of-it-214448709598>
- Kamala HQ “X”, Jul 17, 2024 (rt 4:33)  
<https://x.com/KamalaHQ/status/1813590261274145191>
- iHeartRadio Podcast - Jul 15, 2024 (Jong-Fast & Zimmer, rt 43:24)  
<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=yUJSEvYIiy8>
- MSNBC Ali Velshi “Velshi,” Aug. 4, 2024 (rt 9:53)  
<https://www.msnbc.com/ali-velshi/watch/inside-project-2025-schedule-f-s-direct-threat-to-public-servants-216379461534>

## Media

- MSNBC Ali Velshi, “Velshi,” Aug. 3, 2024 (rt 9:55)  
<https://www.msnbc.com/ali-velshi/watch/trump-loyalty-tests-for-military-intel-agencies-inside-project-2025-216340037669>
- MSNBC Ali Velshi “Velshi,” July 28, 2024 (rt 11:02)  
<https://www.msnbc.com/ali-velshi/watch/-a-downward-spiral-toward-extremism-how-project-2025-policies-are-already-transforming-states-215851589741>
- MSNBC Ali Velshi, “Velshi,” July 28, 2024 (rt 9:21)  
<https://www.msnbc.com/ali-velshi/watch/-petty-small-minded-and-vindictive-inside-project-2025-s-plan-for-the-department-of-justice-215851077549>
- Roland Martin, May 4, 2024 (rt 9:49)  
<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=T4BQZdJvDss>

## Articles

- **ACLU Resources**  
<https://www.aclu.org/project-2025-explained>
- **The Nation (June 7, 2024)**  
<https://www.thenation.com/article/society/project-2025-doj-justice/>
- **Really good overview of Project 2025 (11 September 2024)**  
<https://www.bbc.com/news/articles/c977njqvq2do>
- **Howard University Grad School Harris Poll (PDF), July 25, 2024 [The Howard Initiative on Public Opinion (HIPO)]**  
[https://gs.howard.edu/sites/gs.howard.edu/files/2024-07/Black\\_Voters\\_Harris\\_Poll\\_7\\_25\\_24.pdf](https://gs.howard.edu/sites/gs.howard.edu/files/2024-07/Black_Voters_Harris_Poll_7_25_24.pdf)
- **The Hill (July 3, 2023)**  
<https://thehill.com/regulation/court-battles/4078821-stephen-miller-warns-schools-of-lawsuits-if-they-ignore-supreme-court-affirmative-action-ruling/>
- **American Progress (July 8, 2024)**  
<https://www.americanprogress.org/article/project-2025-the-plan-to-seize-power-by-gutting-americas-system-of-checks-and-balances/>

## Articles

- **MSNBC “Opinion,” Rachel Maddow, Sept. 8, 2023 (rt 4:20)**  
<https://www.msnbc.com/opinion/msnbc-opinion/project-2025-heritage-foundation-christian-nationalism-renal103510>
- **Spectrum Magazine (Courtney Ray) July 4, 2024**  
<https://spectrummagazine.org/views/columns/the-peculiar-passivity-towards-project-2025/>
- **MS Magazine February 8, 2024**  
<https://msmagazine.com/2024/02/08/project-2025-conservative-right-wing-trump-woke/>
- **BET.com, July 1, 2024**  
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## Clergy

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