
PROJECT 2025 TOOLKIT

Federal Workers Alliance (FWA)
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REMINDER: TO AVOID HATCH ACT VIOLATIONS, DO NOT CAMPAIGN FOR OR CONTACT MEMBERS OF CONGRESS ON DUTY, OR ON OFFICIAL TIME, OR USING A GOVERNMENT PHONE, OR ON GOVERNMENT PROPERTY, OR USING GOVERNMENT EQUIPMENT INCLUDING GOVERNMENT EMAIL ADDRESSES. FOR MORE INFORMATION ON THE HATCH ACT, [CLICK HERE](#).

What is Project 2025?

Project 2025 is the shortened name for “Mandate for Leadership: The Conservative Promise,” a 900-page policy book written by the Heritage Foundation. The Heritage Foundation is an ultra-extremist think tank that has consistently attacked workers’ rights and federal employees. Project 2025 serves as a “comprehensive policy guide” for the next Republican administration by outlining a plan to radically overhaul the government.

In so doing, no aspect of American life would go untouched. From social rights and reproductive health access to Social Security, Medicare, and veterans’ benefits, each chapter offers detailed proposals for dramatically restructuring the Federal government. It anticipates that political loyalists would step into key positions of power on “Day One” of a new administration, and plans for stacks of Executive Orders to be signed by the next president that very day. Its sweeping policy proposals would change how Federal departments, agencies, sub-agencies, and personnel would function—all geared toward implementing and institutionalizing extremist policy priorities and power.

It directly attacks unions and workers at the Federal, state, and private sector levels. It outlines rolling back decades of labor laws and rights and instead replaces them with policies that would only harm worker power.

Rather than just dismissing it as a policy “wish-list,” unions must understand and unpack the underlying ideas behind this document so we can better address the issues with our members. Project 2025’s authors purposely use language to polarizes the American people. It sets apart categories of people who deserve (or don’t deserve) federal benefits and demonizes all of those who don’t fit into their world view. This language, by design, shuts down discussion or any possibility of compromise.

What is this Toolkit?

As union leaders, we need to inform our membership about the risks of implementation of Project 2025. Our members understand how important democracy is. According to the AFL-CIO’s research, Project 2025 is very

unpopular among the 71 percent of union members who know about it. But we cannot be complacent.

This Toolkit is intended to give your union the information it needs to be able to explain why this effort is so harmful to workers, to the labor movement, and to our country. We focus here on impacts to workers and labor—particularly Federal sector employees and unions—but the resources here also talk about wider issues that our members care about like Social Security, veterans’ benefits, and the economy. You know your membership best, so use the resources that best suit them.

We must educate our membership so they can vote for candidates that will stand up to such a brazen assault on our jobs, our communities, and our democracy.

Important Points

Summary of impacts to all workers

Project 2025 would dramatically undermine worker rights—and the ability of unions to represent workers overall—by seeking to:

- Fire federal civil servants and end their job protections in order to replace them with political partisan loyalists through “Schedule F.”
- Eliminate public sector unions.
- Create company-controlled unions in the private sector (which are currently illegal).
- End exclusive representation for existing unions.
- Limit health and safety inspections of workplaces to only employers they consider “egregious offenders.”
- Narrow the definition of what is protected concerted activity.
- Eliminate voluntary recognition of unions.
- Treat laws like the Fair Labor Standards Act or OSHA as “negotiable defaults” and not minimum floors of worker protection.
- Pass legislation allowing state-level waivers from federal labor laws like the National Labor Relations Act and the Fair Labor Standards Act.
- End Project Labor Agreements that create living-wage jobs on public contracts.
- Repeal the Davis-Bacon Act requiring that prevailing wages be paid.

In Detail

Federal Unions: Project 2025 says that the next administration should reinstate Trump-era Executive Orders that required agencies to renegotiate

all union collective bargaining agreements (EO 13836), encouraged agencies to prevent union representatives from using official time to prepare or pursue grievances (EO 13837), and encouraging agencies to limit labor grievances on removals from service or on challenging performance appraisals (EO 13839). These EOs, before being revoked by the Biden Administration, prevented Federal employee unions from being able to fully represent our members and allowed the Federal Service Impasse Panel to rubber-stamp management prerogatives.

Project 2025 calls for Congress to consider whether to allow public sector unions at all. "Congress should also consider whether public sector unions are appropriate in the first place." It goes on to state that public sector unions "frustrat[e] good government management" and therefore should be eliminated. It gives specific examples, such as stating that TSA's "workforce should be deunionized immediately." It calls for decertifying the unions for immigration judges and USCIS employees.

Schedule F/Civil Service: Schedule F is a plan that former President Trump tried to implement at the end of his last term, which the incoming Biden administration then promptly terminated.

In October 2020, the White House announced it was adding Schedule F to the Excepted Service (ES), which is the slice of the federal workforce that operates outside of the competitive selection process. Schedule F was created to allow appointments on a non-competitive basis outside of the range of presidential appointments for positions of a "confidential," "policy-determining, policymaking, or policy-advocating character."

Depending on how such terms are defined, there are potentially tens of thousands of federal workers who might be moved from protected to Schedule F status. For example, the Office of Management and Budget proposed to move a sizeable share of its workforce into the new employment category.

If fully enacted, Schedule F would:

- Politicize the Executive Branch, offering any president and their unelected political appointees absolute control of Executive Branch functions with little regard for law, regulation, ethics, congressional or judicial oversight.
- Force the removal of apolitical Professional Civil Service employees into a new employment status as political appointees without civil

service protections that are essential to enforcing laws, regulations, and ethical behavior.

- Allow for the unregulated hiring of political operatives, including private sector hires, into the Executive Branch and allows them to remain in government indefinitely (unlike Schedule C political appointments that change with presidential transitions).
- Allow cash awards, salary increases, promotions, and other forms of compensation for political acts and other acts of personal, unethical, or criminal service.
- Force tens of thousands of federal employees into a vulnerable employment state, including scientists, attorneys, regulators, medical and public health experts, procurement officers, senior law enforcement officials, military, and intelligence advisors.

Relocate Federal Agency Headquarters and Downsize Offices

Project 2025 indicates that numerous offices should have their personnel laid off and their offices relocated out of Washington, DC. It states that the next president should have advisors who “have some experience in government because they will need to understand the nuance of Reduction in Force (RIF), appropriations hurdles when dealing with U.S. government reorganization, etc.” in order to “relocate personnel and downsize offices accordingly.” The guide touts the Trump Administration’s decision to relocate BLM headquarters from Washington, DC to the West as “the epitome of good governance.”

Privatize, Dismantle, and Reorganize Agencies

Consistent with their disdain for federal agencies and their employees, the Heritage Foundation outlines in Project 2025 that “the only real solution” is “to decentralize and privatize as much as possible.” For example, DHS would be completely overhauled and reorganized, TSA would be privatized, and NOAA “should be dismantled and many of its functions eliminated, sent to other agencies, privatized, or placed under the control of states and territories.”

How Do We Fight Back?

- Educate our members. Learn about Project 2025 and use the resources and materials in this Toolkit to communicate about the dangers it entails.
- Contact the Democratic and Republican cosponsors of the Saving the Civil Service Act (S.399 / HR. 1002) to pass this bill to outlaw Schedule F. Ask others to do the same.
- Contact your Senators and Representative in Congress to urge them to speak out about the corruption of Project 2025 and Schedule F.
- Consider writing or creating Op-Eds or Commentary about Project 2025 and Schedule F in your local media or blogs. Help amplify the calls to action on your social media.
- Consider organizing public and community meetings or a local Town Hall to discuss Project 2025 and the threat of Schedule F.
- Inform others about Project 2025's threat to our economy, including local officials and media. Share this information with global civil society and government leaders and community groups to warn them about its myriad threats to our shared global economy.
- **VOTE! Do not vote for any candidate that endorses or hasn't publicly come out against Project 2025 or Schedule F.**

Sources

Resources

ACLU

- “Project 2025, Explained,”
<https://www.aclu.org/project-2025-explained>

American Federation of Government Employees (AFGE)

- “Project 2025 Seeks to Dismantle Agencies, Terminate Up To 1 Million Federal Workers,”
<https://www.afge.org/article/project-2025-seeks-to-dismantle-agencies-terminate-up-to-1-million-federal-workers/>

AFL-CIO

- “Project 2025 and Unions” (see Government Workers),
<https://betterinaunion.org/project-2025>

Center for American Progress

- Tymoni Correa-Buntley, “Frequently Asked Questions About Project 2025,”
<https://www.americanprogress.org/article/frequently-asked-questions-about-project-2025/>

Democracy Forward

- “Report: The Impending Danger to the Nation’s Civil Service,”
<https://democracyforward.org/work/report-civil-service/>

EPI Action Reports

- Josh Bivens and Celine McNicholas, “Project 2025’s attacks on public-sector unions would cost workers billions per year,”
<https://epiaction.org/2024/10/09/project-2025s-attacks-on-public-sector-unions-would-cost-workers-billions-per-year/>
- David Cooper, Dave Kamper, and Sebastian Martinez Hickey, “Trump’s Project 2025 would put over 20 million workers at risk of wage theft and lower pay,”
<https://epiaction.org/2024/09/17/trumps-project-2025-would-put-over-20-million-workers-at-risk-of-wage-theft-and-lower-pay/>

Federal Workers Alliance

- FWA Letter on Schedule F and S. Amendment 2081,
<https://nffe.org/wp-content/uploads/2024/10/2024-7-23-FWA-Letter-re-Schedule-F-NDAA-Amendment.pdf>

Labor Council for Latin American Advancement (LCLAA)

- "Project 2025: Understanding the Playbook to Dismantle our Communities" (see "Union Workers and Protections")
<https://www.lclaa.org/project-2025>

National Federation of Federal Employees, NFFE-IAM

- "Project 2025 Corruption and its Impact on Federal Employment,"
<https://nffe.org/wp-content/uploads/2024/09/Fed-Employees-and-Sch-F-and-P25.pdf>
- "Stop Criminal and Political Corruption of Project 2025 and Schedule F,"
<https://nffe.org/wp-content/uploads/2024/09/2024-Leg-Week-Paper-P25-Schedule-F.pdf>

National Treasury Employees Union

- "Schedule F News and Materials," <https://www.nteu.org/schedulef>

National Women's Law Center

- "Project 2025: What It Means for Women, Families, and Gender Justice," *one-pager and full report at*
<https://nwlc.org/resource/project-2025-what-it-means-for-women-families-and-gender-justice/>

Stop Project 2025 Task Force

- Citizen's Toolkit for Fighting Project 2025 ([Dropbox](#))
- District-by-District Fact Sheets ([Dropbox](#))
- Education and Workforce Committee Fact Sheet ([Dropbox](#))
- Economic and Financial Impact Fact Sheets ([Dropbox](#))
- Subject-by-Subject Breakdown (see, e.g., Schedule F, p. 8-9; Public Sector Unions, p. 11; Labor, p. 48) ([Dropbox](#))
- Working People Impact Summary ([Dropbox](#))

Stop The Coup 2025

- "Project 2025 Summary and Chapter Breakdown,"
<https://www.stopthecoup2025.org/chapter-breakdown>
- Project 2025 Toolkit (see Module 6: Labor & the Federal Workforce, pg. 49-54), <https://www.stopthecoup2025.org/stc-toolkit>
- "Weaponizing Schedule F,"
<https://www.stopthecoup2025.org/weaponizing-schedule-f>
- "What Does Project 2025 Mean For Federal Workers and Labor?"
<https://www.stopthecoup2025.org/federal-workers-labor>
- "Unpacking Project 2025's Propaganda,"
<https://www.stopthecoup2025.org/unpacking-the-propagand>

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<https://www.aei.org/op-eds/trumps-schedule-f-gambit-is-dangerous/>

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<https://www.axios.com/2022/07/22/trump-presidency-schedule-f-federal-employees>

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<https://www.bostonreview.net/articles/inside-project-2025s-plan-to-reprogram-the-government/>

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<https://www.brookings.edu/articles/the-risks-of-schedule-f-for-administrative-capacity-and-government-accountability/>

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<https://www.cato.org/regulation/spring-2024/schedule-f-phantom-menace>

CBS News, by Melissa Quinn and Jacob Rosen. "What is Project 2025? What to know about the conservative blueprint for a second Trump administration,"
<https://www.cbsnews.com/news/what-is-project-2025-trump-conservative-blueprint-heritage-foundation/>

Center for American Progress. "Exposing the Far-Right Assault on America,"
<https://www.americanprogress.org/series/project-2025-exposing-the-far-right-assault-on-america/> (collection of articles)

Convergence, by Ash-Lee Woodard Henderson, Jackson Potter, and Stephanie Luce. "Project 2025: A Warning for Labor,"
<https://convergencemag.com/video/project-2025-a-warning-for-labor/>

Federal News Network, by Jory Heckman. "Schedule F plans show 'far higher' impact on federal workforce than first anticipated, NTEU warns,"
<https://federalnewsnetwork.com/workforce/2024/02/schedule-f-plans-show-far-higher-impact-on-federal-workforce-than-anticipated-nteu-warns/>

Federal Times, by Molly Weisner. "Trump's White House pushed Schedule F 'to the extreme,' union says,"

<https://www.federaltimes.com/management/career/2024/02/27/trumps-white-house-pushed-schedule-f-to-the-extreme-union-says/>

Government Executive. "Schedule F,"

<https://www.govexec.com/topic/schedule-f/?oref=ge-article-topics>
(collection of articles)

How Things Work, by Hamilton Nolan. "What Republicans Plan to Do to Labor If They Win,"

<https://www.hamiltonnolan.com/p/what-republicans-plan-to-do-to-labor>

Last Week Tonight with John Oliver. "Trump's Second Term,"

https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=gYwqpx6lp_s

Mother Jones, by Noah Lanard. "Trump Loyalists Lay Out Plan for Second Term: Gut Worker Protections,"

<https://www.motherjones.com/politics/2023/08/project-2025-gut-worker-protections-labor-department-heritage-foundation-trump-2024/>

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<https://www.politico.com/news/magazine/2023/12/20/trump-civil-service-0132459>

Wall Street Journal, "Project 2025: The Radical Conservative Plan to Reshape America Under Trump," <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=y16SZhZJHkI>

Social Media/Visuals

Stop The Coup 2025, Squares and Graphics,

<https://www.stopthecoup2025.org/downloads>

Stop Project 2025 Task Force

- Sample Social Media text and graphics ([Dropbox](#))
- Sample slides for presentations ([Dropbox](#))