

Project 2025

An Analysis and Unbiased Summary

Prepared By: Emily Buchanan-Schnepp

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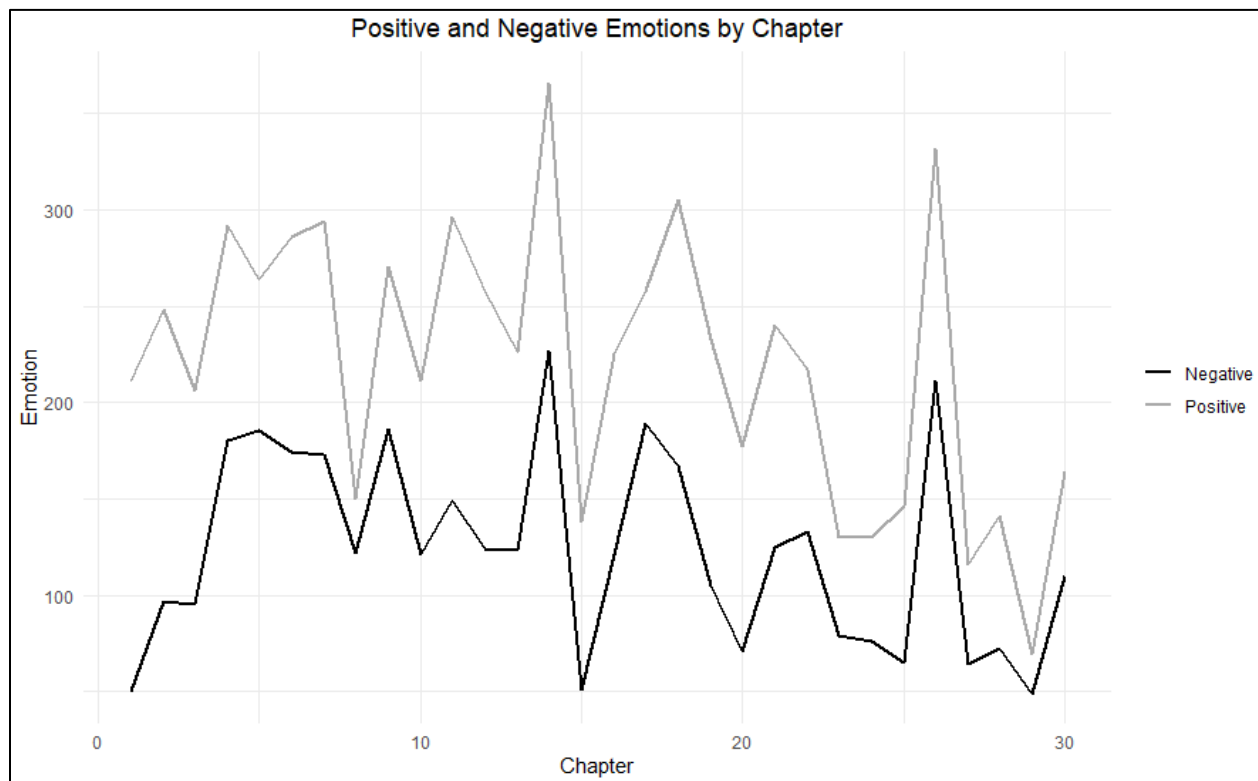
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Introduction

With so much misinformation circulating on social media, especially in memes, it's important to have a way to take an unbiased look at the facts. This analysis breaks down a complex topic by summarizing the text and creating easy-to-understand visualizations. The goal is to present this information in a way that's engaging for everyone, regardless of political affiliation.

To ensure the analysis stays as neutral as possible, several deliberate steps were taken:

- **Grayscale Visualizations:** colors can subconsciously evoke emotions or suggest bias. By using grayscale, I aimed to avoid any unintended influence through color choice.
- **Observation without Interpretation:** While patterns and trends are observed, they are presented as-is, without making inferences or assumptions. Readers are encouraged to draw their own conclusions based on the data.
- **Automated Summarization:** The text was summarized using BART, an NLP tool, which minimizes human bias or interference. This ensures that the summary is generated from the text itself, not influenced by personal perspectives.
- **Focus on Readability:** Although some spelling and grammar suggestions were made by Microsoft Word, only those that improved clarity and readability were applied. This ensures that the information is easy to understand without altering the intended message.



Analysis

Types of Analysis

NLP Exploratory Data Analysis:

- **Word Frequency:** Word clouds show the most used words in the document, but they don't capture context. To provide more depth, we analyze bigrams and trigrams, which are found at the beginning of each chapter.
- **Component Analysis:** Bar graphs show how sections make up the book, or how chapters make up sections. This highlights which topics got more or less attention. Section breakdowns are at the start of every section.

Emotion Detection:

- **Emotion Analysis:** Each chapter is scored by emotion, showing where emotions like joy and anger peak.

Metadata Analysis:

- **Footnote Analysis:** Bar graphs display the number of footnotes per chapter, indicating how much external reference material is used.

Text Complexity and Readability:

- **Readability Metrics:** Formulas that rate how easy or hard the text is to read based on sentence length, syllable count, and word complexity. Metrics used include Flesch-Kincaid Grade, Flesch Reading Ease, Gunning Fog Index; SMOG Index, Coleman-Liau Index, Dale-Chall, and Automated Readability Index.

Abstractive Summary

- Summarizes the key points of the book into a concise version using NLP-based techniques.

Disclaimer:

The following preprocessing steps were applied to the document by the computer to ensure consistency:

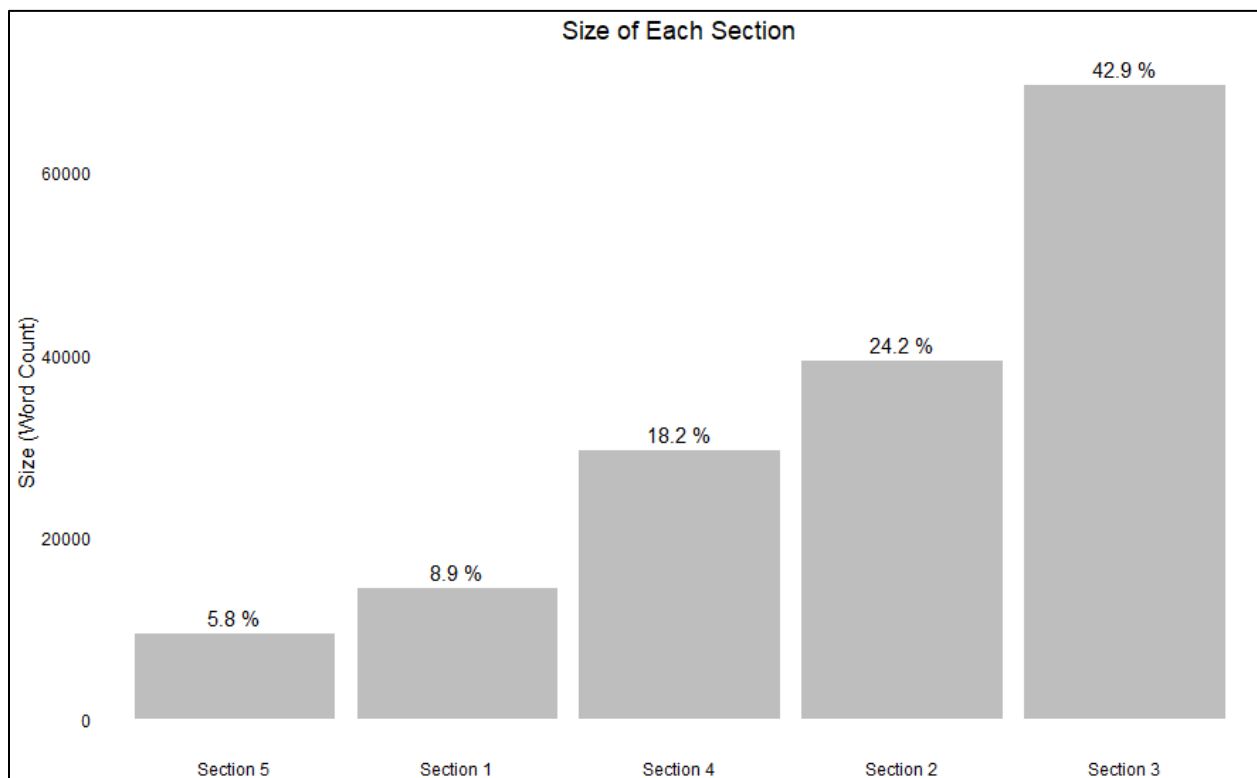
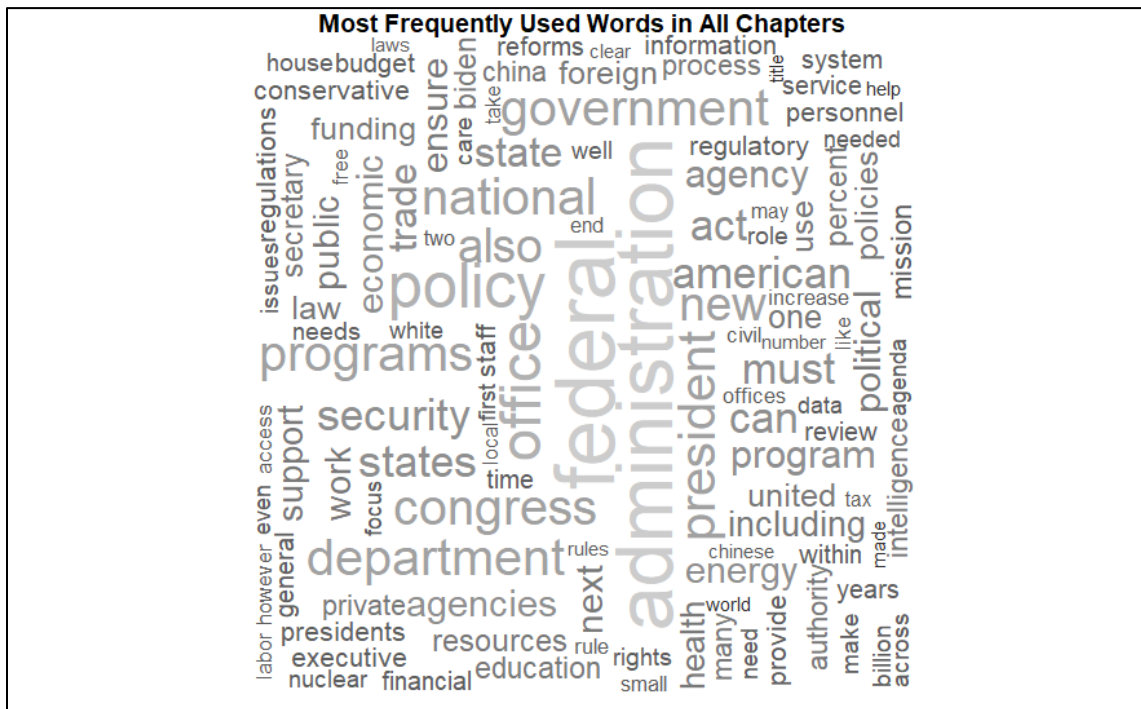
- Removal of unnecessary characters and formatting
- Standardization of terms
- Sentence fragments corrected
- Adjustments to spacing and capitalization (e.g., changing 'U.S.' to 'United States')

Please Note: Visualizations appear in grayscale to avoid introducing bias.

Additionally, a Python-based summarization tool was used to condense the text. This tool was chosen for its ability to handle large volumes of information efficiently.

Lastly, the title of the book and the title of each section were removed from analysis because they are printed at the top of every other page, but don't contribute to the discussion.

Natural Language Processing Exploratory Analysis



Observations in Word Frequency:

Common Words: Frequently used terms across the document include *government, state, national, policy, programs, department, agencies, federal, administration, president, and American*.

Bigrams:

- *Chapter 1 (White House Office)* has the most bigrams (79), followed by *Chapter 12 (Department of Energy and Related Commissions)* and *Chapter 14 (Department of Health and Human Services)* with 48 each.
- *Chapter 29 (Federal Election Commission)* and *Chapter 27 (Financial Regulatory Agencies)* have the fewest, with 5 and 6 bigrams respectively.

Trigrams:

- *Chapter 9 (Agency for International Development)* contains the most trigrams (29), followed by *Chapter 17 (Department of Justice)* with 28.
- *Chapter 3 (Central Personnel Agencies: Managing The Bureaucracy)* and *Chapter 28 (Federal Communications Commission)* have the least (3 trigrams each), with several others tied at 4.

Key Mentions by Chapter:

- National Security: 28 mentions in *Chapter 7 (Intelligence Community)* and 21 mentions in *Chapter 5 (Department of Homeland Security)*.
- Trump administration: 10 mentions in *Chapter 8 (Media Agencies)*.
- Next conservative administration: 29 mentions in *Chapter 9 (Agency for International Development)*.
- Natural gas: 48 mentions in *Chapter 12 (Department of Energy and Related Commissions)*, with natural gas pipelines mentioned 12 times.
- Health care: 48 mentions in *Chapter 14 (Department of Health and Human Services)*, including 8 mentions of women's preventive services.
- American workers: 20 mentions in *Chapter 18 (Department of Labor and Related Agencies)*.
- Fuel economy: 22 mentions in *Chapter 19 (Department of Transportation)*.
- Census Bureau: 19 mentions in *Chapter 21 (Department of Commerce)*.
- Export credit: 18 mentions in *Chapter 23 (Export-Import Bank)*, with 8 mentions of export credit financing and 4 of export credit agency.
- Section 230: 13 mentions in *Chapter 28 (Federal Communications Commission)*.
- Social media: 12 mentions in *Chapter 30 (Federal Trade Commission)*.

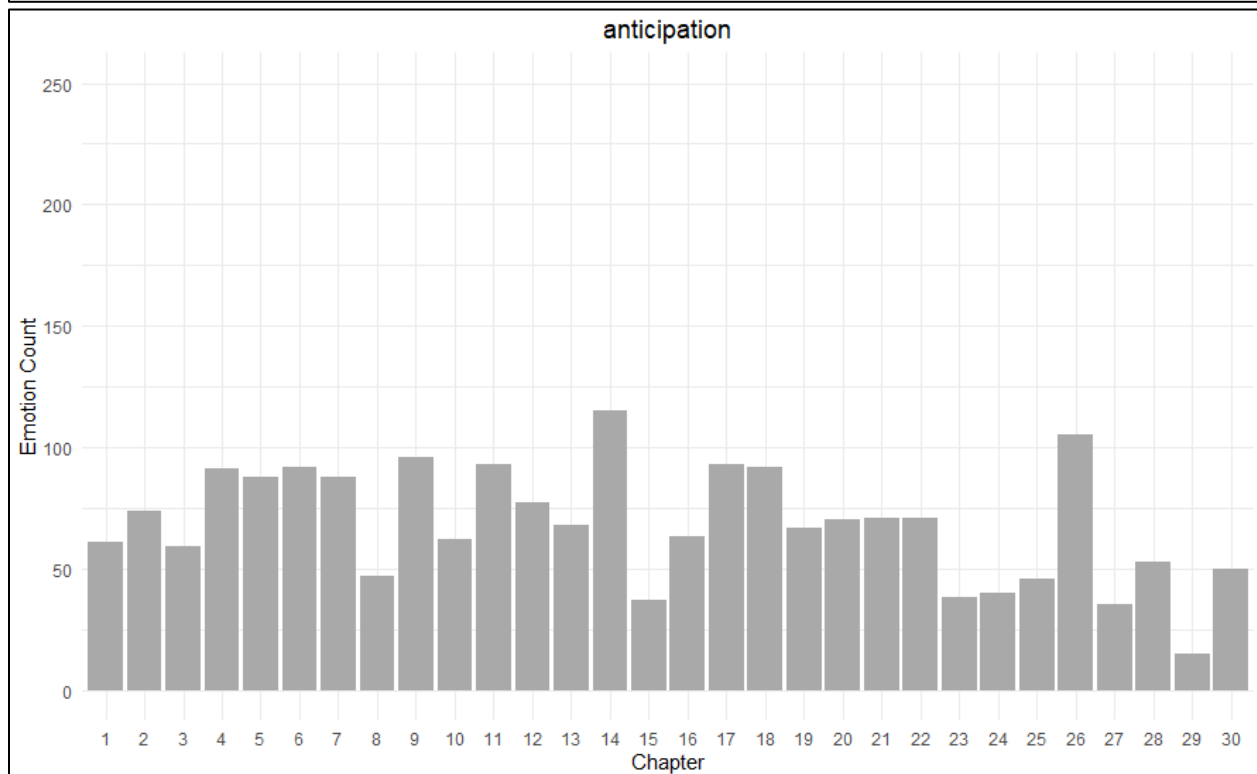
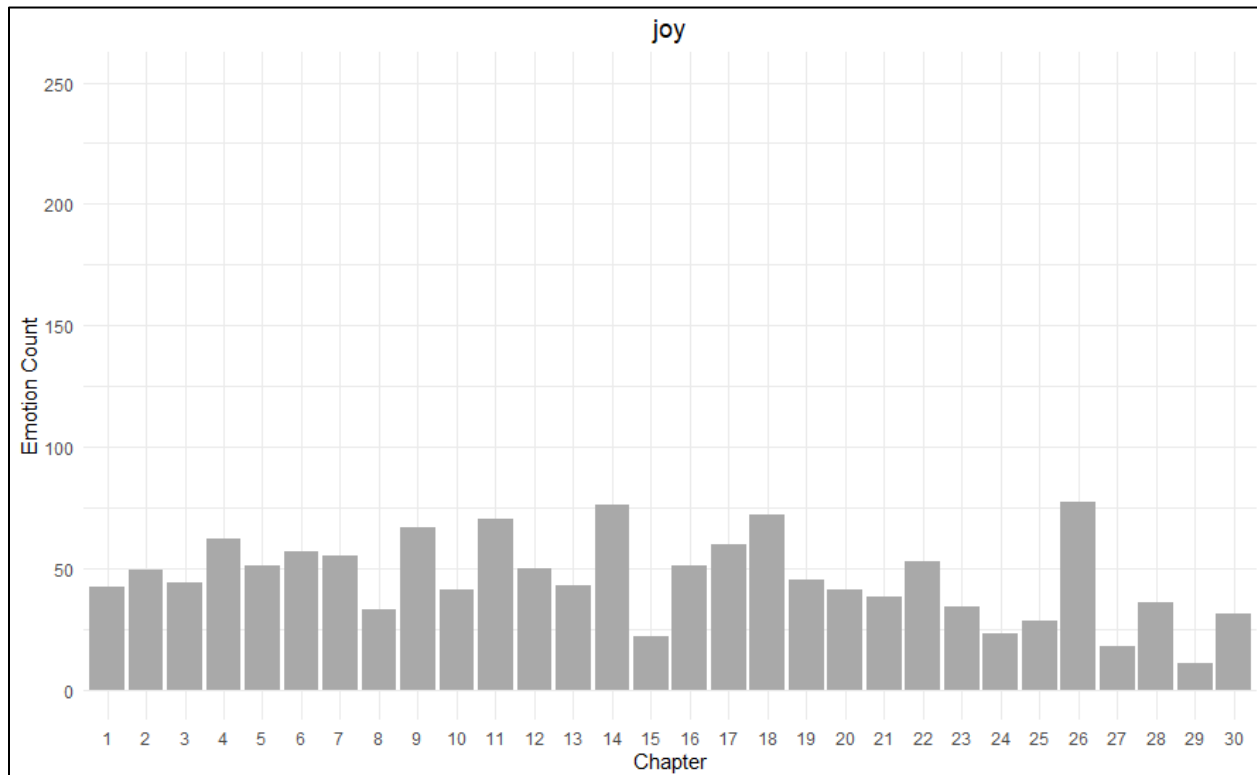
Notable Word Patterns:

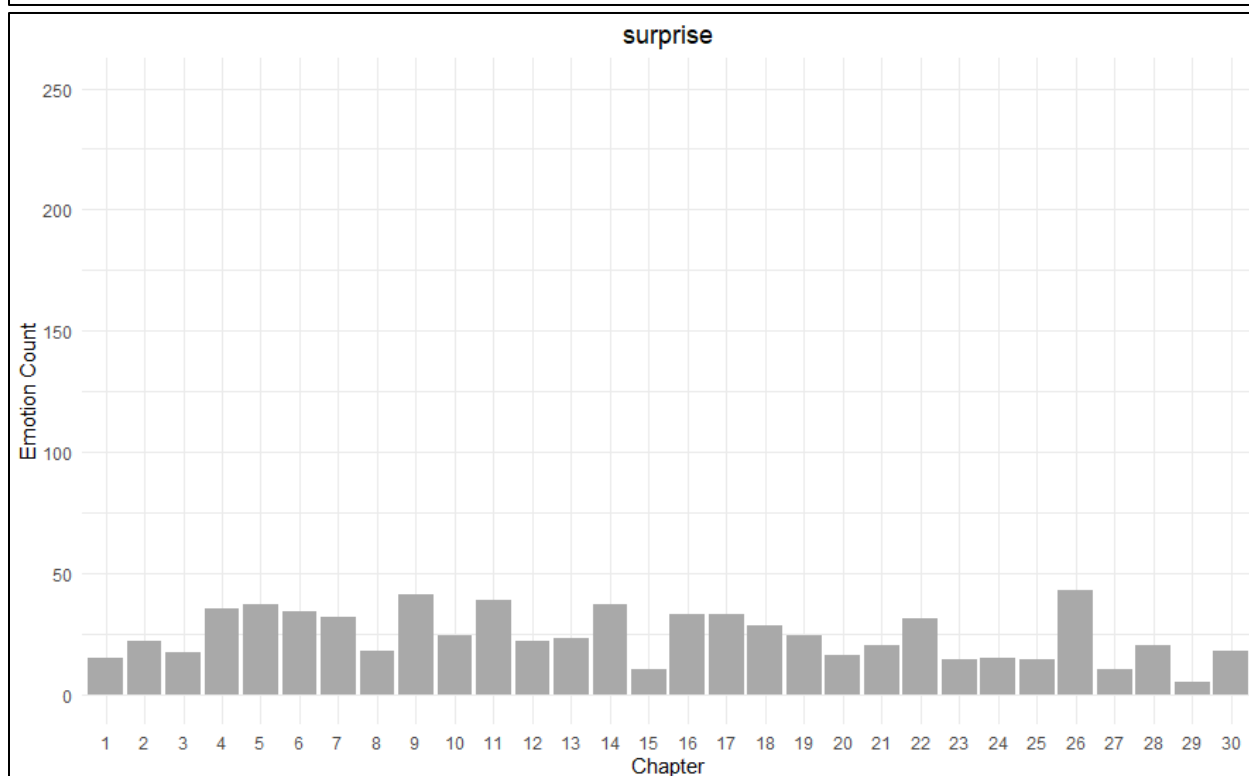
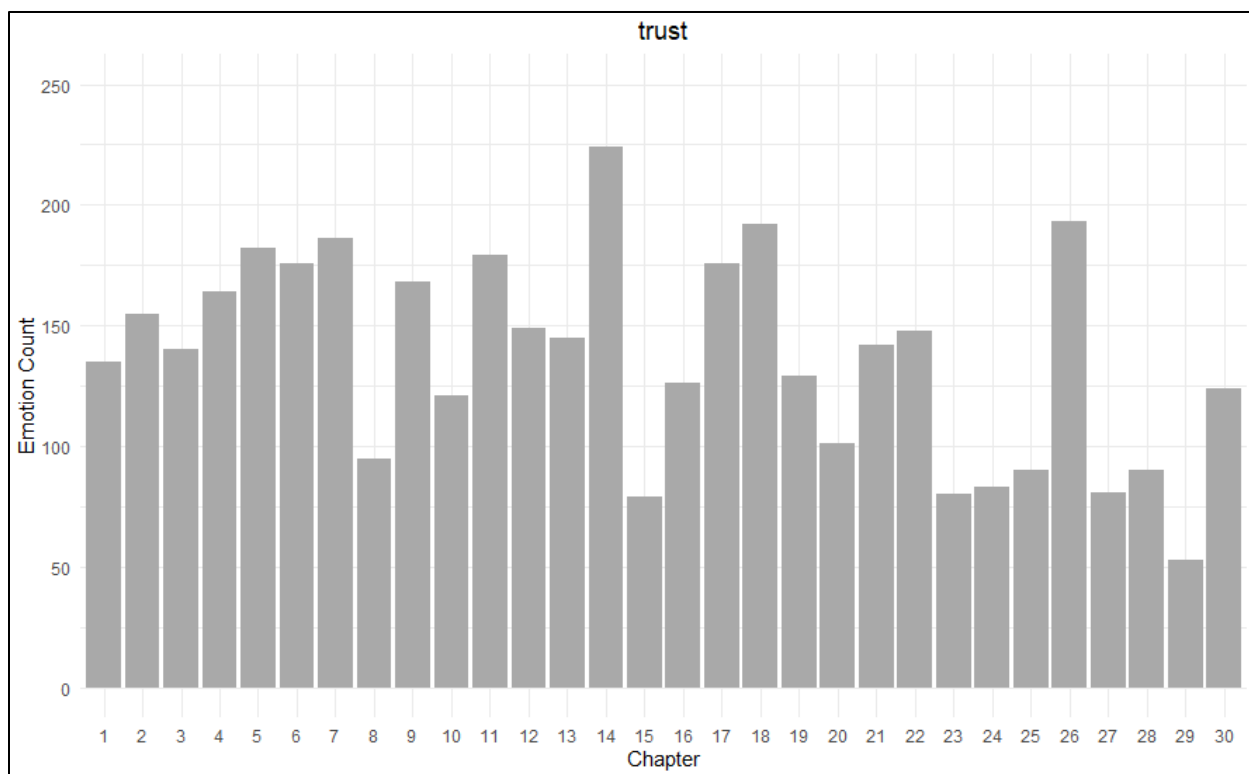
- In *Chapter 1 (White House Office)*, *White House* appears 79 times, often in bigrams and trigrams like *White House Counsel* and *White House policy*.

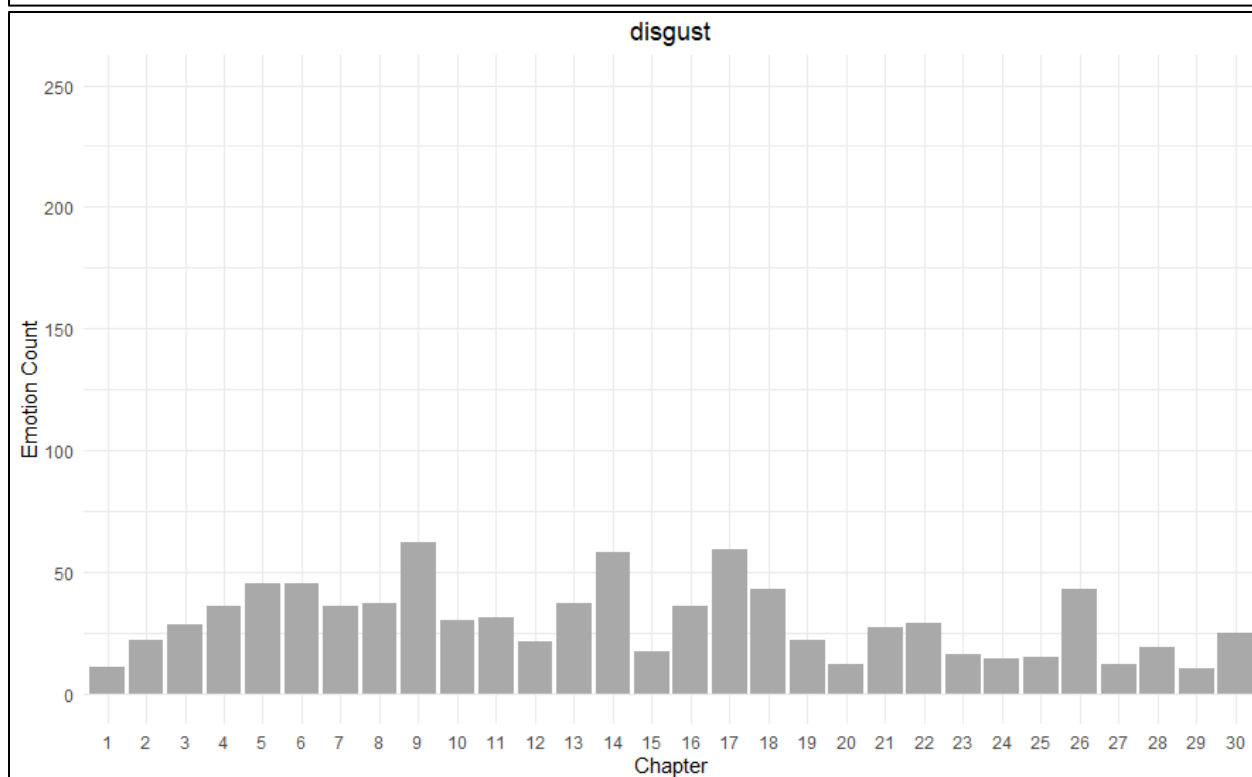
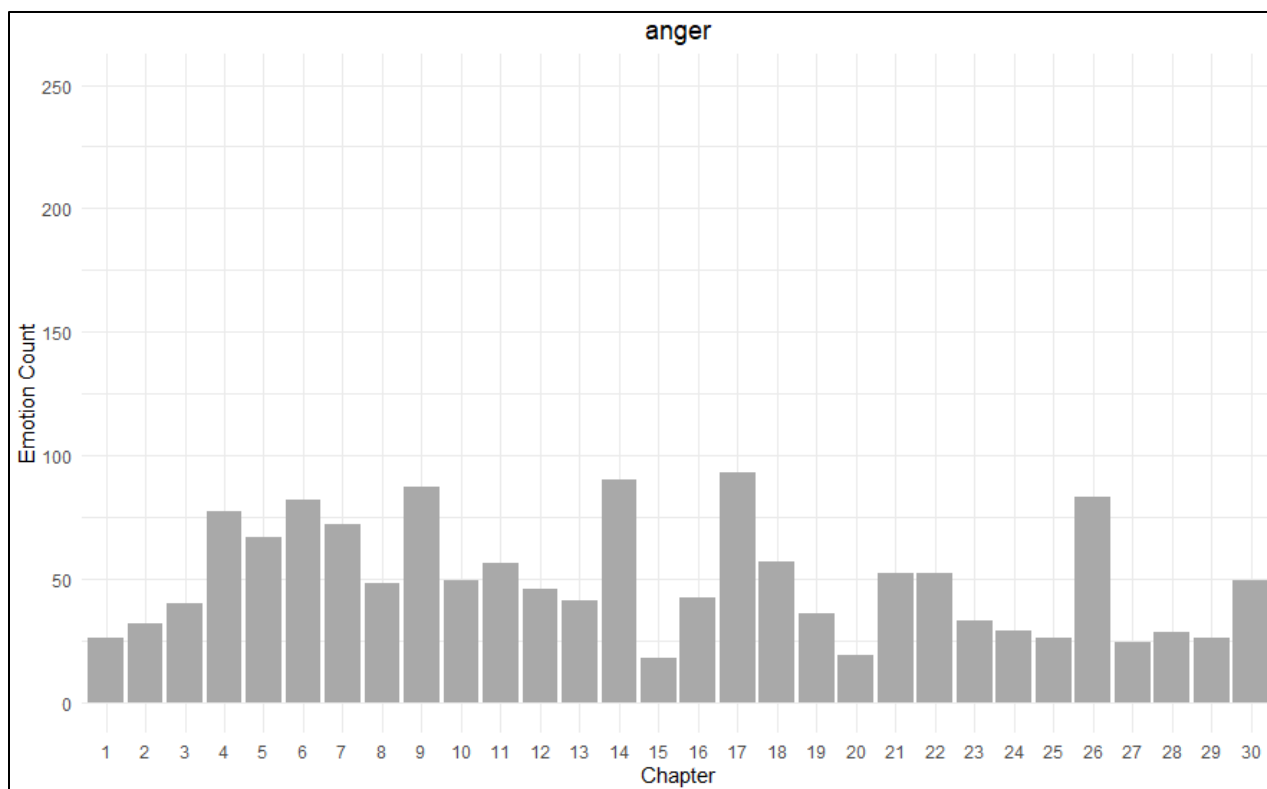
Observations in Chapter and Section size:

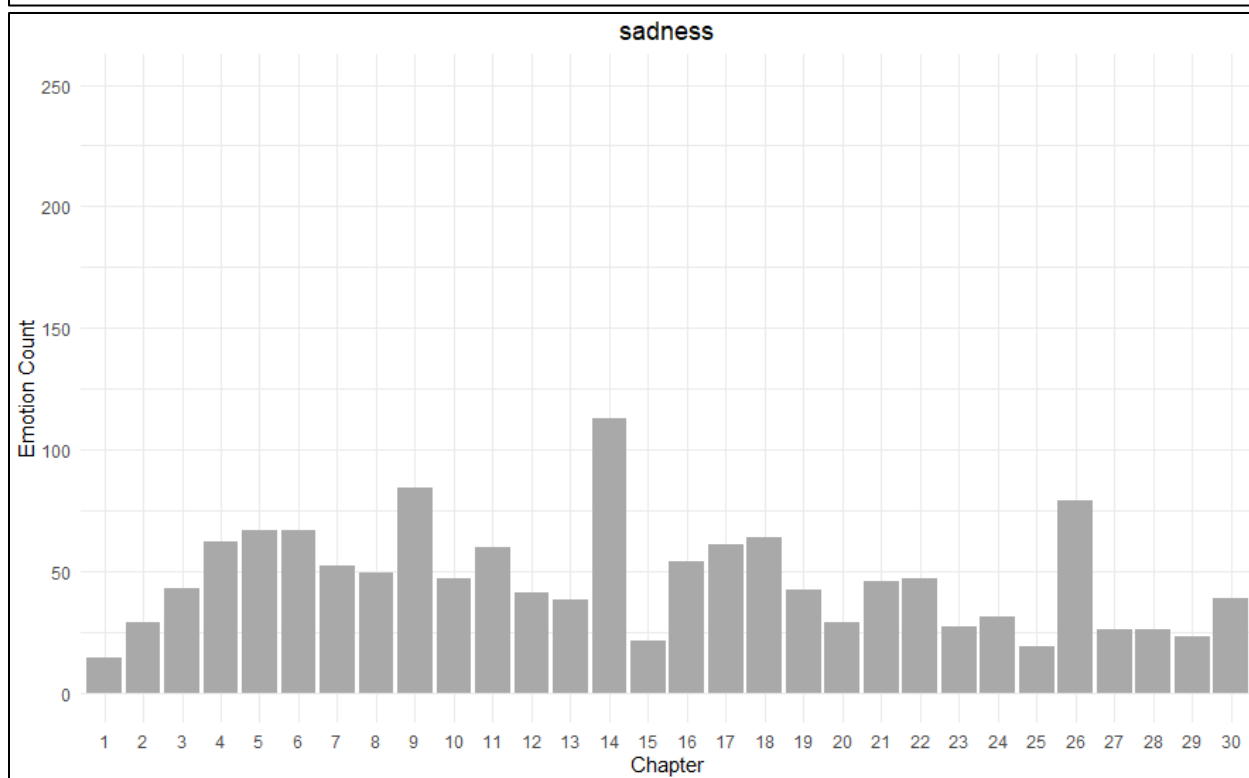
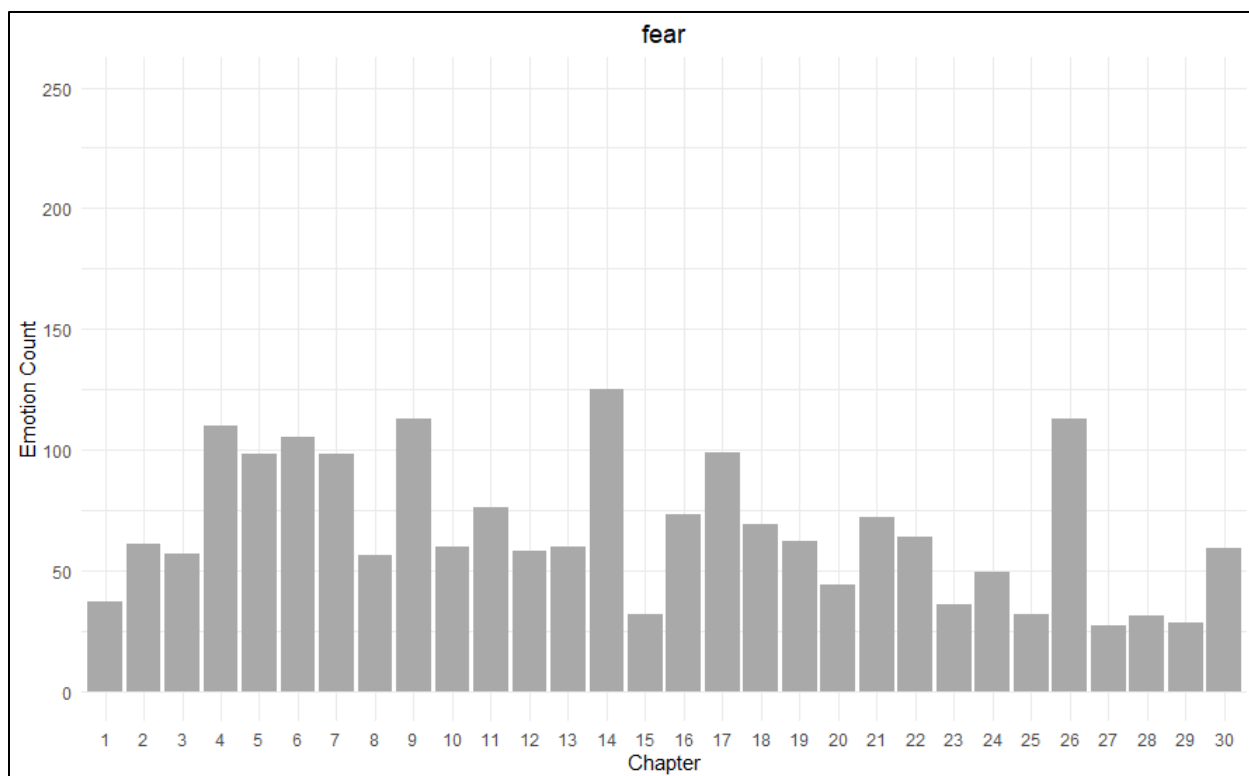
- In *Section 1 (Taking the Reins of Government)*, *Chapter 2 (Executive Office of the President of the United States)* is the largest.
- In *Section 2 (The Common Defense)*, *Chapter 5 (Department of Homeland Security)* is the largest, making up 20% of the section.
- In *Section 3 (The General Welfare)*, *Chapter 14 (Department of Health and Human Services)* is the largest.
- In *Section 4 (The Economy)*, *Chapter 26 (Trade)* is the largest.
- In *Section 5 (Independent Regulatory Agencies)*, *Chapter 28 (Federal Communications Commission)* is the largest (32.7%), while *Chapter 29 (Federal Election Commission)* is the smallest (14.1%).
- *Section 3 (The General Welfare)* is the largest, making up 42.9% of the total word count, while *Section 5 (Independent Regulatory Agencies)* is the smallest, comprising only 5.8% of the total word count.

Emotion Detection





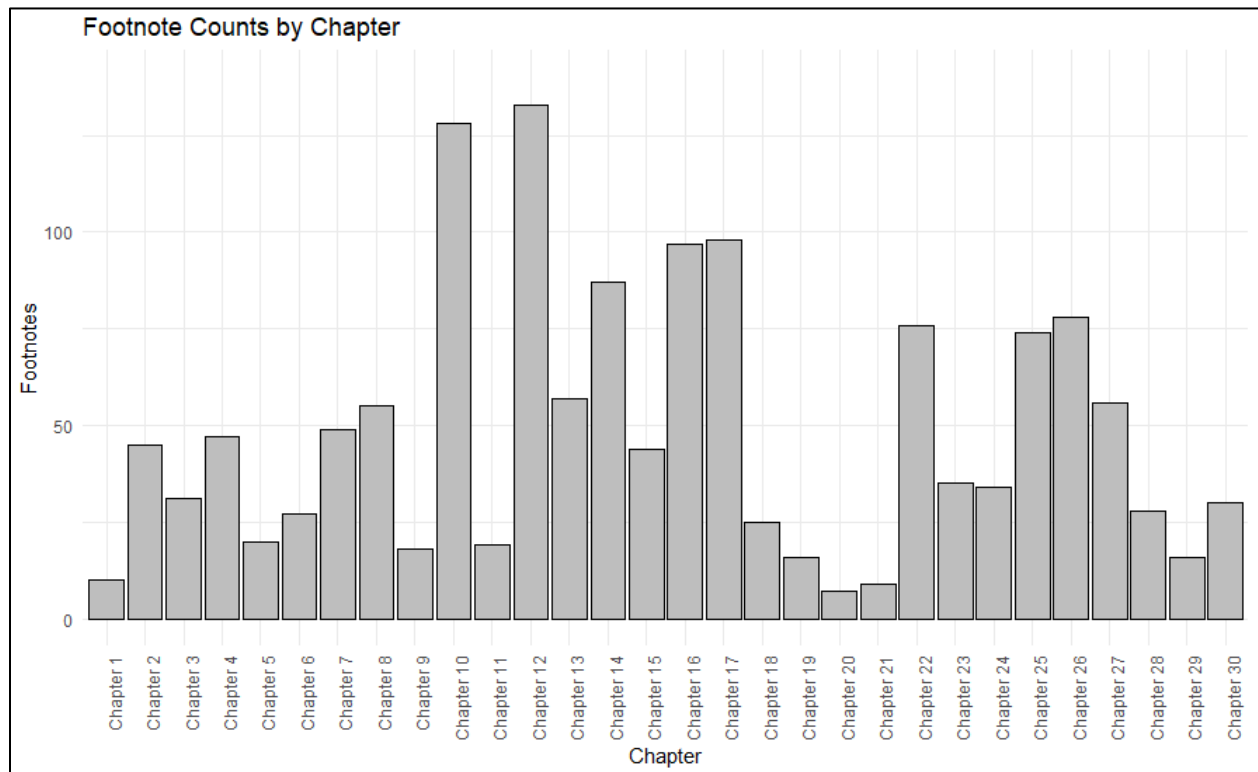




What can be gleaned from emotion analysis:

- *Chapter 1 (White House Office)* shows the least amount of sadness compared to all other chapters.
- Trust appears most frequent overall across chapters, with the highest total count.
- *Chapter 17 (Department of Justice)* has the highest levels of anger and the second-highest levels of disgust.
- *Chapter 15 (Department of Housing and Urban Development)* shows the lowest levels of anger.
- *Chapter 9 (Agency for International Development)* ranks highest for disgust, and second highest for sadness.
- *Chapter 26 (Trade)* ranks highest in surprise, second in joy and anticipation, and third in sadness.
- *Chapter 29 (Federal Election Commission)* has the lowest levels of joy, anticipation, trust, and surprise across all chapters.
- *Chapter 14 (Department of Health and Human Services)* has the highest levels of trust, anticipation, fear and sadness. It also has the second highest levels of joy and anger; and the third highest level disgust. Its surprise is also on the higher side compared to all other chapters, making it one of the most emotional chapters overall.

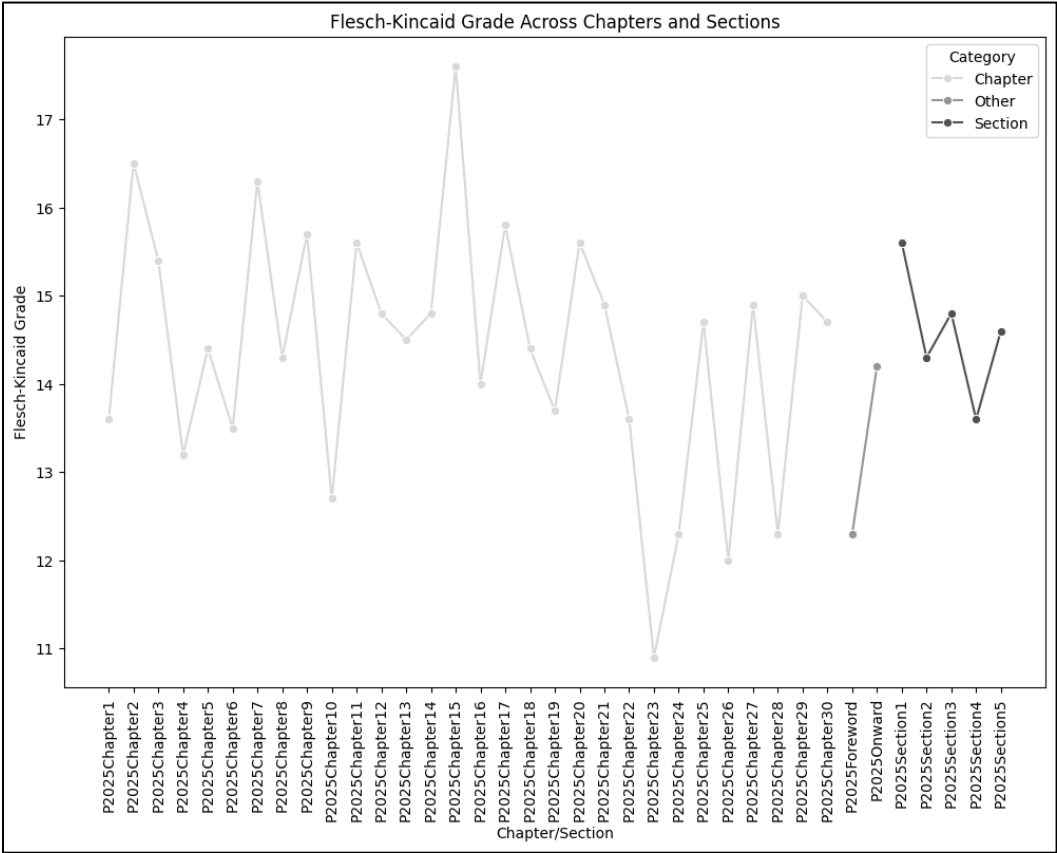
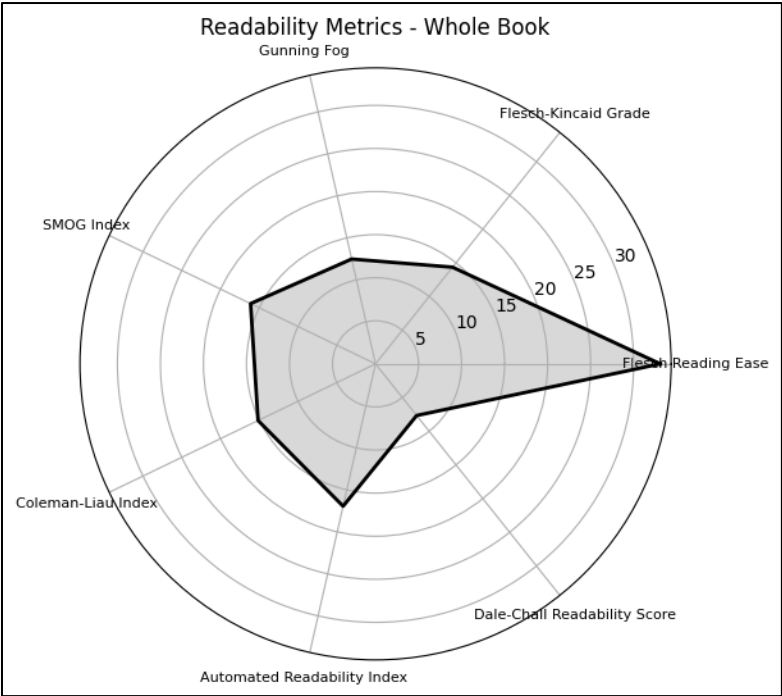
Metadata Analysis



Footnote Analysis Observations:

- *Chapter 12 (Department of Energy and Related Commissions)* has the highest number of footnotes.
- *Chapter 10 (Department of Agriculture)* has the second-highest number of footnotes.
- *Chapter 20 (Department of Veterans Affairs)* has the fewest footnotes.
- Most chapters have between 50 and 100 footnotes.
- The distribution of footnotes varies between chapters, with *Chapter 10 (Department of Agriculture)* and *Chapter 12 (Department of Energy and Related Commissions)* having footnote counts well above average.

Textual Complexity and Readability Metrics



Abstractive Summary

Foreword: A Promise to America

Today, America and the conservative movement are enduring an era of division and danger. Now, as then, our political class has been discredited by wholesale dishonesty and corruption. The Conservative Promise is the product of more than 400 scholars and policy experts from across the conservative movement and around the country. Under current law, Congress is required to pass a budget every single year. Instead, party leaders negotiate one multitrillion-dollar spending bill and then vote on it before anyone, literally, has had a chance to read it. A conservative President must look to the legislative branch for decisive action.

The Heritage Foundation launched a 3,000-page governing handbook in 1979. Dismantle the administrative state and return self-governance to the American people. Its purveyors are child predators and misogynistic exploiters of women. Nearly every power center held by the Left is funded or supported, one way or another, through the bureaucracy. A President who uses his or her office to reimpose constitutional authority over federal policymaking can begin to correct decades of corruption. To most Americans, this is common sense. They are run and staffed almost entirely by people who share their values and are mostly insulated from the influence of national elections.

By the end of that year, more than 60 percent of its recommendations had become policy. This book is the first step in that plan. The next conservative President must understand that using government alone to respond to symptoms of the family crisis is a dead end. The next conservative President must make the institutions of American civil society hard targets for woke culture warriors. The Dobbs decision is just the beginning. Conservatives in the states and in Washington, including in the next conservative Administration, should push as hard as possible to protect the unborn. Alternative options to abortion, especially adoption, should receive federal and state support.

The moral foundations of our society are in peril. It was published in January 1981, the same month Ronald Reagan was sworn into his presidency. This starts with deleting the terms sexual orientation and gender identity (SOGI) and diversity, equity, and inclusion (DEI) Pornography is not a political Gordian knot binding up disparate claims about free speech, property rights, sexual liberation, and child welfare. The pro-family promises expressed in this book must go much further than the traditional, narrow definition of “family issues”. It’s not dysfunction; it’s corruption. The next conservative President must possess the courage to relentlessly put the interests of the everyday Americans over the desires of the ruling elite. They enthusiastically support supranational organizations like the United Nations and European Union.

Contributors include former elected officials, world-renowned economists, and veterans from four presidential Administrations. The surest way to put the federal government back to work for the American people is to reduce its size and scope back to something resembling the original constitutional intent. Under our Constitution, the legislative branch is far and away the most powerful and, correspondingly, the most accountable to the people. In the meantime, there are many executive tools a courageous conservative President can use to handcuff the bureaucracy. The next President must end the Left's social experimentation with the military and restore warfighting as its sole mission. This Wilsonian hubris has spread like a cancer through many of America's largest corporations, its public institutions and its popular culture.

The Heritage Foundation is proud to have played a small but pivotal role in that story. Conservatives should be confident that we can rescue our kids, reclaim our culture, revive our economy, and defeat the anti-American Left. Their product is as addictive as any illicit drug and as psychologically destructive as any crime. Parents' rights as their children's primary educators should be non-negotiable in American schools. Every threat to family stability must be confronted. Conservatives desire a smaller government not for its own sake, but for the sake of human flourishing. A conservative President must move swiftly to do away with these vast abuses of presidential power and remove the career and political bureaucrats who fuel it. The American people's right to rule ourselves is the obverse of our duty.

The legacy of the Reagan Revolution is that if conservatives want to save the country, we need a bold and courageous plan. The entire point of centralizing political power is to subvert the family. Its purpose is to replace people's natural loves and loyalties with unnatural ones. The American family is in crisis. There is no government program that can replace the hole in a child's soul cut out by the absence of a father. Federal power must instead be wielded to reverse the crisis and rescue America's kids from familial breakdown. The Left is threatening the tax-exempt status of churches and charities that reject woke progressivism. In the end, congressional leaders' behavior and incentives here are no different from those of global elites insulating policy decisions from the sovereignty of national electorates. The Administrative State is not going anywhere until Congress acts to retrieve its own power from bureaucrats and the White House. The American people desire a military full of highly skilled servicemen and women who can protect the homeland and our interests overseas. They seek to purge the very concept of the nation-state from the American ethos.

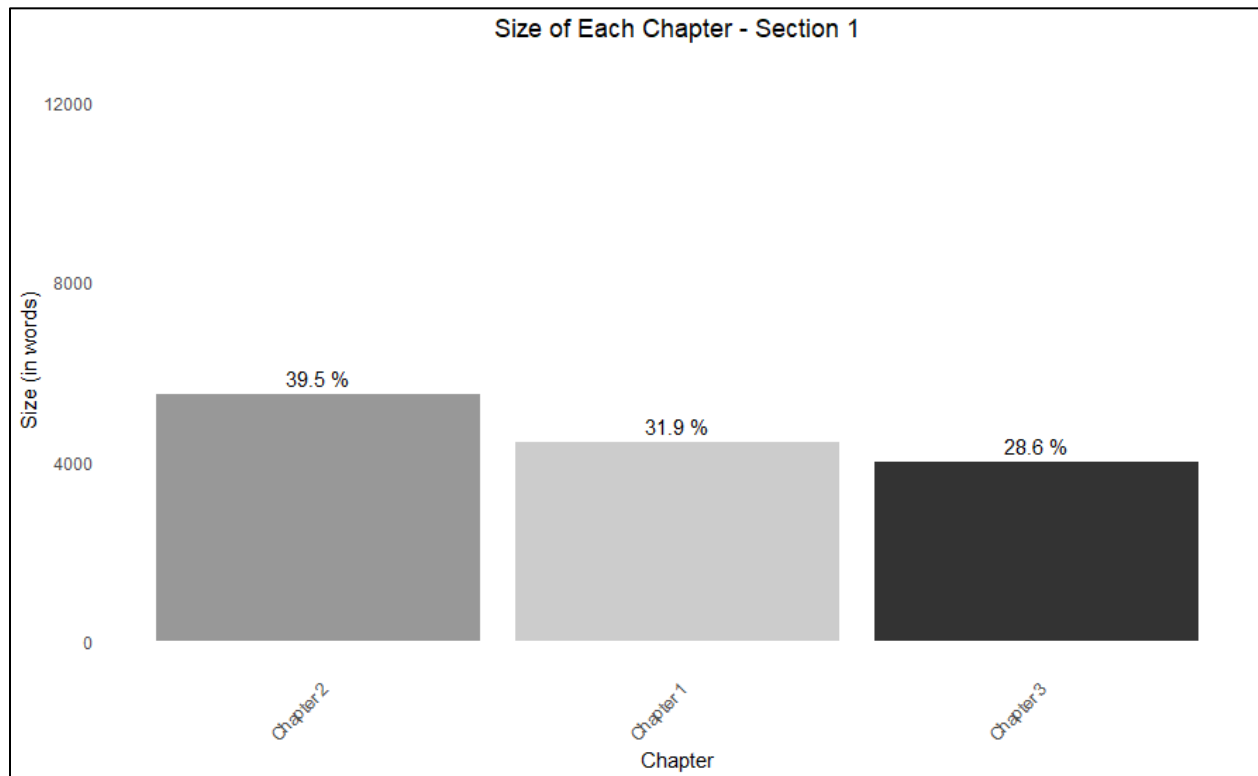
The Republican Party seems to have little understanding about what to do. The late 1970s proved to be the moment when the political Right unified itself and the country. This

is an agenda prepared by and for conservatives who will be ready on Day One of the next Administration. Defend our nation's sovereignty, borders, and bounty against global threats. The Conservative Promise includes dozens of specific policies to accomplish this existential task. Federal policy cannot allow this industrial-scale child abuse to continue. The last time Congress did so was in 1996. So today in Washington, most policy is no longer set by Congress at all, but by the Administrative State. Members of Congress shield themselves from constitutional accountability when the White House allows them to get away with it. But in Washington, D.C. and other centers of Leftist power like the media and the academy, this statement of basic civics is branded hate speech. America's corporate and political elites do not believe in the ideals to which our nation is dedicated. The woke Left seeks a world, bound by global treaties they write, in which they exercise dictatorial powers over all nations without being subject to democratic accountability.

Secure our God-given individual rights to live freely—what our Constitution calls “the Blessings of Liberty” The next conservative President must get to work pursuing the true priority of politics—the well-being of the American family. Forty percent of all children are born to unmarried mothers, including more than 70 percent of black children. The noxious tenets of “critical race theory” and “gender ideology” should be excised from curricula in every public school in the country. For public institutions to use taxpayer dollars to declare the superiority or inferiority of certain races, sexes, and religions is a violation of the Constitution and civil rights law. But the Washington Establishment doesn't want a constitutionally limited government because it means they lose power and are held more accountable. Public scrutiny and democratic accountability make life harder for policymakers, so they skirt it. The federal government is growing larger and less constitutionally accountable—even to the President—every year. The Administrative State holds 100 percent of its power at the sufferance of Congress. We cannot outsource to others our obligation to ensure the conditions that allow our families, local communities, churches and synagogues to thrive. The elites believe in a kind of 21st century Wilsonian order in which the “enlightened,” highly educated managerial elite runs things. Progressive policymakers and pundits in America either fail to understand this premise or intentionally reject it.

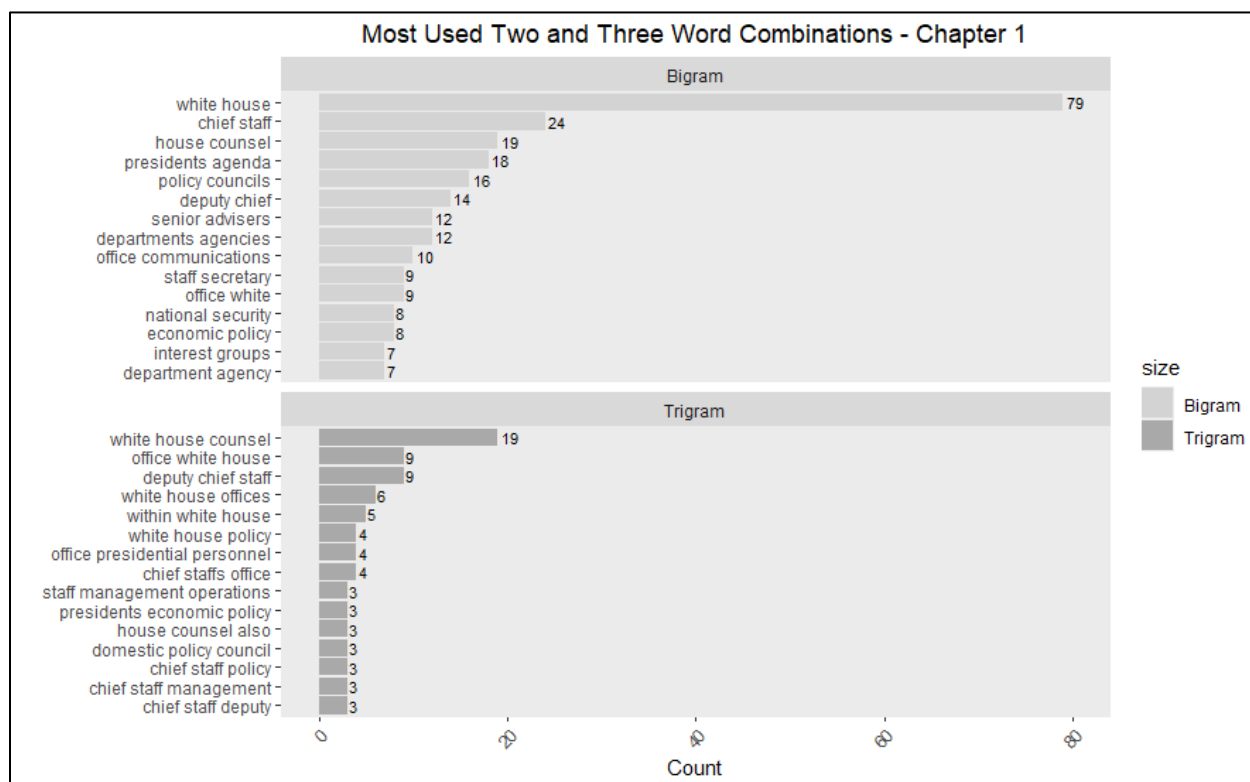
The late 1970s were by any measure a historic low point for America. States, cities and counties, school boards, union bosses, principals, and teachers who disagree should be immediately cut off from federal funds. This resolve should color each of our policies. In recent decades, members of the House and Senate discovered that if they give away that power to the Article II branch of government, they can also deny responsibility for its actions. Unaccountable federal spending is the secret lifeblood of the Great Awakening.

That's why they are eager for America to sign international treaties on everything from pharmaceutical patents to climate change.



Section 1: Taking the Reins of Government

Chapter 1: White House Office



In recent years, Presidents typically have appointed two Deputy Chiefs of Staff: a Deputy Chief of Staff for Management and Operations and a Deputy chief of staff for Policy. This deputy also interfaces directly with the Secret Service as well as the military offices tasked with keeping the President and his family safe. Assistant and associate attorneys are often specialists in particular areas of the law and offer guidance to the EOP on issues related to national security, criminal law, environmental law. This often means forgoing law review-style memos about esoteric legal concepts. They must also provide advice to policy staffers regarding whether certain ideas are politically feasible. The White House, not the department or agency, has the final word on political appointments. The OPA should have one director of political affairs who reports either to the Chief of Staff or to a Deputy Chief of staff. Because nearly all White House activities are in some way inherently political, the OPA must be aware of all presidential actions and activities.

Since George Washington, every President has been supported by some form of White House office. The jobs in what is now known as the White House Office are among the most demanding in all of government. White House Counsel and senior advisers and senior counselors are also intimately involved. The White House Counsel's office cannot serve as a finishing school to credential the next set of white-shoe law firm attorneys or federal judges in waiting. When a new President takes office, he will need to decide

expeditiously how to handle any major ongoing litigation or other pending legal matters that might present a challenge to his agenda. The Office of the Staff Secretary is rarely visible to the outside world, but it performs work of tremendous importance. The best one will be above all loyal to the President and the Constitution. The Staff Secretary makes certain that materials are complete, well-ordered, and up to date before they reach the President. The Staff Secretary oversees the use of the President's signature, whether by hand or by autopen. The Staff Secretary also manages the Office of the Executive Clerk, Office of Records Management, and Office of Presidential Correspondence. The next Administration should reexamine the balance between media demands and space constraints on White House premises. The OLA often must function as the mediator among the parties and find common ground to facilitate the successful enactment of the President's agenda. Because Congress holds the power of the purse, White House staffers must ensure there is enough support on the Hill to secure the necessary funding. The PPO must also fill approximately 3,000 political jobs that require dedicated conservatives to support the Administration's political leadership. The OCA also connects the departments to WHO offices.

The Office of White House Counsel is responsible for ensuring that each component of the White House adheres to all applicable legal and ethical guidelines. The next Administration should reexamine this policy and determine whether it might be more efficient or more appropriate for communication to occur through additional channels. Internally, OLA staffers need to be involved in policy discussions, budget reviews, and other important meetings.

From popular culture to academia, the American presidency has long been a prominent fixture of the national imagination. The chief then works with the policy councils, the Cabinet, and the Office of Communications and Office of Legislative Affairs. The Deputy Chief of Staff for Management and Operations oversees the President's schedule and all logistical aspects of his movement within and outside of the White House. In some Administrations, the functions of the IGA, OPA, and OPL and other advisers within the WHO have fallen under the Deputy Chief of Staff for Policy. This deputy chief should have impressive policy credentials in the realms of economic, domestic, and social affairs. The Office of White House Counsel must offer measured legal guidance in a timely manner. The Office of Communications must ensure that congressional leaders receive one unified message. Many medium-tier and top-tier jobs have been filled by policy experts tasked with accomplishing much of the work of the Administration.

Of all presidential staff members, the chief is the most critical to implementation of the President's vision for the country. For conservatives, this arrangement could help to connect the WHO's outreach to political and external groups. The President should hire a

counsel with extensive experience with a wide range of complex legal subjects. This includes presidential decision memos; bills passed by Congress (which may be accompanied by signing or veto statements); and briefing books, reading materials, samples of constituent mail, personal mail, and drafts of speeches. The Communications Director must be politically savvy and very aware of the ongoing activities of the other White House offices. The Office of Cabinet Affairs coordinates all Cabinet meetings with the President. The OCA is normally tasked with keeping the WHO informed of such developments and providing support.

The Constitution gives the “executive Power” to the President. There simply are not enough hours in the day to manage the affairs of state single-handedly. The chief maps out the issues and themes that will be covered daily and weekly. A successful chief steers the West Wing using his management of and influence with the various individuals and entities around him. It is dedicated to guiding the President and his reports on how (within the bounds of the law) to pursue and realize the President’s agenda. The Communications Director must convey the President’s mission to the American people. The Press Secretary engages with the White House Press Corps formally through press briefings and informally through impromptu gaggles and meetings. Speechwriting is a unique talent: The writers selected must understand policy and have a firm grasp of history. The new Administration should examine the nature of the relationship between itself and the White House Correspondents Association and consider whether an alternative coordinating body might be more suitable. The Office of Presidential Personnel is responsible for identifying and recruiting political leaders. In most Administrations, PPO will staff more than 100 positions during a transition and thousands of noncareer positions during the President’s first term. The Office of Political Affairs (OPA) is the primary office within the executive branch for managing the President’s political interests. Within legal guidelines, the OPA engages in outreach, conducts casework, and—if the President is up for reelection—assists with his campaign. The OCA coordinates with the Chief of Staff’s office and the Office of Communications to promote the President’s agenda through the Cabinet departments and agencies. The ideal Cabinet Secretary will have exceptional organizational skills and be a seasoned political operative or attorney.

Presidents have surrounded themselves with senior advisers whose experience and interests are not necessarily neatly defined. The selection of White House Counsel is one of the most important decisions an incoming President will make. The office is not designed to create or advance policies on its own initiative. The White House Counsel must get up to speed as quickly as possible on all significant ongoing legal challenges. The office is similar to a military commander’s adjutant as it is responsible for fielding and managing a vast amount of information. The Office of Communications must maintain robust

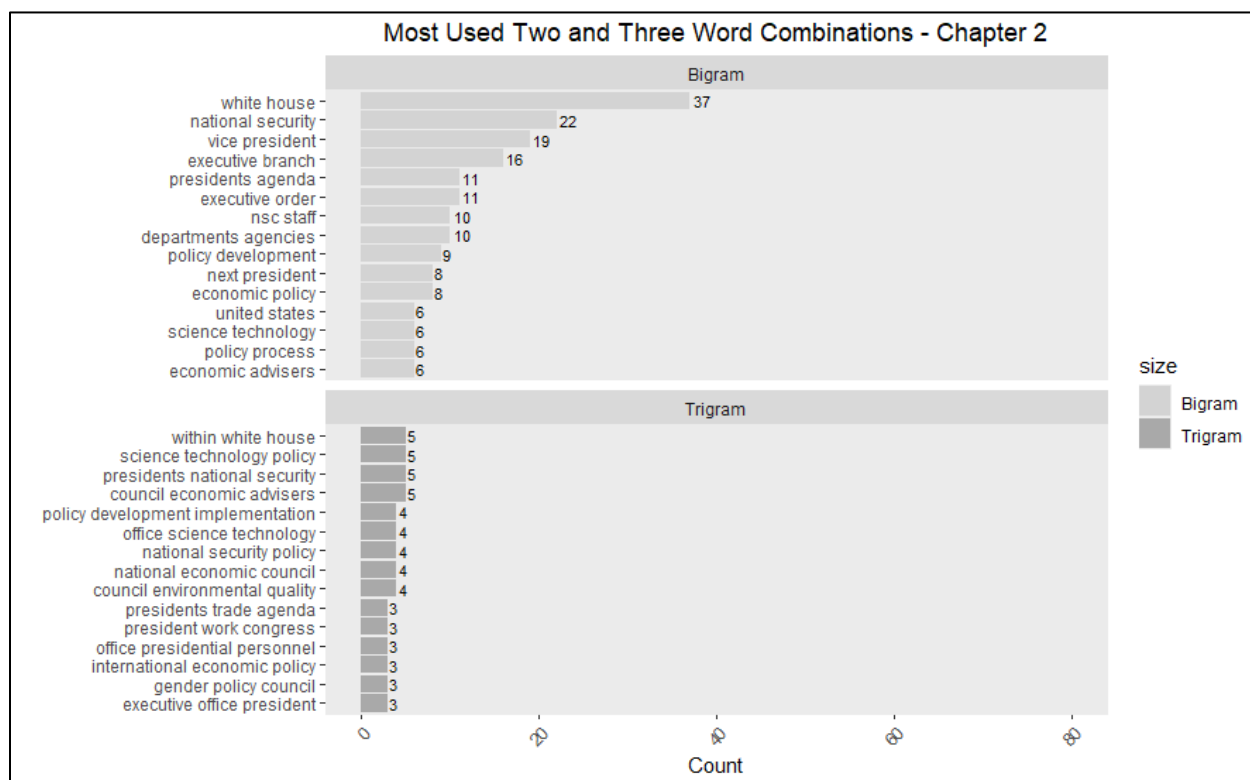
relationships with the White House Press Corps and key interest groups. If other actors within the White House maintain their own relationships with congressional leaders and staffers, it may appear that the President's agenda is fractured and lacks consensus.

With respect to the presidency, it is best to begin with our Republic's foundational document. The tone and tempo of an administration are often determined on January 20. The Chief of Staff's first managerial task is to establish an organizational chart for the WHO. White House Counsel must protect the powers and privileges of the President from encroachments by Congress, the judiciary, and the administrative components of departments and agencies. The President cannot afford to have a tennis player on his football team. PPO's primary responsibility is to staff the executive branch with individuals who are equipped to implement the President's agenda. The OPA typically serves as the liaison between the President and associated political entities. This relationship allows for the exchange of information between the White House and political actors across the country.

All senior staff report to the Chief of Staff, either directly or through his two or three deputies. In recent Administrations, senior advisers have been appointed to offer broad guidance on political matters and communications issues. This book is filled with all the reading material and leading documentation the President needs to make decisions. No legal entitlement exists for the provision of permanent space for media on the White House campus. The President is in charge of the federal workforce and exercises control principally by working through the Director of the Office of Personnel Management.

The chief endeavors to implement the President's agenda by setting priorities for the WHO. The President is briefed on all of his policy priorities by his Cabinet and senior staff as directed by the chief. This means ensuring that White House staff regularly consult with office attorneys on required financial disclosures, received gifts, potential conflicts of interest. There should be one Cabinet Secretary who reports to the Chief of Staff's office, either directly or through a deputy chief. The Cabinet Secretary maintains a direct relationship with all members of the Cabinet.

Chapter 2: Executive Office of the President of the United States



The two most important offices for moving OMB at the will of a Director are the Budget Review Division (BRD) and the Office of General Counsel (OGC). The Director should have a direct and effective relationship with the head of the BRD. It is vital that the Director and his political staff, not the careerists, drive these offices in pursuit of the President's actual priorities. But executive reforms and actions are not enough: Congress also must act. The NSC should be fully incorporated into the White House. The White House Counsel should be part of that policy process as the President's top legal adviser. This would include (among other topics) taxes, energy and environment, technology, infrastructure, health care, financial services, workforce, agriculture, antitrust and competition policy, and retirement programs. A future conservative Administration should utilize CEA as the senior internal White House economists.

In 1870, Congress passed the Anti-Deficiency Act to prevent the common agency practice of spending down all appropriated funding. The law mandated that all funding be allotted or "apportioned" in installments. The NSA should assign responsibility for implementation of specific policy initiatives to senior NSC officials. It should also be allowed to do its job without the impediment of dually hatted staff that report to other offices. The Director serves as principal adviser to the President on domestic and international economic policy. In the past, there has been tension among the DPC, NEC,

and NSC over jurisdiction. The CEA does play a key role in ensuring that any policy considered by the councils is rigorously evaluated for its economic impacts. China's predatory trade practices have disrupted the open-market trading system.

The great challenge confronting a conservative President is the existential need for aggressive use of the vast powers of the executive branch. This chapter focuses on key features of and recommendations for several of the EOP's important components. OMB can direct on behalf of a President the amount, duration, and purpose of any apportioned funding to ensure against waste, fraud, and abuse. This expanded pool of RMO with additional political leadership would enable more comprehensive direction and oversight of policy development and implementation. Administrative pay-as-you-go imposes budget neutrality on the discretionary choices of federal agencies. These teams would help agencies take cost-benefit analysis into account from the beginning of their rulemaking efforts. These officials should develop, direct, and execute tangible action plans in coordination with multiple agencies to achieve measurable, time-defined milestones. They should provide policy analysis for consideration by the broader NSC and relevant agencies and ensure timely responses to decisions made by the President. It will be especially important for the NEC to work seamlessly with the Council of Economic Advisers. By law, the CEA is required to publish an annual Economic Report of the President within 10 days after submission of the budget.

OMB assists the President in the execution of his policy agenda across the government by employing many statutory and executive procedural levers to bring the bureaucracy in line with all budgetary, regulatory, and management decisions. OMB should work toward a "One OMB" position on behalf of the President and represent that view during the various policymaking processes. The existing six RMOs should be divided into smaller subject-matter areas. Each of these PADs should have a Deputy PAD. OPPM also works with the U.S. Office of Personnel Management to establish and manage personnel policies and practices across the federal government. The next President should also revive the directive in Executive Order 13891 that significant guidance documents also must pass through Olra review. Accountable senior officials, themselves either political appointees or a minimum number of career detailees, should be the main day-to-day managers. Statutorily, the CEA is charged with being the President's principal source of economic advice.

The President must set and enforce a plan for the executive branch. James Madison warned that "the accumulation of all powers, legislative, executive, and judiciary, in the same hands, may justly be pronounced the very definition of tyranny." Regrettably, that wise and cautionary note describes to a significant degree the modern executive branch.

OMB is a President's air-traffic control system with the ability and charge to ensure that all policy initiatives are flying in sync. The U.S. owes \$31 trillion on a debt that is steadily increasing. OPPM helps the Director to set a wide range of policies for all of those who contract with the executive branch. The President should maintain Executive Order (EO) 12866, the foundation of OIRA's review of regulatory actions. The next President should work with Congress to maximize the utility of the Congressional Review Act (CRA), the authors say. However, this role has diminished over time as its policy appraisal and especially formulation and recommendation functions have been taken over or diluted by other economic policy bodies within the White House.

The principle may occasionally yield to other overarching requirements, such as a presidential regulatory budget. The President should use every possible tool to propose and impose fiscal discipline on the federal government. Building on the example and work of the Trump Administration, President Biden established this office to centralize, carry out, and further develop the federal government's Buy-American and other Made-in-America commitments. The National Security Council was established by statute to support the President in developing and implementing national security policy. The National Defense Strategy, which by tradition has evaded significant review, should be prioritized for White House review by the NSC and OMB. The NSC should rigorously review all general and flag officer promotions to prioritize the core roles and responsibilities of the military. The NEC should promote innovation as a foundation for economic growth and opportunity. The USTR should represent the interests of the President's trade agenda with adequate budget, staff, analysis, and expertise to engage meaningfully in internal and interagency policy deliberations. A strong USTR empowered with the necessary resources, authorities, and interagency cooperation will protect U.S. interests in the global marketplace.

Sadly, a President today assumes office to find a sprawling federal bureaucracy that all too often is carrying out its own policy plans and preferences. The vast majority of these apportionments were signed by career officials until the Trump Administration placed this responsibility in the hands of the PADs. The BRD inevitably will translate the directions from policy officials to the career staff. OMB should not allow turf disputes or a lack of visibility to undermine the agency's principal budget, management, and regulatory functions. The President should empower a strong NSC that not only has the power to convene the policy process, but also is entrusted with the full power of the presidency to drive the bureaucracy. The NSA should evaluate and eliminate directorates that are not aligned with the President's agenda. NSC staff leads, under the direction of the NSA, should have the discretion to reduce the number of positions that need high-level clearances. In the end, change requires intervention, and the NSC staff should be appropriately recruited, manned, and empowered. It is essential that the policy expertise of the NEC reflect the

current environment's most pressing issues. It is important to set clear jurisdictions at the start of an Administration to prevent needless and counterproductive turf fights. The USTR's mission is vitally important in reorienting the global trading system in a direction that is open, fair and prosperous. The CEA's role is to employ its unique expertise (particularly on the technical side) to ensure that sound analysis is contributing to and shaping the policy discussion.

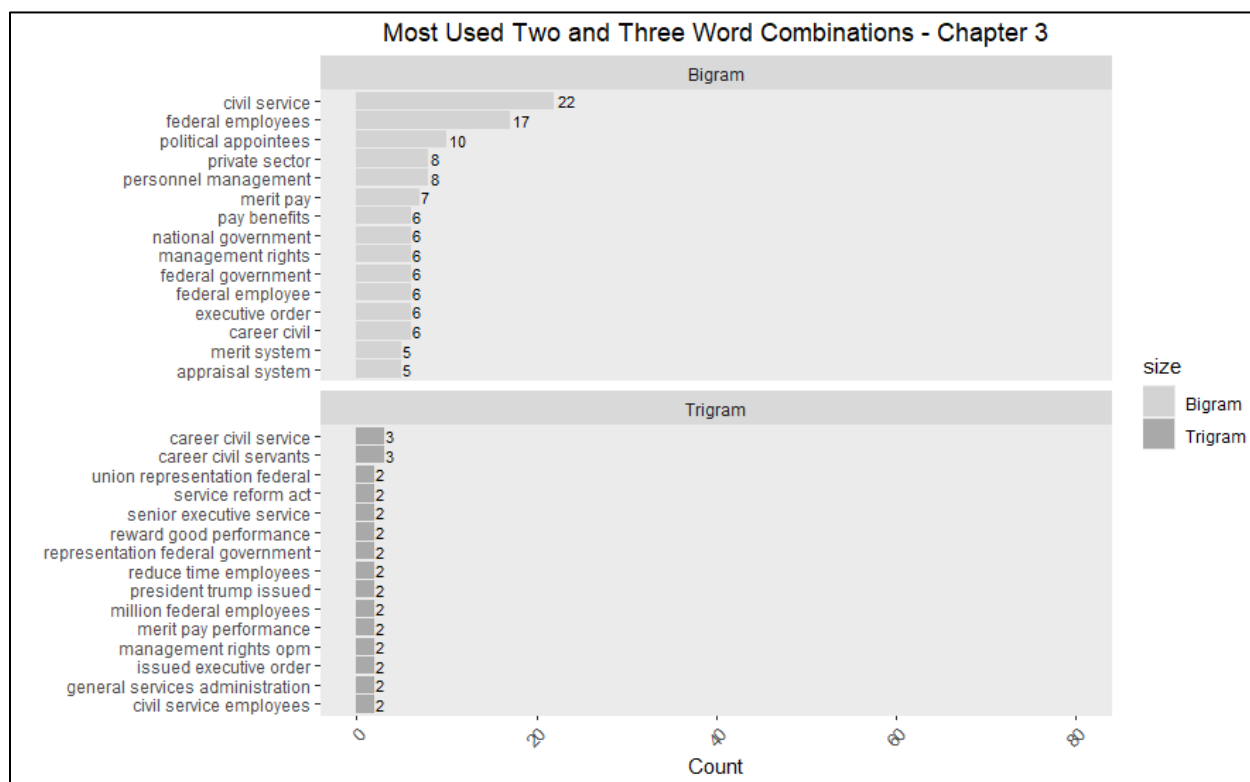
The modern conservative President's task is to limit, control, and direct the executive Branch on behalf of the American people. Success in meeting that challenge will require a rare combination of boldness and self-denial. Through initial priority-setting and ongoing supervision of agency spending, the budget team plays a key role in executing policy. The next President should also reinstate the many executive orders signed by President Trump that were designed to make the regulatory process more just and efficient. Senior officials should be empowered to identify, recruit, clear, and hire staff who are aligned with and willing to shepherd the President's national security priorities. The NEC helps to ensure that each economic post is held by a person who shares the President's policy priorities and works well with the rest of the Administration's economic team. A strong USTR must be empowered to set trade policy from the White House.

The overall situation is constitutionally dire, unsustainably expensive, and in urgent need of repair. This process, whereby agencies come to OMB for allotments of appropriated funding, is essential to the effective financial stewardship of taxpayer dollars. The President's budget is a powerful mechanism for setting and enforcing public policy at federal agencies. The budget team includes six Resource Management Offices that help the Director of OMB to develop and execute detailed agency spending plans. Each of these offices has responsibilities and authorities that a President can use to help drive policy across the government. The Director should instruct OPPM to establish annual performance goals and review processes for agencies. The next President should strengthen implementation of the Information Quality Act, robustly use the authority of the Paperwork Reduction Act, and carefully enforce the Privacy Act. The Deputy Director is responsible for the day-to-day operation of the council. The Office of the U.S. Trade Representative provides the President with the internal White House resources necessary to formulate and execute a unified, whole-of-government approach to trade policy. In practice, this means that CEA staff do not "coordinate" the policy process in the way that the DPC or NEC would.

Whether controlled by the bureaucracy or by the President, the executive branch writes federal policy. OMB cannot perform its role on behalf of the President effectively if it is not intimately involved in all aspects of the White House policy process. A common

memo of those who intend to evade OMB review is to argue that where “resources” are not being discussed, OMB’s participation is optional. OMB has the only statutory tools in the White House that are powerful enough to override implementing agencies’ bureaucracies. OMB’s OIRA plays an enormous and vital role in reining in the regulatory state and ensuring that regulations achieve important benefits while imposing minimal burdens on Americans. The budget should also include sufficient full-time equivalent (FTE) employees to form regulatory advance teams. The President should revise and sign an updated version of President Ronald Reagan’s Executive Order 12630 on federal takings. OMB plays a critical role in ensuring that the executive branch is aligned on legislative proposals and language, agency testimonies, and other communications with Congress. The NSA should prioritize staffing the vast majority of NSC directorates with aligned political appointees and trusted career officials. The HSC has overseen pandemic response, and its incorporation is important. The National Economic Council is one of the policy councils serving the President along with the NSC and the Domestic Policy Council. The U.S. must act to rebalance and refocus international trading relationships in favor of democratic nations that embrace free, fair, and open trade principles. Congress established the Council of Economic Advisers in 1946 to advise the President on economic policy.

Chapter 3: Central Personnel Agencies: Managing the Bureaucracy



As the Carter presidency was winding down, the U.S. Department of Justice and top lawyers at the OPM contrived with plaintiffs to end civil service IQ examinations. Federal workers who are performing inadequately get neither the benefit of an honest appraisal nor clear guidance on how to improve. Long and detailed talks between the OPM and both Democrats and Republicans in Congress ensued. If lower-priority issues were addressed in-house, serious adverse actions would be less subject to delay. A federal employee with five years' experience receives 20 vacation days, 13 paid sick days, and all 10 federal holidays.

Its court-like adjudications investigate and hear appeals from agency actions such as furloughs, suspensions, demotions, and terminations. In the 1970s, Georgia Democratic Governor Jimmy Carter, then a political unknown, ran for President supporting New Deal programs and their Great Society expansion but opposing the way they were being administered. It should not be impossible even for a large national government to hire good people through merit selection. The government did so for years, but it has proven difficult in recent times. The original merit pay system for federal managers was allowed to expire in September 1993. Little to nothing has been done either to reinstate the federal merit pay program for managers. The nonmilitary government dismissal rate is well below 1 percent. A large proportion of federal employees are stationed in the Washington, D.C., area and

other large cities and are entitled to steep locality pay enhancement to account for the high cost of living.

It is essential that political executives build policy goals directly into employee appraisals. Government unions and associations have been able to convince politicians to support a multiple and extensive appeals and enforcement process. Cases involving race, gender, religion, age, pregnancy, disability, or national origin can be appealed to the EEOC or the MSPB. The OPM should be an advocate for a true equality of benefits between the public and private sectors. With contractors performing so many functions today, the GSA becomes a de facto part of governmentwide personnel management.

The President must recognize that whoever holds a government position sets its policy. President Donald Trump's OPM planned to implement such changes but was delayed because of legal concerns over possible disparate impact. It is human nature that no one appreciates being told that he or she is less than outstanding in every way. The Reagan OPM entered 18 months of negotiations with House and Senate staff on extending merit pay to the entire workforce. The FLRA, OSC, and EEOC have relatively narrow jurisdictions.

To fulfill an electoral mandate, he must give personnel management his highest priority, including Cabinet-level precedence. Title 5 of the U.S. Code charges the OPM with executing, administering, and enforcing the rules, regulations, and laws governing the civil service. The General Services Administration (GSA) is charged with general supervision of contracting. The modern merit system increasingly made it almost impossible to fire all but the most incompetent civil servants. Overall, the new law seemed to work for a few years under Reagan, but the Carter–Reagan reforms were dissipated within a decade. This doctrine of disparate impact could be ended legislatively or at least narrowed through the regulatory process by a future Administration. Unfortunately, the order was overturned by the Biden Administration, so it will need to be reintroduced in 2025. This gives employees multiple opportunities to prove their cases. The odds of success may be substantially different in each forum. Even that amount does not properly account for billions in unfunded liability for retirement and other government reporting distortions. Federal health benefits are more comparable to those provided by Fortune 500 employers. Under OPM pressure, Reagan and Congress ended the old Civil Service Retirement System.

The agency's Director is charged with aiding the President in preparing such civil service rules as the President prescribes. The MSPB is required to conduct fair and neutral case adjudications, regulatory reviews, and actions and studies to improve the workforce. A new performance appraisal system was devised with a five rather than three distribution of rating categories. Pay and benefits were based directly on improved performance

appraisals for mid-level managers and senior executives. Government Accountability Office: Pay raises, within-grade pay increases, and locality pay for regular employees and executives have become automatic rather than based on performance. The judicial decree was to last only five years but still controls federal hiring. The problem is that the collegial atmosphere of a bureaucracy in a multifaceted appraisal system that is open to appeals makes this a very challenging ideal to implement. Political executives should take an active role in supervising performance appraisals of career staff. No private-sector industry employee enjoys the job security that a federal employee enjoys. The MSPB, EEOC, FLRA, and OSC likely see very few cases compared to the number of occurrences. With the proper limitation of labor union actions, the FLRA should have limited reason for appeals.

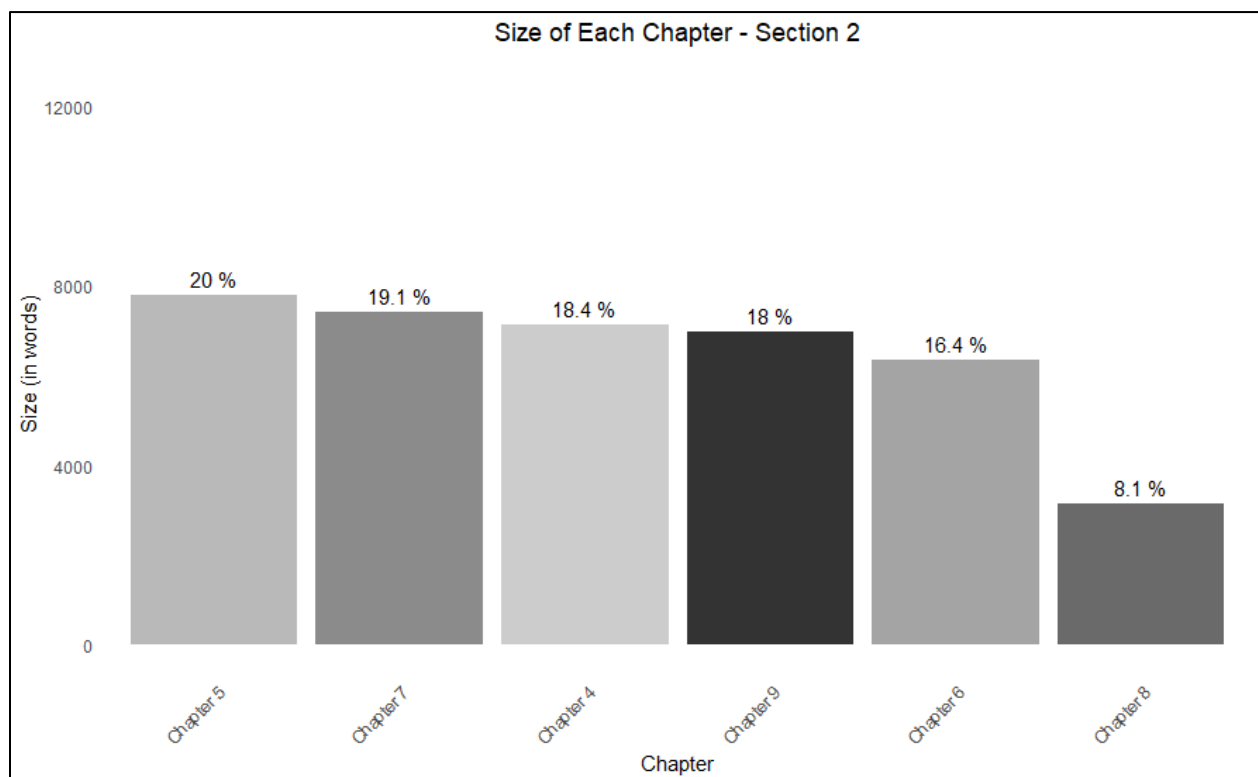
The Equal Employment Opportunity Commission (EEOC) administers a government employee section that investigates and adjudicates federal employee complaints concerning equal employment violations. The GSA must therefore be a part of any personnel management discussion. The GAO reported more recently that overly high and widely spread performance ratings were again plaguing the government. In recent years, the combined wages and benefits of the executive branch civilian workforce totaled \$300 billion. A 2016 Heritage Foundation study found that federal employees received wages that were 22 percent higher than wages for similar private-sector workers.

A government that is unable to select employees based on KSA-like test qualifications cannot work. In 2018, President Trump issued Executive Order 13839 requiring agencies to reduce the time for employees to improve performance before corrective action could be taken. Frequent filers face no consequences for frivolous complaints. Career civil servants enjoy retirement benefits that are nearly unheard of in the private sector. Federal employees retire earlier (normally at age 55 after 30 years) and enjoy richer pension annuities. The General Services Administration is best known as the federal government's landlord. The GSA is also the government's purchasing agent, connecting federal purchasers with commercial products and services in the private sector.

The U.S. system was initiated by the Pendleton Act of 1883 and institutionalized by the 1930s New Deal. Progressives designed a merit system to promote expertise and shield bureaucrats from partisan political pressure. Carter hired Syracuse University Dean Alan Campbell, who served first as Chairman of the U.S. Civil Service Commission and then as Director of the OPM. Informing subordinates in a closely knit bureaucracy that they are not performing well is difficult. A final agreement was reached in 1983 that supposedly ensured the passage of legislation creating a new Performance Management and Recognition System. According to current law, federal workers are to be paid wages comparable to equivalent private-sector workers. The obvious solution is to move closer to a market

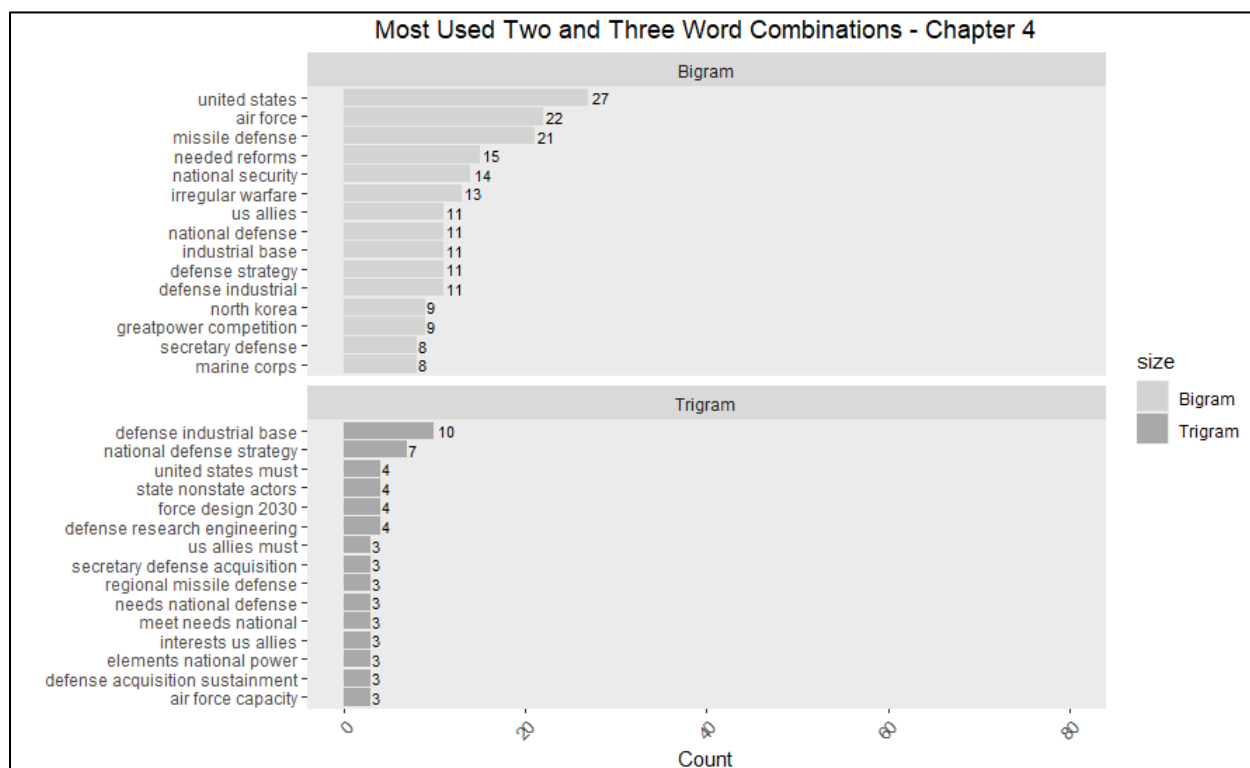
model for federal pay and benefits. The new system was much more equitable for the 40 percent who received few or no benefits under the old system. By 1999, more than half of the federal workforce was covered by the new system.

The President's appointment, direction, and removal authorities are the central elements of his executive power. Campbell helped him devise and pass the Civil Service Reform Act of 1978 (CSRA) to reset the basic structure of today's bureaucracy. Courts have ruled that even without evidence of overt, intentional discrimination, such results might suggest discrimination. The federal government has been denied the use of a rigorous entry examination for three decades. According to a survey of major U.S. private companies, 90 percent use a system of merit pay for performance based on some type of appraisal system. Claims that an employee's removal or disciplinary actions violate the terms of a collective bargaining agreement are handled by the FLRA.



Section 2: The Common Defense

Chapter 4: Department of Defense



Historically, the military has been one of America’s most trusted institutions. The democratization of technology and the collapse of time and space require dramatic, thoughtful changes in how we defend, deter, and fight. Help small businesses to become medium-size and large vendors. DAU has become an unnecessary barrier to entry in a career field that is vital to the DOD mission. The United States must regain its role as the “Arsenal of Democracy” In fiscal year (FY) 2021, U.s. government foreign military sales (FMS) nosedived to a low of \$34.8 billion. The DIE accounts for the bulk of the Intelligence Community’s personnel and a significant portion of its budget. The Under Secretary of Defense for Intelligence and Security’s leadership role should be expanded to include providing analytic top-line views. The Army cannot execute its land dominance mission, the report says. The interwar General Board should serve as a model. The U.S. Air Force lacks a force structure with the lethality, survivability, and capacity to fight a major conflict with a great power like China. For 30 years, the Air Force has received less annual funding than the Army and Navy. The net result is a force that is smaller, older, and less ready at a time when demand is burgeoning. Build the capacity for a B-21 production rate of 15–18 aircraft per year along with applicable elements of the B- 21 long-range strike family of systems.

This chapter offers recommendations for improving our armed forces and the civilian organizations that support and oversee them. The United States and its allies also

face real threats from Russia, Iran, North Korea, and transnational terrorism. Increase allied conventional defense burden-sharing. Enhance funding and authority for DOD mission-focused innovation organizations. Consider creating a “fast track” for projects that satisfy the most pressing national security needs. The cost to private contractors and non-DOD civilians who aspire to such a role limits the supply of trained and certified candidates. This led to the single largest DOD structural change since the Goldwater–Nichols act of 1986. The record-low FMS sales in 2021 were driven partly by the high costs of converting weapon systems on the back end of production rather than emphasizing exportability in initial capability planning. The high cost of developing advanced defense platforms requires the United States to collaborate with key allies to minimize waste, complement strengths, and supplement our defense industrial base. Appoint a Special Assistant to the President who will maintain liaison with Congress, DOD, and all other interested parties on the issue of recruiting and retention. Focus on deployability and sustained operations. Revamp Army school curricula to concentrate on preparation for largescale land operations that focus on defeating a peer threat. This makes for a reduction of 996 aircraft by 2027.

The Department of Defense (DOD) is the largest part of our federal government. China is undertaking a historic military buildup that includes increasing capability for power projection. Prioritize defeating a Chinese invasion of Taiwan before allocating resources to other missions, such as fighting another conflict. Exceptions for individuals who are already predisposed to require medical treatment should be removed. Gender dysphoria is incompatible with the demands of military service. The Defense Intelligence Enterprise must deliver accurate, unbiased, and timely insights consistently and with clarity, objectivity, and independence. If they continue on their current path, however, both the DIE and the Intelligence Community writ large will continue to provide inaccurate and politicized intelligence assessments that mislead policymakers. Public trust in Defense Intelligence has been eroded by, for example, flawed assumptions leading up to our Afghanistan withdrawal, flawed Russia–Ukraine assessments, divergences in relations with key Gulf allies, and voids being filled by Russia and China around the world. Increase the Air Force budget by 5 percent annually (after adjusting for inflation) to reverse the decline in size, age, and readiness.

Technology is critical to maintaining our warfighting primacy, but we must be leery of the siren song that technology alone can protect us. All U.S. defense efforts, from force planning to employment and posture, must focus on ensuring the ability of American forces to prevail in the pacing scenario. Russia maintains and is actively brandishing a very large nuclear arsenal. China is also undertaking a historic nuclear breakout, they say. Require the Under Secretary of Defense for Acquisition and Sustainment to conduct “Night

Court' and use existing authorities to terminate outdated or underperforming programs. Strengthen America's defense industrial base. Reverse policies that allow transgender individuals to serve in the military. We must reevaluate the dual-hat structure between the National Security Agency (NSA) and U.s. Cyber Command (USCYBERCOM) Resurrect economic analysis capability to improve our ability to counter Chinese whole-of-government strategies. Declining budgets and decreased buying power have forced the Army to lower training standards and opportunities to train. Increase the Army budget to remain the world's preeminent land power. A rebuilt Army that is focused again on its core warfighting mission and empowered it with the tools, resources, and authorities it needs to accomplish that mission must be the next Administration's highest defense priority. Develop and field unmanned systems to augment the manned forces. Underfunding has forced the Air Force to cut its forces and forgo modernizing aging weapons systems. Increase spending and budget accuracy in line with a threat-based strategy. Eliminate pass-through funding, which has grown to more than \$40 billion per year.

China is by any measure the most powerful state in the world. The United States must ensure that China does not succeed. Replenish and maintain U.S. stockpiles of ammunition and other equipment that have been depleted as a result of U.S. support to Ukraine. Encourage and plan for durable supply chains for small businesses so they also have commercial/private-sector customers. China has been relentless in stealing U.S. technology, using the full range of measures from influence operations to outright theft. On average, the DOD contracting timeline takes approximately 18 months because of slow bureaucratic processes and chronic understaffing. Recruiting was the worst in 2022 that it has been in two generations. Increase Junior ROTC programs in secondary schools. Entrance criteria for military service and specific occupational career fields should be based on the needs of those positions. Codify language to instruct senior military officers (three and four stars) to make certain that they understand their primary duty to be ensuring the readiness of the armed forces, not pursuing a social engineering agenda. Reform recruiting efforts. Address the underlying causal issues driving increasing Army suicide rates. Reestablish the General Board. A 2018 study showed a 24 percent deficit in Air Force capacity to meet the needs of the National Defense Strategy. The Air Force's future five-year budget plan retires 1,463 aircraft while buying just 467.

It has almost 3 million people serving in uniform or a civilian capacity throughout the world. It consumes approximately \$850 billion annually—more than 50 percent of our government's discretionary spending. As with any huge bureaucracy, breaking the status quo requires leadership and endurance. The most severe immediate threat that Beijing's military poses, however, is to Taiwan and other U.S. allies along the first island chain in the Western Pacific. The authors say the United States needs to deter Russia and China

simultaneously. Reform the planning, programming, budgeting, and execution (PPBE) process. Decentralize Defense Acquisition University (DAU) offerings and expand the DAU mission to include accreditation of non-DOD institutions. A key DOD effort must be to embrace America's most significant competitive advantage: innovation. Champion, engage, and focus the American innovation ecosystem. The current era of great-power competition will continue for the foreseeable future, and technology will be the currency of competition. This decrease hinders interoperability with partners and allies, decreases defense industrial base capacity, and increases the taxpayer burden on the U.S. military's own procurements. Some of the problems are self-inflicted and ongoing. Use of public monies for transgender surgeries or to facilitate abortion for servicemembers should be ended. The Army no longer reflects national demographics to the degree that it did before 1974 when the draft was eliminated. Require that range and lethality be the key factors in all procurement and sustainment decisions.

Beijing presents a challenge to American interests across the domains of national power, but the military threat that it poses is especially acute and significant. The U.S. needs to modernize, adapt, and expand its nuclear arsenal, the authors say. Strengthen the ability of acquisition authorities to engage in multiyear procurements and block buys. Review the sectors currently prioritized for onshoring or "friendshoring" of manufacturing. Optimize the DOD acquisition community. The critical shortage of trained and certified acquisition personnel must be addressed with urgency. Reduce the number of critical technology areas from 14 to a more manageable number. Those with gender dysphoria should be expelled from military service. Align collection and analysis with vital national interests (countering China and Russia) Establish an effective global federated intelligence framework with allies and partners. The prevalence of asymmetric warfare requires Defense Intelligence to leverage the unique authorities and capabilities of U.S. departments and agencies. The challenges are set against the backdrop of a complex and dynamic global geopolitical environment. Increase funding to improve Army training and operational readiness. Currently, there are no general or field-grade officers who served as planners or commanders against a near-peer adversary in combat. Establish a Rapid Capabilities Office.

The withdrawal from Afghanistan, our impossibly muddled China strategy, and deep confusion about the purpose of our military are signals of a disturbing decay. Bergen: U.S., allies must also step up, with some joining the United States in taking on China in Asia and others taking more of a lead in dealing with threats from Russia, Iran, and North Korea. The ability to acquire and field new and existing technologies is essential to the ability of America's military personnel to fight and win our nation's wars. End the tiered review process to eliminate at least 20 days from the FMS process. Create a funding mechanism

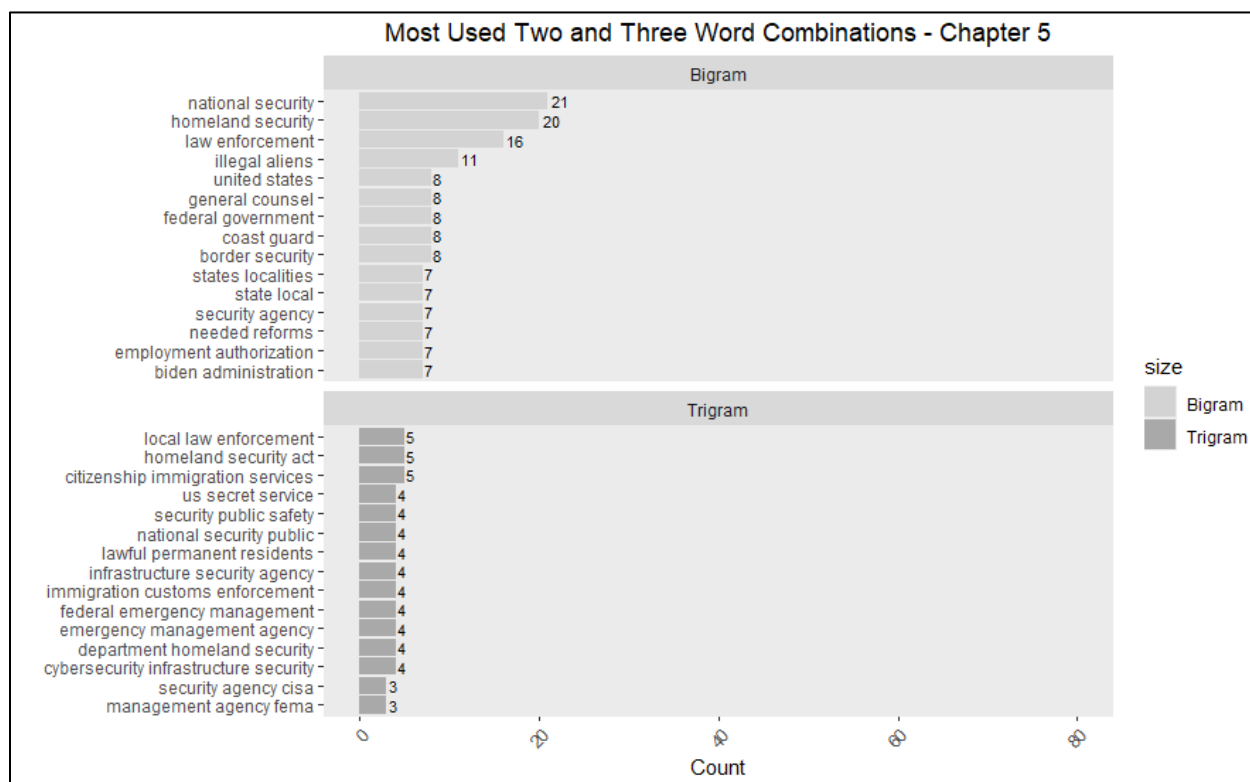
to incentivize exportability in initial planning, which can be recouped after future FMS transactions. Audit the course offerings at military academies to remove Marxist indoctrination, eliminate tenure for academic professionals. The next President should limit the continued advancement of many of the existing cadre. Present defense intelligence to senior policymakers. The Army can no longer serve as the nation's social testing ground. The USN must transition technology into warfighting capability more rapidly.

But years of sustained misuse have taken a serious toll. By far the most significant danger to Americans' security, freedoms, and prosperity is China. This requires a denial defense: the ability to make the subordination of Taiwan or other U.S. allies in Asia prohibitively difficult. U.S. defense strategy must identify China unequivocally as the top priority, writes Peter Bergen. The number one problem is the DOD budgeting process (instituted in 1961) that requires acquisition spending to be locked years in advance. America's military advantage has derived from the professionalism of our servicemembers and our ability to manifest our technological advantage in battlefield capability. Minimize barriers to collaboration. The Biden Administration, through word and deed, has treated the armed forces as just another place to work. Young civilians who would thrive in a military environment are disenfranchised when educators and influencers discourage them from learning about military service and preparing for the honor of wearing America's uniform. No uniformed personnel should ever have to rely on social benefits like as food stamps or public housing assistance. As the leader of the DIE, the Under Secretary of Defense for Intelligence and Security should provide a top-line, dissenting, or clarifying view of DIE and IC assessments as needed. Elevate the DIE's voice in national policy discussions, commensurate with its 75 percent share of the IC budget. Increase the Army force structure by 50,000 to handle two major regional contingencies simultaneously. In the production, employment, and control of maritime forces, the USN must consider the scope and rate of technological change. The USN's organizing principle remains platform-centered: vessels manned by sailors. Build a fleet of more than 355 ships. The USN must be prepared to expend large quantities of air-launched and sea- Launched stealthy, precision, cruise missiles against targets at sea and ashore.

Prioritize the U.S. and allies under the "domestic end product" and "Domestic components" requirements of the Build America, Buy America Act. Senior acquisition leaders should design a system that allows decision-makers to stay within the law. Rebuild RDT&E infrastructure that resides in Cold War-era facilities. Many have been advanced by prior Administrations for reasons other than their warfighting prowess. For trust to be restored and sustained, officials must be held accountable. The U.S. Army is at an inflection point that is marked by more than a decade of steadily eroding budgets and

diluted buying power. The total Army budget has decreased by roughly 11 percent since 2018. The Army missed its 2022 recruitment goal by 25 percent, or 15,000 soldiers. The U.S. Navy (USN) exists for two primary reasons: to project prompt, sustained, and effective combat power globally, both at sea and ashore. Invest in and expand force structure. Harness innovation and willingness to tolerate risk so that “good enough” systems can be fielded rapidly. It takes years to build and maintain navies but only hours to expend their ordnance in combat. The result is an Air Force that is the oldest, smallest, and least ready in its history.

Chapter 5: Department of Homeland Security



The Cybersecurity and Infrastructure Security Agency (CISA) be moved to the Department of Transportation. The Homeland Security Act of 2002, which created the department, states that DHS's primary mission is to prevent terrorist attacks within the U.S. To truly secure the homeland, a conservative Administration needs to return the department to the right mission, the right size, and the right budget. The bloated DHS bureaucracy and budget, along with the wrong priorities, provide real opportunities for a conservative Administration to cut billions in spending. CBP, ICE, and USCIS all have authority to issue Notices to Appear (NTA) to removable aliens in their presence. Congress should increase funding for facility upgrades at strategic land Ports of Entry (POEs), including expanding state-of-the-art technology. Congress should prevent ICE from ignoring criminal aliens identified by local law enforcement agencies that are partners in the 287(g) program. U.S. Congress should allow for a 10 percent across-the-board increase in all fees for all fee rules. The monies would be used to fund the construction of additional border wall systems, technology, and personnel in strategic locations. Congress should repeal Section 235 of the William Wilberforce Trafficking Victims Protection Reauthorization Act of 2008 (TVPRA), which provides numerous immigration benefits to unaccompanied alien children. ICE OPLA, ERO, and HSI should issue a joint internal memo

on operationalizing Blackie's Warrants. Expansion of facilities in American Samoa and basing of cutters there is one clear step in this direction.

Non-Use of Discretionary Guest Worker Visa Authorities. A conservative Administration should eliminate any prohibitive guidance, direction, or mandate from DHS or the Administration. Thousands of illegal aliens are allowed to bond out of immigration detention only to disappear into the interior of the United States. FDNS should undergo a structural shift focused on direct reporting from the field to headquarters, reclassification of leadership, and FDNS directives taking precedence. A complete audit of agency policies, memoranda, and management directives issued during the Biden Administration should be completed. The bulk of funds are derived from application fees through the Immigrant Examinations Fee Account. The standard for a credible fear of persecution should be raised and aligned to the standard for asylum. Congress should use its oversight authority to ensure that Expedited Removal is used to the fullest extent and followed to the letter of the law. Repeal TPS designations. Mandate the use of E-Verify for anyone doing business with the government. The Secretary of the Navy should convene a naval board to review and reset requirements for Coast Guard wartime mission support.

The U.S. Coast Guard (USCG) should be move to DOJ and, in time of full-scale war (i.e., threatening the homeland), to DOD. Prioritizing border security and immigration enforcement, including detention and deportation, is critical if we are to regain control of the border. This also includes consolidating the pieces of the fragmented immigration system into one agency. The department should also look to remove lower-level but nevertheless important positions that currently require Senate confirmation from the confirmation requirement. To stop facilitating the availability of cheap foreign labor in order to support American workers. Order ICE to stop closing out pending immigration cases and apply the Immigration and Nationality Act (INA) as written by Congress. Alien smuggling, trafficking, and cross-border crime as defined under Title 85 and Title 186 should be the focus of ICE operations. ICE should be funded for a significant increase in detention space. Citizenship and Immigration Services (USCIS) is the agency tasked with administering the legal immigration and certain temporary visa programs. The diversity visa lottery should be repealed and chain migration should be ended. The current border security crisis was made possible by glaring loopholes in our immigration system. Congress must end the Flores Settlement Agreement by explicitly setting nationwide terms and standards for family and unaccompanied detention and housing. Congress should explicitly permit programs akin to the Prompt Asylum Claim Review (PACR) and Humanitarian Asylum Review Process (HARP) Congress should reassert control of employment authorization, which is subject to rampant regulatory abuse. Congress should require compliance with immigration detainers to the maximum extent consistent with the Tenth Amendment.

Congress should restrict the authority for prosecutorial discretion to eliminate it as a “catch-all” excuse for limiting immigration enforcement. Mandate that ICE use all detention space in full compliance with Section 235 of the INA. The bill would end ICE’s widespread use of termination and administrative closure of cases in immigration court.

Homeland Security Investigations (HSI) Special Agents in the 1811 series should enforce Title 8 and 18 crimes as the biggest part of their portfolio. New policies for USCIS as it currently exists should focus on matters that can be addressed through administrative action. Not all policy changes require formal rulemaking, however, as internal guidance documents are generally exempt under the Administrative Procedure Act (APA) USCIS memos and operational guidance should reduce the validity of employment authorization documents and end COVID flexibilities. USCIS is primarily fee-funded, operating on revenue derived by those seeking immigration benefits, work permits, and naturalization. USCIS’s D.C. personnel presence should be skeletal. It should also account specifically for credibility determinations that are a key element of the asylum claim. Congress should halt funds given to nongovernmental organizations (NGOs) to process and transport illegal aliens. T and U visas need to be repealed. All criminal investigative work without a clear nexus to the border or otherwise to Title 8 should be turned over to the appropriate federal agency. The transition should focus on building resilience and return on investment in line with real threats. The necessary numbers of planned Offshore Patrol Cutters and National Security Cutters are not supported by congressional budgets.

After 20 years, it has not gelled into “One DHS.” Instead, its various components’ different missions have outweighed its decades-long attempt to function as one department. The Secretary of Homeland Security is a presidentially appointed and Senate-confirmed political appointee. The next Administration may need to take a novel approach to the confirmations process. The Secretary should not issue any regulations in support of the “H-2 eligible” country list. CBP is forced to forgo critical mission-essential endeavors to fund the additional associated costs. This occurs primarily because of poorly worded bond regulations, contradictory bond policy memoranda. Most of the foregoing can be accomplished rapidly and effectively through executive action that is both lawful and appropriate. USCIS should be returned to operating as a screening and vetting agency. Particular attention should be given to addressing increasing incidents of forced labor trafficking in temporary work visa programs. Combining these critical agencies would strengthen their capabilities, ensure cooperation, and promote information-sharing. Leaks must be investigated and punished as they would be in a national security agency. The result was a preventable and predictable historic increase in illegal and inadmissible encounters along our southern border. T-Visa and U-V visa reform. Issue a memo prohibiting any jurisdiction that applies from being denied access to the program unless

good cause is shown. Reform of FEMA requires a greater emphasis on federalism and state and local preparedness. CISA should not be significantly involved closer to an election.

The Department of Homeland Security protects the American homeland from and prepares for terrorism and other hazards. The Secretary should make it clear that he or she will not use the Secretary's existing discretionary authority to increase the number of H-2B (seasonal non-agricultural) visas above the statutorily set cap. In most instances, CBP should turn illegal aliens over to ICE for detention, and ICE can then issue any needed NTA. Training should be returned to Federal Law Enforcement Training Centers (FLETC) At a minimum, an enhanced regulatory agenda should include rules strengthening the integrity of the asylum system. USCIS should strive to increase opportunities for premium processing, a benefit by which applicants can expedite their processing times. To regain our sovereignty, integrity, and security, Congress must pass meaningful legislation to close the current loopholes. Congress should eliminate the particular social group protected ground as vague and overbroad. Rescind all memoranda limiting enforcement of immigration laws including those identifying sensitive zones. The Coast Guard's mission set should be scaled down to match congressional budgeting in the long term. The Coast Guard should prioritize limited resources to the nation's expansive Pacific waters to counter growing Chinese influence and encroachment.

Breaking up the department along its mission lines would facilitate mission focus and provide opportunities to reduce overhead. DHS was created in the aftermath of the terrorist attacks of September 11, 2001. A successful DHS would: Secure and control the border; Thoroughly enforce immigration laws; Correctly and efficiently adjudicate immigration benefit applications while rejecting fraudulent claims. Protect political leaders, their families, and visiting heads of state or government. This approach would both guarantee implementation of the Day One agenda and equip the department for potential emergency situations. ICE should be directed to take custody of all aliens with records for felonies, crimes of violence, DUIs, previous removals. The use of Blackies Warrants should be operationalized within ICE. The workforce should be realigned and, as necessary, retrained on base eligibility and fraud detection rather than speed in processing. As a general principle, adjudication of applications and petitions should be paid by applicants, not American taxpayers. Congress should amend the Homeland Security Act and portions of the TVPRA to move detention of alien children expressly from the Department of Health and Human Services. Public Charge. Only legitimate victims of trafficking and crimes who are actively providing significant material assistance to law enforcement are eligible for spots in the queue. Transform the program into an elite mechanism exclusively to bring in the "best and brightest" at the highest wages. Congress should change the cost-share arrangement so that the federal government covers 25 percent of the costs for small

disasters. FEMA is also responsible for the National Flood Insurance Program (NFIP) Washington provides insurance at prices lower than the actuarially fair rate, thereby subsidizing flood insurance. FEMA employees in Washington, D.C., should not determine how billions of federal tax dollars should be awarded. Only the Administrator should be confirmed by the Senate; other political leadership need not be confirmed. The most recent and most glaring example is censorship of so-called misinformation and disinformation, it says. CISA should refrain from duplicating cybersecurity functions done elsewhere at the Department of Defense, FBI, National Security Agency, and U.S. Secret Service. The U.S. Coast Guard fleet should be sized to the needs of great-power competition.

The Transportation Security Administration (TSA) be privatized. Secure the cyber domain and collaborate with critical infrastructure sectors to maintain their security. Oversee transportation security. The Secretary should direct FEMA to ensure that all FEMA-issued grant funding for states, localities, and private organizations is going to recipients who are lawful actors, can demonstrate that they are in compliance with federal law. Such preconditions should include at least the following: Certification by applicants that they comply with all aspects of federal immigration laws. The White House should grant the authority for CBP and DHS executives to utilize component aviation assets under the Office of Air and Marine (OAM) CBP and DHS have worldwide missions with personnel and facilities that are deployed across the globe. The Secretary should clear the records and personnel files of those who were falsely accused of whipping migrants and issue a formal apology. Victimization should not be a basis for an immigration benefit. The incoming Administration should spearhead an immigration agenda focused on creating a merit-based immigration system. It would also ban the introduction of persons from such countries or places as he or she shall designate in order to avert or curtail such mass migration. CISA has rapidly expanded its scope into lanes where it does not belong, the report says. In wartime, the USCG supports the Navy, but it has limited capability and capacity to support wartime missions outside home waters.

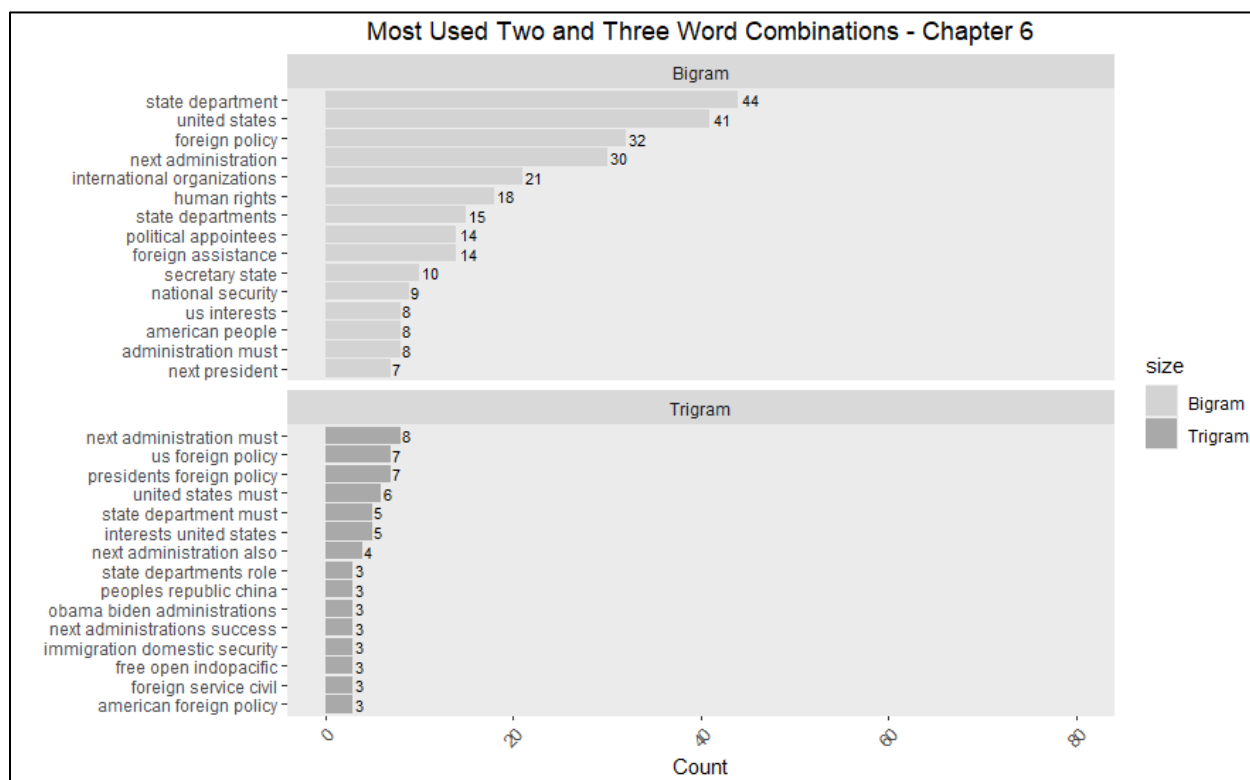
For budgetary reasons, he or she has historically been unable to fund a dedicated team of political appointees. The ideal sequence for line of succession is certainly debatable, except in circumstances where a career employee holds a leadership position in the department. The Secretary can and should use his or her inherent, discretionary leadership authority to “soft close” ineffective and problematic corners of the department. If all immigration agencies are not merged, including USCIS and ORR, then an appropriate third alternative would be to consolidate ICE and CBP to form a combined Border Security and Immigration Agency (BSIA) This would integrate critical interdiction, enforcement, and investigative resources. DHS should issue a regulation mandating that CBP publish

accurate and timely border security data. CBP operates one of the largest aviation components of any domestic U.S. law enforcement agency. BP has more than 20,000 personnel, and OAM has approximately 1,800. OAM's assets are dedicated in support of BP operations the vast majority of the time, yet redundant approvals, strategies, and independent hierarchical commands serve as impediments to efficient and practical resource deployments. The next President should request a realistic budget that fully pays for these costs. Since January 2021, USCIS's priorities have been misaligned, and this has transformed it into an open-borders agency. Fraud Detection and National Security Directorate (FDNS) is currently a small directorate with assigned officers reporting through the chain of command in the field. These actions would reform the agency, returning it to its screening and vetting mission in protecting the homeland. Other structural changes should include reimplementing of the USCIS denaturalization unit. The fragmented immigration enforcement framework that developed in the wake of the Homeland Security Act has weakened each agency and should be remediated. The oft-abused H-1B program should be transformed into an elite program through which employers are vying to bring in only the top foreign workers. All applicants rejected for any benefit or status adjudication should be required to leave the U.S. immediately. Designate USCIS as Intelligence Community-adjacent. USCIS priorities/structural changes. When flood costs exceed NFIP's revenue, FEMA seeks taxpayer-funded bailouts. FEMA's 'springing Cabinet position' should be eliminated, says the report. The component's emergency communications and Chemical Facility Anti-Terrorism Standards (CFATS) roles should be moved to FEMA; its school security functions should be transferred to state homeland security offices.

It also provides for secure and free movement of trade and travel, and enforces U.S. immigration laws. Pending a possible presidential decision to shrink or eliminate DHS itself, the next Administration will still have the obligation to protect the homeland as required by law. The next Administration should take steps to restore lawfulness and integrity to the department's massive regimen of federal grant programs. CBP should restart and expand use of the horseback-mounted Border Patrol. CBP's established national standards of Transport, Escort, Detention, and Search have been widely interpreted and expanded by lower courts. The annual costs associated with establishing and maintaining temporary facilities to address the flow of illegal migration are prohibitive. U.S. national security and public safety interests would be well-served if ICE were to be combined with CBP and USCIS. The incoming Administration should immediately submit a fee rule that reflects such an increase. Credible Fear/Asylum Jurisdiction for Border Crossers. Realign the Fraud Detection and National Security Directorate (FDNS) to ensure agencywide consistency on implementation of fraud detection and vetting policies. Review and repeal any internal agency memo that is inconsistent with the priorities described in

this chapter. FEMA manages all grants for DHS, and these grants have become pork for states, localities, and special-interest groups. USCG's budget should address the growing demand for it to address the increasing threat from the Chinese fishing fleet.

Chapter 6: Department of State



Since the U.S. Founding, the Department of State has been the American government's designated tool of engagement with foreign governments and peoples. Department of State has almost 80,000 total employees in 275 embassies, consulates, and other posts around the world. As many political appointees as possible should be in place at the start of a new Administration. The Secretary of State should use his or her office and its resources to ensure regular coordination among all appointees. The State Department must change its handling of international agreements to restore constitutional governance. The Secretary of State, in cooperation with the Office of the Attorney General and the White House Counsel's Office, should also conduct a review to identify 'agreements' that are really treaty commitments. The Secretary of State should ensure full coordination with the White House regarding congressional engagement on any State Department responsibility. The State Department appears to view the U.S. immigration system less as a tool for strengthening the United States and more as a global welfare program. The U.S. must have a cost-imposing strategic response to make Beijing's aggression unaffordable. Others refuse to acknowledge Beijing's malign activities and often pass off criticism as conspiracy theories. In the 24 years since Hugo Chavez was first elected Venezuelan president in 1999, the country has violently cracked down on pro-democracy citizens and organizations. One school of conservative thought holds that as Moscow's illegal war of aggression against Ukraine drags on, Russia presents major

challenges to U.S. interests. The U.S. must shift global manufacturing and industry to Central and South American countries. Western Hemisphere nations, including those in the Caribbean, arguably have stronger cultural and historical ties to the United States. A hemisphere-focused energy policy will reduce reliance on distant and manipulable sources of fossil fuels. Terrorist activity on the continent has increased, while America's competitors are making significant gains.

The Department of State was one of the first Cabinet-level agencies in the new American government. Department handles treaties and agreements, primarily by restoring constitutionality to these processes. The next Administration should order an immediate stand-down on enforcement of any treaties that have not been ratified by the Senate. Such revocations should be closely coordinated with the White House for logistical reasons. The State Department's role in these interagency discussions must reflect the President's clear direction and disallow resources and tools to be used in any way that detracts from the presidentially directed mission. The unit is dependent on adequate and competent staff being assigned by other bureaus within the State Department. The State Department must rein in the C-175 authorities of other agencies, but the Department of Homeland Security should retain (or regain) C-175 authorities. The five countries on which the next Administration should focus its attention and energy are China, Iran, Venezuela, Russia, and North Korea. This tyrannical country has the vision, resources, and patience to achieve its objectives. Many are vested in an unshakable faith in the international system and global norms. The PRC challenge is rooted in China's strategic culture and not just the Marxism-Leninism of the CCP. The Democratic People's Republic of Korea (DPRK, or North Korea) must be deterred from military conflict.

The department believes it is an independent institution that knows what is best for the U.S. No one in a leadership position on January 20 should hold that position at the end of the day. less experienced political appointee. The priority should be to put in place new ambassadors who support the President's agenda. The State Department's reaction time to other countries' changes in visa policies with respect to the U.S. must be streamlined to ensure it can be updated in real time. The next Administration must work to unite the hemisphere against this significant but underestimated threat in the Southern Hemisphere. The common ground seems to be recognition that presidential leadership in 2025 must chart the course. U.S. involvement must be fully paid for; limited to military aid; and have a clearly defined national security strategy that does not risk American lives. The United States has a vested interest in a relatively united and economically prosperous Western Hemisphere. The region now has an overwhelming number of socialist or progressive regimes, which are at odds with the freedom and growth-oriented policies of the U.S. and other neighbors. Venezuela, Colombia, Guyana, and Ecuador are either increasingly

regional security threats in their own rights or vulnerable to hostile extra-continental powers. A further key priority is keeping Türkiye in the Western fold and a NATO ally. Relations with Saudi Arabia should be strengthened in a way that seriously curtails Chinese influence in Riyadh.

Country names, borders, leaders, technology, and people have changed in the more than two centuries since the Founding, but the basics of diplomacy remain the same. The next President can make the State Department more effective by providing a clear foreign policy vision. The posture of the department during this review should be an unwavering desire to prioritize the American people. Under the Biden Administration, the State Department was considered sufficiently unreliable in terms of alignment and effectiveness such that its political leadership invoked its Circular 175 (C-175) authority to delegate its diplomatic capacity to other agencies such as the Department of Homeland Security. The State Department recently opened the Office of China Coordination, or “China House.” This office is intended to bring together experts inside and outside the State Department. Unfortunately, the Obama and Biden Administrations have propped up the brutal Islamist theocracy that has hurt the Iranian people. The Bolivarian Republic of Venezuela (Venezuela) has all but collapsed under the Communist regimes of the late Hugo Chavez and Nicolas Maduro. All sides agree that Putin’s invasion of Ukraine is unjust and that the Ukrainian people have a right to defend their homeland. Public diplomacy efforts to counter Chinese influence campaigns should include commitments to freedom of speech and the free flow of information.

Whether China House will streamline U.S. government communication, consensus, and action on China policy is unclear. This reorientation could represent the most significant shift in core foreign policy principles and corresponding action since the end of the Cold War. The Obama Administration’s 2015 Joint Comprehensive Plan of Action, commonly referred to as the Iran nuclear deal, gave the Islamic regime a crucial monetary lifeline after the Green Movement protests in 2009. Peace and stability in Northeast Asia are vital interests of the United States. A new approach is therefore needed. These Mexican cartels are working closely with Chinese fentanyl precursor chemical manufacturers. The U.S. must continue to support its allies and compete with its economic adversaries, including China. The PRC’s companies dominate the African supply chain for certain minerals critical to emerging technologies. African country-based terrorist groups like Boko Haram may currently lack the capability to attack the United States, but at least some of them would eventually try if allowed to consolidate their operations.

The President can exert leverage on the Senate if he or she is willing to place State Department appointees directly into those roles, pending confirmation. To the extent

possible, all non-confirmed senior appointees should be selected by the President-elect's transition team. Career foreign service and civil service personnel can and must be leveraged for their expertise and commitment to the President's mission. Ambassadors in countries where U.S. policy or posture would substantially change under the new Administration should be recalled immediately. Political ambassadors with strong personal relationships with the President should be prioritized for key strategic posts. This Administration's humanitarian crisis will take many years and billions of dollars to fully address. The next President must significantly reorient the U.S. government's posture toward friends and adversaries alike. The designs of the People's Republic of China (PRC) and the Chinese Communist Party, which runs the PRC, are serious and dangerous. Many foreign policy professionals and national leaders are reluctant to take decisive action regarding China. This economic relief did not moderate the regime, but emboldened its brutality, its efforts to expand its nuclear weapons programs, and its support for global terrorism. Venezuela's Communist leadership has drawn closer to some of the United States' greatest international foes, including the PRC and Iran. The same cartels that parasitically run Mexico are also working with the PRC to fuel the largest drug crisis in the history of North America. Reorient the focus of U.S. overseas development assistance away from stand-alone humanitarian development aid.

The State Department is a "crippled institution" suffering from "an ineffective organizational structure" The department's failures are not due to a lack of resources. This can be done by taking these steps at the outset of the next Administration. The secretary should capitalize on the more experienced political. Previous Republican Administrations have accepted the resignations of only the political ambassadors and allowed the foreign service ambassadors to retain their posts, sometimes for months or years into a new Administration. Under prior Administrations, unnecessary institutional factors in the department caused numerous logistical challenges in negotiating, approving, and implementing treaties and agreements. The Secretary of State must revoke most outstanding C-175 authorities that have been granted to other agencies during previous Administrations. Arguably, the department's most noteworthy challenge on the global stage has been its handling of immigration and domestic security issues, which are inextricably related. The U.S. has an opportunity to lead these democratic neighbors to fight against the external pressure of threats from abroad.

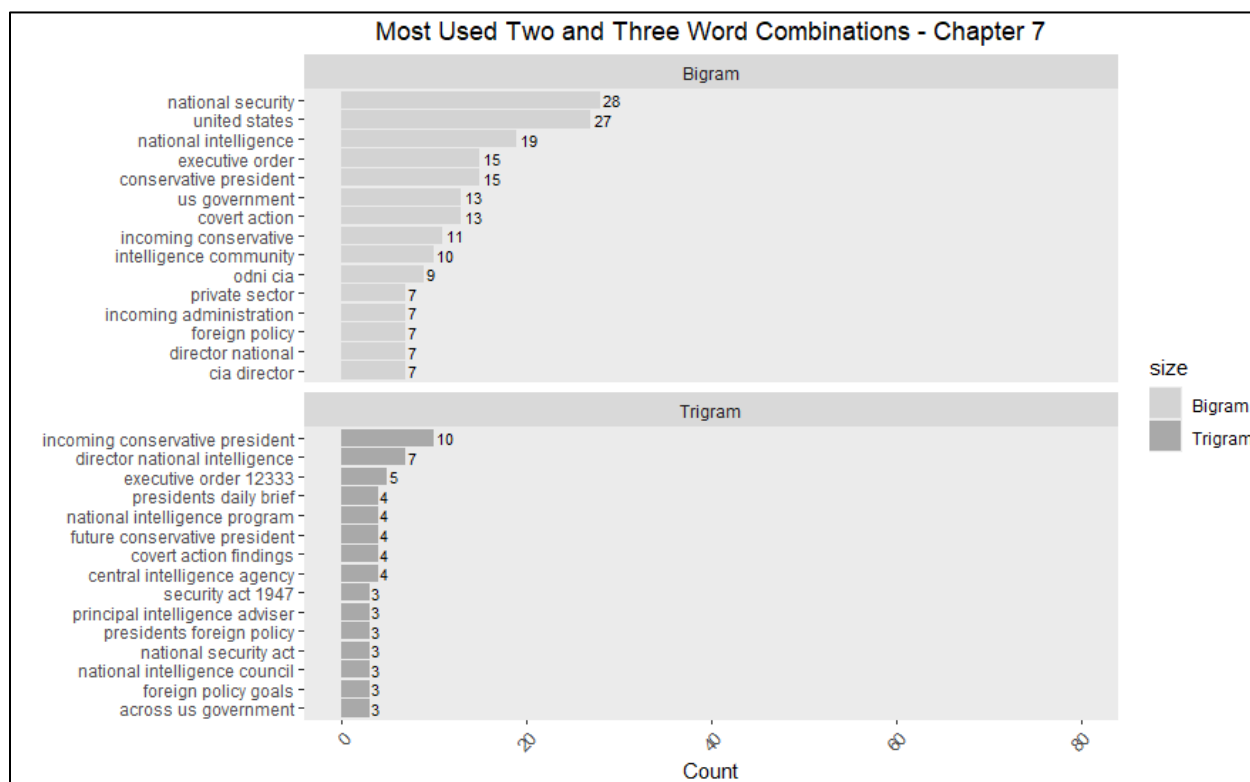
In theory, the State Department is the principal agency responsible for carrying out the President's foreign policy. Interagency engagement in this new environment must be similarly adjusted to mirror presidential direction. One casualty of the Biden Administration's behavior will be the current form of the USRAP. The State Department should draft an Article X, which should be a deeply philosophical look at the China

challenge. The next President should use the State Department and its array of resources to reassess this effort. The nature of Chinese power today is the product of history, ideology, and the institutions that have governed China during the course of five millennia, inherited by the present Chinese leaders. The DPRK must not be permitted to profit from its blatant violations of international commitments or to threaten other nations with nuclear blackmail. The next Administration should build on the Trump Administration's diplomatic successes by encouraging other Arab states, including Saudi Arabia, to enter the Abraham Accords. The Palestinian Authority should be defunded. Africa's importance to U.S. foreign policy and strategic interests is rising.

The next Administration must take swift and decisive steps to reforge the department into a lean and functional diplomatic machine that serves the President and, thereby, the American people. Properly led, the department can be instrumental for communicating and implementing a foreign policy vision that best serves American citizens. The next President should recalibrate how the State. The ongoing protests in the Islamic Republic of Iran (Iran) are widely viewed as a new revolution. Iran is home to a proud and ancient culture, yet its people have struggled to achieve democracy. The end goal of the conflict must be the defeat of Russian President Vladimir Putin and a return to pre-invasion border lines. The next Administration must both adopt a posture that calls for a fully sovereign Mexico and take all steps at its disposal to support that result in as rapid a fashion as possible. Middle Eastern oil will play a key role in the world economy. Special attention must be paid to challenges of religious freedom, especially the status of Middle Eastern Christians.

The next Administration should assert leadership over, and guidance to, the State Department by placing political appointees in positions that do not require Senate confirmation. The department's formal and informal postures must adjust to reflect the current immigration and domestic security environment. The United States should strictly enforce the doctrine of reciprocity when issuing visas to all foreign nationals. Visa sanctions under section 243(d) of the Immigration and Nationality Act should be quickly and fully enforced. The Biden Administration has engineered what is nothing short of a collapse of U.S. border security and interior immigration enforcement. Reimplementation of the Remain in Mexico policy, safe third-country agreements, and other measures to address the influx of non-Mexican asylum applicants at the United States–Mexico border must be Day One priorities. Although not every country or issue area can be discussed in this chapter, below are examples of several areas in which a shift in foreign policy is not only important, but arguably existential. This recommendation requires a multi-dimensional strategy. African nations comprise major country-bloc elements that shield the PRC and Russia from international isolation for their human rights abuses.

Chapter 7: Intelligence Community



America's major strategic threat is a nation-state peer and possibly ahead of the U.S. in strategic areas. Security clearance reform has made significant progress under Trusted Workforce 2.0. Any revised Executive Order 12333 must serve to express unequivocal support for the DNI in executing the mandates. The incoming DNI and CIA Director should also consider changes in the Senior National Intelligence Service (SNIS)/Senior Intelligence Services (SIS) Senior officers should be required to sign mobility agreements that allow ODNI and CIA leadership to move them within the IC every two years. Directors of both agencies must instill further confidence in their workforces, Congress, and the American people. Department of Justice should use all of the tools at its disposal to investigate leaks. To combat China's economic espionage, authorities and loopholes in the Foreign Agents Registration Act (FARA) will have to be examined and addressed in conjunction with the Attorney General. The FBI requires significant additional resources and legal authorities to fulfill its statutory role as the lead operational counterintelligence agency. A RAND study of U.S. intelligence tradecraft notes that the "vast majority of intelligence analysts reside outside the Central Intelligence Agency." During the Cold War, there was a more balanced analytic focus with greater emphasis on strategic intelligence issues as a means of outcompeting the Soviet Union.

This means empowering the right personnel to manage, build, and effectively execute actions dispersed throughout the IC. The IC must also start to look forward, not backward. Originally envisioned by the 9/11 Commission as a strengthened, authoritative position, the final congressionally negotiated product signed by President Bush has led to ambiguous and vague authorities. Interagency rivalries and festering issues continue to cause duplication of effort on intelligence analysis and technology purchases. Future IC leadership must address the widely promoted “woke” culture that has spread throughout the federal government. The DNI is charged with assuming two of the three principal roles that formerly belonged to the Director of Central Intelligence. As executive agent for security clearances, the DNI must require results from agencies that resist implementation. There should be agreement between the incoming DNI and President with advice and counsel from the Presidential Personnel Office. The Director should incentivize and reward applicants who are willing to accept high risks. Covert action means an activity or activities of the U.S. Government to influence political, economic, or military conditions abroad. Intelligence leaders need to model norms of neutrality and respect for the decision-making authority of the President. An independent review by the Privacy and Civil Liberties Oversight Board (PCLOB) found that it was not abused.

Proponents of an ODNI hoped to establish reforms similar to the Goldwater–Nichols Department of Defense reforms of the 1980s. While his recommendation was adopted and has corrected the previously allowed imbalance, the ODNI’s effectiveness and direction leave much to be desired. This includes any areas where the CIA might be conducting its own diplomacy parallel to official State Department policy. The Director should divert resources from any activities that promote unnecessary and distracting social engineering. The IC should evaluate areas of bloat and underperforming cadre and work with OPM on authority for voluntary separation buyouts. Retired IC leaders should similarly support the neutrality norm by not becoming public figures. Congress should not use IC leaders as pawns in policy struggles. A future conservative President should consider what resources and information-sharing relationships could be included in an ad hoc or quasi-formal intelligence expansion. Since the intelligence reforms of 2004, they have been codified IC-wide.

An incoming conservative President needs to use these intelligence authorities aggressively to anticipate and thwart our adversaries, including Russia, Iran, North Korea, and especially China. The DNI’s record of effectiveness in improving the sharing of information and operating the IC as an enterprise is mixed. Executive Order 12333 was last amended on July 30, 2008, by President George W. Bush. It will probably be necessary to hold IC leadership accountable at intransigent agencies. This new crop of mid-level leaders should carry out clear directives from senior CIA leadership. The President initiates a covert

action with a written finding that explains why “such an action is necessary to support identifiable foreign policy objectives of the United States” The President should consider whether DOD’s complete set of capabilities should be used to support potential covert actions. Such an assessment should be conducted independently of the agencies responsible for the actions under review. President Barack Obama’s CIA Director, John Brennan, gravely damaged the CIA by minimizing the Directorate of Operations. Section 702 should be understood as an essential tool in the fight against terrorism, malicious cyber actors, and Chinese espionage. The “tradecraft” of intelligence analysis is mostly a collection of lessons learned over decades.

A concerted, disciplined, leadership-led initiative must be undertaken to refocus and shift IC prioritization, funding, and authorities. The ODNI has become that bureaucratic fifth wheel about which Philip Zelikow warned. DNI Ratcliffe advised during the transition of incoming Biden DNI Avril Haines that the DNI should be the only Cabinet-level intelligence official. Despite flaws in the legislation and intelligence agencies’ bureaucratic jockeying, it is impossible to know what would emerge if Congress were to revisit the act. Proper vetting to speed the onboarding of personnel with much-needed expertise is vital to the IC’s future. The CIA is a foreign intelligence collection service tasked with collecting human intelligence. The CIA has its roots in the Office of Strategic Services (OSS), which the United States established during World War II. It must be clear that the CIA’s liaison relationships overseas must follow and not contradict those set by the President. Covert action can be a valuable tool in helping further the President’s foreign policy agenda if implemented in concert with other forms of government power. A future conservative President should identify individuals on the transition team who are familiar with the implementation of covert action. The ODNI and CIA operate under authority provided by the Central Intelligence Agency Act of 1949. Both organizations and other areas of the IC have struggled from a human resources and talent management standpoint. The politicization of intelligence risks contributing to policy failures (as we saw with the Iraq War) or even undermining our democratic system here at home. The DNI and CIA Director should use their authority under the National Security Act of 1947 to expedite the clearance of personnel to meet mission needs and remove IC employees who have abused their positions of trust. Military and civilian IC training should include stronger emphasis on the norm of political neutrality. IC leaders should practice extreme restraint in engaging with the public and the media. The CEA should be updated to include foreign espionage efforts aimed at universities. The CCP steals at least \$400 billion–\$600 billion in intellectual property each year. If Chinese strategic technology gains are happening almost entirely in transnational commercial space, these essential data points should assist in national-level counterintelligence efforts. The NCSC was created in the aftermath of 9/11

as the Terrorist Threat Integration Center (TTIC) In November 2014 the Director of National Intelligence (DNI) established NCSC.

The ODNI was established in the aftermath of the attacks on 9/11 and intelligence failures leading up to the 2003 U.S. war in Iraq. The ODNI needs to direct, not replicate in-house, the other IC agencies' analytic, operational, and management functions. An incoming conservative President will appoint whomever he chooses as DNI. The President requires a CIA that provides unbiased and apolitical foreign intelligence information and, when necessary, can act capably and effectively on any covert action findings. The CIA must find creative ways to align mission requirements with hiring needs. The President should task the NSC's Senior Director for Intelligence Programs with conducting a 60-day review of any current covert action findings. The President should demand creative thinking and a clear strategy as to how covert action fits within his broader foreign policy strategy, to include possibly modifying or rescinding any current findings. Careful thought should be given to the metrics by which the effectiveness of covert action programs will be measured. They should seek to work in the shadows rather than in the limelight. A DNI should call "balls and strikes" to those on both sides of the aisle on Capitol Hill who attempt to weaponize the use of selective intelligence to feed political narratives. Former intelligence officials who retain a clearance should remain subject to the Hatch Act. NCSC has added value in such areas as fusing cross-community intelligence for terrorism watchlisting purposes. Historically, this tradecraft has been passed on in the form of unwritten rules learned on the job and in agency-specific training classes.

The unintended consequences include hesitancy, groupthink, and an overly cautious approach. Under the Bush Administration's initial legislative proposal, the CIA Director would have been under the "authority, direction, and control" of the DNI. In discussions with the White House over the post, Gates noted that the "legislation weakened the leadership of the community" "The DNI had no troops and no additional powers really on the budget, hiring, and firing," he said. There is scant mention of cyber threats and the evolving national security challenges posed by China, Russia, and other U.S. adversaries. The IC should avoid duplication of what is already being done well in the private sector and focus instead on complex questions. The CIA's success depends on firm direction from the President and solid internal CIA Director-appointed leadership. The President should instruct the Director to hire or promote new individuals to lead the various directorates and mission centers. The problem, unfortunately, is that certain elements in the State Department, IC, and DOD trade on risk aversion or political bureaucracy. An incoming conservative President should consider reforms designed to prevent future partisan abuses of national security authority. Such activity can easily slip into suppression of an opposition party's speech. Significant technology, language skills, and financial

intelligence resources are needed to counter China's capabilities. The IC was caught flat-footed by the recent discovery of a successful test of a nuclear-capable hypersonic missile. The need to understand Chinese motivations, capabilities, and intent will be of paramount importance to a future conservative President. A future conservative President should further empower and resource the IC by executive order or through suggested changes in the Counterintelligence Enhancement Act (CEA) of 2002.

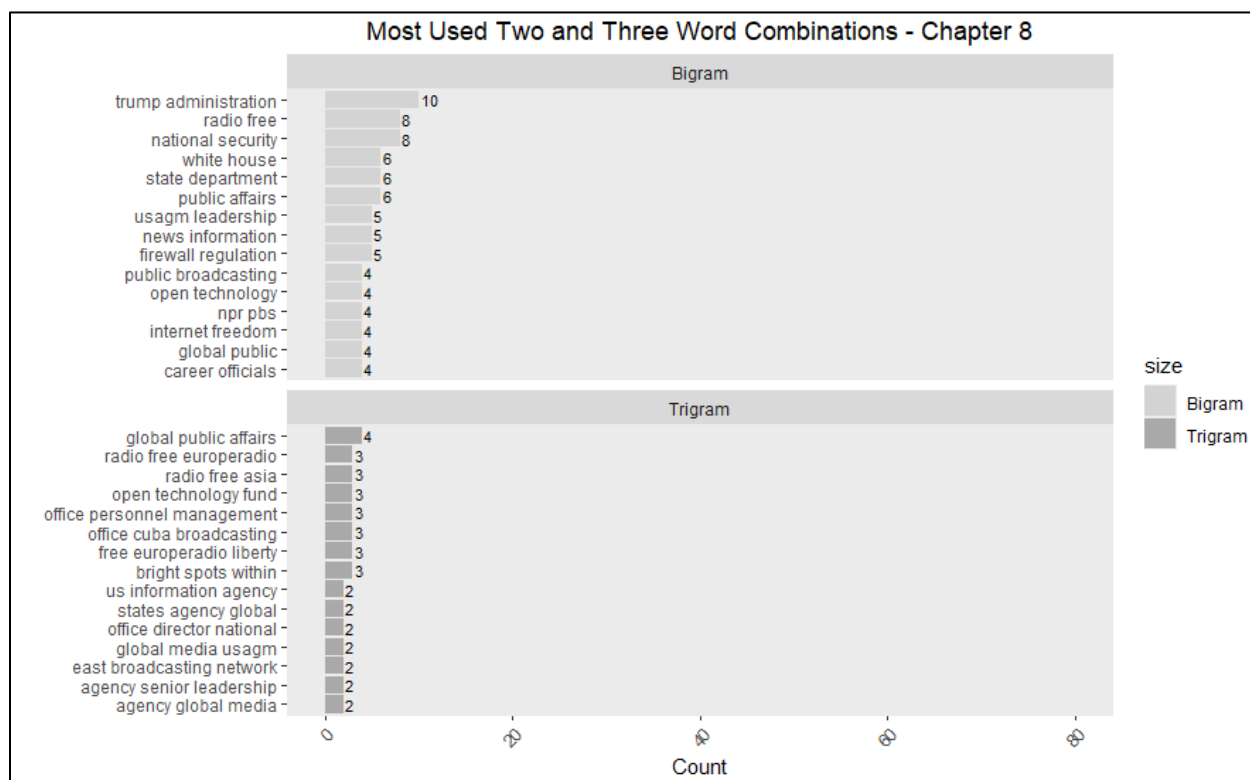
Otherwise, other Cabinet and subordinate IC agencies will continue to regard the ODNI as an annoyance and not a positive contributor to the National Intelligence Program (NIP) budget. Clarifying how much budget authority the DNI has in conjunction with OMB and IC-member Cabinet officials is crucial. Decisive senior leaders must commit to carrying out the President's agenda and be willing to take calculated risks. The Director and Deputy Director should meet with all directorates and mission centers, prioritizing those that are aligned most closely with the President's priorities. The President should revoke the security clearances of any former Directors, Deputy Directors, or other senior intelligence officials who discuss their work in the press or on social media without prior clearance from the current Director. Political leaders should avoid "manipulation-by-appointment," a practice by which intelligence leaders are selected for their policy views or political loyalties. Section 702 of FISA allows the IC to target foreign terrorists, spies, cyber hackers, and other bad actors. CIA Director William Burns has formally established a China Mission Center focused on these efforts. Primary operational elements should remain at the FBI and CIA, with the Bureau and NCSC collaborating on nongovernmental outreach.

The Intelligence Community must be perceived as a depoliticized protector of America's civil rights and security. A future President's ability to drive the resources needed to defeat another nation-state giant should be the focus of near-term IC reforms. Through arduous "sausage-making" and relatively quick negotiations, lawmakers produced statutorily vague authorities. Intelligence and interagency coordination has improved significantly since 9/11. The importance of trust, character, and the ability to work together to achieve a joint set of intelligence goals cannot be overstated. The success of any DNI rests with support from the President. The next President-Elect and incoming Presidential Personnel Office should identify a Director nominee who can foster a mission-driven culture. The intelligence function must be protected from bottom-up and top-down politicization if it is to play its proper role in our national security decision-making process. Restoring respect for the IC will require reinforcing essential norms and institutions. IC agencies, including the CIA, should minimize their public presence and vigorously investigate any and all leaks of information, classified or otherwise. Congress should review the PCLOB's upcoming 2023 report to help it determine whether any reforms or codification of recent administrative changes in FISA processes are needed.

Understanding when to pass things to liaisons and for what purpose will be vital to outmaneuvering China in the intelligence sphere. The IC must rally nongovernment and allied partners and inspire unified action to counter them. A future President and DNI should amplify NCSC's authorities and roles with respect to counterintelligence strategy, policy, outreach, and governance. The Director of NCSC serves in support of the DNI's role as Security Executive Agent.

The IC also often spends too much time overcorrecting for past mistakes. Seeking a legislative solution therefore might carry with it more risks than benefits. The order should clearly delineate the roles and responsibilities of the various U.S. government cyber missions. The order should consider stipulating what to do with DOD cyber agencies, most notably the NSA, in terms of strategic (for example, the President and the DNI) The DNI should have the President's direction to address emerging but catastrophic threats such as those posed by bioweapons. The IC's use of publicly available information, often called OSINT, remains disaggregated. The explosion of private-sector intelligence products and expertise should signal to IC leadership that duplicative efforts are unnecessary. Human resources onboarding operations in major agencies such as the CIA, FBI, and NSA remain to be resolved. The Director should handpick qualified, properly cleared personnel for front-office and managerial leadership positions. ODNI and CIA should maximize their direct-hire and incentive-building authorities to bring in talented and properly cleared individuals to serve in positions requiring technical, language, and cyber expertise. The ODNI and CIA are undergoing a crisis of confidence based on several factors. An area of particular concern is that personnel under investigation for improprieties have been allowed to retire before internal investigations have been completed. Presidents should also avoid public rebukes and pressure from the intelligence profession, which can include intimidation and bullying. The IC should be prohibited from monitoring so-called domestic disinformation. A critical strategic question for an incoming Administration and IC leaders will be: How, when, and with whom do we share our classified intelligence? The Senate Select Committee on Intelligence (SSCI) has taken a keen interest in possibly updating the codified language underpinning much of the nation's counterintelligence apparatus.

Chapter 8: Media Agencies



The United States Agency for Global Media is a sub-Cabinet agency of the U.S. government with a budget of just under \$1 billion. The agency oversees two government broadcasting networks: the Voice of America (VOA) and the Office of Cuba Broadcasting (OCB). The Voice of America provides news and information in 48 languages to a weekly audience of more than 326 million people worldwide. USAGM also oversees 100 percent of the grant funding for several “independent” grantee organizations. The Middle East Broadcasting Network is an Arabic-language news organization with a weekly audience of 27.4 million people in 22 countries. OIF was shut down in order to provide massive grants to the opaque activities of OTF. Full reinstatement of OIF would allow full agency and congressional oversight into how so-called “Internet freedom” money is being spent. Shortwave technologies make it possible to carry broadcasts in areas where Internet traffic is severely restricted.

The Office of Cuba Broadcasting oversees Radio and Television Martí, a multimedia hub of news, information, and analysis that provides the people of Cuba with programs. OTF was formed under dubious circumstances by using consolidation rules to usurp the mission and funding of the Office of Internet Freedom (OIF). OIF funded far more diverse technologies with much greater transparency. The Firewall Regulation was entered into the Federal Register on the eve of the Senate confirmation of USAGM CEO, Michael Pack.

USAGM career officials considered such content sacrosanct and bravely independent “journalistic” content protected by the “spirit of” the Firewall Regulation. The USAGM is vulnerable to exploitation by foreign spies. Over 1,500 USAGM personnel (nearly 40 percent of its total workforce) were performing their Tier 3 and Tier 5 national-security-sensitive positions with falsified and/or unauthorized suitability-for-employment determinations.

VOA once had a generally well-received brand value, but it has deteriorated under decades of poor leadership and a loss of its once-prized unbiased reporting. The MBN consists of two television networks, radio, websites, and social media platforms. Together, they deliver news and analysis on the region, American policies, and Americana. Radio Free Asia is a private, nonprofit multimedia news corporation. The Open Technology Fund’s goal is to support the research, development, and implementation of Internet freedom technologies that circumvent censorship. These shortfalls are either oriented toward, or directly contribute to, the agency’s media organizations joining the mainstream media’s anti-U.S. chorus. The few bright spots within VOA and the OCB are often stifled instead of supported. In many cases, records (including Social Security numbers), were falsified or replaced with notional placeholders, and fingerprints were never submitted to the Federal Bureau of Investigation. Non-web-based technologies that are proven and durable have been grossly deemphasized in budgeting. Personnel is one of the biggest concerns for the USAGM and its grantees.

The agency’s selective application of a journalistic “firewall.” The amorphous interpretation of a firewall shifts, depending on which Administration is in office and who is asking questions. Security personnel and former agency senior leadership ignored these issues and allowed them to persist. These responsibilities must remain with the Department of Defense and the Office of Personnel Management. Fiscal responsibility and transparency should return to the USAGM, with consolidation being a cornerstone of the strategy.

Despite its vibrant self-lobbying and publicity efforts, OTF remains a wasteful and redundant boondoggle. Its grantee status was suspended by Trump-appointed USAGM leadership for a number of reasons, including noncompliance with its grant terms and for actions that resulted in several fraud and waste investigations. The Open Technology Fund duplicates activities that already existed at the USAGM in the Office of Internet Freedom. There is great concern about the vulnerability of undersea cable trunks that make up the Internet cloud. USAGM has responsibility for only U.S. global shortwave radio capability.

VOA’s White House correspondent was posting content highly critical of, and personally insulting to, the U.S. President. During the last six months of the Trump Administration, known foreign intelligence operatives were removed from the OCB and

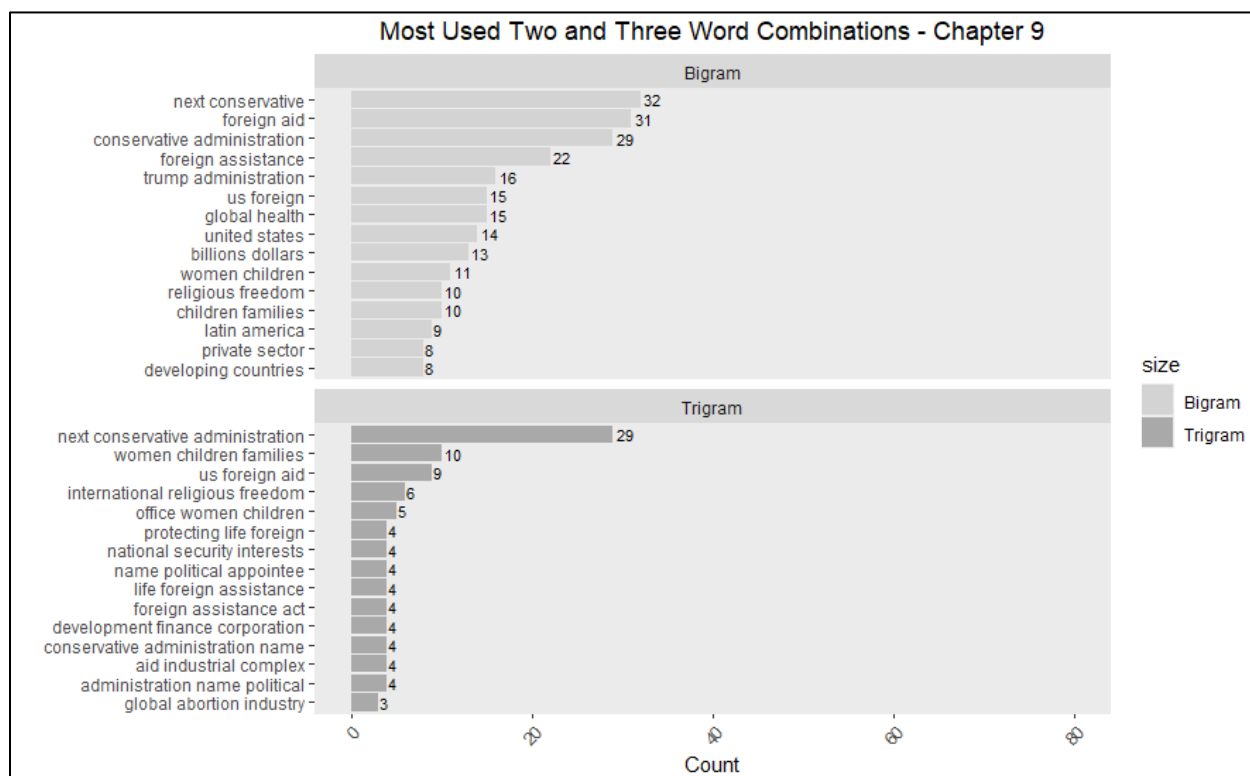
RFE/RL. The USAGM's J-1 visa holders often go on to apply for permanent residency, which violates the intention of this visa.

For example, the then-president of RFA “established the Freedom2Connect Foundation (Foundation)” and thereafter “awarded two contracts, totaling \$1.2 million” to the foundation she herself founded. Agency journalists, both on and off American soil, have faced danger, yet their superiors have done little to protect them.

It brings news and uncensored content to people in six Asian countries that restrict free speech, freedom of the press, and access to reliable information. RFA also provides educational and cultural programming, as well as forums for audiences to engage in open dialogue and freely express opinions. The Biden Administration reinstated OTF to full operational status and ceased all investigations immediately after assuming office. Prior to the arrival of President Donald Trump's appointees in June 2020, budgeting, financial responsibility, and spending totaled over \$800 million per year, with virtually no oversight or supervision. Numerous career whistleblowers came forward to sound the alarm about OTF's abuse and overreach.

VOA radio and television signals are broadcast to approximately 3,500 affiliates, and satellite transmissions reach countries where free speech is banned or where civil society is under threat. Several reports from the Office of the Inspector General (OIG) were released showing waste and self-dealing, including security vulnerabilities and RFA leadership awarding insiders millions of dollars of grant funding. Unfortunately, as was the case with the OTF, the Biden Administration immediately reinstated personnel who had been fired for gross security violations, placing the agency back into its previously failed posture. Current and former USAGM/VOA leadership waged a campaign of interference, resistance, and disinformation to stifle change at the agency. Rather than providing news and information in an accurate, reliable way that promotes and supports freedom and democracy, the agency is mismanaged, disorganized, ineffective, and rife with waste and redundancy. Opportunities for modernization and effective strategy are ignored, and wasteful spending and misallocation of resources are the norm. Whistleblowers and Trump Administration officials found that protection of USAGM American and foreign journalists was severely lacking.

Chapter 9: Agency for International Development



USAID's multibillion-dollar humanitarian programs are now 80 percent in response to violent, man-made crises. The Administration has incorporated its radical climate policy into every USAID initiative. It creates an institutionalized cadre of progressive political commissars, corrupts the award process, and discourages potential contractors and grantees from applying for USAID funding. USAID launched its first Acquisition and Assistance Strategy to streamline procurement processes and introduce innovation into its programming. Crucial to the strategy will be increasing the use of open competition that lowers barriers to entry. Increasing USAID Collaboration with Faith-Based Organizations. Transition from large awards to expensive, inefficient, and corrupt U.N. agencies, global NGOs, and contractors. Today, that figure is under 10 percent, overtaken by private investment, remittances, and private charities.

The aid industry claims that climate change causes poverty, which is false. The agency should cease collaborating with and funding progressive foundations, corporations, international institutions, and NGOs that advocate on behalf of climate fanaticism. USAID now aggressively promotes abortion on demand under the guise of "sexual and reproductive health and reproductive rights," "gender equality," and "women's empowerment" Families are the basic unit of and foundation for a thriving society. Even under PLGHA, several loopholes allowed support for the global abortion industry to

continue. International NGOs that perform and promote abortions overseas continued to receive funding from USAID. Members of Congress have advocated closing these loopholes by extending PLGHA to all foreign assistance. USAID far more often counts on expensive and ineffective large contracts and grants to carry out its programs. A smooth transition to national ownership and funding will require better coordination of USAID's own stovepiped programs with PEPFAR and PMI. Today, the agency spends more than 80 percent of its humanitarian budget on chronic man-made crises.

The next conservative Administration should scale back USAID's global footprint. In Latin America, 25 of 29 countries participate in the BRI, and the PRC ranks as the region's largest trading partner. The Biden Administration discontinued these programs. Enduring conflict, government corruption, and bad economic policies are the main drivers of global poverty. The next conservative Administration should rescind all climate policies from its foreign aid programs. It causes resentment by tying lifesaving assistance to rejecting the aid recipient's own firmly held fundamental values regarding sexuality. The United States is the world's largest funder of global health initiatives. Maternal and child health, food, water, and sanitation programs were often intermittent. In contrast, the Global Health Bureau historically has provided 85 percent of its funding to large U.S. NGOs with significant overhead costs. USAID's emergency responses once were focused primarily on natural cataclysms such as hurricanes, floods, and earthquakes. Over the past decade, the U.S. government has expended \$14 billion in aid to Syria.

The Biden Administration has deformed the agency by treating it as a global platform to pursue overseas a divisive political and cultural agenda. The USAID Administrator should be authorized to take on the additional role of Director of Foreign Assistance (DFA) The DFA role would empower this person to align and coordinate the countless foreign assistance programs across the U.S. government. During the Trump Administration, USAID: Inaugurated a robust counter-China response called Clear Choice. USAID built an organizational infrastructure to carry out its multiple lines of counter-China operations. The impact on Africa is especially acute. Today, USAID officials and their progressive partners have resisted efforts to promote religious freedom. Congress should appropriate funding to USAID specifically to support persecuted religious minorities. The head of M/OAA is one of the most important positions at USAID, as the office is ground zero for controlling the disbursement of U.S. foreign aid. "Localization" is a buzzword within the aid community but correctly assumes that more funding through local organizations produces better aid outcomes. For decades, global health programs have relied mostly on statistical modeling (rather than actual data) or survey data. Poor data quality undermines the evaluation and improvement of desired outcomes. The United States must have more prominent representation in international technical committees and regulation-setting organizations.

The U.S. government effectively finances the social services obligations of corrupt regimes that threaten the United States. These governments can then redirect scarce budget resources away from costly health and education toward financing their wars. USAID's leadership fused formerly bifurcated food and nonfood emergency relief operations into a single Bureau for Humanitarian Assistance. Work with Congress to make deep cuts in the IDA budget. Private capital investment in these markets is the greatest enabler of job creation and sustainable economic growth.

USAID was established during the presidency of John F. Kennedy pursuant to the Foreign Assistance Act of 1961 to promote the foreign policy, security, and national interests of the United States. USAID promotes American prosperity through initiatives that expand markets for U.S. exports and encourage innovation. USAID should finance programs designed to counter specific Chinese efforts in strategically important countries and eliminate funding to any partner that engages with Chinese entities directly or indirectly. South Africa, for example, relies on coal-powered plants to generate 80 percent of its power needs. The next conservative Administration should dismantle USAID's DEI apparatus. The promotion of gender radicalism is anathema to the traditional norms of many societies where USAID works. Current law in the Foreign Assistance Act gives the President broad authority to set "such terms and conditions as he may determine." The next conservative Administration should issue an executive order that, at a minimum, reinstates PLGHA and summarily blocks funding to UNFPA. USAID is a grantmaking and contracting agency that disburses billions of dollars of federal funding in developing countries. PEPFAR increased the amount of funding disbursed to local entities from about 25 percent to nearly 70 percent. This demonstrates the importance of "localization," by which USAID helps governments and the private sector in developing countries to strengthen their own ability to address needed training. The Bureau should identify and eliminate outdated and ineffective concepts and focus on funding innovation. The Bureau should implement a "Request for Application for Resilient Families." In sub-Saharan Africa, FBOs often provide more than 80 percent of health care, especially to the extremely poor. New directives, social agendas, and extra layers of review have obscured core activities. In Burma, U.S. aid finances all of the food and medical care for hundreds of thousands of persecuted Rohingya that the military regime forces to live in open-air concentration camps.

Wasteful budget increases have outstripped USAID's capacity to spend funds responsibly. Pro-abortion groups also have received funds under other categories of foreign aid that fall outside the scope of global health assistance. All entities funded by USAID, both directly and indirectly, should report their compliance with the PLGHA. The Helms Amendment should continue to be applied, as it has been by both Republican and Democratic Administrations. The next conservative Administration must champion the

core American value of religious freedom, which correlates with poverty reduction, economic growth, and peace. The next conservative Administration should name a political appointee as the agency's Senior Procurement Executive and Director of the Office of Assistance and Acquisitions. This model should be replicated across all of USAID. Conservative leadership must return the focus to development and improved workforce morale. In Afghanistan, the aid infrastructure built over 20 years of American military presence that three Presidents wanted to end collapsed.

Launched its first Digital Strategy to promote safe 5G access in emerging markets. USAID resources are best deployed to strengthen the resilience of countries that are most vulnerable to climatic shifts. USAID installed advisers on Diversity, Equity, and Inclusion (DEI) committees "in all its Bureaus, Offices, and [overseas] Missions" The upshot has been to racialize the agency and create a hostile work environment. This pursuit of ideological purity threatens merit-based professional advancement for staff who do not overtly conform. Refocusing Gender Equality on Women, Children, and Families. The next conservative Administration should rename the USAID Office of Gender Equality and Women's Empowerment as the Office of Women, Children, and Families. It should remove all references, examples, definitions, photos, and language on USAID websites, in agency publications and policies. USAID should remove references to "abortion," "reproductive health," and "sexual and reproductive rights" and controversial sexual education materials. USAID's Office of Women, Children, and Families should strive to ensure that communities have their basic human needs, without which they will be unable to thrive, met first and foremost. Basic human needs include equal and safe access to potable water, sanitation, food, education, health care, houses of worship, justice, pregnancy and family resource centers, working capital, electricity, technology, and business opportunities. USAID affirmed the agency's partnerships with faith-based organizations. Focusing on Holistic Health Care and Support for Women, Children, and Families.

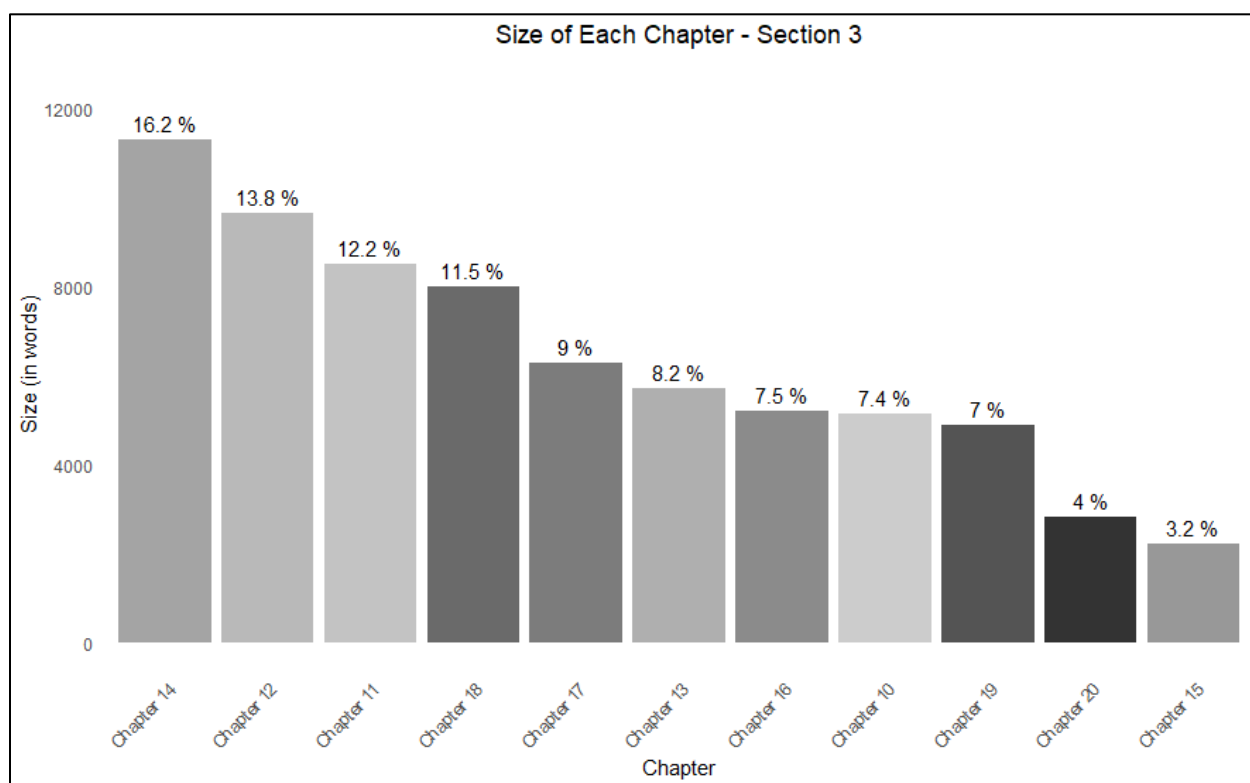
Under the Trump Administration, USAID focused on ending the need for foreign aid by placing countries onto a Journey to Self-Reliance. U.S. foreign aid has been transformed into a massive and open-ended global entitlement program captured by the progressive Left. The next conservative Administration should return the authority over all civil rights issues at USAID to the agency's Office of Civil Rights. Without women, there are no children, and society cannot continue. Under the Trump Administration, the agency set up a senior-level Chief Adviser for International Religious Freedom. The strategy counted on local NGOs, including faith-based entities already on the ground, to provide the agency with less costly and more effective alternatives to the aid giants. Accomplishing the next conservative Administration's policy goals at USAID will require that political appointees have knowledge of, responsibility for, and visibility into the design and awarding of grants,

contracts, and cooperative agreements. From the 1950s to 1970s, the major recognized threats to human health were infectious diseases such as polio and smallpox. Bureau personnel suffer from “mission drift,” burnout, and a lack of vision. Leadership should designate a political appointee to help coordinate cross-agency efforts to hold the U.S. government’s multilateral partners to a higher level of financial and programmatic accountability. A politically powerful foreign aid industry benefits financially from extending and expanding these large-scale programs for years, even decades. Local partners more ably navigate corrupt environments and steer vulnerable populations away from dependence on aid.

A version of this role existed during the last two years of the George W. Bush Administration, but the Obama Administration eliminated it in 2009. Since 2005, Chinese state-owned banks have issued \$138 billion in loans to Latin American countries. The World Bank estimates that 60 percent of all BRI loans are in financial distress, leading many countries to seek emergency financial help from Western donors. A senior executive-level Clear Choice Coordinator advised the agency’s leadership on initiatives to counter China, supported by a fully dedicated six-person Secretariat. It has joined or funded international partnerships dedicated to advancing the aims of the Paris Climate Agreement. Instead of protecting women’s and children’s unalienable human rights, past Democrat Administrations have nearly erased what females are and what femininity is. Biden also restored funding to the United Nations Population Fund (UNFPA), which supports and implements China’s coercive abortion and sterilization regimen. PLGHA requires foreign NGOs, as a condition of receiving assistance, to agree not to perform or actively promote abortions as a method of family planning. Many USAID-funded global health activities remain rooted in patterns that began decades ago. Most of these “emergency responses” began years ago and absorb billions of dollars annually. The next Administration should restore its original purpose of providing emergency short-term relief. During the 1960s, when USAID was launched, 80 percent of financial flows from the United States to the developing world was in the form of U.S. government assistance.

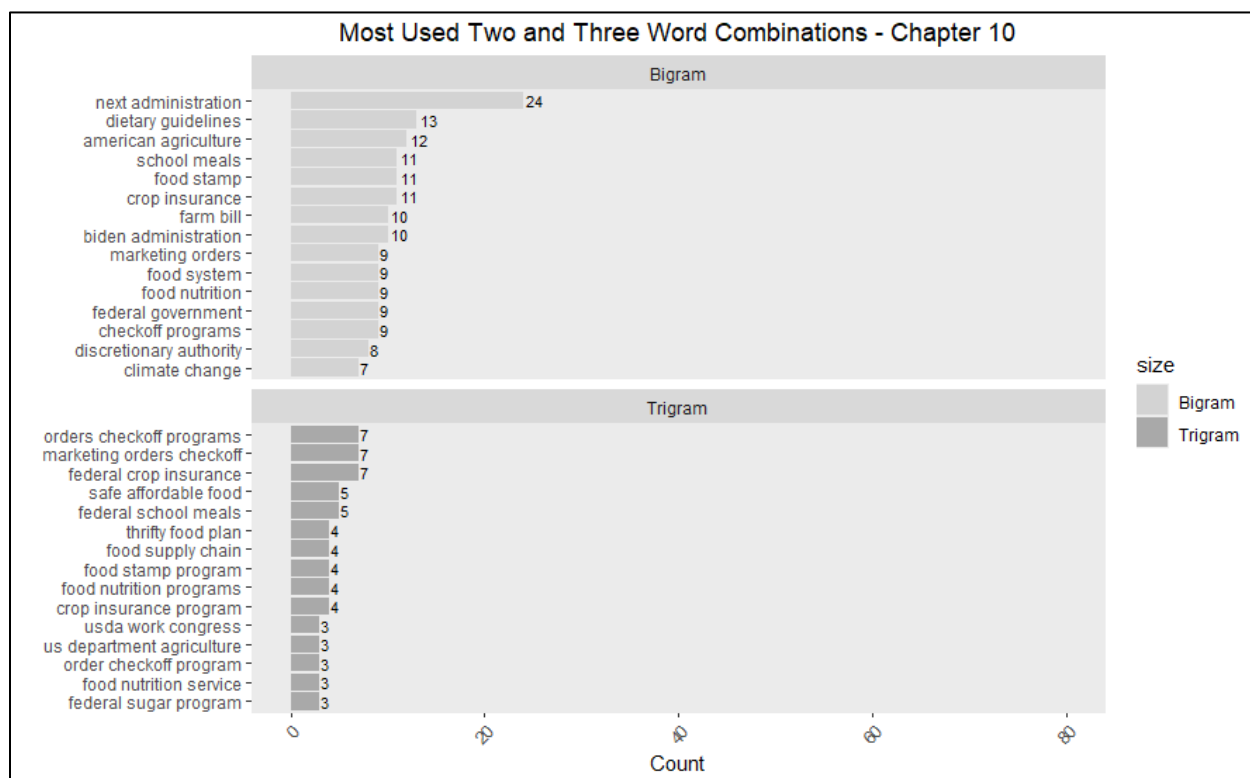
At the height of the Cold War with the Soviet Union, USAID sought to halt the spread of Communism. The agency helped to transition Central and Eastern Europe from socialism to free market-based democracies. Struck bilateral development relationships with Japan, Israel, Kuwait, Qatar, the United Arab Emirates, and Taiwan. The next conservative Administration should restore and build on the Trump Administration’s counter-China infrastructure at USAID. The Bangkok-based Regional Development Mission for Asia should focus its strategic attention on supporting cross-border initiatives. USAID declared itself “a climate agency” and redirected its private-sector engagement strategy to support the Administration’s global policy to “transition from fossil fuels to renewable

energy. Conservatives believe international religious freedom is central to USAID's development efforts. President Trump's Executive Order 13926 instructed the Secretary of State, in consultation with the USAID Administrator, to budget at least \$50 million a year for programs that advance international religious freedom. Countries with strong health institutions and sound public health practices responded quickly to and recovered more rapidly from the COVID-19 pandemic. Yemen, once the breadbasket of the Arabian Peninsula, is now dependent on billions of dollars of aid. The WFP charges 36 percent in overhead while Oxfam International's overhead has reached 70 percent in Yemen, reflecting the high costs of foreign staff, security, and logistics. USAID and the State Department must devise country-based exit strategies. The Biden Administration is leveraging private-sector financing to promote its climate and other progressive agendas worldwide. The next conservative Administration must return USAID to a foreign aid model that leverages its resources.



Section 3: The General Welfare

Chapter 10: Department of Agriculture



It has nearly 100,000 employees serving the American people at more than 6,000 locations across the country and abroad. Instead, it should respect American farmers, truckers, and everyone who makes the food supply chain so resilient and successful. There was no recognition that farmers know how to farm better than D.C. politicians or that organic food is expensive and land-intensive. The Biden Administration has also been pushing so-called “climate-smart” agricultural practices. The USDA should also carefully review existing efforts that involve inappropriately imposing its preferred agricultural practices onto farmers. CBO found that reducing the premium subsidy to 40 percent would save \$20.9 billion over 10 years. The 2014 farm bill tightened this loophole by requiring that a household must receive more than \$20 annually in LIHEAP payments.

A proper mission would clarify that the department’s primary focus is on agriculture and that the USDA serves all Americans. For an incoming Administration, there are numerous issues that should be addressed at the USDA. The Biden Administration’s centrally planned transformational effort minimizes the importance of efficient agricultural production and instead places issues such as climate change and equity front and center. Defend American agriculture and advance the critical importance of efficient and innovative food production. Too often, agricultural policy becomes synonymous with farm subsidy policy. The next Administration should champion legislation that would: Repeal the

federal sugar program. White House and USDA should make it very clear that the farm bill process, including reform of farm subsidies, must be conducted through an open process. Under an administrative option in TANF called broadbased categorical eligibility (BBCE), "benefit" is defined so broadly that it includes simply receiving distributed pamphlets and 1-800 numbers.

The U.S. Department of Agriculture (USDA) can and should play a limited role. Agricultural production should first and foremost be focused on efficiently producing safe food. During the last 160 years, the scope of the USDA's work has expanded well beyond that narrow mission. The USDA runs the food stamp program and other food-related welfare programs. Section 5 of the Commodity Credit Corporation Charter Act (Charter Act) gives the Secretary of Agriculture broad discretionary authority to spend "unused" CCC money. Congress should amend the Charter Act to: Limit spending to directly help farmers and ranchers. The PLC program provides payments to farmers when commodity prices fall below a fixed, statutorily established reference price. CBO has found that reducing the premium subsidy to 47 percent would save \$8.1 billion over 10 years and have little impact on crop insurance participation or on the number of covered acres. Center for Nutrition Policy and Promotion handles the USDA's work on the "Dietary Guidelines for Americans" The next Administration should: Move the USDA food and nutrition programs to the Department of Health and Human Services. There are more than 89 current meanstested welfare programs. Federal law permits states to enroll individuals in food stamps if they receive a benefit from another program, such as the Temporary Assistance for Needy Families. Adopting the BBCE option has even allowed millionaires to enroll in the food stamp program. However, the USDA has taken it even further, improperly interpreting the law to allow a subset of schools within a district to be grouped together to reach the 40 percent threshold.

This chapter provides important background on the USDA and identifies many of the USDA-specific issues that will be faced by an incoming Administration. Not unlike those who oppose reliable and affordable energy production, there is a disdain, especially by some on the Left, for American agriculture and the food system. America's farmers efficiently produce food using fewer resources, making it possible for food to be affordable. Billions of dollars are being used for programs that Congress never envisioned or intended. Despite what might be conventional wisdom, many farmers receive few to no subsidies. This is hardly consistent with the concept of providing a safety net to help farmers when they fall on hard times. Waivers from statutory work requirements can be approved in two instances: an unemployment rate of more than 10 percent or a lack of sufficient jobs.

The USDA's new vision statement illuminates the focus of this effort: An equitable and climate smart food and agriculture economy. The USDA should not try to control and shape the economy, but should instead remove obstacles that hinder food production. The department had a very narrow mission focused on the dissemination of information connected to agriculture. It also covers issues including conservation, biofuels, forestry, and rural programs. The USDA is comprised of 29 agencies organized under eight Mission Areas and 16 Staff Offices. The USDA announced it will dedicate \$300 million to induce farmers to adopt organic farming. The next Administration should denounce efforts to place ancillary issues like climate change ahead of food productivity and affordability. The Secretary of Agriculture is empowered to use a slush fund. If Congress needs to spend money to assist farmers, it has legislative tools, including the farm bill and the annual appropriations process, to do so in a timely fashion. From 2014 to 2016, 94 percent of farm program support went to just six commodities. SNAP serves 41.1 million individuals, an increase of 4.3 million people during the Biden years. The next Administration should: Re-implement work requirements. The Trump Administration bolstered USDA work expectations in the food stamp program. The work requirements are then implemented unless the state requests a waiver from the USDA. Some lawmakers and federal officials have now proposed making this expansion permanent. Under CEP, if 40 percent of students in a school or school district are eligible for federal meals, all students in that school or district can receive free meals.

The mission statement reflects the overly broad nature of the USDA's work. The language bringing in equity and climate change is new to the Biden Administration. The Commodity Credit Corporation (CCC) is generally the means by which agricultural-related farm bill programs are funded. SNAP sends money through electronic-benefit-transfer (EBT) cards to help 'low-income' individuals buy food. The Trump reform was scheduled to go into effect, but a D.C. district court federal judge enjoined the rule.

The next Administration should: Refrain from using section 5 discretionary authority. The Congressional Budget Office has identified repealing all Title I farm programs, including ARC, PLC, and the federal sugar program. Agricultural and nutritional programs, which are distinct from each other, have been combined together for political reasons. States can artificially boost a household's food stamp benefit by using the heat-and-eat loophole. Households that receive benefits from the Low-Income Heat and Energy Assistance Program (LIHEAP) are eligible for a larger utility deduction. State agencies control WIC costs by approving only one brand of infant formula through competitive bidding for infant formula rebate contracts. The NSLP launched in 1946 and the SBP in 1966, both as options specifically for children in poverty. As a result, a school with zero low-income students could be grouped with schools with high levels of low- Income students.

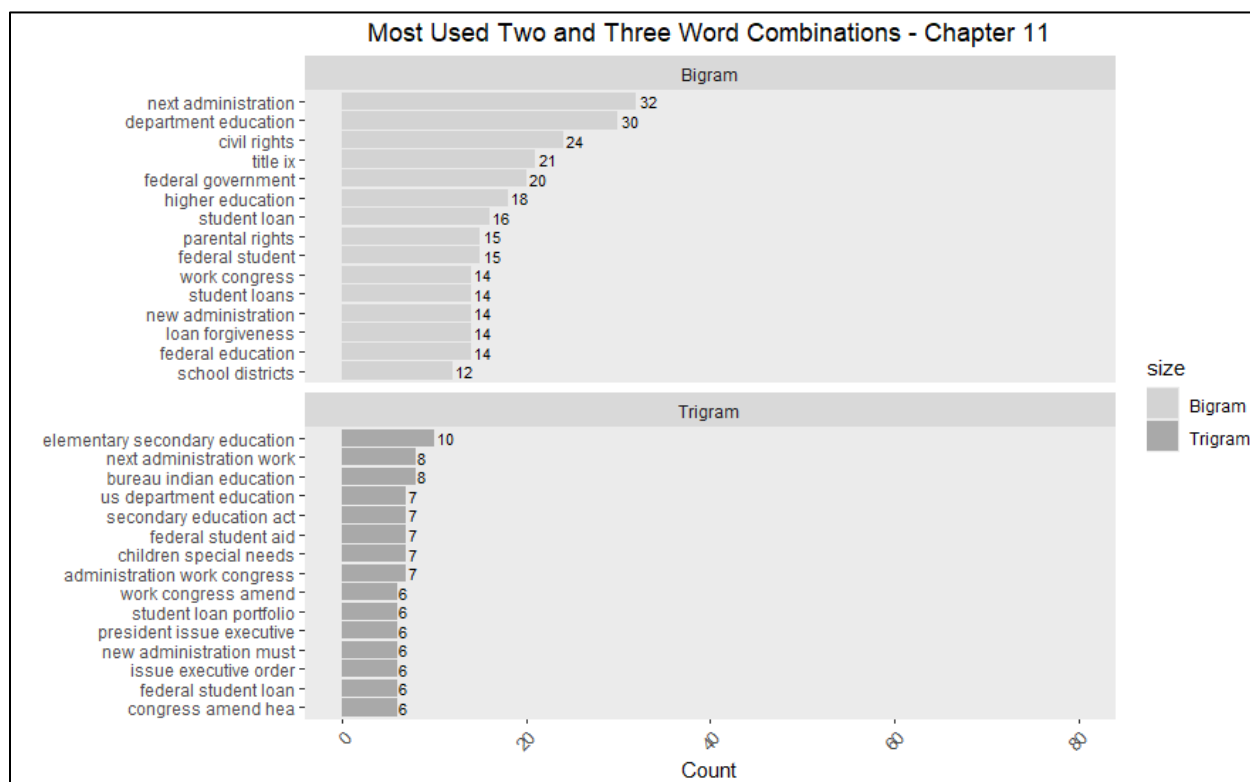
Biden's plan would put climate change and environmental issues ahead of the most important requirements of agriculture. Based on the USDA's fiscal year (FY) 2023 budget summary, outlays are estimated at \$261 billion. Promote legislative fixes to address abuse. The federal crop insurance program is broader in scope than ARC and PLC, and in crop year 2019 covered 124 commodities. The ARC program is especially egregious because farmers are being protected from shallow losses. The farm bill too often is developed behind closed doors and without any chance for real reform. USDA implements many means-tested federal support programs.

Congress must limit the USDA's role. Core principles should be included within any mission statement, including a recognition that farmers, and the food system in general, should be free from unnecessary government intervention. The Biden Administration's USDA strongly supported the recent United Nations (U.N.) Food Systems Summit. The USDA should remove all references to transforming the food system on its web site and other department-disseminated material. Clarify that spending is only to address problems that are temporary in nature. Subsidies should not influence planting decisions, discourage proper risk management and innovation, incentivize planting on environmentally sensitive land, or create barriers to entry for new farmers. The overall goal should be to eliminate subsidy dependence. Taxpayers cover about 60 percent of the premium cost for policies purchased in the federal crop insurance program. The White House, given the power of the bully pulpit, must demand a genuine reform process. Separate the agricultural provisions of the farm bill from the nutrition provisions. The USDA increased food stamp outlays by between \$250 billion and \$300 billion over 10 years. The Biden Administration may have skirted regulations and congressional authority to increase the overall cost of the program. During the COVID-19 pandemic, federal policymakers temporarily expanded access to school meal programs.

In 1862, President Abraham Lincoln signed into law the legislation that created the USDA. The federal government does not need to transform the food system or develop a national plan to intervene across the supply chain. Critics warned that this use of the CCC, which in effect created a USDA slush fund, would lead future Administrations to abuse it. The primary subsidy programs include the Agriculture Risk Coverage (ARC) program and the Price Loss Coverage (PLC) program. Farmers can participate on a crop-by-crop basis in the ARC program or the PLC program. Food and Nutrition Service (FNS) oversees these programs and other food and nutrition programs. Total means-tested spending has been estimated to surpass \$1.2 trillion between federal and state resources. Of the more than 40 million food stamp beneficiaries, the Trump rule would have applied only to 688,000 individuals in fiscal year 2021. 50 percent of baby formula is purchased through the federal

WIC program, it is vital that regulation for these competitive bidding contracts does not unintentionally create monopolies.

Chapter 11: Department of Education



Federal money is inevitably accompanied by rules and regulations that keep the influx of funds from having much, if any, impact on student outcomes. By Fiscal Year 2022, ESEA programs received \$27.7 billion in appropriations. The same year, the department spent more than \$2 billion just to administer Title IV of the HEA. By FY 2022, the department's discretionary and mandatory appropriation topped \$80 billion, not including student loan outlays. The next Administration will need a plan to redistribute the various congressionally approved federal education programs across the government. Congress has a special responsibility to children who are connected to military families, who live in the District of Columbia. Taxpayers should expect their investments in higher education to generate economic productivity. Restore revenue responsibility for Title I funding to the states over a 10-year period. The D.C. Move ED's statistical office, the National Commission for Education Statistics (NCES), to the Census Bureau. OCR published a notice concerning proposed revisions to OCR's Mandatory Civil Rights Data Collection (CRDC) The new Administration must quickly move to rescind these changes. The regulations also included prohibitions against pre-dispute arbitration agreements and class action waivers. The Obama Administration looked at the racial statistics on special education assignment and made two assumptions. President Biden has proposed a new income-driven repayment program. The federal government does not have the proper

incentives to make sound lending decisions. The next Administration should work to pass a federal Parents' Bill of Rights that restores parental rights to a "top-tier" right. Congress should also consider equipping parents with a private right of action, the authors say. FERPA and PPRA do not authorize a private right of action. The next Administration should work with Congress to amend FERPA and PPRA to provide parents with a private right of action.

It raises the cost of education without raising student achievement. Federal postsecondary policy should be more than massive, inefficient, and open-ended subsidies to "traditional" colleges and universities. But for those interested in expanding federal funding and influence in education, this unconsolidated approach was less than ideal. The Biden Administration has sought to trample women's and girls' athletic opportunities and due process on campus. Higher education outcomes data should be similarly "risk adjusted" to more carefully isolate the impact of educational quality versus socioeconomic status. This proposal urges the new Administration to end the abuse of FSA's loan forgiveness programs. The NEA is a demonstrably radical special interest group that overwhelmingly supports left-of-center policies and policymakers. Federal officials should protect educators and students in jurisdictions under federal control from racial discrimination. The law would also require federal agencies to demonstrate that their action meets strict scrutiny before a final rule is promulgated.

It should be rebalanced to focus far more on bolstering the workforce skills of Americans who have no interest in pursuing a four-year academic degree. Congress sought to improve educational outcomes for disadvantaged students. It provided \$22.5 billion in Pell grants, and it oversaw outlays of close to \$100 billion in direct student loans. Congress could have, and once did, distribute management of federal education programs outside of a single department. Special interest groups like the National Education Association (NEA), American Federation of Teachers (AFT), and the higher education lobby have leveraged the agency to continuously expand federal expenditures. The NAEP Long-term Trend Assessment shows academic stagnation since the 1970s. There are five primary regulatory targets (as of December 2022) that require the next Administration's attention. It most recently reauthorized the program in 2015 as part of the Every Student Succeeds Act. These poorly conceived changes are contrary to law, fail to take account of student privacy interests, and jettison longstanding data collections that assist in the enforcement of Title IX. With its Notice of Proposed Rulemaking published on July 12, 2022, the Biden Education Department seeks to gut the hard-earned rights of women. The Biden Administration's proposed change to the interpretation of Title IX disposes of these rights. Consensus is only rarely reached, enabling the department to pursue its own path. Pell grants should retain their current voucher-like structure. These congressional actions should be carefully

reviewed to make sure they complement state Parents' Bills of Rights, such as those passed in Georgia (2022), Florida (2021), Montana and Wyoming.

Postsecondary institutions should also reflect such diversity, with room for faith-based institutions, career schools, military academies, and lifelong learning programs. The federal government funds 41 percent of the salary costs of state education agencies. The labyrinthian nature of federal education programs has likely contributed to the considerable bureaucratic bloat in state and local school districts. Streamlining existing programs and funding would bring a needed easing of the federal compliance burden. The Office of Career, Technical, and Adult Education's few programs should be block-granted or eliminated. The act would devolve the agency as a stand-alone Cabinet-level department. This proposal increases the federal footprint in the charter school sector by ignoring statute and adding to the list of requirements imposed on charter schools. The current Administration has drastically expanded BDR, CSLD, and PSLF loan forgiveness without clear congressional authorization. Research has not demonstrated positive effects and long-term outcomes of these treatments, and the unintended side effects are still not fully understood. Unfortunately, federal overreach has pushed many school leaders to prioritize the pursuit of racial parity over student safety. Academic studies suggest that academics and school climate have been harmed substantially by this push. The next Administration should continue the policy of the Trump Administration in this area. The next Secretary should work with the next Attorney General on a regulation that would clarify current regulations to state that Title VI of the Civil Rights Act does not include a disparate impact standard. This was not the intent of the regulation, but it is an inevitable byproduct of its flawed assumptions. Special education services provide extra assistance to students; they do not harm them. The next Administration should immediately commence rulemaking to rescind the Equity in IDEA regulation. Currently the Department of Education relies on graduation rates and average earnings as proxies for educational quality. No teacher or student in Washington, D.C., public schools should be compelled to believe, profess, or adhere to any idea, but especially ideas that violate state and federal civil rights laws. No individual should receive punishment or benefits based on the color of their skin. Congress has granted parents and students important statutory rights without an effective remedy to assert those rights. Promising ideas have appeared in bills introduced in the 117th Congress such as H.R.8767.

Families and students should be free to choose from a diverse set of school options and learning environments that best fit their needs. A single, captive agency would allow them to promote their agenda more effectively across Administrations. Empowering families to choose among a diverse set of education options is key to reform. On March 14, 2022, the department published a notice concerning proposed priorities, requirements,

definitions, and grant selection criteria. The Obama Administration issued final regulations under Part B of IDEA that require states to consider race and ethnicity in the identification, placement, and discipline of students with disabilities. The USDA is threatening to withhold federal taxpayer spending for these meals from schools that do not implement Title IX of the Education Amendments of 1972. Colleges and universities with selective admissions policies post the strongest outcomes. Switch to fair-value accounting from FCRA accounting. Such charters offer a certain status to organizations, often viewed as a “seal of approval’ The National Education Association (NEA) cites its federal charter, it lends the NEA a level of significance. Congress should rescind the National Education Association’s congressional charter. Congress and the next Administration should support existing state and federal civil rights laws and add to such laws a prohibition on compelled speech.

Transfer Title I, Part A, which provides federal funding for lowerincome school districts, to the Department of Health and Human Services. The OCR at DOJ should be able to enforce only through litigation. The new Administration must take immediate steps to rescind the new requirements and lessen the federal restrictions on Charter schools. Facilitating social gender transition without parental consent increases the likelihood that children will seek hormone treatments. Every effort should be made to dissuade states from continuing to operate on the assumption that overrepresentation requires state intervention after the federal pressure is rescinded. Members of Congress also introduced legislation in 2022 that would prohibit the agency from carrying out its intentions regarding Title IX. The department’s master calendar (which requires final rules to be published by October 1) compounds the problem, making it unduly challenging to update regulations. Investigations can take months if not years.

Responsibility for serving these students should be housed in agencies that are already serving these families. Existing funding should be sent to states as grants over which they have full control. Opportunity Scholarship Program should be expanded into a universal program, formula-funded, and moved to the Department of Health and Human Services. Funding should be narrowed to Historically Black Colleges and Universities (HBCUs) and tribally controlled colleges. Move programs deemed important to our national security interests to the Department of State. The Office for Civil Rights (OCR) should move to the Department of Justice. Congress must pass and the President must sign into law a Department of Education Reorganization Act. While the next Administration works to distribute department programs, it will need to thoroughly review the many education-related regulations promulgated by the Biden Administration. Congress first authorized the Charter School Program (CSP) in 1994. All ongoing investigations should be dropped, and all school districts affected should be given notice that they are free to drop any policy changes pursued under pressure. Assuring a safe and orderly school environment should

be a primary consideration for school leaders and district administrators. If the next conservative Department of Education simply rescinds the Biden-era regulation, it could very easily be enforced again on Day One. Students should never be denied access to special education services because of their race or ethnicity. It would be extremely generous to borrowers, requiring only nominal payments from most students. The median borrower who earns an associate degree would owe only \$15 a month, regardless of how much he or she had borrowed. negotiated rulemaking has become an expensive and time-consuming undertaking. In recent decades, negotiated rulemaking has become a veritable three-ring circus. Some advocacy groups have latched onto the process for fundraising purposes. At times, the department itself has appeared to sabotage consensus. The Department of Education should work with Congress to eliminate the requirement. Members should conduct hearings to determine how much taxpayer money the NEA has used for radical causes favoring a single political party. Critical race theory is disrupting the values that hold communities together. Lawmakers should design legislation that prevents the theory from spreading discrimination. The law would require the government to satisfy “strict scrutiny” when the government infringes parental rights.

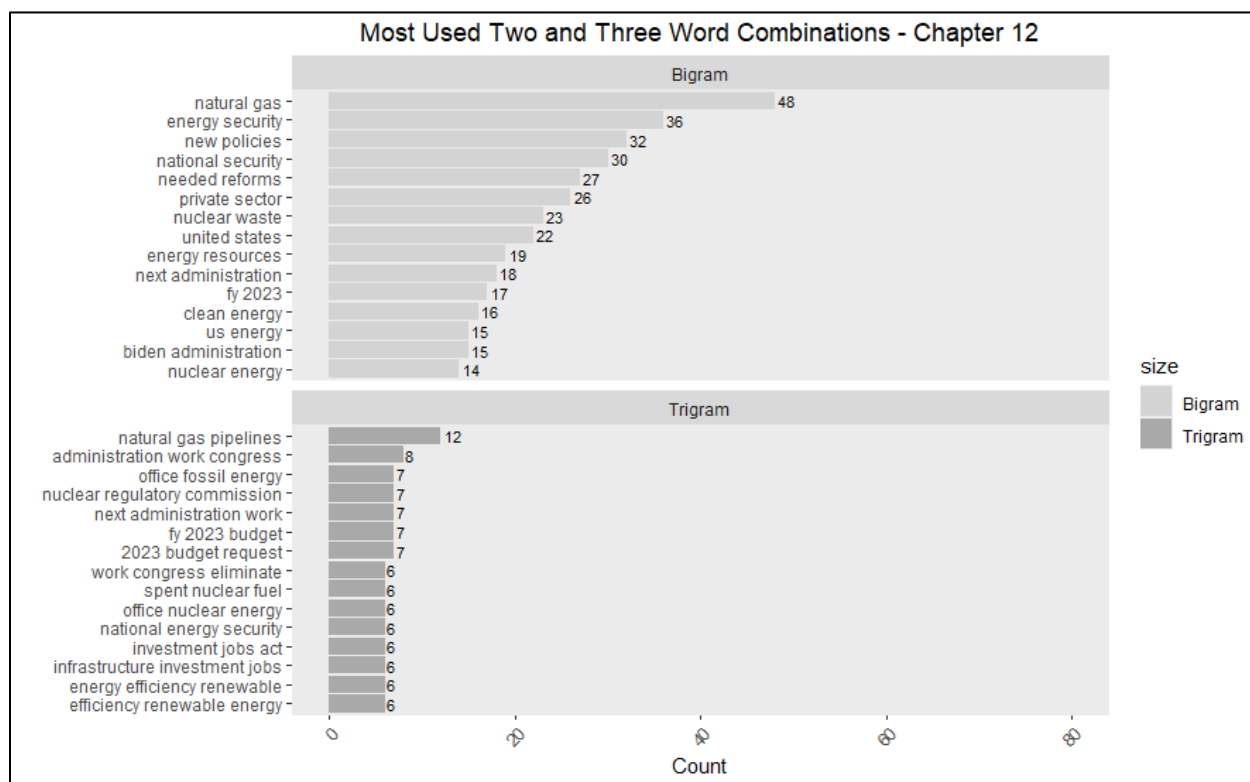
For decades, they have acted independently of the federal government to pioneer a variety of constructive reforms and school choice programs. Student loans and grants should ultimately be restored to the private sector. For most of our history, the federal government played a minor role in education. Restoring state and local control over education funding. More recent evidence of Washington’s bureaucratic paperwork burden can be found in the growing number of non-teaching staff in public schools across the country. The next Administration should abandon this change redefining “sex” to mean “sexual orientation and gender identity” in Title IX immediately across all departments. OCR leveraged federal civil rights investigations as policy enforcement tools. The term “sex” is replaced with “sexual orientation and gender identity” (SOGI) Twenty-two state attorneys general filed a lawsuit after the USDA’s announcement that the agency intended to withhold spending from schools that do not replace sex with SOGI. The Department of Education should make student data available by family structure to the public, including as part of its Data Explorer tool. Both of those outcomes are highly dependent upon a student’s socioeconomic background, sex, family status, and other factors. Without risk adjustment of outcomes, hospitals treating wealthy patients will always appear to be delivering good care. While the Supreme Court and other federal courts have consistently recognized that parents have the right and duty to direct the care and upbringing of their children, they have not always treated parental rights as co-equal to other fundamental rights. Such legislation would give families a fair hearing in court when the federal government enforces any policy against parents in a way that undermines their right. If a

school refuses to comply with either statute, the only remedy is for the parent or student to file an administrative complaint with the U.S. Department of Education.

Over a 14-month period beginning in 1964, Congress planted the seeds for what would become the U.S. Department of Education. After trillions spent since 1965 on the collective programs now housed within the walls of the department, student academic outcomes remain stagnant. On the main National Assessment of Educational Progress (NAEP), reading outcomes have remained unchanged over the past 30 years. Federal mandates, programs, and proclamations have spurred a hiring spree among state education agencies. Those employees are more than 10 times the number of employees at the federal Department of Education. Office of Elementary and Secondary Education is comprised of 36 programs. Most IDEA funding should be converted into a no-strings formula block grant targeted at students with disabilities. Transfer Vocational Rehabilitation Grants for Native American students to the Bureau of Indian Education. For those attorneys, accountants, experts, and specialists in the department's remaining offices subject to closure, the opportunity to join other agencies should be made available. For example, OGC higher education lawyers would join the newly independent Federal Student Aid Office or the Department of Labor. The next Administration should also review regulatory changes to the school meals program (under the Department of Agriculture) The Income-Driven student loan program should be reviewed. The new Administration must quickly commence negotiated rulemaking and propose that the department rescind these regulations. The new Administration should take the following steps: Work with Congress to use the earliest available legislative vehicle to prohibit the department from using any appropriations or from otherwise enforcing any final regulations. The Secretary should make it clear that FERPA allows parents full access to their children's educational records. The next Administration should rescind the guidance and commence rulemaking to rescind the regulation. According to the most rigorous research on the subject, conducted by Penn State's Paul Morgan, black students are actually underrepresented in special education once adequate statistical controls are made. Data collection efforts in higher education should also be improved by housing higher education data at the Department of Labor. Social determinants of health result in worse health outcomes among those who are socioeconomically disadvantaged. The new Administration should consider returning to a system in which private lenders, backed by government guarantees, would compete to offer student loans. Consolidate all federal loan programs into one new program that Utilizes income-driven repayment. School officials should not require students or teachers to believe that individuals are guilty. Rep. Debbie Lesko (R-AZ) is proposing an amendment to the Constitution relating to parental rights.

Federal intervention in education has failed to promote student achievement. Just one-third of eighth graders nationally are proficient in reading and math. In 1998, a commission led by Representative Pete Hoekstra released a critical report based on extensive fieldwork, interviews, and analysis. Transfer all Indian education programs to the Bureau of Indian Education. Phase out earmarks for a variety of special institutions, as originally envisioned. The new federal student loan authority would manage the loan portfolio, handle borrower relations, administer loan applications and disbursements. These investigations could only end when school districts agreed to adopt lenient discipline policies. The Office of Special Education and Rehabilitative Services (OSERS) should prepare a digest of the best research on this subject. As discussed above, data collection efforts should be consolidated under the Census Bureau. Includes no interest rate subsidies or loan forgiveness. Includes annual and aggregate limits on borrowing. For nearly 250 years, Congress has incorporated public and private institutions.

Chapter 12: Department of Energy and Related Commissions



American science dominance is critical to U.S. national security and economic strength. DESAS should focus on studying threats to the electric grid, natural gas, and oil infrastructure. Instead of trying to decarbonize the American economy, these offices would focus on energy security by identifying threats to energy supplies. A good first step would be to reinstate an iteration of the Trump Administration’s Executive Order 13920. Through research and development, technical assistance to states and industry, and emergency exercises, CESER can make a difference. This will avoid unfair bias against the nuclear industry. Congress should rescind these excess monies so that DOE is not required to spend them. Congress should rescind any money not already spent. The IIJA provided more than \$20 billion in government subsidies to help the private sector deploy and market clean energy and decarbonizing resources. ARPA-E tends to see its mission as bringing technology from idea to commercialization. Update reports on the impacts of federal financial interventions and subsidies. It “focuses on enhancing global energy security through countering malign influence, diversifying supplies, and increasing energy access” The Department of State’s Bureau of Energy Resources should be eliminated. America has recently become a net energy exporter, but it still imports large amounts of essential energy resources. The President should refuse to provide climate reparations under an unratified treaty. An analysis and plan to support the responsible development of Alaska’s energy

assets should be a priority. The Biden Administration released its National Strategy for the Arctic Region. The Trump Administration shut down the QER and gave OP a leaner research and advisory role. Under the Biden DOE, OP appears to be focused on preparing reports on climate change and renewables. Such a strategy could summarize cyber and physical threats to energy infrastructure.

Americans now face energy scarcity, an electric grid that is less reliable, and artificial shortages of natural gas and oil. A coordinated cyber and physical attack on natural gas pipelines and the electric grid during an extended cold spell could be catastrophic. DOE has focused its work and taxpayers' money on renewable energy and climate change. Programs that sound innocuous, such as 'energy justice,' can be transformed to promote politicized agendas. The remaining 14 science and energy labs should focus on basic research projects. There are significant cyber, physical, and reliability threats to the electric grid. Adopt broader regulatory and energy policy reforms that reduce regulatory obstacles, allow all energy sources to compete fairly in the marketplace, and establish a predictable policy environment. The Office of Fossil Energy (FE) has been transformed from its statutory role of improving fossil energy production to one that is focused on reducing carbon dioxide emissions from fossil fuel extraction, transport, and combustion. Ensure that LNG export applications are reviewed and approved expeditiously. There are steps the agency can take to refocus on the consumer. Congress needs to rescind the appropriated monies that EERE has not spent and begin fresh with new appropriations. GDO administers funds appropriated by Congress to support transmission expansion and low/zero carbon resources. GDO oversees nearly \$20 billion in new appropriations created by the IIJA. Refocus on resources that will support reliability. DOE's FY 2023 budget request includes \$214 million "to initiate a new \$150 million competition to support demonstrations that address integration issues of renewable energy into the U.S. transmission and distribution grids." Overall, the "\$21.5 billion provided by the Bipartisan Infrastructure Law" supports several OCED programs. AE should provide a senior Arctic Energy official to the U.S. Arctic Council delegation. OP could be tasked with developing a National Energy Security Strategy for the Secretary. Its mission is to preserve U.S. leadership in science, fund and perform basic research, and provide scientific facilities.

The new energy crisis is caused not by a lack of resources, but by extreme "green" policies. Make businesses that create the jobs that drive our economy and quality of life less competitive; and Make America less energy secure. Stop the war on oil and natural gas. It is one thing for government to engage in fundamental scientific research that the private sector would not perform. Government should not be picking winners and losers in dealing with energy resources or commercial technology. DOE energy funding programs are

not targeted on fundamental science and technology. Such changes would help to lower costs and accelerate the development of civilian nuclear. demonstration and deployment of technology should be left to the private sector. Cleaning up the radioactive waste produced in support of the Manhattan Project and the Cold War is a massive and complicated process led by the Office of Environmental Management. End funding of programs for commercial technology and deployment. These activities can be conducted by the private sector. Congress should direct FECM appropriations toward increasing energy security and supply. End the focus on climate change and green subsidies. If EERE cannot be eliminated, then the Administration should focus on broader and more fundamental energy research. FERC and NERC have the primary responsibility for addressing reliability. Taxpayers should not in effect be picking winners and losers, the authors say. DESAS billets should replace State Department Bureau of Energy Resources billets at the relevant posts worldwide. The Office of Science (SC) supports and oversees research facilities and programs that cover basic science.

America's energy renaissance, which began in the first decade of the 2000s, transformed the United States from a net energy importer (oil and natural gas) to energy independence and then energy dominance. Promote U.S. energy resources to assist our allies and diminish our strategic adversaries. DESAS's energy role should be focused on working with the energy industry and networks to ensure energy infrastructure security. Streamline the nuclear regulatory requirements and licensing process. Many DOE activities are required by various authorization and appropriations bills. Ending taxpayer subsidies will promote an "all of the above" energy policy. The Office of Nuclear Energy's "mission is to advance nuclear energy science and technology to meet U.S. energy, environmental, and economic needs." NE is too influential in driving the business decisions of commercial nuclear energy firms. Work with Congress to expand automatic approvals to include allies such as NATO. EERE has focused on reducing carbon dioxide emissions to the exclusion of other statutorily defined requirements such as energy security and cost. GDO is developing studies of the electric grid to address congestion, enhance reliability and resilience. OCED has already grown to 70 personnel in six months. Oppose "climate reparations" to developing countries for the harm allegedly caused by the developed countries' use of fossil fuel. The U.S. must establish a strategic plan to promote its national security, energy, and economic interests in the Arctic. IAC will require strong political leadership, which means finding an appointee with an IC background.

Projected liabilities and costs to be borne by the taxpayers, according to the FY 2023 budget request, total \$887,205 billion. CESER's mission is to "enhance the security and resilience of U.S. critical energy infrastructure to all hazards." CESER is properly focused on the threat to the grid from inverter-based resources like wind and solar. Focus on the

interdependence of and threats to electric generation and natural gas pipelines. FECM's mission: "to minimize the environmental impacts of fossil fuels while working towards net-zero emissions. The processing of critical materials from fossil fuel waste products (primarily coal) has shown some potential. Maintain the categorical exclusion from the National Environmental Policy Act for LNG exports. The Grid Deployment Office was established to implement parts of the Infrastructure Investment and Jobs Act. Instead of focusing on grid expansion, GDO should be incorporated into the reformed Office of Cybersecurity, Energy Security, and Emergency Response. The Clean Energy Corps is a taxpayer-funded program to create new government jobs. EIA should ensure that its reporting provides an accurate assessment of generation costs. The Office of International Affairs has primary responsibility for addressing international energy issues. OP has taken various roles over different Administrations.

Secure and protect energy infrastructure from cyber and physical attacks. Assessing international energy issues that constitute threats to U.S. national security. Strengthen the role of the new Department of Energy Security and Advanced Science. The three National Labs run by DOE's NNSA should continue to focus on national security issues. The Nuclear Waste Fund holds \$46 billion in payments by utilities and their ratepayers, plus interest. OE was created after the 2003 blackouts to improve grid reliability and energy assurance. To the extent that they remain in effect, the funding programs that GDO oversees and administers should emphasize grid reliability, not renewables expansion. The Biden Administration directed the program to subsidize the Administration's "net zero" energy transition away from conventional fuels by 2050. They distort private-sector investment decisions, shift private money toward projects with political support. Its statutory goals are "to enhance the economic and energy security of the United States." Some in Congress see ARPA-E as beneficial because the COMPETES Act provides it with more bureaucratic flexibility than other federal programs. Ensure the objectivity of the International Energy Outlook (IEO) IEO forecasts are important because the International Energy Agency's forecasts in its annual World Energy Outlook are becoming unrealistic and politically oriented. The Secretary of Energy is a senior member of the President's National Security Council. DOE's Office of Intelligence and Counterintelligence "is responsible for all intelligence and counterintelligence activities throughout the DOE complex." Robust security protocols are necessary to protect DOE technology and innovations from foreign penetration and espionage.

The next conservative Administration should prioritize energy and science dominance. In the end, government control of energy is control of people and the economy. Yet the current Administration's first concern is plowing taxpayer dollars into intermittent wind and solar projects and ending the use of reliable fossil fuels. The following offices

would report to the DESAS Undersecretary of Energy Security: Office of Cybersecurity, Energy Security, and Emergency Response (CESER), elevated to an Assistant Secretary. CESER would work with existing or reconstituted versions of the Office of Electricity, Office of Nuclear Energy, and Office of Fossil Energy. The next Administration should stop using energy policy to advance politicized social agendas. There are frequent turf battles on energy issues between the Department of State and DOE. There should be a review of the National Science Foundation's mission from supporting university research to supporting an all-encompassing technology transition. OE could be combined with CESER (as well as what is left of the Grid Deployment Office if it is eliminated) The next Administration should work with Congress to eliminate all DOE applied energy programs including OE. The next Administration should: Substantially limit NE's size and scope. The new DESAS should ensure that the SPR is maintained for national strategic purposes and not misused for political gain. FECM's requested appropriation can be compared to the more than \$4.0 billion requested for the Office of Energy Efficiency and Renewable Energy. EERE's budget was around \$1.5 billion a year when the advances were made that led to dramatic cost decreases in wind, solar, and battery technology. Consider whether to defund the civil nuclear tax credit program and hydroelectric power efficiency and production incentives established in the IJIA and administered through GDO. The Corps says that it will "focus on deploying next generation clean energy technology" Taxpayers should not have to fund a cadre of federal employees to promote a partisan political agenda. Strong leadership will be needed to ensure that data and reporting are not misused to promote a politicized "energy transition. There are some who think that EIA should be privatized. During the Obama Administration, OP was a large office. OTT serves as "the front door to U.S. Department of Energy's...products, facilities and expertise." OTT should ensure that the best emerging technologies from DOE and the National Labs are properly supported and protected. Commit to U.S. science dominance to support national and economic security, especially in light of similar efforts by China.

These ideologically driven policies are also directing huge amounts of money to favored interests. Allow individuals, families, and business to use the energy resources they want to use. Eliminate political and climate-change interference in DOE approvals of liquefied natural gas exports. DOE should focus on providing all Americans with access to abundant, affordable, reliable, and secure energy. Reorganize its remaining activities into three basic lines of responsibility: nuclear fuels across the fuel cycle, reactor technology, and civilian radioactive waste. Taxpayer dollars should not be used to subsidize preferred businesses and energy resources. Under the Biden Administration, EERE is a conduit for taxpayer dollars to fund progressive policies. Current law and regulations reduce consumer choice, drive up costs for consumer appliances, and emphasize energy efficiency to the

exclusion of other important factors such as cycle time and reparability. Taxpayer dollars should not be used to subsidize preferred businesses and energy resources. Under the Energy Policy Act of 2005 and IIJA, DOE is to perform grid congestion studies and has authority to identify National Interest Electric Transmission Corridors. Its loan programs were originally designed as temporary programs but have since been amended and expanded. DOE-backed loans and loan guarantees put taxpayers at undue risk. The new Administration should seek to sunset DOE's loan authority through Congress and eventually eliminate the Loan Program Office. The agency is unnecessary, risks taxpayer dollars, and interferes with risk-benefit decisions. The U.S. Energy Information Administration "collects, analyzes, and disseminates independent and impartial energy information." EIA needs to be committed to providing unbiased forecasting and data. With the increasing number of intermittent, nondispatchable resources like wind and solar, peak load and reserve margins need to be reevaluated. AE should help to identify those interests, as well as threats posed by countries like Russia and China. Strategy could be prepared in conjunction with the White House National Security Strategy and the DOD National Defense Strategy to convey these priorities to Congress and design policy initiatives for their implementation.

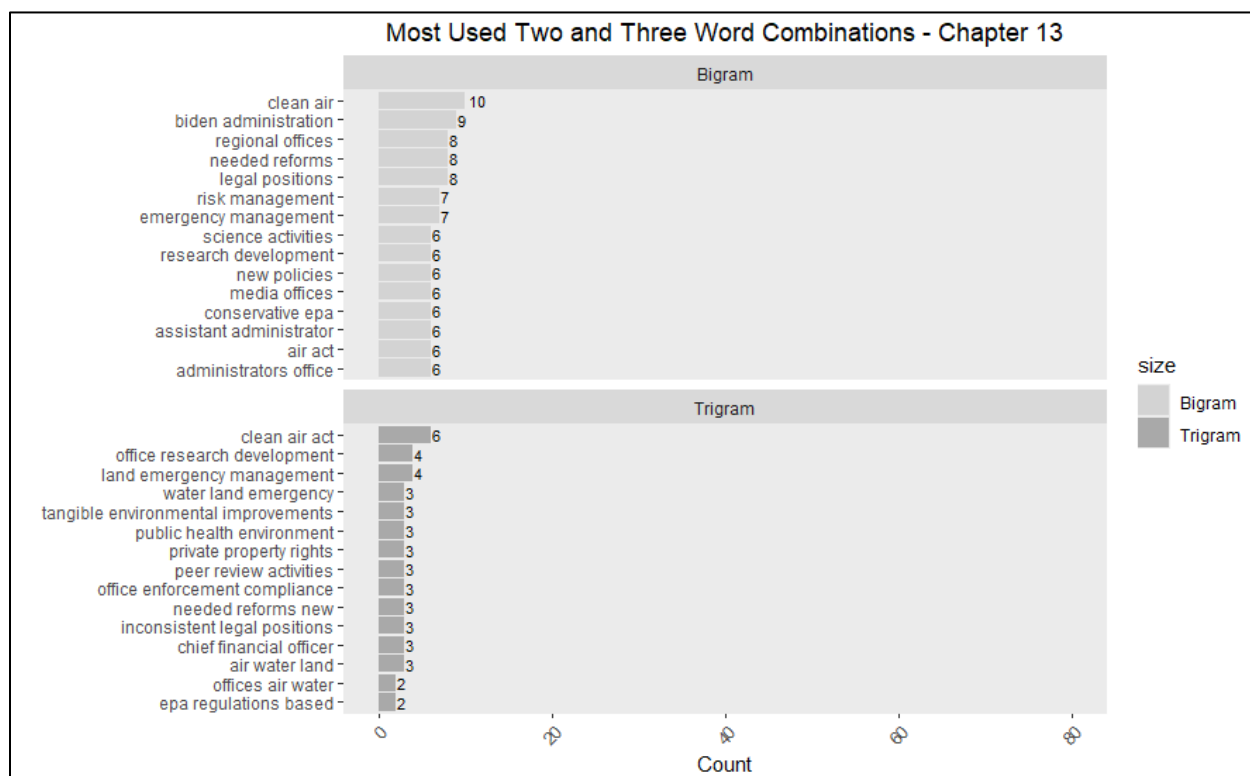
The result has been increased energy costs that: Hurt individuals and families, especially low-income Americans and seniors on fixed incomes. A conservative President must be committed to unleashing all of America's energy resources and making the energy economy serve the American people. The Department of Energy should be renamed and refocused as the Department of energy Security and Advanced Science (DESAS) DESAS would refocus on DOE's five existing core missions: Providing leadership and coordination on energy security and related national security issues, Promoting U.S. energy economic interests abroad, Leading the nation and the world in cutting-edge fundamental advanced science, Remediating former Manhattan Project and Cold War nuclear material sites. Pursuing early and advanced science, including materials science, that is related to energy and national security Developing the leadership necessary for the disposal of commercial and government spent nuclear fuel. Instead, they focus more on commercialization and act as subsidies to the private sector for government-favored resources. FEMP should stop using taxpayer dollars to force the purchase of more expensive and less reliable energy resources. The next Administration should make U.S. energy dominance a key component of its foreign policy. DOE currently oversees 17 National Laboratories. In addition, the federal government is required by law to dispose of nuclear waste produced by the private sector. DOE's total FY 2023 budget request (which does not include IIJA, IRA, and CHIPS and Science Act funding) was for \$48,183,451,000. Any activities in support of existing nuclear plants and any other projects directed toward commercialization, including

licensing support, should be shouldered by the private sector. The next Administration should work with Congress to eliminate all of DOE's applied energy programs, including those in FECM. The disparity in funding demonstrates how DOE's research activities and portions of its organizational structure are now focused entirely on the reduction of CO2 emissions. The next Administration should work with Congress to eliminate all of DOE's applied energy programs, including those in EERE. The next Administration should work with Congress to eliminate all DOE energy demonstration programs, including those in OCED. If OCED is eliminated, those positions can be eliminated. The LPO coordinates with the U.S. Treasury Federal Financing Bank and is organized into seven divisions: Outreach and Business Development, Origination, Portfolio Management, Risk Management, Technical and Project Management, Legal, and Management and Operation. The next Administration should work with Congress to eliminate ARPA-E. As the world's largest single energy consumer, the federal government should use energy efficiently. FEMP was funded at \$40 million in FY 2022, and slightly less than \$170 million is requested for FY 2023. If it is focused on helping the federal government to carry out its statutorily based energy goal, much less money is needed. The United States needs a clear understanding of its global energy and economic interests and a strategy for protecting them. AE's operations in Alaska should be expanded to encompass broader national energy security interests in the region. SC oversees 10 of the 17 DOE National Labs and 28 major federal research user facilities. Office of Science should return to its primary mission: nonpartisan and basic science. National Laboratories need to be more directly accountable to the Secretary of Energy and Congress for their work and management.

The next conservative President needs to recommit the United States to ensuring this dominance. FERC is an economic regulator and should not make itself a climate regulator. The licensing process for Yucca Mountain as a permanent repository for spent nuclear fuel is on hold. The U.S. nuclear arsenal needs to be updated and reinvigorated to deal with threats from China, Russia, and other adversaries. As a semi-autonomous agency, the NNSA has the primary responsibility for researching and designing new nuclear warheads and ensuring that the existing nuclear arsenal is still potent. CESER should be refocused to prioritize the cybersecurity, physical security, and resilience of critical infrastructure. OE (along with CESER if they are combined) should focus on the security of critical infrastructure equipment. ARPA-E was created in 2007 as part of the America Competes Act. The agency is effectively funding projects that the private sector is unwilling to fund. Levelized cost of electricity (LCOE) refers to estimated revenue required to build and operate a generator over a specified cost recovery period. LCOE can mask the massive amounts of capital needed to deploy new generation. EIA forecasts should be based on current laws and regulations and should not be used to promote favored policies. Although

recognizing national security threats in the Arctic, it also focuses heavily on climate change and sustainability.

Chapter 13: Environmental Protection Agency



The EPA needs to be realigned away from attempts to make it an all-powerful energy and land use policymaker and returned to its congressionally sanctioned role. This has created a backlog of missed statutory deadlines, and at times has even led to preventable environmental disasters. Under Reorganization Plan No. EPA should foster cooperative relationships with the regulated community, especially small businesses, that encourage compliance over enforcement. This position would oversee a reorganization effort that includes the following actions: Returning the environmental justice function to the AO, eliminating the stand-alone Office of Environmental Justice and External Civil Rights. Remove any regulations or requirements that confer on third parties any authorities that have been provided to EPA. The August 6, 2019, “Office of Water Policy for Draft Documents’ memorandum should be strictly enforced. A rule that provides clarity and regulatory certainty regarding the CWA Section 401 water quality certification process. Increased targeted funding would greatly benefit water systems across the country. To manage cleanups more effectively, OLEM should: Require training in project management for project managers. Allow PRPs to perform the statutorily required five-year reviews of Superfund cleanups. Grower groups have been disappointed by EPA’s actions.

The EPA was to initiate a “coordinated attack on the pollutants which debase the air we breathe”. The Clean Air Act Amendments of 1990 played a significant role in the expansion

of EPA's responsibilities and legal authority. Conduct realistic cost assessments that reflect actual consumer experiences instead of the current unrealistic ones claiming that the program is virtually cost-free. The Office of Water (OW) is responsible for ensuring safe drinking water and restoring and maintaining oceans, watersheds, and their aquatic ecosystems. A rule to clarify the standard for criminal negligence under CWA Sections 402 and 404. The Clean Water Act needs survey is the entire basis for how congressionally appropriated funds directed to state revolving funds are distributed. Adopt EPA's Lean Management System (ELMS) across all OLEM programs. Find opportunities to transfer work and funding to states and tribes. Revisit the designation of PFAS chemicals as "hazardous substances" under CERCLA. Incorporate removal authority (currently OEM) into OSRTI.

The Deputy Chief of Staff for Policy position within the Administrator's office should be renamed the Deputy Chief for Regulatory Improvement. Identify existing rules to be stayed and repropose and initiate rule development in appropriate media offices. The U.S. Supreme Court has stopped and stricken several actions from OAR under liberal Administrations. Consolidate non-core functions (communications, economists, congressional relations) into one OLEM suboffice. Pesticides are effective precisely because they harm pests. EPA conducts a wide variety of intramural and extramural research, development, regulatory science, science advisory, peer review, risk assessment, and risk management activities.

This approach has also been applied to pesticides and chemicals as the Biden Administration pushes the "greening" of agriculture and manufacturing among other industrial activities. The EPA has been a breeding ground for expansion of the federal government's influence and control across the economy. Embedded activists have sought to evade legal restraints in pursuit of a global, climate-themed agenda. The Biden EPA has once again presented a false choice to the American people: that they have to choose between a healthy environment and a strong, growing economy. Accountable Progress. Stop all grants to advocacy groups and review which potential federal investments will lead to tangible environmental improvements. A reformed OAR should focus on EPA's mission of limiting and minimizing criteria and hazardous air pollutants in partnership with the states. Issue a rule to ensure consistent and transparent consideration of costs. Review and revise Reasonably Available Control Technology (RACT) cost guidance. Restore the position that California's waiver applies only to California specific issues like ground-level ozone, not global climate issues. The repeal and reissuance of new regulations should be pursued. New regulations should include the following: A WOTUS rule that makes clear what is and is not a "navigable water" and respects private property rights. Modify regulations that impede resource efficiency, recycling, and reuse. Move the emergency management function into Homeland Security under the Administrator's office. Retain the oversight and

enforcement of the RMP program within OLEM. Transition the Safer Choice program to the private sector. Manufacturers are also willing to pay higher fees to the fee-based portion of the program.

As a consequence of this approach, we see the return of costly, job-killing regulations that serve to depress the economy and grow the bureaucracy. Working with Assistant Administrators to implement major reforms in media offices. Place a political appointee in Ann Arbor, Michigan, for the Office of Transportation and Air Quality. Change the electronic manifest (e-manifest) regulations to a 100 percent electronic system. Focus the scope of chemical evaluations on pathways of exposure that are not covered by other program offices. Ensure that new chemical evaluations are conducted in a timely manner. OPPT (chemicals) suffers from a lack of leadership and an inability to complete the most basic requirements efficiently and in a timely fashion.

This will include the sharing of federal resources and agency expertise. The challenge of creating a conservative EPA will be to balance justified skepticism toward an agency that has long been amenable to being coopted by the Left. In 1969, the Cuyahoga River infamously caught fire after sparks from a passing train ignited debris in the water, which was filled with heavy industrial waste. EPA experienced massive growth as it was used to pursue far-reaching political goals. EPA should build earnest relationships with state and local officials and assume a more supportive role by sharing resources and expertise. The Office of the Administrator is intended to provide executive and logistical support for the EPA Administrator. Teams should be balanced with technical knowledge, legal expertise, and political exposure. Adopt policies to prevent abuse of EPA's CAA "error correction" authority. Reconsider the Cleaner Trucks Initiative to balance the goal of driving down emissions without creating significant costs or complex burdens. The overarching theme for reform is guidance on guidance. An executive order requiring EPA to find avenues and expedite the process for states obtaining primacy in available CWA and SDWA programs. Emphasize productivity more than process and policies. Revise groundwater cleanup regulations and policies to reflect the challenges of omnipresent contaminants like PFAS. Reassign regulation and enforcement of air emission standards under the authority of RCRA Section 3004 to OAR. Eliminate the Office of Emergency Management and reassign its functions.

True transparency will be a defining characteristic of a conservative EPA. Pursuit of this globally focused agenda has distracted the agency from fulfilling its core mission, the authors say. Although the U.S. environmental story is very positive, there has been a return to fear-based rhetoric within the agency, they say. EPA's structure and mission should be greatly circumscribed to reflect the principles of cooperative federalism and limited

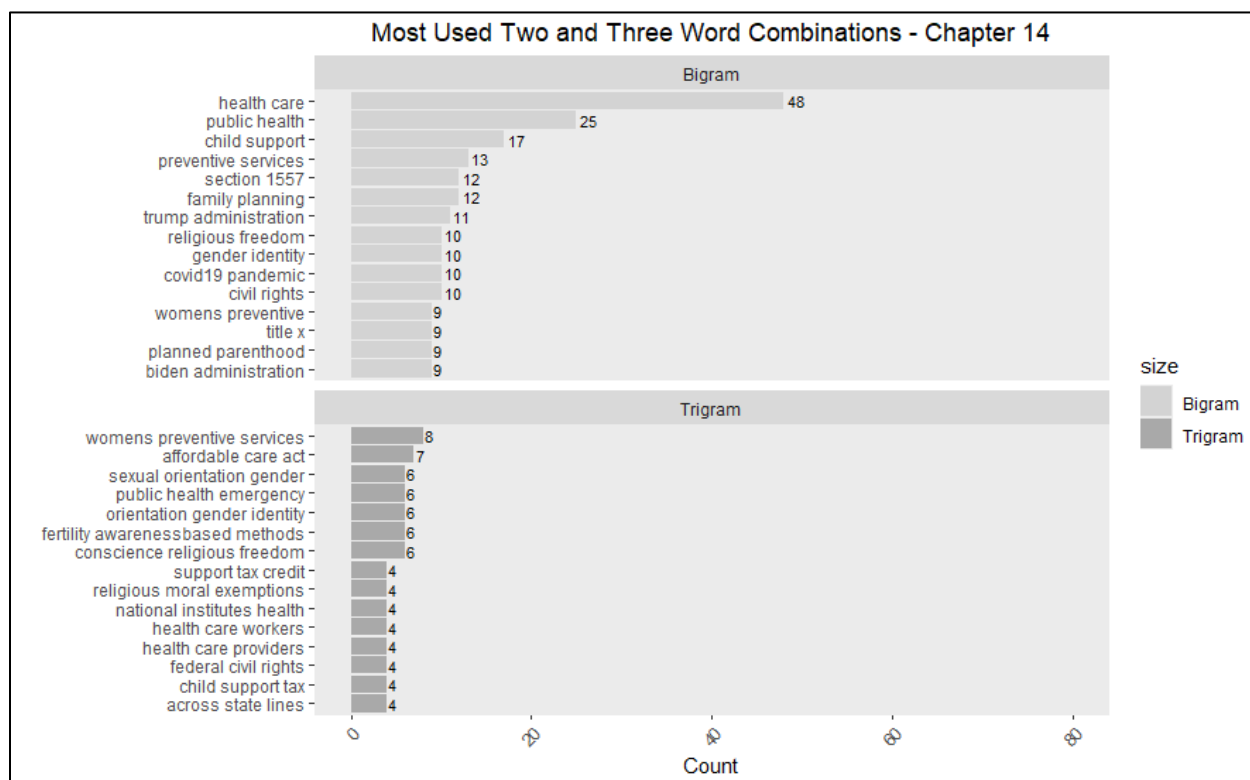
government. The order should set up “pause and review” teams to assess the following: Major Rules and Guidance Materials. The majority of the political appointee team must be assembled, vetted, and ready to deploy before Day One. Each office will need a political chief of staff, senior advisers designated to run suboffices, and energized assistants. Obey Congress’s direction in CAA § 321 to “conduct continuing evaluations’ of the employment and plant-closure effects of air regulations. Review Biden-era regulations to ensure that they do not “overcontrol” upwind states in violation of the statute as construed by the U.S. Supreme Court. Stop the use of the International Civil Aviation Organization (ICAO) to increase standards on airplanes. Defend the position that petitions to object to Title V should not be used to second-guess previous state decisions. OLEM’s main function is to oversee the execution of cleanups under CERCLA and RCRA.

Many EPA actions in liberal Administrations have simply ignored the will of Congress. State Leadership. A Day One executive order should be drafted for the incoming President with explicit language requiring reconsideration of the agency’s structure. EPA should limit requirements to those that are statutorily required. This is either a pointless burden or a sword-of-Damocles threat of future regulation, neither of which is appropriate. Institute automatic withdrawal of any proposed rule that is not finalized within the statutorily prescribed one-year period. A rule to ensure that CWA Section 308 has a clear and enforced time limit. OCSPP is constantly pressured to ban certain chemicals, typically based on fear as a result of mischaracterized or incomplete science. Right-size the TSCA fee’s rule so that it is consistent with the tasks that the agency is actually completing within the timelines of the statute. Data standards are needed to ensure that information relied on by EPA is made available to the agency at a similar level as the original testing data conducted by registrants. In order to meet ESA obligations, pesticide uses are severely restricted.

A conservative U.S. Environmental Protection Agency (EPA) will take a more supportive role toward local and state efforts. EPA was established on December 2, 1970, following a call by President Richard Nixon to “rationally and systematically” organize existing piecemeal efforts to clean up and protect the environment. This expansive status is entirely unnecessary: It has nothing to do with improving either the environment or public health. Regional haze rules should be revised to prevent subsequent “planning periods’ from being abused to compel the shutdown of disfavored facilities. Establish a system, with an appropriate deadline, to update the 2009 endangerment finding. OW has generated a large number of expansive regulations that infringe on private property rights, most notably with the Waters of the U.S. program. OW relies heavily on guidance documents that are outdated and that sometimes have been in a “deliberative’ state for years.

EPA should consider and reduce as much as possible the economic costs of its actions on local communities to help them thrive and prosper. Determine the opportunity to downsize by terminating the newest hires in low-value programs. Streamline the process for state and local governments to demonstrate that their federally funded highway projects will not interfere with NAAQS attainment. Revise general implementing regulations for existing source regulatory authority under CAA § 111(d) Assess and update the agency's radiation standards so that they align with those of other agencies. Establish a political Chief of Staff in D.C. to manage the entire air office. Because this program is currently underfunded, money is being thrown at untargeted locations while water infrastructure is crumbling at other locations. Apply real-world use of chemicals when assessing conditions of use for risk evaluations. With regard to OPP (pesticides), pesticide manufacturers feel that the program is underfunded and would like its budget to be increased.

Chapter 14: Department of Health and Human Services



Basic human rights, medical choice, and the doctor–patient relationship were trampled without scientific justification and for extended periods of time. It is not qualified to offer (and usually does not purport to offer) professional medical opinions applicable to specific patients. All such research should be prohibited as a matter of law and policy, they say. The FDA should prohibit meritless “citizen petitions” submitted by manufacturers to delay approval of a generic competitor. The FDA has long held that it has regulatory authority over such tests. The FDA is ethically and legally obliged to revisit and withdraw its initial approval of Mifeprex. The FDA should respond to congressional requests and Freedom of Information Act (FOIA) requests about inspections, compliance, and post-marketing safety in a timely manner. Stop promoting or approving mail-order abortions in violation of long-standing federal laws that prohibit the mailing and interstate carriage of abortion drugs. The Affordable Care Act (ACA) imposed restrictions prohibiting Medicare from reimbursing physician-owned and specialty hospitals. Restructure 340B drug subsidies toward beneficiaries rather than hospitals. Add targeted time limits or lifetime caps on benefits to disincentivize permanent dependence. Congress should allow states the option of contributing to a private insurance benefit for all members of the family in a flexible account that rewards healthy behaviors. The bulk of federal funding for Planned Parenthood comes through the Medicaid program. It should also encompass a review of Medicaid managed care plans in pro-abortion states. Congress should pass the Born-Alive

Abortion Survivors Protection Act to require that proper medical care be given to infants who survive an abortion. There are roughly 400,000 children across the nation on the waiting list for foster care and 100,000 awaiting adoptive families. Congress should reform the Trafficking Victims Protection Reauthorization Act to transfer all ORR duties for unaccompanied alien children to DHS.

If the U.S. Department of Health and Human Services (HHS) were a separate country, its approximately \$1.6 trillion budget would rank as the world's fifth-largest national budget. Families comprised of a married mother, father, and their children are the foundation of a well-ordered nation. The federal government's public health apparatus has lost the public's trust. The next Administration should guard against the regulatory capture of our public health agencies by pharmaceutical companies, insurers, hospital conglomerates. All National Institutes of Health, Centers for Disease Control and Prevention, and Food and Drug Administration regulators should be entirely free from private biopharmaceutical funding. The CDC should be split into two separate entities housing its two distinct functions. We need a national epidemiological agency responsible for publishing data. More than half of annual abortions in the U.S. are chemical rather than surgical. Health care workers, particularly those in hospitals and emergency rooms, should report abortion pill complications. End intramural research projects using tissue from aborted children within the NIH. CMS should: End state financing loopholes. Clarify that states have the ability to adopt work incentives for able-bodied individuals. This government-mandated dispute resolution process has sown confusion among arbiters and regulators as judges have sought to ascertain its meaning. Audit should include a full review of the Biden Administration's post-Dobbs executive actions to promote abortion. HHS should use EMTALA and Section 504 of the Rehabilitation Act, which prohibits disability discrimination, to investigate instances of infants born alive and left untreated in covered hospitals. Both programs should ensure that there is better reporting of subgrantees and referral lists so that they do not promote abortion or high-risk sexual behavior among adolescents. Parent involvement and parent-child communication should be encouraged and be a part of any funded project. Cost analysis of programming as compared to students served should be a metric in funding.

HHS programs must protect children's minds and bodies and respect parents' basic right to direct the upbringing, education, and care of their children. The CDC can and should make assessments as to the health costs and benefits of health interventions. The CDC has no business making such inherently political (and often unconstitutional) assessments. The research benefits from splicing or growing aborted fetal cells and aborted baby body parts can easily be provided by alternative sources. The Ensuring Accurate and Complete Abortion Data Reporting Act of 2023 would amend title XIX of the

Social Security Act and Public Health Service Act. To avoid stifling innovation and access to medical care, the applicable statutes and regulations should be revised. Allowing mail-order abortions is a gift to the abortion industry that allows it to expand far beyond brick-and-mortar clinics and into pro-life states. The Biden FDA unlawfully revoked this waiver. Big Pharma began routine direct-to-consumer advertising, making the United States and New Zealand the only countries where such practices are legal. Ethically derived sources such as discarded surgical tissue and adult stem cells have contributed the most successful treatments for a variety of ailments. In 2018, it was revealed that a \$100 million NIH study on the benefits of moderate drinking was funded by the beer and liquor industry. NIH became so focused on the #MeToo movement that it refused to sponsor scientific conferences unless there were a certain number of women panelists. Medicare should fund studies into the negative effects of crosssex interventions. The Medicare payment for that service should be the same. Reforms in Part D that will have meaningful impact for seniors should be pursued. The program is failing some of the most vulnerable patients and is a prime target for waste, fraud, and abuse. Reform of the tax code is also essential to genuine, effective reform. CMS should launch a robust “personal option” to allow families to use Medicaid dollars to secure coverage outside of the Medicaid program. Federal government’s role should be oversight on broad indicators like cost effectiveness and health measures like quality, health improvement, and wellness. One way that increasing demand for other medical services has been accommodated is by revising restrictions on scope of practice. Neither the letter nor the spirit of the law was enforced under President Obama. The redefinition of sex to cover gender identity and sexual orientation and pregnancy to cover abortion should be reversed. Regardless of where ORR’s functions reside, ORR staff and care providers should never be allowed to facilitate abortions for unaccompanied children in its custody. Pregnant, unaccompanied girls in ORR custody should be treated with dignity. The key to this policy is that it empowers fathers with their own resources and money.

The Secretary must ensure that all HHS programs and activities are rooted in a deep respect for innocent human life from day one until natural death. We must erect robust firewalls to mitigate these obvious financial conflicts of interest. Funding for agencies and individual government researchers must come directly from the government with robust congressional oversight. The CDC should eliminate programs and projects that do not respect human life and conscience rights. It should ensure that it is not promoting abortion as health care. The CDC oversaw and funded the development and testing of the COVID-19 vaccines with aborted fetal cell lines. The FDA should introduce mechanisms through which laboratory-developed tests can easily be shared with other laboratories without the current regulatory burdens, the authors say. HHS should exempt multi-source generic

drugs from requirements to pay rebates to Medicaid and other federally funded health programs. NIH was responsible for paying for research in aborted baby body parts, human animal chimera experiments, and gain-of-function viral research. Congress should prohibit such research altogether. HHS should pursue and fund ethical alternative methods of research. HHS should create and promote a research agenda that supports prolife policies and explores the harms that abortion has wrought on women and girls. Providers who participate should retain the freedom to practice medicine and take care of their patients. Government's use of non-market-based methods to determine reimbursement leads to overspending on low-value services. Reform payments to hospitals for uncompensated care. An enhanced contingency fee should be paid to states that successfully increase their efforts to decrease waste, fraud, and abuse. Innovative programs that show a positive return on investment for both the state and federal governments should be allowed without the onerous waiver process. Allow private health insurance. Direct primary care (DPC) is an innovative health care delivery model. Section 1303 of Obamacare requires that insurers collect a separate payment for certain abortion coverage in qualified health plans that are approved to be sold on exchanges. DOJ should agree to eliminate existing injunctions against pro-life states. It gives states significant flexibility to fund a broad array of programs aimed at helping low-income families break the cycle of poverty. The Office of Refugee Resettlement should be moved to the Department of Homeland Security.

This chapter's recommendations are limited to those divisions that most need reform and address, wherever possible, five cross-cutting goals. The only way to restore public trust in HHS as an institution capable of acting responsibly during a health emergency is through the best of disinfectants—light. CDC continually misjudged COVID-19, from its lethality, transmissibility, and origins to treatments. At times, these two functions are in tension or clear conflict. The CDC is a public health institution, not a medical institution. CDC guidance must be prohibited from taking on a prescriptive character. This practice presents a stark conflict of interest that should be banned. There is never any justification for ending a child's life as part of research, the authors say. The CDC should immediately end its collection of data on gender identity, which legitimizes the unscientific notion that men can become women. FDA should prohibit pharmaceutical companies from purposely sitting on their legally available right to be the first to sell generic versions of their drugs. FDA never studied the safety of the drugs under the labeled conditions of use, ignored the potential impacts of the hormone-blocking regimen on the developing bodies of adolescent girls. Most problematically, in the years when they received payments, Collins, Fauci, and Lane were NIH administrators, not researchers. NIH Office of Equity, Diversity, and Inclusion, which pushes such unlawful actions, should be abolished. Legislation reforming legacy (non-MA) Medicare should: Base payments on the

health status of the patient rather than where the patient happens to receive that service. Repeal harmful health policies enacted under the Obama and Biden Administrations such as the Medicare Shared Savings Program and Inflation Reduction Act. All components of the health care system should be part of the reform efforts. Allow states to have a more flexible, accountable, predictable, transparent, and efficient financing mechanism. To make health insurance coverage more affordable for those who are without government subsidies, CMS should develop a plan to separate the non-subsidized insurance market from the subsidized market. Congress should build on the Trump Administration's efforts to expand choices for small businesses and workers. Ongoing innovations in medical care will continue to drive demand for clinical testing and new tests. CMS should create pathways for granting non-clinical laboratories and testing personnel CLIA certification equivalency. The Weldon Amendment declares that no HHS funding may go to a state or local government that discriminates against pro-life health entities or insurers. Seven states require abortion coverage in private health insurance plans. Since 1996, when the program was reformed, federal TANF outlays have been \$16.5 billion. The TANF statute requires that states engage 50 percent of single-parent families in work for at least 30 hours a week. Marriage, healthy family formation, and delaying sex to prevent pregnancy are virtually ignored in terms of priorities.

Goal #1: Protecting Life, Conscience, and Bodily Integrity. States should be the primary regulators of the medical profession. HHS should prioritize married father engagement in its messaging, health, and welfare policies. Congress should create legal remedies for generic companies to obtain samples of brand-name products for their generic development efforts. The second pill, misoprostol, causes contractions to induce a delivery of the dead child and uterine contents. Three-parent embryo creation and human cloning research should be banned. Rather than providing grants to university-based investigators to run the clinical trials on their own Moderna vaccine, the NIH conducted Nonprofit watchdog Open the Books estimates that from 2010 to 2020, third parties paid more than \$350 million in royalties to NIH and its scientists. Medicare should be reformed according to four goals and principles. Medicare generally pays more for inpatient hospital procedures and less for the same procedures performed in an outpatient setting. True health care reform cannot be accomplished in a bureaucratic silo. This reform should also allow catastrophic coverage combined with an account similar to a health savings account for the direct purchase of health care. Reform would include adding Section 1115 waiver requirements in some cases. Prohibit Planned Parenthood from receiving Medicaid funds. Section 1557 prohibits discrimination on the basis of race, color, national origin, age, disability, and sex. Under the proposed rule, sex is redefined. Low-income families who rely on CHIP should not be coerced, pressured, or otherwise encouraged to embrace this

ideologically motivated sexualization of their children. With the disease being endemic and constantly mutating, vaccines and universal masking in health care facilities do not have appreciable benefits. 21 states had a work engagement target of zero percent in 2017.

The federal government should focus reform on reducing burdens of regulatory compliance. Regulators should have a long “cooling off period” on their contracts that prevents them from working for companies they have regulated. When responding to a novel pathogen, the CDC should focus on gathering and disseminating information. CDC abortion data are reported by states on a voluntary basis, and California, Maryland, and New Hampshire do not submit abortion data at all. Congress and the FDA should focus on reforming laws and regulations governing medical tests. The very thin profit margins and the regulatory burdens associated with generic drug manufacturing discourage inventory and capacity investments by manufacturers. FDA and NIH should promote efficacy trials of new applications for generic drugs. The first pill, mifepristone, causes the death of the unborn child. Submitting an adverse event to the database should be a quick and efficient process. Patients are best positioned to determine the value of health care services. The next Administration should reintroduce and restore regulations and demonstrations from the Trump Administration that were withdrawn, weakened, or never finalized by the Biden Administration. The current restrictions do little more than serve the special interests of large hospital systems. HHS needs to restore and enhance conscience protection regulations that allow medical practitioners to participate in federal health care programs. Improve Medicaid eligibility standards to protect those in need. Strengthen hospital price transparency. CMS also plays an outsized role in overseeing the Obamacare exchanges, including managing Healthcare.gov. Prohibit abortion travel funding. The Department of Justice Office of Legal Counsel issued a politicized legal opinion declaring, for the first time in the history of Hyde, that this action did not violate the Hyde Amendment. Congress should pass the Protecting Life and Taxpayers Act, which would accomplish the goal of defunding abortion providers such as Planned Parenthood. HHS under President Trump disallowed \$200 million in Medicaid funding from California because of the state’s flouting of the law. In July 2022, HHS/CMS released guidance mandating that EMTALA-covered hospitals and the physicians who work there must perform abortions. Health care workers were praised for their self-sacrifice in caring for sick patients at the beginning of the COVID-19 pandemic. Because of the “Caseload Reduction Credit,” states’ work engagement targets are reduced if their assistance caseloads have fallen since 2005. Nearly all of HHS’s care, custody, and placement of children is done through cooperative agreements with private agencies.

Abortion and euthanasia are not health care. A robust respect for the sacred rights of conscience increases choices for patients and program beneficiaries and furthers

pluralism and tolerance. But it has limited to no capacity to measure the social costs or benefits they may entail. The private sector is much better positioned to tackle the challenges inherent in developing and manufacturing novel products. The “laboratory-developed tests” category currently encompasses a range of possible tests, many of which are not truly novel tests but rather modified versions of existing tests. HHS was required by the Religious Freedom Restoration Act to allow bulk importation by doctors of certain Japanese-made vaccines. Good science and life-affirming, ethical research are not mutually exclusive. More recently, the National Institute of Allergy and Infectious Diseases (NIAID), Anthony Fauci’s division of the NIH, owns half of the patent for the Moderna COVID-19 vaccine. Access to reliable information with respect to physicians, hospitals, and insurers is essential. The current funding structure for the Medicaid program rewards expansions, lacks transparency, and promotes financing gimmicks. Facilitate the development of shared savings and reference pricing plan options. Providing funding for abortions increases the number of abortions and violates the conscience and religious freedom rights of Americans who object to subsidizing the taking of life. Two of the first actions of a pro-life Administration should be for HHS to withdraw the Medicaid guidance. HHS should undertake a full audit to determine compliance or noncompliance with the Hyde amendment and similar funding restrictions in HHS programs. HHS should clarify how states, in their quarterly and annual reports, ought to track and audit the outcomes from how they spend TANF funds. CMS should require explicit measurement of these goals. Site visits should be revamped to ensure adherence to optimal health metrics. Many of the faith-based adoption agencies that serve these children are under threat from lawsuits, or else their licenses and contracts have been halted because they cannot in good conscience place children in every household. Congress should pass the Child Welfare Provider Inclusion Act to ensure that providers and organizations cannot be subjected to discrimination for providing adoption and foster care services based on their beliefs about marriage. The most effective way to lower a nonresident parent’s monthly child support order is to spend more court-accounted-for time with the child.

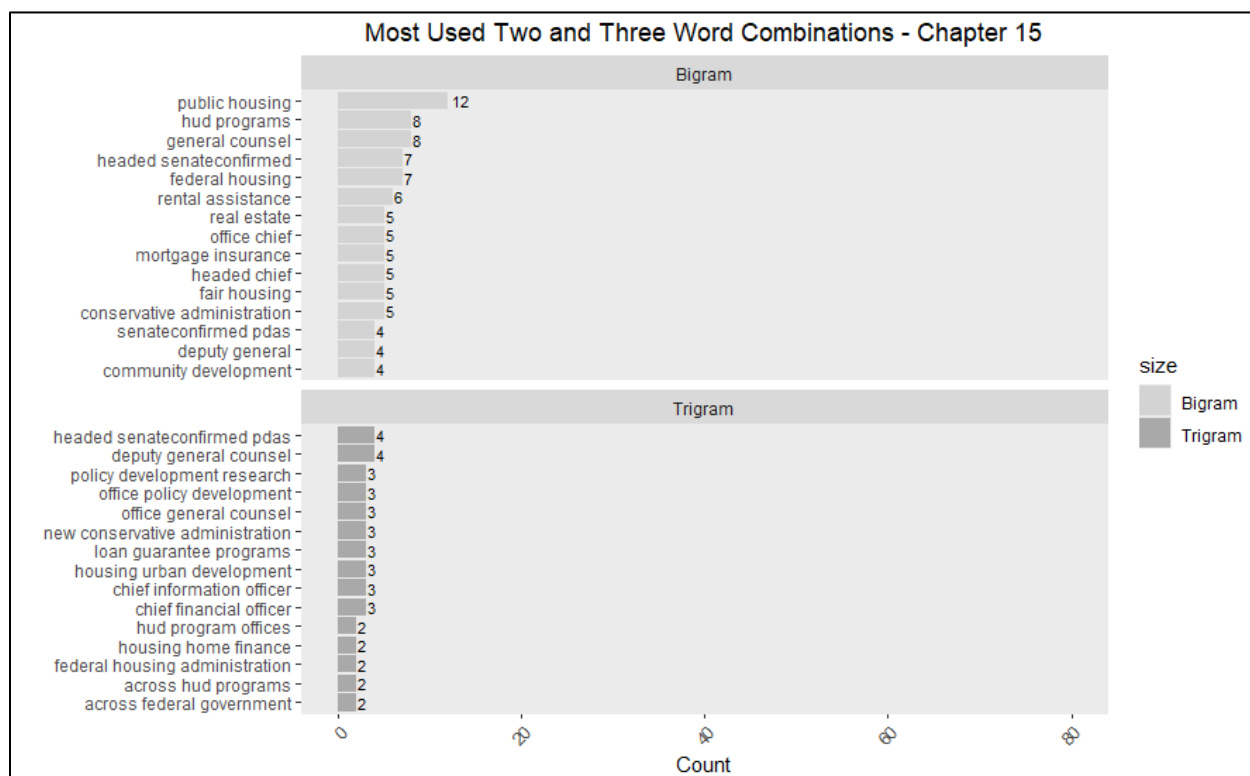
For good or ill, HHS activities personally impact the lives of more Americans than do those of any other federal agency. The federal government should not restrict providers’ ability to discharge their responsibilities or limit their ability to innovate. America’s broken insurance system induces overconsumption of health care, limits consumer shopping, and hides true costs from patients. In cases involving biological parents who are found by a court to be unfit because of abuse or neglect, the process of adoption should be speedy, certain, and supported generously. The COVID-19 pandemic demonstrated how catastrophic a micromanaging, misinformed, centralized, and politicized federal government can be. Congress should ensure that CDC’s legal authorities are clearly

defined and limited. The CDC is responsible for making public health recommendations and policies. A separate agency should be responsible for public health with a severely confined ability to make policy recommendations. CDC guidelines are analogous to guidelines from other public health associations or medical societies. In 1992, the CDC discovered a loophole in federal law that allowed it to accept pharma contributions through the nonprofit CDC Foundation. From 2014 through 2018, the Foundation received \$79.6 million from pharmaceutical corporations. HHS should use every available tool, including the cutting of funds, to ensure that every state reports exactly how many abortions take place within its borders. Chemical abortion has been found to have a complication rate four times higher than that of surgical abortion. The FDA should immediately restore the REMS. Increase Medicare beneficiaries' control of their health care. Critical reforms are still needed to strengthen and improve the program for the future. The dramatic increase in Medicaid expenditures is due in large part to the ACA. Recipients are often faced with a "welfare cliff" of benefit losses as they earn above a certain amount. HHS should take two actions to limit this funding. HHS should reinstate a Trump Administration regulation and enforce what the plain text of Section 1303 requires. National or state guidelines and tax law should be updated to ensure that nonresident parents with child support orders can receive a nondependent, child support tax credit. Single filers of up to \$41,756 would be eligible for a child support tax credit. This way, the nonresident father's role as financial provider and relational figure is affirmed. Texas combined its child support court with its visitation court to ensure that resident and nonresident parents received state-mandated financial support orders and enforceable visitation orders.

Under President Biden, the mission has shifted to "promoting equity in everything we do" HHS consists of 11 operating divisions and 15 staff divisions that are directly under the Office of the Secretary. CDC should report on the risks and effectiveness of all infectious disease-mitigation measures dispassionately. The FDA failed to abide by its legal obligations to protect the health, safety, and welfare of girls and women. The FDA has permitted and actively encouraged such activity. A bare-minimum policy of limiting abortion pills to the pre-2016 policy of 49 days gestation would increase women's health and safety. The FDA should restore the waiver to comply with RFRA and for the obvious public health benefits of increased childhood vaccination. In 1997, the FDA relaxed regulations to permit broadcast drug advertisements. The CDC and NIH Foundations, whose boards are populated with pharmaceutical company executives, need to be decommissioned. The Medicare Advantage program has been registering consistently high marks for superior performance in delivering high-quality care. Restructure basic financing and put the program on a more fiscally predictable budget. The No Surprises Act protected

consumers against balance bills, but it also established a flawed system for resolving payment disputes between insurers and providers. HHS should rescind the guidance and end CMS and state agency investigations into cases of alleged refusals. HHS published a proposed rule entitled “Nondiscrimination in Health Programs and Activities.” This rule addresses nondiscrimination provisions of the Affordable Care Act. But then they were fired if they objected to receiving COVID19 vaccines. The Temporary Assistance for Needy Families (TANF) program is a federal block grant. Any lists with “approved curriculum’ or so-called evidence-based lists should be abolished. Nearly a third of America’s children live without a father present in the home, and a fourth of them are enrolled to receive child support.

Chapter 15: Department of Housing and Urban Development



Politicians across party lines use HUD to promise ever-greater public benefits. Implement an action plan across both process and people. The Secretary of Housing and Urban Development can delegate authority to various entities across an array of HUD programs. OHHLHC was established in the early 1990s to eliminate lead-based paint hazards in America's privately owned and low-income housing. Office of Policy Development and Research (PDR) administers research activities, including external contract research grants.

A new conservative Administration will need to: Reset HUD. HUD has 10 regional offices as well as field offices and centers to implement specialized operational and enforcement responsibilities. The Office of Administration has responsibilities for the Office of the Chief Human Capital Officer (OCHO), the Chief Procurement Officer (CPO), and the Chief Financial Officer. Housing Choice Voucher Program is "an essential component of the Federal housing safety net for people in need." PIH also implements funding for the Self-Sufficiency Coordinator Program; the Public Housing Fund (operating and capital funds for PHA administration of Section 9 public housing and Section 8 voucher programs); and Choice Neighborhoods. Government National Mortgage Association (GNMA) oversees more than \$2 billion in federal guarantees to mortgage-backed securities structured from mortgages that are pooled from various federal programs. HUD political

leadership should assign all delegated powers to politically appointed PDAS, DAS, and other office leadership positions.

The U.S. Department of Housing and Urban Development administers a web of federal programs. With a proposed fiscal year (FY) budget authority totaling \$71.9 billion and 8,326 full-time equivalent (FTE) employees, it remains the largest government agency charged with implementing federal housing policy. The two largest CPD-administered programs are the Community Development Block Grant (CDBG) Program and the Home Investment Partnerships Program. The reforms proposed in this chapter can help a new conservative Administration to use its Article II powers to rectify bureaucratic overreach, reverse the expansion of programs beyond their statutory authority.

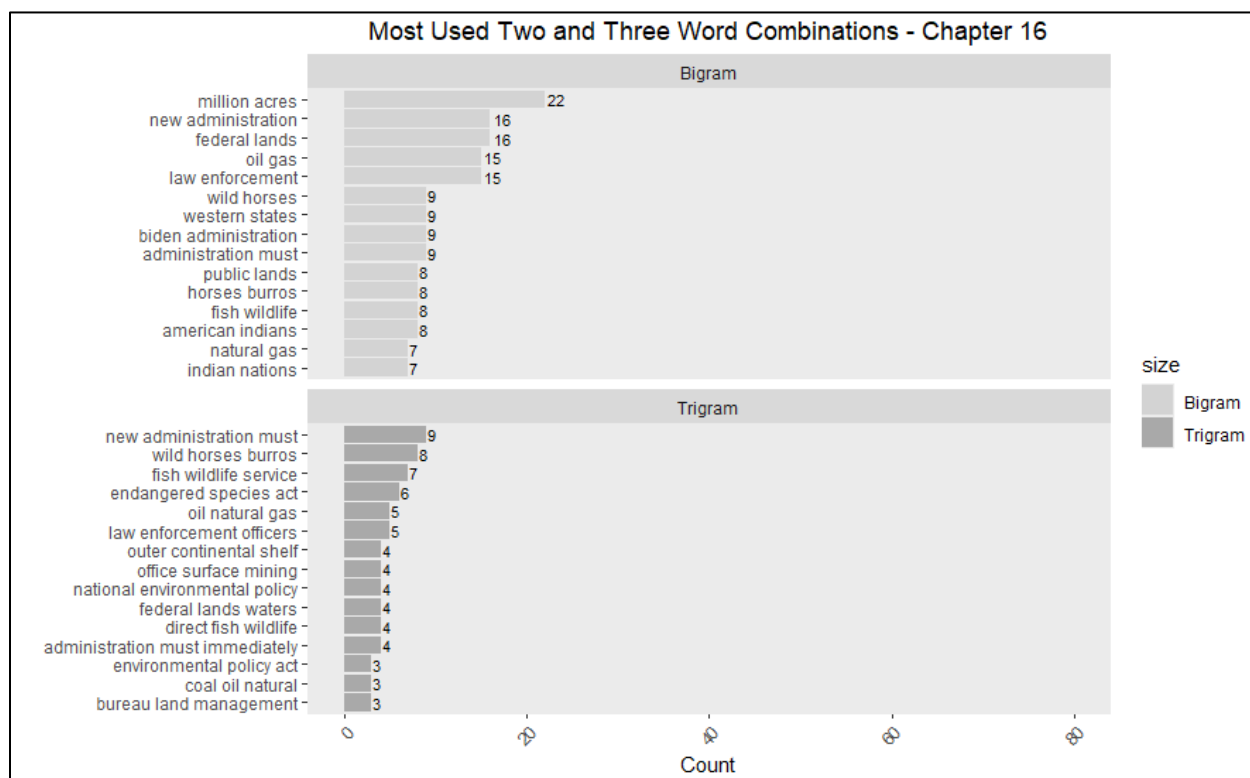
Office of Public and Indian Housing (PIH) administers public housing and tenant-based rental assistance programs. The Federal Housing Administration administers the Mutual Mortgage Insurance Program (MMIF) and various other mortgage insurance, direct loan, and loan guarantee programs. These functions overlap with similar functions of the Environmental Protection Agency and Centers for Disease Control and Prevention. Change any current career leadership positions into political and non-career appointment positions. The Secretary should initiate a HUD task force consisting of politically appointed personnel to identify and reverse all actions taken by the Biden Administration to advance progressive ideology.

The Office of the Secretary also comprises a team of politically appointed positions and career support staff. CPD administers various entitlement and non-entitlement programs across community development, disaster recovery, and housing. The Assistant Secretary for FHEO is responsible for enforcing Title VI of the Civil Rights Act of 1964, Section 504 of the Rehabilitation Act of 1973, and Section 109 of the Housing and Community Development Act of 1974. Office of General Counsel (OGC), headed by the General Counsel or Principal Deputy General Counsel, handles department-wide legal and compliance oversight.

HUD was created by the Housing and Urban Development Act of 1965. CPD's Relocation and Real Estate Division (RRED) has departmental delegated authority for the Uniform Relocation Assistance and Real Property Acquisition Policies Act of 1970. PDR also provides publicly available statistics through the American Housing Survey (AHS), which is sponsored by HUD and conducted by the Census Bureau. The HUD OIG conducts internal and external audits and investigations of HUD programs and operations. The Inspector General serves as an adviser to and nonvoting member of the FHA Mortgagee Review Board. It is hoped that a future Congress under conservative leadership will enact legislative reforms of HUD programs. With or without congressional action, however, it is

vital that a conservative Administration immediately institute guardrails across HUD programs. The President should issue an executive order making the HUD Secretary a member of the Committee on Foreign Investment in the U.S. Repeal climate change initiatives and spending in the department's budget request.

Chapter 16: Department of the Interior



The budget also provides an estimated \$12.6 billion in permanent funding in 2024. U.S. Set rents, royalty rates, and bonding requirements to no higher than what is required under the Inflation Reduction Act. The move will save \$17.9 million in relocation incentives, temporary labor, travel, printing, rent, supplies, equipment, and other contracts. The Western States Sheriffs' Association, for example, whose annual gathering attracts hundreds of law enforcement officers from 17 western and plains states might have moved its event to Grand Junction.

National Park Service manages 401 natural, cultural, and recreational sites, 26,000 historic structures, and more than 44 million acres of wilderness. The Federal Land Policy and Management Act (FLPMA), Outer Continental Shelf Lands Act (OSCLA), General Mining Law, and other congressional acts clearly set forth multiple-use principles. The orders include: America-First Offshore Energy Strategy, National Petroleum Reserve—Alaska, Streamlining National Environmental Policy Reviews and Implementation of Executive Order 13807, “Establishing Discipline and Accountability” The new Administration should work with Congress on legislation to increase state participation and federal accountability for energy production. Conclude the programmatic review of the coal leasing program. Despite overblown chatter from the inside-the-Beltway media, Congress, with bipartisan support, approved funding the move. The head of BLM law enforcement and security

supervises over 200 uniformed law enforcement rangers and 76 special agents stationed mainly in 11 western states and Alaska. There is no way these and other ADs can professionally manage issues thousands of miles and multiple time zones away. Congress must enact laws permitting the BLM to dispose humanely of these animals.

In some rural western counties, federal lands constituted 50, 60, 70, 80—even 90 percent of the county’s landmass. Bureau of Safety and Environmental Enforcement regulates offshore oil and gas facilities. Fish and Wildlife Service manages the 150-million-acre National Wildlife Refuge System. Only 22 percent of the nation’s oil and 12 percent of U.S. natural gas comes from federal lands and waters. Bureau of Land Management will relocate its headquarters to Grand Junction, Colorado. For decades, Congress watched as these herds overwhelmed the land’s ability to sustain them.

President Donald Trump ordered his DOI to comply with federal law, conduct congressionally mandated lease sales, and seek to achieve energy dominance or independence. Conducts scientific research in ecosystems, climate, and land-use change, mineral assessments, environmental health, and water resources. DOI manages a subsurface mineral estate of 700 million acres onshore and 1.76 billion acres offshore. The new Administration must immediately reinstate the following Trump DOI secretarial orders. Sixty-one positions were retained in Washington, D.C., to address public, congressional, and regulatory affairs. There are 95,000 wild horses and burros roaming nearly 32 million acres in the West. In less than eight years, Alaska selected 26 million acres.

Today, DOI has 70,000 employees in approximately 2,400 locations with offices across the United States, Puerto Rico, and U.S. President Ronald Reagan campaigned against this “War on the West,” declared himself a “Sagebrush Rebel” and, on taking office, quelled the rebellion by reversing Carter President Bill Clinton resumed Carter’s “War on the West,” epitomized by his DOI’s deploying of wolves into the states bordering Yellowstone National Park. The department refuses to adhere to the statutes enacted by Congress as to how the lands under its jurisdiction are managed. Bureau of Reclamation manages access to renewable and conventional energy resources of the Outer Continental Shelf. A new Administration must immediately roll back Biden’s orders, reinstate the Trump-era Energy Dominance Agenda, rescind Secretarial Order (SO) 3398, and review all regulations, orders, guidance documents, policies, and similar agency actions made in compliance with that order. 97 percent of BLM employees are located in the American West. Colorado lost its chance to become a must-visit destination for BLM’s stakeholders. In 1971, Congress ordered the BLM to manage wild horses and burros to ensure their iconic presence never disappeared from the western landscape. When Alaska was admitted to the Union in 1959, nearly its entire landmass was federally owned.

A “Home Department” had been considered in 1789 and urged by Presidents over the decades until DOI’s creation in 1849. That ended with the Administration of President Jimmy Carter, who, beholden to environmental groups that supported his election, adopted policies consistent with their demands. 42 percent of coal production takes place on federal lands in 11 states. Conduct offshore oil and natural gas lease sales to the maximum extent permitted under the 2023–2028 lease program. The majority of the 245 million surface acres managed by the agency lies in the 11 western states and Alaska. Despite the dislocating impact of the COVID-19 pandemic, the BLM successfully filled hundreds of long-vacant positions. The move West incurred no legal challenges, no formal Equal Employment Opportunity or U.S. These animals face starvation and death from lack of forage and water. The population has more than doubled in just the past 10 years and continues to grow at a rate of 10 to 15 percent annually. Alaska was granted the right to select 104 million acres (out of 375 million acres) to manage for the benefit of its residents.

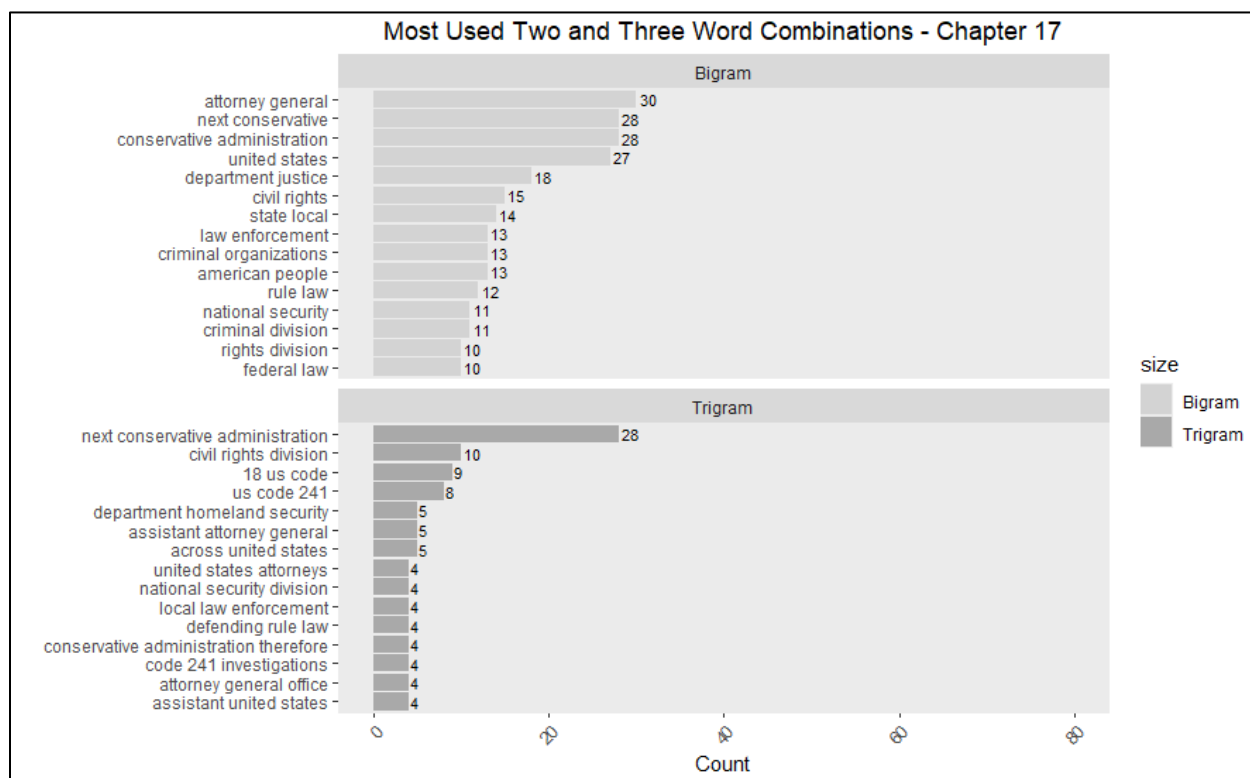
President Barack Obama’s DOI resumed the anti-economic federal lands policies activated by Carter and amplified by Clinton. Not since the Administration of President Harry S. Truman have fewer federal leases been issued. Thanks in part to the success of oil and gas operations on federal land in the West, the United States achieved energy security for the first time since 1957. Trump’s DOI change affected not only oil and gas leasing, but all statutory responsibilities of its various agencies, bureaus, and offices. Biden’s DOI believes most BLM land should be placed off-limits to all economic and most recreational uses. Most of the proposed allocations are divided among nine bureaus. Oil, natural gas, coal, and other minerals on federal lands and waters are managed by the Bureau of Land Management. Review all resource management plans finalized in the previous four years and, when necessary, select studied alternatives. The new Administration should be able to draw on the enormous expertise of state agency personnel throughout the country. The new headquarters will be named after the longest-serving BLM director, a Grand Junction native. Merit Systems Protection Board complaints, and no adverse union activity. In late 2022, Secretary of the Interior Deb Haaland announced the return of headquarters and scores of highly paid, senior employees to Washington, D.C. Haaland moved that official to Washington, far from state troopers, county sheriffs and deputies, and city police. In 2002, at the direction of the Secretary of the Interior in the days following the 9/11 attack, the Inspector General for DOI made a series of department-wide recommendations regarding law enforcement. In the final days of the Trump Administration, Secretary David L. Bernhardt ordered, and Deputy Director William Perry Pendley implemented, the IG’s recommendation. BLM experts said in 2019 that some affected land will never recover from this unmitigated damage. Alaska is a special case and deserves immediate action.

DOI is abusing National Environmental Policy Act (NEPA) processes, the Antiquities Act, and bureaucratic procedures to advance a radical climate agenda. Abandon withdrawals of lands from leasing in the Thompson Divide of the White River National Forest, Colorado. Unfortunately, in the first day of the Biden Administration, BLM Deputy Director Mike Nedd suspended Pendley's order.

In 2024, DOI will generate receipts of \$19.6 billion. Historically, DOI operated in a bipartisan manner consistent with the laws enacted by Congress pursuant to its powers under the Property Clause. Not since the Reagan Administration was the radical environmental agenda rolled back as substantially as it was by President Trump. On the other side of the ledger, the DOI forecasts it will generate more than \$19.6 billion in 'offsetting receipts' from oil and gas royalties, timber and grazing fees, park user fees, and land sales. Conducted climate change research for the department. State, tribal, and local officials became accustomed to having top BLM decision-makers in Grand Junction. The funds can be devoted to reducing the risk of wildfires, increasing recreational opportunities, conserving public lands, and addressing tough issues such as wild horses. Law enforcement professionals across the country, especially in the West, for decades, including the Western States Sheriffs Association. Of course, leadership heads exploded; they were furious with their loss of authority, not to mention subordinates and budgets. The National Wild Horse and Burro Advisory Board, a panel of nine experts and professionals convened to advise the BLM, endorsed the joint policy.

DOI's 2024 budget request totals \$18.9 billion, an increase of \$2 billion, or 12 percent, more than the 2023 enacted level. At \$18.9 billion, the 2024 proposed budget is small relative to many other federal agencies. Private and state lands, at 1.563 billion acres, make up only 39 percent of the total onshore and offshore subsurface area of the United States. States are better resource managers than the federal government because they must live with the results. President Trump's Schedule F proposal regarding accountability in hiring must be reinstituted. For example, wild horse and burro professionals were relocated to Nevada. The Administration applied a hands-on approach, with all-employee briefing and question-and-answer sessions. Subsequently, BLM Director Tracy Stone-Manning revealed 56 BLM jobs in BLM's 'Western Headquarters' and 70 other BLM jobs will remain in Grand Junction. 60 percent of the nation's wild horses are in Nevada, but thousands are in nine other western states. BLM leadership stonewalled, adhering to a haphazard system in which LEOs reported to non-LEO superiors. Then-Interior Secretary Stewart Udall put a freeze on further land selections to protect any claims.

Chapter 17: Department of Justice



Anything other than a top-to-bottom overhaul will only further erode the trust of significant portions of the American people. This chapter features prominently the things the department must do to restore its focus on these functions. Pursuing a national security agenda aimed at external state and non-state actors. The next conservative Administration should eliminate any offices within the FBI that it has the power to eliminate without any action from Congress. There are valid reasons for sentence reductions in particular cases (for example, if the defendant has provided substantial assistance in prosecuting other offenders) The DOJ must ensure that its line attorneys are consistently using the tools at their disposal in cases with violent offenders. These cartels are also violent and not afraid to demonstrate force on both sides of the border. The department should make every effort to uphold equal protection of the law and avoid politically motivated and viewpoint-based prosecutions. The Department of Justice has the exclusive responsibility for the “conduct of litigation in which the United States, an agency, or officer thereof” is involved. Federal courts have jurisdiction to deal with a wide array of issues in law and equity in the United States. The department should reject any invitation to limit these fundamental promises based on the political ideology of the speech at issue.

The department has failed to do its part to stop the flood of fentanyl and other deadly drugs that are flowing across our borders. It is essential that the next conservative

Administration place a high priority on reforming the DOJ and its culture. The overwhelming majority of crimes in the U.S. are properly handled at the state and local levels. Dismantling domestic and international criminal enterprises. Legal advice should come from attorneys at the DOJ, whether those attorneys are within the Criminal Division, the National Security Division, or the Office of Legal Counsel. The Biden Administration has adopted policies that do not prevent armed career criminals, who actually commit violent crimes, from committing those crimes. Aggressively deploy the Racketeer Influenced and Corrupt Organizations Act (RICO) Mexico is the main point of transit for illegal drugs produced in Central and South America, weapons, human smuggling and trafficking, and other contraband. The Department of Justice plays a vital role in protecting our national security. These arrests stand in stark contrast to the department's virtual silence on the wave of vandalism and violence directed at religiously affiliated institutions, including pregnancy resource centers. It means that the government gets to decide which viewpoints are protected and which are not. The First Amendment places "the decision as to what views shall be voiced largely into the hands of each of us, in the hope that use of such freedom will ultimately produce a more capable citizenry and more perfect polity" The DOJ should maintain its commitment to upholding the Constitution's neutral principles of free speech.

The Department of Justice has two primary functions: protecting public safety and defending the rule of law. The department also suffers from institutional inattentiveness to its core functions. Department of Justice must focus on its two core functions: protecting public safety and defending the rule of law. Immigration laws are ignored. The government, through its officials, is certainly able to speak and provide information to the public, he says. Emphasize, fund, and reward field offices while shrinking headquarters staff. The DOJ must enforce applicable civil rights laws in an even-handed way when citizens' livelihoods are threatened merely because they have exercised their rights. Pursue policies and legislation that encourage prosecution of violent crimes as well as appropriate sentences for such offenses. The DOJ's China Initiative under President Trump reflected the department's priority of combating Chinese threats. This will require not just winning in a court of law, but also demonstrating culpability to the public and the media in a concrete and non-refutable manner. Just as troubling, the government's arguments against free speech are not limited to the facts of 303 Creative.

Of course, there are other important reforms that do not necessarily fit within either of those core functions. A department that prosecutes FACE Act cases while ignoring dozens of violent attacks on pregnancy care centers has clearly lost its way. The next conservative Administration must ensure that the Department of Justice devotes significant effort to reducing violent crime nationwide. The next Administration will need to Revitalize the DOJ's use of the array of statutory tools that exist for dealing with the threat of

criminal organizations. Rigorously prosecute as much interstate drug activity as possible. Specific examples of department corruption, such as the Russia collusion hoax, need to be tackled, exposed, and addressed head-on. However, in politically contentious cases, Assistant United States Attorneys and other line prosecutors during conservative Administrations seek to influence outcomes of cases. All three branches of the federal government retain not just the right, but the obligation to assess constitutionality. The Supreme Court said in *Masterpiece Cakeshop* that the government can compel artists to speak government-favored messages.

It failed to engage in any concerted campaign to protect the rights of Americans who actually were terrorized by acts of violence like those perpetrated against pregnancy care centers. The FBI tasked agents with monitoring social media and flagging content they deemed to be “misinformation” The department has consistently threatened that any conduct not aligning with the liberal agenda ‘could’ violate federal law. The FBI does not need its own Office of Congressional Affairs separate and apart from the DOJ Office of Legislative Affairs. While the prosecution of criminal offenses in most jurisdictions across the country must remain the responsibility of local governments, the federal government owes a special responsibility to Americans in such jurisdictions. The Department of Justice has a key role in tackling transnational criminal organizations like Mara Salvatrucha (MS-13) and Mexican drug cartels. The department’s primary directive under the next Administration should be to return to an unapologetic focus on dismantling these criminal organizations. This could include use of active-duty military personnel and National Guardsmen to assist in arrest operations along the border. The next conservative Administration should issue guidance to ensure that litigation decisions are consistent with the President’s agenda and the rule of law. It is this obligation that is the foundation of the separation of powers. U.S. argued that it was the viewpoint expressed that gave the government power to censor and compel speech.

Critically, this must include the FBI. DOJ veterans often opine that the FBI views itself as an independent agency. Such a structure would allow the FBI to play an important role in advising the department’s leadership on emerging threats. Under no circumstances should the FBI ever be able to go around the Attorney General or the department’s leadership on any matter within its area of responsibility. Zelizer: The First Amendment prohibits it. Pro-life activist Mark Houck was arrested by more than 15 FBI agents at his home in Pennsylvania in front of his wife and small children. Agents came to his door with guns drawn to arrest the 48-year-old father of seven whose alleged crime involved a minor altercation with an activist who was harassing one of his children. The next conservative Administration must ensure that the DOJ zealously guards the constitutional rights of all Americans.

The DOJ engaged in conduct to chill the free speech rights of parents across the United States. The DOJ has become a bloated bureaucracy with a critical core of personnel who are infatuated with the perpetuation of a radical liberal agenda and the defeat of perceived political enemies. The department's leadership appears to care more about how they are perceived in the next Politico or Washington Post article than they do about justice and advancing the interests of the American people. The next conservative Administration should direct the Attorney General to remove the FBI from the Deputy Attorney General's direct supervision. Prohibit the FBI from engaging in activities related to combating the spread of so-called misinformation and disinformation by Americans who are not tied to any plausible criminal activity. These attorneys are not necessary to the functioning of the FBI in their current capacity. The next conservative Administration should seek a legislative change to align the FBI Director's position with those of the heads of all other major departments and agencies. The pleasant-sounding terminology of reform masks the darker reality of this movement. This campaign is not just ill-advised; it has clearly had real-world consequences in the form of catastrophic increases in crime. The DOJ should use applicable federal laws to bring federal charges against criminals. The DOJ should review all consent decrees and settlement agreements currently in force. This extends not only to rights implicated in the department's criminal activities, but to all rights enjoyed by the American people. The U.S. argued that the government may not "compel the dissemination of its own preferred message," because the First Amendment protects the "individual freedom of mind." The United States' directly contrary position in 303 Creative is hard to explain based on its support for the message the State of Colorado was attempting to compel.

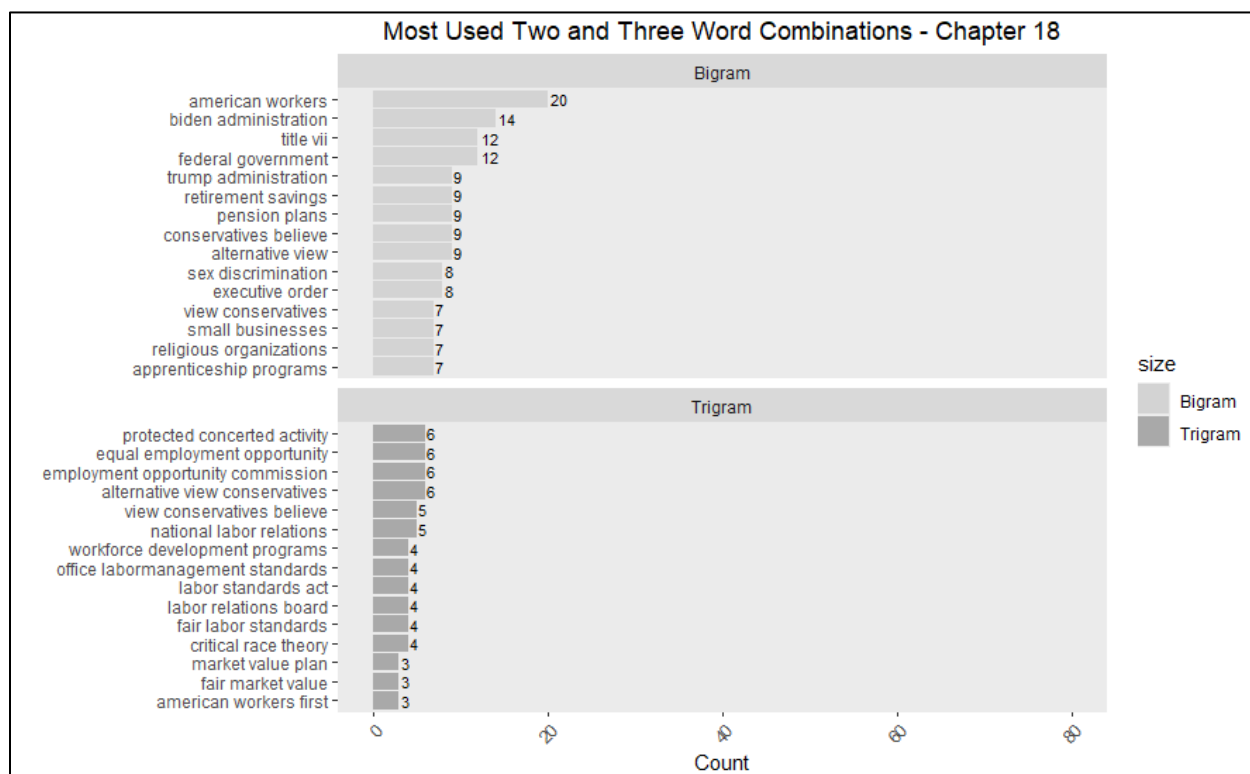
46.6 percent of Americans recently indicated that the DOJ is "too political, corrupt, and not to be trusted." The weight of the publicly available evidence indicates that there are many reasons for this lack of trust. The DOJ can provide critical technical support for local law enforcement and play a critical agenda-setting role. Prosecution and charging decisions are infused with racial and partisan political double standards. Renewing the DOJ's focus on violent crime. This can be accomplished through a simple internal departmental reorganization and does not need to be approved by Congress. The FBI maintains a core of approximately 300 attorneys within its Office of General Counsel. In recent years, federal and state officials have succumbed to calls from anti-law enforcement advocates for so-called criminal justice reform. A disturbing number of state and local jurisdictions have enacted policies that directly undermine public safety, leave doubt about whether criminals will be punished, and weaken the rule of law. The federal government should treat this problem as aggressively as necessary. Pursue other programs to educate the American people about the real and dangerous threats to our national

security and economic security. The next Administration will need to exert significant energy to dismantle the two-tiered system of justice currently in place at the department. These efforts will require commitment and willpower, but they will be essential to restoring the trust of the American people. It should terminate any unnecessary or outdated consent decree to which the United States is a party. A line attorney should never pursue a policy agenda through litigation that is inconsistent with the agenda of his or her client agency or the President. The government wants to promote a certain viewpoint, the court said.

Large swaths of the department have been captured by an unaccountable managerial class and radical Left ideologues. For example: The Federal Bureau of Investigation, knowing that claims of collusion with Russia were false, collaborated with Democratic operatives to inject the story. Restoring the FBI's integrity will involve at minimum four overriding actions. The FBI was founded in 1908 to "tackle national crime and security issues" It best serves the American people when it dedicates its resources and energies to attacking violent crime, criminal organizations, child predators, cyber-crime, and other uniquely federal interests. But the fact remains that "[t]he Federal Bureau of Investigation is located in the Department of Justice." It is not independent from the department. The Director of the FBI must remain politically accountable to the President in the same manner as the head of any other federal department or agency. The department should also support legislative efforts to provide further tools, such as the Restoring the Armed Career Criminal Act. The next conservative Administration should do everything possible to obtain finality for 44 prisoners currently on federal death row. Mexican drug cartels, including the dominant Sinaloa Cartel and the Jalisco New Generation Cartel, are the main drivers of fentanyl production and distribution in the United States. It must not refrain from engaging in public initiatives that identify our adversaries and educate the American people about their activities. In February 2022, the Biden Administration terminated the department's China Initiative largely out of a concern for poor "optics." The next conservative Administration should therefore: Restart the China Initiative. Engaging in Zealous Advocacy for and Defense of the Constitution and Lawful Administration Regulations and Policies. The Supreme Court ruled that Colorado can force artists to create custom messages that violate their most fundamental convictions.

The U.S. government and the FBI have absolutely no business policing speech, writes Julian Zelizer. The Department of Justice has a special obligation to restore law and order in such districts. More than 100,000 Americans died in a one-year period from opioid overdoses. Enact policies and regulations that prohibit settlement payments to third parties.

Chapter 18: Department of Labor and Related Agencies



Give workers the support they need for rewarding, well-paying, and self-driven careers, and restore the family-supporting job as the centerpiece of the American economy. Americans with Disabilities Act also provides nondiscrimination and accommodation protections in the workplace for certain pregnancy-related disability. None of these laws requires an employer provide health insurance benefits for elective abortion. The new Administration should enact policies with robust respect for religious exercise in the workplace. That day would default to Sunday, except for employers with a sincere religious observance of a Sabbath. DOL should clarify that a home office is not subject to OSHA regulations. Congress should clarify that the “regular rate” for overtime pay is based on the salary paid rather than all benefits provided. Labor agencies should provide compliance assistance to help businesses and workers better understand their position. A 2017 study estimated that the number of occupations commonly filled through apprenticeships could nearly triple. Congress should provide DOL with more reasonable enforcement tools for the UI system.

At the heart of The Conservative Promise is the resolve to reclaim the role of each American worker as the protagonist in his or her own life. The President should direct the Department of Justice and Equal Employment Opportunity Commission to enforce Title VII to prohibit racial classifications and quotas. With interracial marriages in America

increasing, many Americans do not fit neatly into crude racial categories. The President should eliminate OFCCP by simply rescinding EO 11246. Congress should pass a law requiring equal (or greater) benefits for pro-life support for mothers and clarifying abortion exclusions. Funding should be oriented towards improving the timeliness of annual family statistics. The Biden Administration is advancing an even more expansive definition of a joint employer that would upend the franchise business model. This rule was immediately rescinded by the Biden Administration. The federal government spends more than \$100 billion per year subsidizing higher education but close to zero supporting people on non-college pathways. NLRB should eliminate the contract bar rule so that employees have a reasonable chance to achieve their goal. Unions could play a powerful role in tailoring national employment rules to the needs of a particular workplace. Congress should amend the NLRA to authorize collective bargaining to treat national employment laws and regulations as negotiable defaults.

The 21st century has brought about new challenges, ranging from collapsing manufacturing sector employment and a decrease in family-supporting jobs. Crudely categorizing employees by race or ethnicity fails to recognize the diversity of the American workforce. The new Administration should restrict Bostock's application of sex discrimination protections to sexual orientation and transgender status in the context of hiring and firing. The limit for married couples on 401(k) and similar work-based retirement savings accounts should be double the limit for individuals. Our labor agenda must allow community institutions, including small businesses, schools and universities, religious organizations, and worker organizations, to thrive. Under this rule, agencies cannot treat guidance as legally binding and must make all guidance documents readily accessible on their searchable online databases. Private employers consistently impose a BA requirement on jobs even when existing workers in the role do not have one. The Coronavirus Aid, Relief, and Economic Security (CARES) Act unemployment programs were defrauded of hundreds of billions of dollars. The Worker's Choice Act would end exclusive representation so that unions in right-to-work states are no longer forced to represent workers who do not want to join them. Private-sector unions must file detailed financial information with DOL. But the Biden DOL eliminated a transparency rule requiring the filing of the T-1 Trust Annual Report. The T-1 Trust Annual Report annual filing requirement should be restored. The NLRB has issued extreme interpretations of protected concerted activity. Firing workers engaged in concerted activity has an immediate chilling effect on organizing. This provides a more meaningful remedy to the worker and creates a significant deterrent to unfair labor practices. However, worker centers, which have grown in number and influence enormously over the past decade, are not required to file these disclosures. DOL should investigate worker centers that look and act like unions and bring enforcement

actions to require them to file the same financial disclosures. The Obama Administration attempted to eliminate this “advice exemption” with a directive known as the “persuader rule,” which was successfully challenged in court.

The Biden Administration has pushed “racial equity” in every area of our national life, including in employment. The next Administration should work with Congress to amend Title VII. Contractors also would be less subject to the changing political whims of a President. Congress should enact the Working Families Flexibility Act. Houses of worship and employers legally required to operate around the clock would be exempt. 60 million Americans participate in independent work, including full-time, part-time or as a “side hustle.” People choose independent work for a variety of reasons, including flexibility, earnings potential, and the desire to be one’s own boss. In response, DOL published its PRO Good Guidance rule, which expressly limits its use of guidance in enforcement actions. The next Administration should return to prior policy and implement an industry-recognized apprenticeship program. The U.S. produces more college graduates than suitable jobs for them to fill. Prohibit the use of aBA requirement in job descriptions. In the post-pandemic landscape, the federal government should restore the Unemployment Insurance (UI) program’s purpose. Congress should also develop a framework (through commission of a congressional report to serve as a blueprint) of technical standards on broader tech topics. Between 50 percent and 60 percent of workers have less influence than they want on critical workplaces issues beyond pay and benefits. Congress should expand the funding of the Office of Labor-Management Standards. When a union reaches a collective bargaining agreement with an employer, it is immune from a decertification election for up to three years. A typical consequence of these rules is that employees must often wait four years before they are allowed a chance to decertify. This reform would allow a union to bless a relaxed overtime trigger in exchange for firm employer commitments on predictable scheduling. The majority of construction firms and construction workers are not unionized.

The agencies’ authorities have been abused by the Left to favor human resources bureaucracies, climate-change activists and union bosses. The President should: Issue an executive order banning, and Congress should pass a law prohibiting the federal government from using taxpayer dollars to fund, all critical race theory training (CRT) Direct DOJ and EEOC to enforce Title VII. Rescind regulations prohibiting discrimination on the basis of sexual orientation, gender identity, transgender status, and sex characteristics. Federal law should protect life and promote pro-family policies. Congress should clarify Title VII’s religious organization exemptions to make it more explicit. Title VII requires reasonable accommodations for an employee’s sincerely held religious beliefs, observances, or practices. Doing so would increase access among independent

contractors to traditional pooled workplace benefits such as health care and retirement savings accounts. The agencies rely on the vagueness of the law to bring enforcement activity against businesses that fail to meet an inspector or agency head's personal standard. They also supplement those regulations with "guidance" documents that occupy a unique and often confusing area between law and "helpful advice." Unfortunately, wielded by overzealous enforcement agents, such guidance morphs into binding law used against unsuspecting employers. DOL should review all actual or planned procurements against the \$2 billion under the American Rescue Plan Act. Federal labor law offers no alternatives to labor unions. But unions composed entirely of state or local employees are exempt from this filing requirement. Within the confines of the more reasonable definition, the NLRB should increase its pursuit of reinstatement injunctions. Under current law, both labor unions and unionized employers must file financial disclosures with DOL. Employers who hire lawyers or other consultants to advise employees about union issues must file disclosure forms with the department.

Provide robust protections for religious employers. Congress should establish an Assistant Commissioner for Family Statistics within the Bureau of Labor Statistics. The employee need not track every time he logs in and out and the employer need not do so. Time to set up a home offices is not compensable time or eligible for overtime calculations. This would enable employers to offer additional benefits to employees without fear that those benefits would dramatically increase overtime pay. Federal agencies issue regulations to fill in gaps left by legislation. Congress should create an employer grant worth up to \$10,000 per year or pro-rated portion thereof for each worker engaged in on-the-job training. The federal government should identify underperforming programs and eliminate or redirect that funding to programs with strong outcome-based metrics. The one-size-fits-all approach undermines worker representation. Most workers report that they prefer a more cooperative model run jointly with management that focuses solely on workplace issues.

Under the Obama and Biden Administrations, labor policy was yet another target of the Diversity, Equity, and Inclusion (DEI) revolution. Under disparate impact theory, moreover, discriminatory motive or intent is irrelevant; the outcome is what matters. Affirm decision-making via majority vote of Commissioners. Congress should provide a safe harbor from employer-employee status for companies that offer independent workers access to earned benefits. Congress should enact the Save Local Business Act, which would codify the long-standing definition that has existed outside the Obama-era and Biden-proposed rules. Overtime requirements may discourage employers from offering certain fringe benefits such as reimbursement for education, childcare, or even free meals. Congress should enact legislation increasing the revenue thresholds at which the National

Labor Relations Board asserts jurisdiction over employers. Adopt the civil service's skills-based hiring standards for federal contractors. Existing federally funded workforce development programs should be reassessed to ensure they are outcome-based. Congress should enact bipartisan commonsense UI program reforms. Even managers are twice as likely to say their employees have too little influence rather than too much. Congress should reintroduce and pass the Teamwork for Employees and Managers (TEAM) Act of 2022. The substance of the Intermediate Bodies Rule should pass into law, either through rulemaking or through legislation.

In the sweep of American history, these authorities are relatively new. Federal contractors would still be bound by statutory nondiscrimination law but would no longer work under overlapping regimes. EEOC should disclaim its regulatory pretensions and abide by the guidance reforms discussed below. EEOC should disclaim power to enter into consent decrees that require employer actions that it could not require under the laws it enforces. Congress should amend the Fair Labor Standards Act to require that workers be paid time and a half for hours worked on the Sabbath. Many small businesses could not compete with larger ones that can afford to employ workers in-house. This would prevent continued uncertainty as well as provide continuity across federal laws. The Trump-era threshold is high enough to capture most line workers in lower-cost regions. America has a long history of religious organizations working to advance the dignity of workers and provide them with greater opportunity. Employers exacerbate the problem by needlessly requiring degrees for many jobs. Funding for employer grants should come from existing higher education subsidies that are currently disadvantaging alternative education options. Strong internal policies should be implemented to ensure bad-actor grantees are identified and sanctioned expeditiously. Under President Trump, OLMS required unions to disclose involvement in trusts that they either own a majority stake in or control. In 2018, the Trump Administration formally rescinded the persuader rule. Project Labor Agreements (PLAs) are short-term collective bargaining agreements that apply to construction projects.

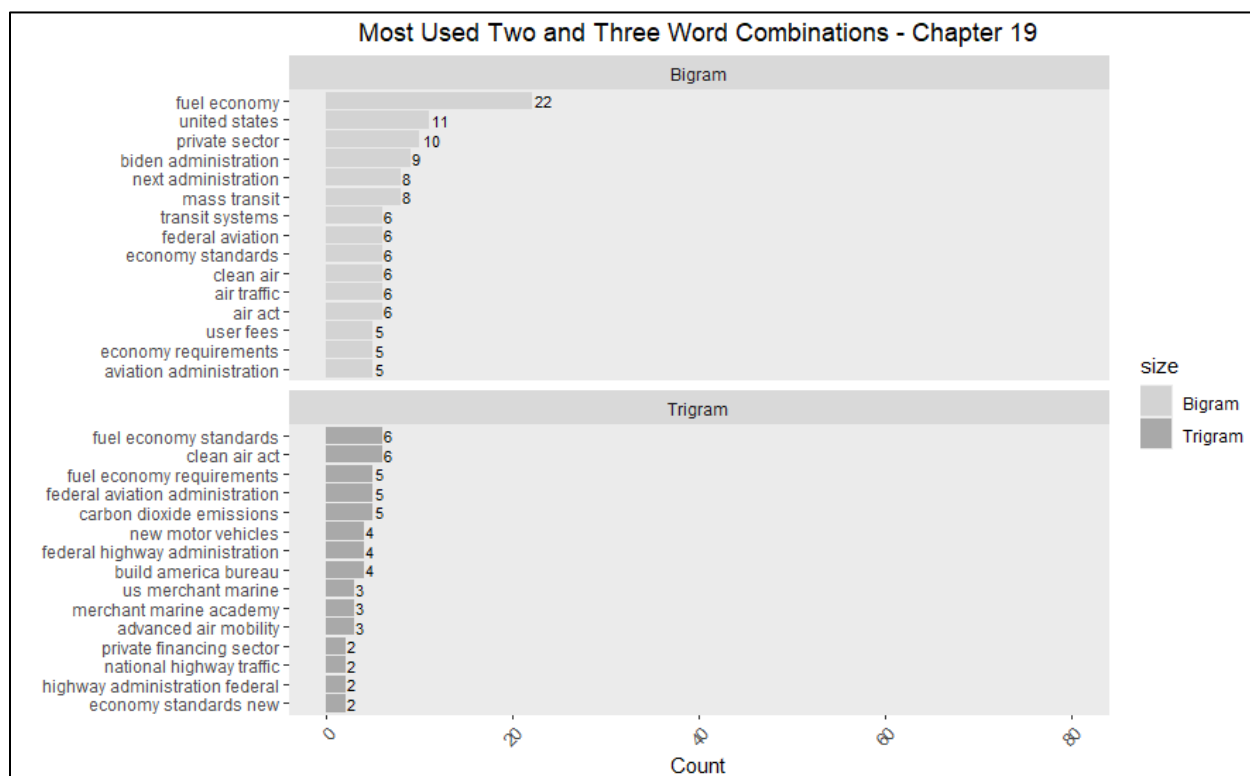
Congress has provided these agencies with the authority to enforce a wide range of federal statutes. Withdraw unlawful "notices" and "guidances. ERISA should not be allowed to trump states' ability to protect innocent human life in the womb. Data on the state of the American family and its economic welfare are released at best annually, and generally a year or more after the fact. DOL should clarify that an employee given the option to telework need only record time if the quantity of work assigned for that day exceeds the usual amount of work that employee performs. The Biden Administration is replacing those rules with vague and expansive definitions. Congress should establish a bright-line test to determine whether a payee is an employee or an independent contractor, across all relevant laws. The goal should be to set a threshold to ensure lower-income

workers have the protections of overtime pay. This is not fair to regulated parties and results in disfavored companies bearing the brunt of the agencies' enforcement efforts. Congress (and DOL, in its enforcement discretion) should exempt small business, first-time, non-willful violators from fines. The Trump Administration expanded apprenticeship options through the creation of the Industry-Recognized Apprenticeship Program (IRAP) Congress should expand apprenticeship programs outside of the RAP model, the authors say. Today, the role of religion in helping workers has diminished, but a country committed to strengthening civil society must ask more from religious organizations. Congress should evaluate and streamline the existing workforce development programs to ensure there is no overlap or fragmentation between programs. American workers lack a meaningful voice in today's workplace. In NLRA section 10(j), Congress empowered the NLRB to obtain temporary injunctions that immediately reinstate workers to their jobs. If OLMS has evidence that a union may be violating the law based on information available to the agency, it should be permitted to open an investigation. Revise investigation standards. DOL should rescind the persuadeader rule once again should the Biden Administration revive it. PLAs consistently drive-up construction costs by 10 percent to 30 percent.

Disparities do not (and should not legally) imply discrimination per se. Pregnant Workers Fairness Act requires employers to make reasonable accommodations for women. The Biden Administration has been hostile to people of faith, especially those with traditional beliefs about marriage, gender, and sexuality. EEOC should reorient its enforcement priorities toward claims of failure to accommodate disability, religion, and pregnancy (but not abortion) Lower- and middle-income workers are more likely to be in jobs that are subject to overtime laws that require employers to pay time-and-a-half for working more than 40 hours a week. On-site care puts the least stress on the parent-child bond. The limit on individual contributions to a 401(k), 403(b), or similar work-based retirement account is \$22,500 for 2023. This individual-based system creates a disadvantage for married couples with only one spouse who works. The Bureau should rededicate its research budget towards open inquiry. Congress should require that the Consumer Price Index market basket include measurable family-essential goods. Overtime pay is one of the most challenging aspects of the Fair Labor Standards Act rules. Congress should provide flexibility to employers and employees to calculate the overtime period over a longer number of weeks. As of 2019, the federal government spent approximately \$17 billion annually on 43 federal employment and training programs administered across nine federal agencies. Phasing down federal subsidies would be a better way to eliminate barriers to jobs for individuals without BA degrees. In the past, union trust spending has been hidden. remedies under the NLRA typically come only much later and amount only to backpay. The NLRB overwhelmingly prevails when pursuing an injunction, succeeding 100

percent of the time in 2020. The card check procedure sidesteps many aspects of democratic decision-making. Congress should discard “card check” as the basis of union recognition. The secret ballot should be the only way to organize a union, the authors say.

Chapter 19: Department of Transportation



Increasing private-sector financing could revolutionize travel and increase everyday mobility to its greatest potential. A P3 allows the government to obtain equity from the private sector. Some mistakenly think that using a P3 would allow a road or bridge to be delivered without increases in tolls or taxes. In 1999, the Federal Communications Commission allocated the 5.9 GHz band of spectrum to traffic safety and intelligent transportation systems. National fuel economy standards raise the price of cars, disincentivizing people from purchasing newer, safer vehicles. The standards issued by NHTSA must be reset at reasonable levels that are technologically feasible for ICE automobiles. California has no valid basis under the Clean Air Act to claim an extraordinary or unique air quality impact from carbon dioxide emissions. The next Administration should refocus the FHWA on maintaining and improving the highway system. The Biden Administration opposes measures that would increase competition. The new Administration should establish an interagency clearinghouse to drive consistent policies across the government.

The U.S. Department of Transportation (DOT) was originally intended to provide a policy framework for transportation safety, rulemaking, and regulation. The Office of the Secretary contains its own grantmaking operation that funds research and some special grants. It is vital to consider the role of user fees and other pricing innovations. The BAB

should ensure that these loans do not become grants in another form. Congress chose to assign the power to set fuel economy standards to DOT rather than EPA. The Administration should consider returning to the minimum average fuel economy levels specified by Congress for model year 2020 vehicles. The Biden Administration has broadened the FHWA's scope by emphasizing the priorities of progressive activists. The Administration has sought to use a "guidance memo" to impose policies not enacted by Congress. Remove or reform rules and regulations that hamper state governments. Review foreign ownership and control limitations and, if necessary, work with Congress to change existing statutes. In the wake of the 2009 Colgan Airlines crash, all commercial pilots and copilots were required to have 1,500 flight hours.

It has lent or subsidized more than \$60 billion since the Transportation Infrastructure Finance and Innovation Act (TIFIA) program, now managed by the Build America Bureau. The best practice for a government that is interested in using a P3 to deliver a project is for the government to perform a value-for-money study. In pursuit of an anti-fossil fuel climate agenda never approved by Congress, the Biden Administration has raised fuel economy requirements. The Biden EPA has been given preeminence in the regulation of fuel economy through the setting of carbon dioxide emissions limits for new motor vehicles. The next Administration must return the federal fuel economy program to the limits established by Congress.

Americans use trucks, tankers, and trains to keep our supply chains running. Funding should be focused on formulaic distributions to the states. Project sponsors should be required to show that projects have positive economic value to taxpayers, the authors say. Policymakers should maintain awareness and promote transparency regarding the continued existence of this loan program. A cost-benefit analysis of the federal government's potential replacement and disintermediation of the private financing sector regarding infrastructure loans is not currently performed. Much infrastructure could be funded through public-private partnerships (P3s) In exchange for providing the financing, the private partner typically retains the right to operate the asset. A P3 gives a private party the ability to collect fees or payments over decades (a period well beyond the length of the careers of the political appointees who sign contracts) A P3's greatest public value is realized when the procurement model is used for a project that is unusually risky or a type of project with which the government has limited experience. Congress recognized that the ICE-powered automobile has been instrumental to advancing the mobility and prosperity of the American people. Federal regulators administer a scheme of generous fuel economy credits that subsidize EV producers such as Tesla at the expense of legacy automakers. California has granted a waiver to the Clean Air Act, allowing it to set its own fuel economy standards. The federal government should exercise its preemptive authority over CARB and

take all steps necessary to invalidate any inconsistent fuel economy requirements imposed by CARB. The program was established in the 1970s as a temporary measure to cushion deregulation.

It also removes incentives for state and local officials to ensure that investments are worthwhile. DOT's discretionary grant-making processes should be abolished. It should be noted that project funding and P3s are not synonymous. All funding for governmental infrastructure comes from either taxes or user fees. These policies include a focus on “equity,” a nebulous concept that in practice means awarding grants to favored identity groups. China has failed to put in place several of the policies to which it has already agreed.

Transportation plays a vital role in the prosperity and flourishing of the United States. The DOT can oversee the testing and deployment of a wide variety of new technologies. The result will be a loss of auto industry jobs and an increase in traffic deaths and injuries. The Biden Administration’s efforts to accelerate EV sales by regulatory fiat work against the national security interests of the United States. The Trump Administration reformed the process for issuing such “unfair” rules, but the Biden Administration reversed those reforms. The U.S. should use the Committee on Foreign Investment in the United States (CFIUS) to keep out nefarious foreign actors. Today, larger and safer twin-engine planes with two pilots are being phased out of service at smaller airports. A new Administration could reform regulations to encourage airports in lower-served areas of the nation.

Airport landing fees for aircraft, toll charges on roads and bridges, and per-gallon taxes on gasoline and diesel fuel are all examples of user charges that affect transportation system users. It is the role of the private sector, not the government, to pick winners and losers in technology development. The department should ensure a tech-neutral approach to addressing any emerging transportation technology. FMCSA should work to clarify the regulations to align with DOT’s AV 3.0 guidance, which would allow the drivers to be safely removed from the operations of a commercial motor vehicle. The standards must be achievable using available ICE technologies running on gasoline, diesel fuel, or similar combustible fuels. The domestic mass production of new ICE vehicles generates millions of jobs and remains critical to the overall health of the U.S. economy and the strength of the nation’s industrial base. The waiver means other states will be able to follow California's lead. Well-meaning legislation and the pilot shortage are adversely affecting aviation safety. U.S. should not allow foreign carriers serving markets in East Asia and South Asia to enjoy a competitive advantage.

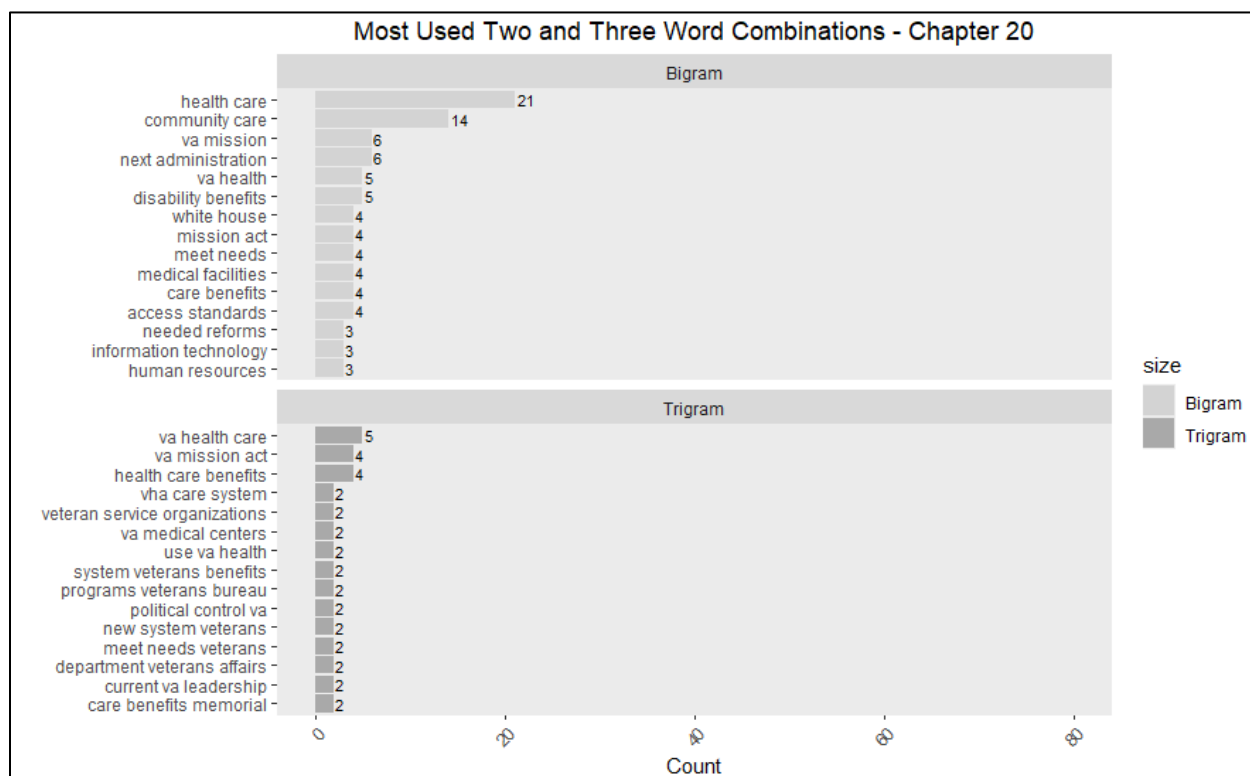
The DOT provides approximately \$50 billion in discretionary and formula grants annually in areas ranging from transit systems to road construction to universities. The Build America Bureau is a major lending operation that functions as an infrastructure bank. DOT would also reduce unnecessary burdens by returning to the Trump Administration's "rule on rules" approach to regulations. The Build America Bureau (BAB) serves as the point of contact for distributing funds for transportation projects in the form of subsidized 30-year loans. For higher-quality projects and in certain circumstances, these government loans may disintermediate the private sector from providing similar financing. There is a role for DOT in ensuring that in the fight over spectrum, transportation gets its fair share. Reduce the amount of federal involvement in local infrastructure decisions.

Despite the department's tremendous resources, congressional mandates and funding priorities have made it difficult for DOT to focus on the pressing transportation challenges. New technology enables private companies to charge for transportation in many areas, which could transform how innovation is financed. P3s are an excellent tool for transferring risk from the public sector to the private sector and can create considerable value for the taxpaying public. Congress has authorized DOT to prohibit specific 'unfair and deceptive practices' in the airline industry. Next Administration should support joint-venture efforts by smaller carriers.

Transforming the department to address the varied needs of all Americans more effectively remains a central challenge. Most grants flow through the Federal Highway Administration, Federal Transit Administration, and Federal Aviation Administration. DOT is saddled with congressional requirements that reduce the department to a de facto grantmaking organization. Since private equity is involved, the financing costs for P3s are higher, but they also are frequently more than offset by the private sector's ability to generate efficiencies. P3s can offer efficiencies in delivering the project, but the P3 procurement process itself can be significantly longer and more expensive than traditional procurement processes. NHTSA should focus on updating vehicle standards and publishing performance-based rules for automated vehicles. In 2020, the FCC took away 45 MHz of the 75 MHz it had added, leaving only 30 MHz for transportation safety and ITS. They must not be set so high as to prevent automakers from profitably producing new vehicles at sufficient volume. The Clean Air Act gives EPA general authority to establish emissions limits for new motor vehicles. Increasing the production of EVs will make the U.S. more dependent on China and other foreign countries that control the supply and processing of rare earth minerals that are needed for EV batteries. And the faster deployment of EV will put a major strain on the vulnerable power grid. The U.S. has four major airlines, each with roughly 20 percent of the domestic market. The Essential Air

Service program subsidizes flights to 200 small airports that are not otherwise commercially viable.

Chapter 20: Department of Veterans Affairs



The VA for the foreseeable future will experience significant fiscal, human capital, and infrastructure crosswinds and risks. VA leaders in the next Administration must be wise and courageous political strategists, experienced managers to run day-to-day operations more effectively. Section 121 (developing and administering an education program that teaches veterans about their health care options) Section 152 (returning the Office for Innovation of Care and Payment to the Office of Enterprise Integration) Section 161 (overhauling Family Caregiver Program expansion, which has gone poorly) The VA operates 172 inpatient medical facilities nationally that are an average of 60 years old. VA facilities must increase the number of patients seen each day to equal the number seen by DOD medical facilities.

The current VA leadership is focusing very publicly on “social equity and inclusion” within departmental policy discussions. Focus on the effects of shifting veteran demographics. A veterans bill of rights is needed so that veterans and VA staff know exactly what benefits veterans are entitled to receive. Assess the misalignment of VHA facilities and rising infrastructure costs.

Wilkie led the effort to ensure that the VA became ‘Veteran-centric’ in its governance decisions. For the first time, the VA is allowing access to abortion services, a medical procedure unrelated to military service that the VA lacks the legal authority and clinical

proficiency to perform. In 2018 Congress added access to private-sector urgent care outlets as one of the VA's health care benefits. Facilities in certain urban and rural areas are seeing significant declines in the veteran population.

This significant progress was due in part to the leadership of Secretary Robert Wilkie. Following World War II, a national VA hospital system was established to care for millions of returning veterans. In 2016 and 2017, a burdensome backlog of appeals of denied disability claims from multiple wartime generations led to legislation that streamlined appeal processes. Assess the medical facilities where Community Care is readily available but referrals for Community Care are below the averages in other similar markets.

At the end of the Obama Administration, the VA was held in low esteem both by the veterans it served and by the employees who served these former warriors. The VA has not sustained the previous Administration's commitment to a genuine "Veteran-centric" philosophy. The Agent Orange Act of 1991 significantly expanded the scope of disability benefits for those who had deployed to Vietnam. Rescind all departmental clinical policy directives that are contrary to principles of conservative governance starting with abortion services and gender reassignment surgery. The Biden Administration has watered down that effort. The next Administration should rapidly and explicitly codify VA MISSION Act access standards in legislation. Further explore how to leverage telehealth to reduce personnel costs across the enterprise and serve veterans.

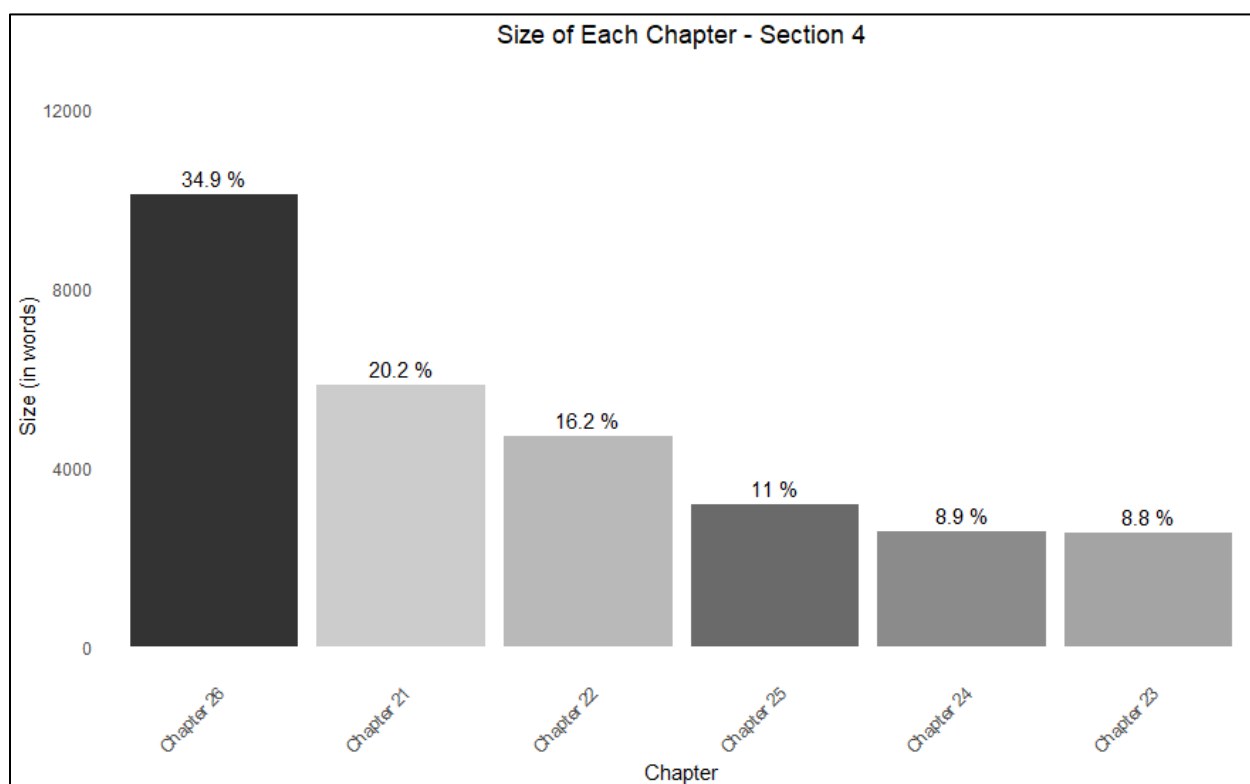
This mindset translated into a department that was better attuned to employees' and veterans' needs. In 1921, Congress combined those programs into the Veterans Bureau. The cost of those benefits began to increase dramatically as the Vietnam generation of veterans aged and began to experience adverse health conditions. The next Administration should seek out agile, creative, and politically acceptable operational solutions to this aging infrastructure status quo. Wholesale benefits reform is unnecessary and politically a "third rail"

The Department of Veterans Affairs (VA) is the primary provider of health care, benefits, and memorial affairs for America's veterans and their families. Currently, approximately 6.4 million veterans out of 18 million nationally (and out of the 9.1 million who are enrolled) use the VA for health care. The ever-present lag in the hiring and training of new employees could result in major problems with the timely adjudication of benefits well into the next Administration in 2025. The share of VA's health care dollars is spent predominantly in the over-65 cohort. That share increases significantly as veterans live longer and use the VHA system at a higher rate. At the center of the VHA's evolution during this generational transition is an ongoing tension, some of it politically contrived, between

Direct Care for Veterans and Community Care. In recent years, the budget for Community Care has grown as demand from veterans has risen sharply. A clear process for the adjudication of disputes is also needed. Explore the potential to pilot facility-sharing partnerships between the VA and strained local health care systems to reduce costs. Consider a pilot program to extend weekday appointment hours and offer Saturday appointment options to veterans. Continue to pursue expansion of broadband services to remote and rural areas.

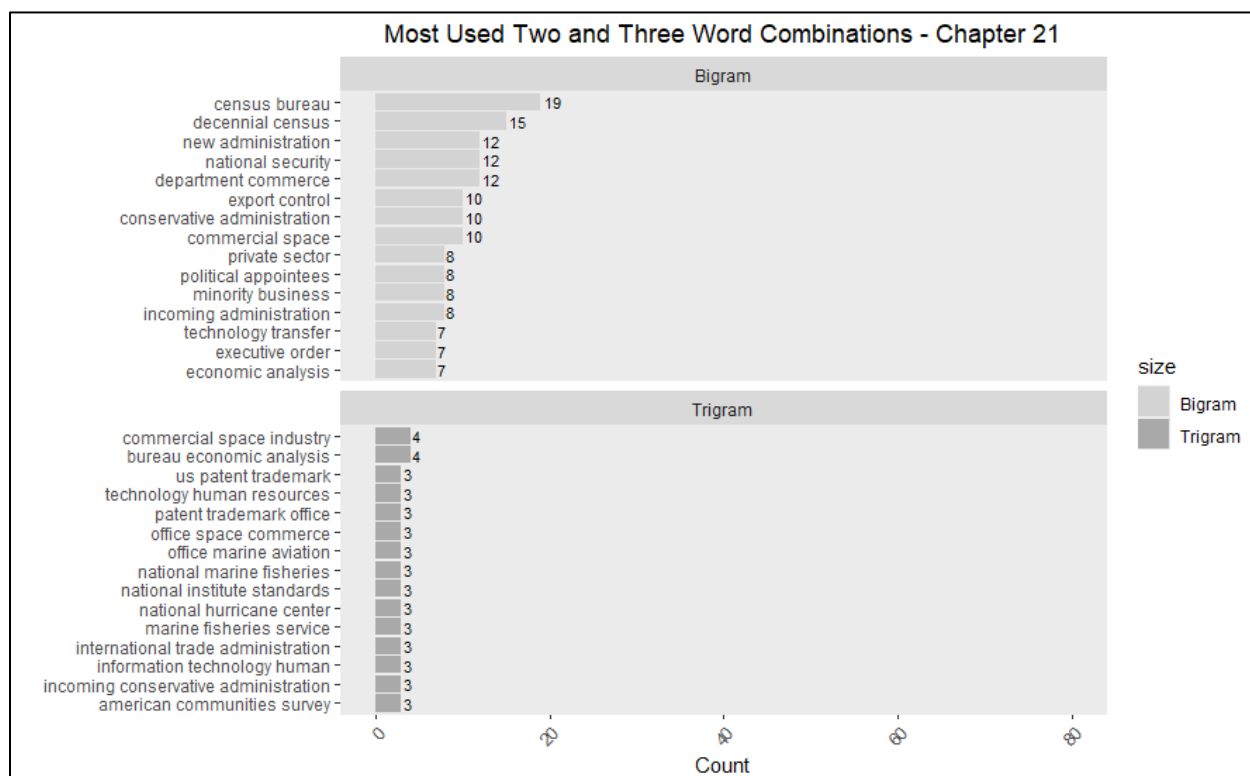
Efforts to expand disability benefits to large populations without adequate planning have caused an erosion of veterans' trust in the VA enterprise. The VA also manages a Community Care Network (CCN) through contracts with Optum and TriWest. Some of these facilities are underutilized and inadequately staffed. Embrace the expansion of Community Based Outpatient Clinics as an avenue to maintain a VA footprint in challenging medical markets. The most evident and ongoing concern is the complexity of benefits.

VHA enrollments of new users are increasingly at risk of being exceeded by the deaths of current enrollees. Currently, VA facilities may be seeing as few as six patients per provider per day. The VA's EHR rollout has been blocked by technical delays at local facilities where personnel have raised safety concerns.



Section 4: The Common Defense

Chapter 21: Department of Commerce



The Bureau of Economic Analysis and Census Bureau, as well as the Department of Labor's Bureau of Labor Statistics, should be consolidated into a more manageable, focused, and efficient statistical agency. A policy and management agenda that serves conservative priorities is crucial. Re-establish and expand suspended in-person pandemic-related verifications, particularly regarding the People's Republic of China. Work with interagency partners in AD/CVD cases to either require foreign importers of record (IORs) to make cash deposits far in excess of established duty rates at the time of entry. Strong and capable leadership is needed in I&A. I&A should be permanently restructured to perform supply-chain analysis on an ongoing basis for the U.S. government. Global Markets should consolidate and elevate the Advocacy Center and SelectUSA as relatively low-cost tools to drive large-scale export transactions and foreign direct investment. There are currently just over 500 Chinese and over 500 Russian companies on the Department of Commerce's Entity List. Department of Commerce leadership should address privacy and data concerns arising out of "big tech" from national security and export control perspectives. NOAA garners \$6.5 billion of the department's \$12 billion annual operational budget. Each day, Americans rely on weather forecasts and warnings provided by local radio stations. Multiple competitions should take place in cities to attract a variety of innovators and investors to propel innovation forward.

The department has a higher profile now than perhaps ever in its history. The department possesses expertise, programs, and authorities that will be crucial to the success of a conservative presidency. The National Oceanographic and Atmospheric Administration should be dismantled and many of its functions eliminated, sent to other The Department of Commerce is blessed with many quality civil servants and strong statutory authorities that, directed properly, can help ensure U.S. success in 2025 and beyond. The Secretary of Commerce must rely upon a few dozen direct support staff, supplemented with detailees and indirect funding from each of the bureaus. Congress is not likely to drastically change the composition or authorization of the ITA. I&A produces a mandatory report to Congress regarding the Miscellaneous Tariff Bill. Technology transfer from America and its allies has helped accelerate adversaries' technological and weapons capabilities. The U.S. government has either ignored the problem or, worse, loosened the Export Administration Regulations. Currently, BIS self-identifies technologies that merit control under the EAR with minimal input from other federal agencies. NOAA is the single biggest Department of Commerce agency outside of decennial census years. Focus the NWS on Commercial Operations. The office could be an effective tool for a new Administration if it focuses its efforts on supporting the Department's mission to ensure the conditions for economic growth and opportunity.

Political appointees must also monitor internal CFO operations down to the operating division level to ensure that funds are not being diverted to programs that do not align with Administration priorities. Export Control Reform Act of 2018 (ECRA) gave BIS permanent statutory authority to regulate exports of dual-use items (goods, software, and technology) ECRA also mandated that BIS regulate export of emerging and foundational technologies. Each of these functions could be provided commercially, likely at lower cost and higher quality. Lowering the barriers of entry for startups and small businesses will provide greater innovation without excessive increases in spending. Ensure Appointees Agree with Administration Aims. The Office needs to be returned to OS, within which it existed for the first two decades of its existence.

In the 1990s, calls emerged to abolish the department and either spin off, zero-out, or consolidate its functions among other entities. In their view, AD/CVD laws are overused, abused by certain industries, and harmful to U.S. competitiveness. Establish an effective, fair, and objective process for self-initiation of AD/ CVD proceedings when industry lacks the resources or ability to act. BIS must deny export licenses to countries that do not permit adequate end-use checks. Many believe that a Cold War has already begun; if so, strategic decoupling from China is necessary. NOS' expansion of the National Marine Sanctuaries System should also be reviewed. Scientific agencies like NOAA are vulnerable

to obstructionism of an Administration's aims if political appointees are not wholly in sync with Administration policy.

Enforce agreements vigorously and defend against trade violations. Currently, if the Departments of Defense, State, Commerce, and Energy disagree on an export license decision, the disagreement may be escalated to the Operating Committee. The NWS should be a candidate to become a Performance-Based Organization. Transfer NOS Survey Functions to the Coast Guard and the U.S. Geological Survey. 30x30 Executive Order and the American the Beautiful Initiative are being used to advance an agenda to close vast areas of the ocean to commercial activities, including fishing.

The Trump Administration began implementing key changes, such as updating financial management tools. ITA carries out this mission on behalf of American workers, ranchers, and families. Many free trade advocates consider antidumping and countervailing duty laws to be protectionist. Other conservatives maintain that AD/ CVD tariffs are not conventional tariffs, but rather corrective actions meant to address anti-free market activities by other governments. These proposals can be broken into three categories: process, policy, and addressing China. It focuses solely on U.S. capacity in the goods being considered for tariff exclusions. Strategic decoupling from China; Defense industrial base strength; Critical supply chains. If the State Department deems the diplomatic value of a permanent in-country CS post to be vital to the national interest, then State should bear more of the cost of maintaining that post. Those reforms still present in the Department of Commerce's EAR must be reversed. BIS should create an open, transparent rulemaking process by which any industry participant, private entity, or branch of the government may submit nominations for emerging/foundational technologies. The U.S. Government needs a new export control modernization effort to tighten the EAR policies governing licenses. These functions could be transferred to the Coast Guard and U.S. Geological Survey to increase efficiency. Offshore wind energy development is advancing to the detriment of fisheries and other existing ocean-based industries. The President should direct the Office of Space Commerce, working with the National Space Council, to establish a whole-of-government policy. The Office of the Under Secretary for Economic Affairs coordinates economic analysis needs across the Department of Commerce. New leadership should take an early and active role within BEA and the Census Bureau. A new Administration should also study the feasibility of merging all statistical agencies.

The Department of Commerce has suffered from decades of regulatory capture, ideological drift, and lack of focus. The Office of the Secretary is somewhat of a misnomer, as very few of the thousands of employees working in the office are dedicated to staffing

the secretary and implementing Administration priorities. More must be done to digitize and modernize the department's processes to free resources for secretarial and presidential priorities. Recent practice has been for career staff to serve as gatekeepers between department leadership and external budget and appropriations partners. By serving not just as a central point of contact but as the sole staff-level communicators of departmental priorities, these career officials can, have, and will slow down—and even stop—changes in policy, even at the line-office level. Due to the nature of the Department of Commerce's portfolio, many of its advisory committees are populated by activists. Proposals below are made under the assumption that an incoming Administration will operate E&C within its current legal, institutional, and political confines. Develop a new methodology to determine normal values in Chinese antidumping cases. This process should be revised by giving lead authority to BIS's Under Secretary, who is better able to account for diverging views. BIS should also strengthen the forensic audit capabilities of its Export Enforcement officers. China and Russia's stated civil–military fusion policies demand central government command-and-control style systems in which every private entity serves the interests of the state. Key priorities for EAR modernization for countries of concern should be: Eliminating the “specially designed” licensing loophole. Redesignating China and Russia to more highly prohibitive export licensing groups (country groups D or E) Broadening foreign direct product rules. NOAA boasts that it is a provider of environmental information services and environmental stewardship services. Data collected by the department should be presented neutrally. BEA's mission is to promote a better understanding of the U.S. economy by providing timely, relevant, and accurate economic accounts data in an objective manner.

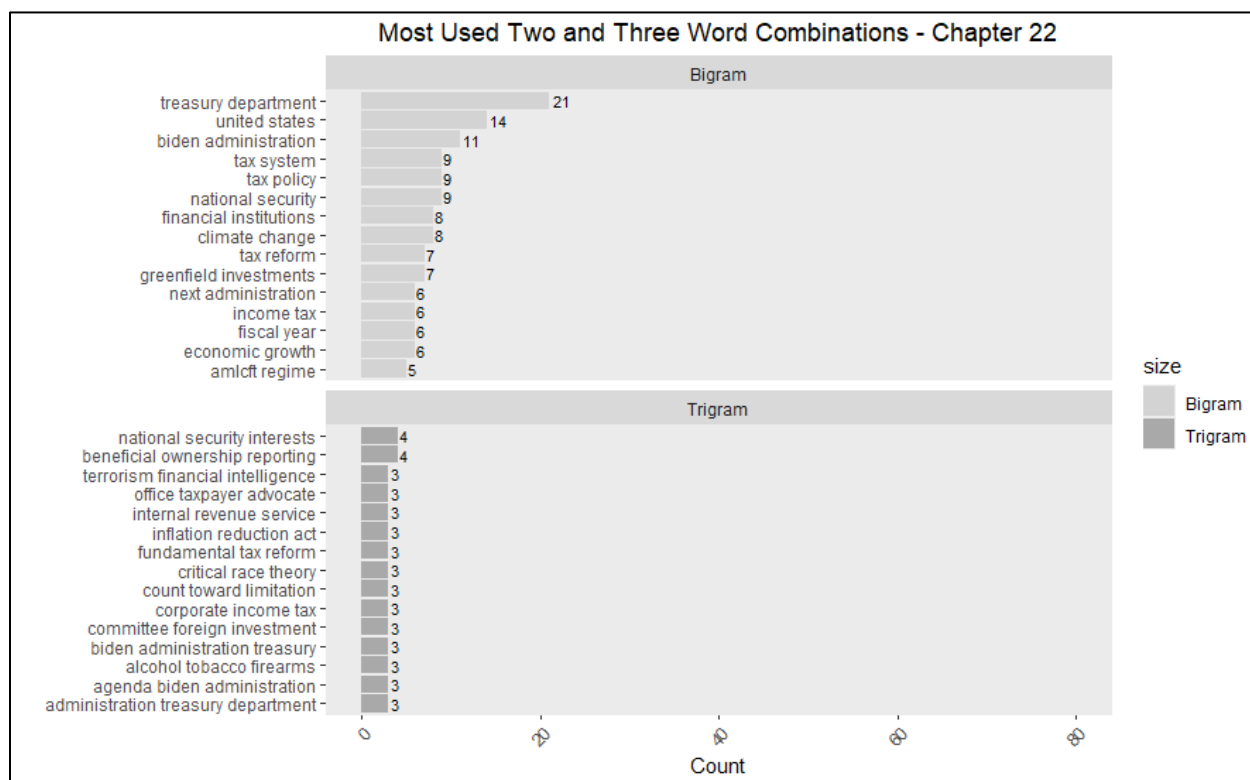
The International Trade Administration (ITA) and parts of the Bureau of Industry and Security (BIS) should be streamlined and moved to the Office of the U.S. Trade Representative. Secure access to critical supply chains and technology; and Enable the private sector to drive innovation. Industry and Analysis (I&A) provides important analysis to partners across the government. Value in fostering U.S. innovation; Value in maintaining access to critical supply chains and technology. Through this structure, commercial activities are routinely weaponized by authoritarian regimes that repeatedly identify the U.S. as an enemy. Survey operations have historically accounted for almost half the NOS budget. There presently exists no unified U.S. government policy on commercial space operations. An incoming conservative Administration should focus on three areas: day-today management, the decennial census, and other programs.

Many programs at the Department of Commerce overlap in whole or part with other governmental programs. ITA's mission is the expansion of trade and investment and the fostering of job creation, innovation, and economic growth. In a conservative

Administration, the ITA should operate with the following priorities: Counter the malign influence of China and other U.S. adversaries. This analysis is needed for CFIUS to be an effective tool in preventing China and other adversaries from exploiting the open investment climate. This lack of priority given to FTA partners is troubling. Emerging technologies (e.g., rare earth minerals, semiconductors, batteries) CS manages staff spread over 106 domestic offices in 77 countries around the world. BIS should additionally designate app providers known for undermining U.S. national security through data collection, surveillance, and influence operations. The preponderance of NOAA's climate-change research should be disbanded. Reaching beyond traditional partnerships for innovative engagement tools that encourage entrepreneurial innovation will allow NOAA's research programs to adapt more quickly.

Any exercise in government-wide budgeting and reform should review the department with an eye toward consolidation, elimination, or privatization. Work with Customs and Border Protection (CBP) and other relevant agencies to address circumvention and duty evasion. Revive the China-specific non-market economy unit. I&A performs crucial work to ensure that the proper economic impact/supply chain analysis is brought to national security risk assessments. CS resources should be distributed according to the following set of priorities: Value in countering the malign influence of adversaries. To date BIS has only controlled just over 40 of these technologies. Exports of goods, software, and technology to countries of concern should be prohibited or controlled in the absence of good cause. NOAA consists of six main offices: The National Weather Service, National Ocean Service, The Oceanic and Atmospheric Research, and the National Marine Fisheries Service. Commercialization of weather technologies should be prioritized. Each of these will need to be addressed at every stage of the transition and policy implementation process.

Chapter 22: Department of the Treasury



In 2022, the average American's 401(k) plan dropped in value from \$130,700 to \$103,900. In fiscal year 2022, Treasury received discretionary appropriations of approximately \$16.4 billion. The Internal Revenue Service is the largest of the department's bureaus. Tax reform should improve incentives to work, save, and invest. USAs should be highly flexible to allow Americans to save and invest as they see fit, including, for example, investments in a closely held business. The next Administration should set a meaningful cap (no higher than \$12,000 per year per full-time equivalent employee) on untaxed benefits that employers can claim as deductions. Congress should ensure that the Deputy Commissioner for Services and Enforcement, the National Taxpayer Advocate, and the Commissioner of the Wage and Investment Division are presidential appointees. Each year, the Office handles more than 250,000 cases, helping taxpayers to deal with the IRS. The new Administration should also oppose the multilateral Competent Authority Agreement on Automatic Exchange of Financial Account Information.

It also has highly variable "mandatory" expenses (COVID-related CARES Act spending, for example). The Financial Crimes Enforcement Network is designed to protect the financial system from illicit use. The Treasury Department should promote tax competition rather than supporting an international tax cartel. Lobbyists, lawyers, benefit consultants, accountants, and tax preparers would see their incomes decline. This attempt

to “harmonize” global tax rates is an attempt to create a global tax cartel to quash tax competition and to increase the tax burden globally. The United States provides about one-fifth of OECD’s funding. Its development assistance and lending programs in third-world countries have more often than not retarded growth rather than advancing it. There are no clear rules that guide the entire committee.

The U.S. Treasury Department has a broad regulatory and policy reach. Treasury’s mission drift into a ‘woke’ agenda, is exemplified in a comparison of Domestic Finance’s changed responsibilities from 2015 to 2023. In addition to performing public outreach, treasurers have at times headed Treasury’s financial education program and overseen the U.S. Mint and Bureau of Engraving and Printing. All non-business tax deductions and exemptions that were temporarily suspended by the 2017 tax bill should be permanently repealed. The Office of the Taxpayer Advocate was created by Congress to assist taxpayers when the IRS bureaucracy is unresponsive or negligent. The operating budget of the IRS should be held constant in real terms. The U.S. should withdraw from both the World Bank and the IMF and terminate its financial contribution. Treasury would save taxpayers money by issuing fewer short-term notes that will probably have to be rolled over at higher rates in the future.

It is also responsible for implementing and enforcing economic sanctions programs and supporting the wider law enforcement community in investigating financial crimes. The Treasury should work with Congress to simplify the tax code by enacting a simple two-rate individual tax system of 15 percent and 30 percent. The OECD has become little more than a taxpayer-funded left-wing think tank and lobbying organization. The problem is one of management. The protocol will lead to substantially more transnational identity theft, crime, industrial espionage, financial fraud, and suppression of political opponents and religious or ethnic minorities by authoritarian and corrupt governments. As a legal matter, mitigation monitoring has developed as the Wild West.

These goals should be accomplished through: executive action (primarily treasury orders and treasury directives) and departmental reorganization. The Treasury Department was established by statute in 1789. The remaining amounts are for its offices, bureaus, and international assistance programs. This is accomplished by reducing marginal tax rates, reducing the cost of capital and broadening the tax base. The net investment income surtax and the base erosion anti-abuse tax should be eliminated. Tax-deferred retirement contributions by employers should not count toward this limitation insofar as they are fully taxable upon distribution. A consumption tax would minimize government’s distortion of private economic decisions. The IRS has spent approximately \$27 billion on IT during the past decade. The Treasury Department should withdraw from Senate consideration the

Protocol Amending the Convention on Mutual Administrative Assistance in Tax Matters. The interagency Committee on Foreign Investment in the United States should realign its priorities.

The Biden Administration Treasury Department has failed badly in achieving every one of the agency's core objectives. In fiscal year (FY) 2022, Treasury employed approximately 96,000 full-time employees, including approximately 81,000 at the Internal Revenue Service (IRS) Approximately four-fifths of Treasury's discretionary funds are used for IRS operations. The U.S. should end its financial support and withdraw from the OECD. The Office of Equity, Diversity, and Inclusion should be closed. Most of the federal debt rolls over on average about every three to four years.

The Bureau of Engraving and Printing develops and produces U.S. currency notes. The United States Mint designs and mints U.S. circulating and bullion coins. The individual state and local tax deduction, which was temporarily capped at \$10,000, should be fully repealed. About 1.7 percent of the IRS budget goes to this function. In 2021, Americans filed 261 million tax returns and an astounding 4.7 billion information returns. Complying with tax law costs Americans more than \$400 billion annually, or about 2 percent of gross domestic product. Most of this expense is mandated by Congress, not the IRS. The resources allocated to the Office of the Taxpayer Advocate should be increased by at least 20 percent. The IMF's record of advancing global financial stability has been mixed at best. Americans should receive a financial statement of the U.S. government alerting citizens of the revenues, expenditures, deficit, and debt for the preceding fiscal year. The Treasury must act more assertively in international financial institutions. A major emphasis of effecting this change must be the addition of a large new cadre of U.S. professionals and contractors. Publishing a penalty schedule for CFIUS violations will reduce the discretion of the committee to waive penalties or impose mere "wrist slap" costs on violators of the law.

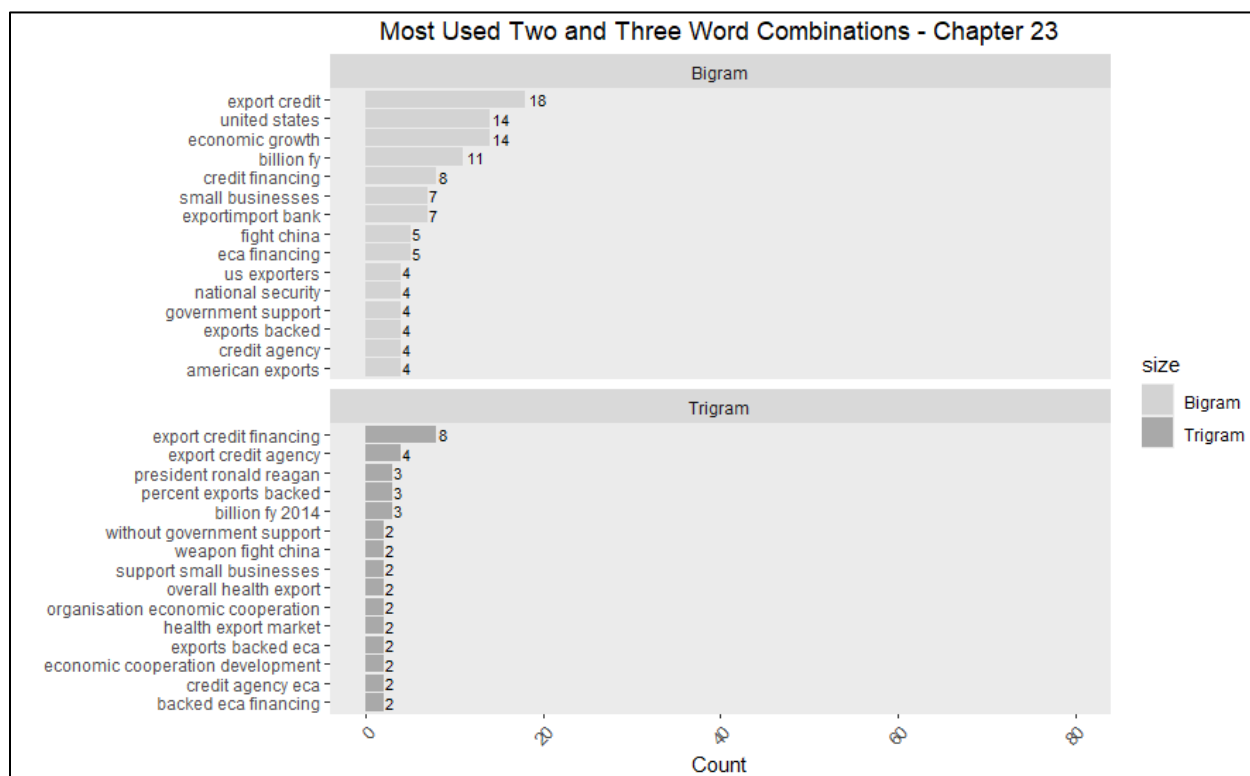
The average family has seen real annual earnings fall about \$6,000 during the Biden Administration. Domestic Finance works to preserve confidence in the U.S. Treasury securities market, effectively manage federal fiscal operations, strengthen financial institutions and markets. The Office of the Comptroller of the Currency charters, regulates, and supervises national banks and federal savings associations. The incoming Administration should promote immediate intermediate reforms to the existing system. The 30 percent bracket should begin at or near the Social Security wage base. All taxpayers should be allowed to contribute up to \$15,000 (adjusted for inflation) of post-tax earnings into Universal Savings Accounts (USAs) The tax treatment of these accounts would be comparable to Roth IRAs. The U.S. should not outsource its tax policy to international

organizations. There is a need to increase the number of Presidential appointments subject to Senate confirmation at the IRS.

The next Administration should make major policy changes to reduce regulatory impediments to economic growth. No President in modern times has been more fiscally reckless than has the Biden Administration. Treasurer of the United States is a statutory office that has been assigned varying duties in recent Administrations. Tax compliance costs will decline precipitously if the tax system is substantially simplified. It should then pursue fundamental tax reform. The Biden Administration has pushed for a global minimum corporate tax. The Biden Administration has also sought to make the tax system's administrative burden much worse in other ways. Neither Congress nor a long line of IRS commissioners has forced changes. Small businesses suffer disproportionately from complexity and administrative burdens.

The soundness and stability of U.S. currency, the dollar, has been put at risk because of the worst inflation in four decades. Treasury must refocus on its core missions of promoting economic growth, prosperity, and economic stability. TFI is charged with disrupting international financial support for terrorists, weapons of mass destruction proliferation, narcotics trafficking, money laundering, and other national security threats. The Bureau of the Fiscal Service provides central payment services to federal program agencies. The corporate income tax rate should be reduced to 18 percent. Capital gains and qualified dividends should be taxed at 15 percent. The system should allow immediate expensing for capital expenditures and index capital gains taxes for inflation. Achieving fundamental tax reform offers the prospect of a dramatic improvement in American living standards. Unless Congress reverses this policy, the IRS will become much more intrusive and impose still greater costs on the American people. This massive increase in the scope and breadth of information reporting should be unequivocally opposed. An oversight board composed of private sector IT experts should be established. On October 20, 2022, the Treasury Department adopted the first-ever CFIUS Enforcement and Penalty Guidelines on the committee's national security risk mitigation requirements. There are no clear rules on mitigation monitoring, nor is there a published penalty schedule to standardize accountability for violators.

Chapter 23: Export-Import Bank



The Export–Import Bank of the United States (EXIM or the Bank) is a federal agency that was established in 1934. The Export–Import Bank was created in 1934 as an export credit agency (ECA) to finance trade with the Soviet Union. For four years starting at the end of 2015, the Bank became incapacitated. EXIM’s supporters point to the numbers of new jobs that they claim have been created through federal spending, but the unseen effects are ignored. With very rare exceptions, most exports financed by EXIM would have taken place without government support. U.S. unemployment fell to a level not seen in half a century, but exports soared with financing provided by commercial lenders. The report for 2020 features striking evidence of this mindset. The Bank frames the competitiveness of foreign ECAs as the amount of business they do relative to EXIM. The Bank’s accounting practices are deficient, and the Bank miscalculates its budget savings. For instance, how can EXIM help us to fight China while state-owned Chinese companies have been some of the companies most subsidized by EXIM?

President Franklin Roosevelt’s Executive Order 6581 gave it “the power to aid in financing and to facilitate exports and imports. Exports are a cost to the economy: They subtract from GDP. The Bank does not promote growth by leveling the playing field. The report highlights the eighth-ranked U.S. for its unusually low level of EXIM-backed exports.

While it claims that its operations will save taxpayers \$14 billion over the next decade, the Congressional Budget Office has found that EXIM programs will cost taxpayers \$2 billion.

Lacking a quorum for its board of directors, it could not extend financing that exceeded \$10 million per project. That put an end to about 85 percent of the Bank's financing obligations. The only negative economic impact from EXIM's lack of a board quorum was its effect on the Bank itself. Exports promote U.S. economic growth only if the value of the resources used to produce them is less than the value we receive as imports in exchange for those exports. Deals related to the aircraft industry still dominate the Bank's portfolio.

The Bank hasn't yet recovered from that long interruption. The Bank does not promote exports. EXIM frames the "competitiveness" of the U.S. economy and exporters in extremely narrow terms. China by all accounts had a hyperactive ECA: It ranked first on the list in 2019. The problem is that cynics who support such policies make no effort to adopt a serious strategic plan to achieve this goal.

In 1981, the EXIM's practice was to bestow about two thirds of its subsidies on a handful of giant manufacturers. American businesses that lack political connections are put at a competitive disadvantage by their own government. If the U.S. could acquire all of the imports that it currently gets without exporting anything in exchange, that would be the best of all worlds. By subsidizing American exports, EXIM causes too many resources to be devoted to producing exports. EXIM's leadership maintains that these years "severely hindered EXIM's ability to support the competitiveness of U.S. exporters." The Bank goes on to promise that it will "re-emerge from the years of being out of the long-term export finance business" The U.S., which ranked eighth in terms of volume in 2019 (the year before the pandemic), is losing ground compared to more "hyperactive" (ranked higher) ECAs. Four years after Congress instructed EXIM to focus on China, there has been no fundamental change in the way EXIM operates or the companies to which it extends taxpayer-backed financing.

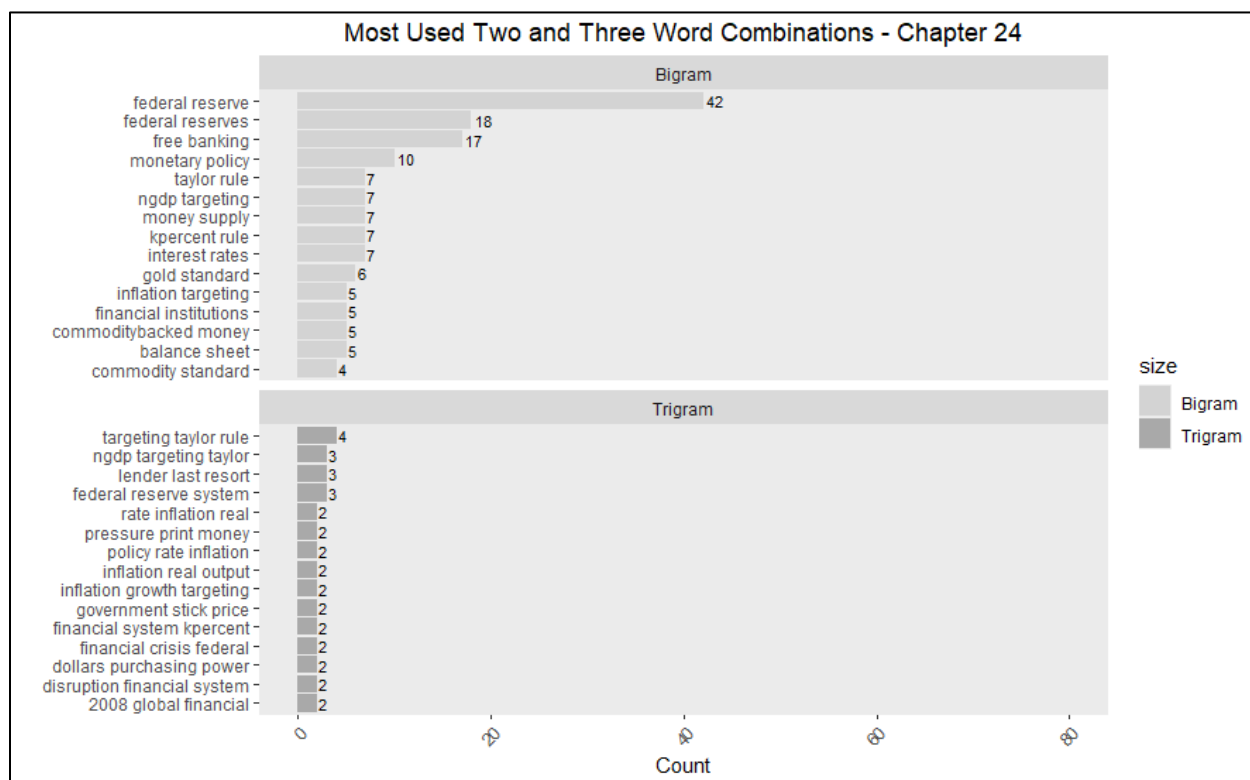
It provides export subsidies through taxpayer-backed financing to private exporting corporations, as well as to foreign companies buying U.S. exports. The Bank is an example of government-granted privilege. The Bank does not maintain or create jobs. Imports, on the other hand, add to GDP. ECA export financing improves the overall health of the export market and thereby fuels economic and job growth. The Bank is not a good deal for taxpayers.

It was reorganized as an independent government agency in 1945. Boeing is one of EXIM's top 10 domestic beneficiaries. Most of the Bank's funding goes to large corporations such as Boeing.

EXIM's charter stipulates that one of its missions is to support U.S. exports with the goal of creating jobs and promoting economic growth. Even in countries touted as leaders in relying on ECA financing, ECA- backed exports are never more than 4.7 percent of total exports. There is no evidence that EXIM has altered its intense focus on competing with other governments' ECAs.

Because capital will tend to shift from unsubsidized companies to subsidized companies. For 23 of the 28 countries on this list, the share of exports backed by ECA financing is less than 2 percent. More than 99.9 percent of U.S. small businesses receive no benefits from EXIM. President Biden argues that the Bank could be a powerful weapon in the government's geoeconomic arsenal against China.

Chapter 24: Federal Reserve



The architects of the Federal Reserve believed that a quasi-public clearinghouse acting as lender of last resort would reduce financial instability. Such a reform should be given plenty of lead time so that banks can self-correct lending practices. Mortgage payment on a median-priced home (with a 20 percent down payment) jumped to \$2,408 in the autumn of 2022 vs. \$1,404 just one year earlier.

Money is the essential unit of measure for the voluntary exchanges that constitute the market economy. In the 1970s, the Federal Reserve's mission was amended to maintain macroeconomic stability.

The goal of monetary policy is to provide markets with needed liquidity without inducing resource misallocations. Under free banking, the norm is for the dollar's purchasing power to rise gently over time, reflecting gains in economic productivity. Both the 2012 and 2016 GOP platforms urged the establishment of a commission to consider the feasibility of a return to the gold standard. Banks could send those traded-in dollars to the Treasury for gold to replenish their vaults.

Government can abuse this authority for its own advantage by printing money to finance its operations. Even formal grants of power by Congress have not markedly improved Federal Reserve actions. Competition would determine the right mix of assets in

banks' portfolios as backing for their liabilities. Potential downsides of free banking stem from its greatest benefit: It has massive political hurdles to clear.

Political pressure has led the Federal Reserve to use its power to regulate banks as a way to promote politically favorable initiatives. Congress should limit its mandate to the sole objective of stable money, the authors say. There is currently no government oversight of the types of assets that the Federal Reserve purchases. Limit future balance sheet expansions to U.S. Treasuries. The Federal Reserve should be prohibited from picking winners and losers. In free banking, neither interest rates nor the supply of money is controlled by the government. By ensuring that cash earns a positive (inflation-adjusted) rate of return, it can prevent households and businesses from holding inefficiently small money balances.

The Federal Reserve was created by Congress in 1913 when most Americans lived in rural areas and the largest industry was agriculture. Congress expanded the Federal Reserve's mandate to include "maximum employment, stable prices, and moderate long-term interest rates" The Great Recession also led to innovations by the central bank such as additional large-scale asset purchases. The Federal Reserve was originally created to "furnish an elastic currency' and rediscount commercial paper. This amounts to a standing bailout offer and encourages banks and nonbank financial institutions to engage in reckless lending. Wind down the Federal Reserve's balance sheet. This amounts to a transfer to Wall Street at the expense of the American public. The only permanent remedy is to take the monetary steering wheel out of the Federal Reserve's hands and return it to the people. This "supply-side deflation" does not cause economic busts. Treasury could set the price of a dollar at today's market price of \$2,000 per ounce of gold.

Fed intervention in longer-term government debt, mortgagebacked securities and corporate and municipal debt can distort the pricing process. Renters have not been spared: Median apartment rental costs have jumped more than 24 percent since the start of 2021.

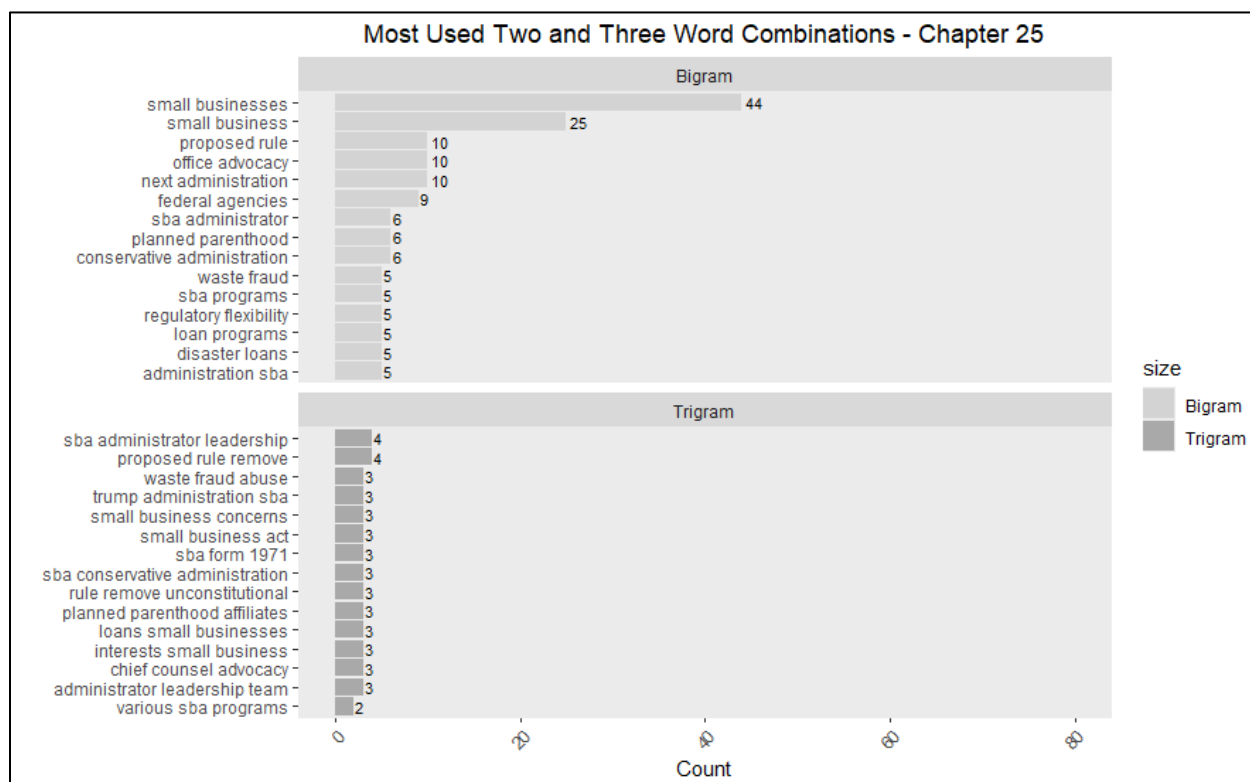
Supporters of this more expansive mandate claim that monetary policy is needed to help the economy avoid recessions. The dual mandate may inadvertently contribute to recessions rather than fixing them. Fiscal policy can be more effective if it is timely, targeted, and temporary. This creates a powerful self-policing mechanism.

In the decades since the Federal Reserve was created, there has been a downturn roughly every five years. This monetary dysfunction is related in part to the impossibility of fine-tuning the money supply in real time. A far less harmful alternative is to focus the Federal Reserve on protecting the dollar and restraining inflation. These purchases have

two main effects: They encourage federal deficits and support politically favored markets. The Federal Reserve effectively prints money and then “borrows” it back from banks. Congress should bring back the pre-2008 system, founded on open-market operations. This could be done by abolishing the federal role in money altogether, allowing the use of commodity money, or embracing a strict monetary-policy rule to ward off political meddling. Regions of the U.S. actually had a similar system, known as the “Suffolk System,” from 1824 until the 1850s.

The Federal Reserve responds to the potential for political oversight when faced with challenges. The Fed’s mortgage-related activities are a paradigmatic case of what monetary policy should not do. As in the Suffolk System, competition keeps banks from overprinting or lending irresponsibly. In this way, free banking leads to stable and sound currencies and strong financial systems. Because free banking implies that financial services and banking would be governed by general business laws against fraud or misrepresentation, crony regulatory burdens that hurt customers would be dramatically eased. In October 2022, Representative Alexander Mooney (R-WV) introduced a bill to restore the goldStandard. The process of commodity backing is very straightforward.

Chapter 25: Small Business Administration



The RFA requires federal agencies “to consider the effects of their regulations on small businesses and other small entities.” The Trade Facilitation and Trade Enforcement Act (TFTEA) of 2016 established a new role. The SBA is one of the bright spots within the SBA that a conservative Administration could supercharge to dismantle extreme regulatory policies. Amend the RFA so that all agencies are required to provide a copy of any proposed rule (other than bona fide emergency rules) at least 60 days before a notice of proposed rulemaking is submitted for publication in the Federal Register.

As a result, hundreds of billions of taxpayer dollars have been funneled through the agency to businesses and individuals over the years. The SBA under President Donald Trump proposed a rule to remove all of the unconstitutional religious exclusions from its regulations. The SBA’s disaster loan program provides low-interest loans to personal, business, and nonprofit borrowers.

Entrepreneurs believe the SBA is fairly archaic in its operations and programming. An accountable SBA Administrator and staff who report regularly to Congress. An Office of Advocacy that is strengthened by a renewed mandate and additional resources to protect against overregulation.

Entrepreneurial development programs. Republicans in the U.S. House of Representatives have evidenced concern about SBA mission creep. An end to SBA direct lending. More than 90 percent of SBA disaster loans are loans to individuals such as homeowners, not to small businesses.

Its mission is to “aid, counsel, assist and protect, insofar as is possible, the interests of small business concerns” According to its current mission statement: The U.S. Small Business Administration (SBA) helps Americans start, grow and build resilient businesses. Because of its distinct role in the federal government, the SBA became the default agency for providing disaster loans to small businesses, homeowners, renters, and organizations. The SBA's appropriations have ranged from a high of over \$761.9 billion in FY2020 to a low of \$571.8 million in FY2007. A future Administration can leverage and strengthen core SBA functions. There is unease that the agency has moved from being open to any eligible small business searching for support. Advocacy should organize regional roundtables, onsite small-business visits, and an online platform to hear directly from small businesses. A major immediate priority for the next Administration should be a final accounting and accelerated cleanup of fraudulent COVID-19 loan and grant activity. Law enforcement officials must pursue fraud vigorously.

SBA was created in 1953 as an independent agency of the federal government. In 1980, the Regulatory Flexibility Act (RFA) further strengthened the Office of Advocacy's role. The SBA's four core functions include: Access to capital. President Ronald Reagan cut the SBA's budget by more than 30 percent. Much of this volatility is due to significant variation in supplemental appropriations for disaster assistance. Review all internal government watchdog recommendations and require that SBA management implement or address outstanding and ongoing OIG and GAO recommendations within a specified time frame. The Office of Advocacy would submit comments to agencies within 30 days. Many Senators and Representatives asserted that these Planned Parenthood organizations were ineligible because they exceeded the maximum eligible size.

The SBA Office of Inspector General “identified \$78.1 billion in potentially fraudulent EIDL loans and grants paid to ineligible entities,” according to a report. Entities receiving PPP loans that did not meet eligibility for forgiveness must be required to pay back the money. Planned Parenthood affiliates self-certified eligibility for PPP loans during the initial wave of loans that were governed by the CARES Act's size requirement.

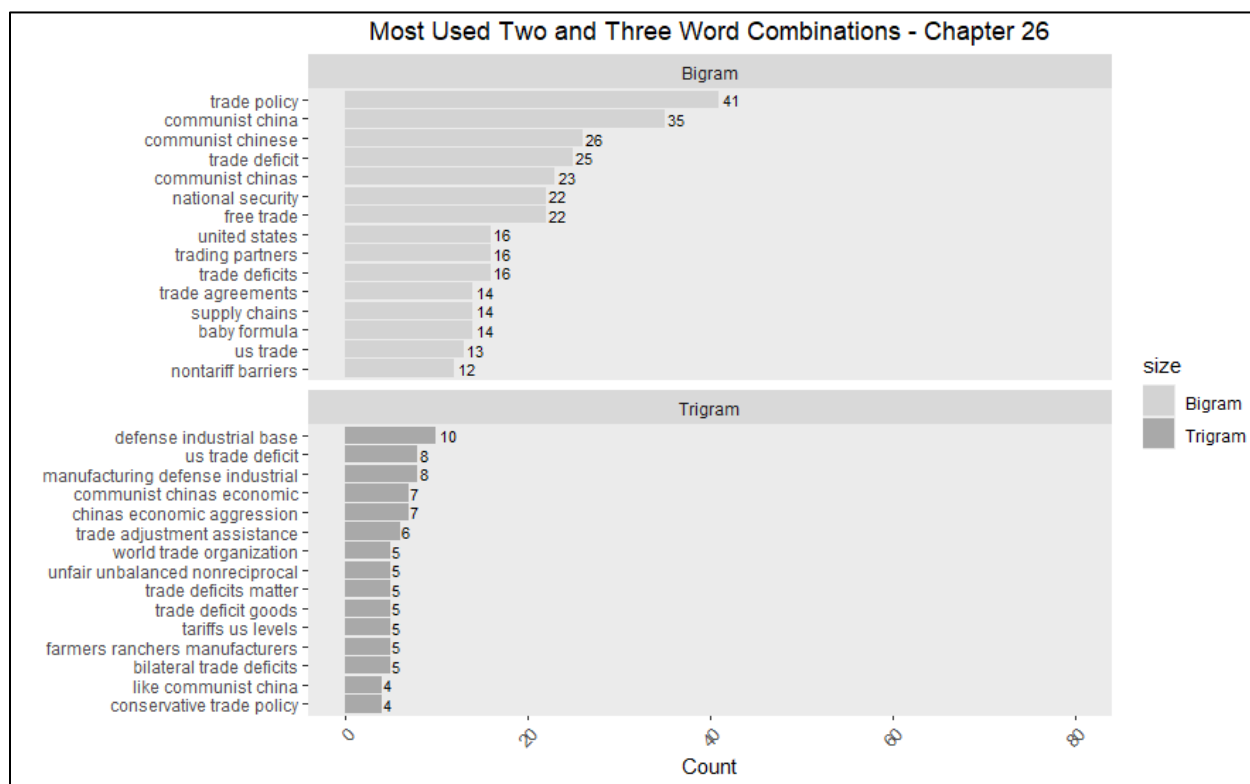
This advocacy role was strengthened with the adoption of the Small Business Amendments of 1974, which established the Chief Counsel for Advocacy. Government contracting support programs. The programs are largely duplicative of private, state and local government, and educational system offerings. A restructured and reformed SBA

would end the long-term deficiencies, practices, and problems that have prolonged the decades-long cycle of waste, fraud, and mismanagement. A full accounting of and an end to waste, fraud, and abuse in all COVID-19 relief programs. RFA economic analysis should be expanded to include indirect costs along with direct costs.

That represented more than half of all funds spent through the program. President Barack Obama considered streamlining and combining SBA programs and other business-related agencies and programs under one entity at the U.S. Department of Commerce. appropriations for SBA's other programs, excluding supplemental appropriations, have increased at a pace that exceeds inflation. In terms of current loan volume, the SBA "reached nearly \$43 billion in funding to small businesses, providing more than 62,000 traditional loans through its 7(a), 504, and Microloan lending partners." The SBA has managed to maintain its lending role even when system failures have affected its distribution of funds. SBA initiatives aimed at "inclusivity" are creating exclusivity and stringent selectivity in deciding what types of small businesses and entities can use SBA programs. A modern, revamped, and streamlined SBA that better utilizes current technology and platforms for operations, for reporting, and in its programs. Increase the Office of Advocacy's budget by at least 50 percent (\$4.6 million) Explicitly direct federal agencies to comply with the RFA. The program suffers from problems of coordination with Federal Emergency Management Administration (FEMA) disaster assistance.

In 1954, the agency began to execute such core functions as "making and guaranteeing loans for small businesses." In 1970, President Richard Nixon's Executive Order 11518 enhanced the agency's advocacy role. Congress has been somewhat responsive, pressuring the SBA to clean up fraud-related matters within its lending and grant programs. Entrepreneurs and small businesses require limited-government policies that do not impede their risk-taking and growth. An approach to small-business lending and capital programs. The SBA Office of Advocacy (Advocacy) is "an independent office" within the SBA. Forgiveness and fraud must be dealt with as swiftly as possible. SBA notified several Planned Parenthood PPP recipients of its preliminary determination of their ineligibility.

Chapter 26: Trade



This systemic trade imbalance serves as a brake and bridle on both GDP growth and real wages in the American economy while encumbering the U.S. with significant foreign debt. Nothing in the MFN rule requires a WTO member to provide equal tariff rates to its trading partners. As a poster child for the kind of nonreciprocal tariffs that American manufacturers often face, the MFN tariff for automobiles applied by the U.S. is only 2.5 percent. Figure 1 shows bilateral trade deficits against tariff differentials for eight major U.S. trading partners. These export restraints restrict access to raw materials such as rare earth, tungsten, and molybdenum. Since 2012, CB Insights has catalogued more than 600 high-technology investments in the United States worth close to \$20 billion. Within a year, the first promise would be broken. Systematically reduce and eventually eliminate any U.S. dependence on Communist Chinese supply chains. order the Department of Homeland Security (DHS) and Department of Justice to contract with artificial intelligence companies. An open border policy depresses American wage rates and thereby boosts corporate profits. Running large and persistent trade deficits leads to a massive transfer of American wealth offshore into foreign hands. The American investor Warren Buffett has referred to such wealth transfers offshore as “conquest by purchase.” To Buffett, the big danger is that foreigners will eventually own so many U.S. government bonds that Americans will wind up working longer hours just to survive. The USTR is at least putatively the top official on trade

policy, and it is critical that this position be filled wisely. Trade can lower consumer prices for ordinary Americans and open new markets for American businesses and their goods. Labor force size is tied to population size more than anything else. A dollar of value created in manufacturing is neither more nor less valuable than a dollar created in agriculture or services. Intensive growth requires specialization, and the larger the market, the more specialization is possible. Bigger markets mean more specialization, more innovative ideas, more customers. America's official unemployment rate went as low as 3.5 percent during 2022, while real per capita gross domestic product (GDP) rose to an all-time record. Enact mutual recognition policies with allies.

Trade policy can and must play an essential role in an American manufacturing and defense industrial base renaissance. The second challenge is part of the broader existential threat posed by the Chinese Communist Party in its quest for global dominance. That challenge is rooted in the CCP's continued economic aggression. Under its most favored nation (MFN) rule, each WTO member must apply the lowest tariffs it applies to the products of any one country to every other WTO country. To address this nonreciprocity stalemate, President Trump urged Congress in his 2019 State of the Union address to pass the United States Reciprocal Trade Act (USRTA) The purpose of granting the President these authorities was not to raise tariffs. The U.S. would still face a substantial overall trade deficit and substantial bilateral trade deficits with many of its major trading partners. A conservative Administration might do well to look at such a tax as part of its trade agenda. Communist China also uses a predatory "debt trap" model of economic development aid. Communist Chinese buyers have included most prominently state-owned enterprises, private Chinese companies with interlocking ties to the Communist Chinese state, and state-backed sovereign wealth funds. The record regarding Communist China's bad-faith negotiating is clear. As much as President Trump did on the trade front that was bold and innovative, too much of his trade policy was disrupted or derailed by key personnel. Do we follow China by copying its strong-arm trade policies, or do we lead China and the rest of the world by forging our own path? The next American President should use this aspect of trade to the nation's advantage. Pursuing Access to Growing Markets. Americans today can more easily afford everything from air conditioning to flat-screen televisions and smartphones. Technology and changing tastes displace six times as many workers as does trade, yet those workers get no special treatment. Close the Export-Import Bank, which subsidizes foreign buyers' purchases of goods from a handful of well-connected American manufacturers. Repeal the Jones Act, a century-old "Buy American" maritime law that has decimated the U.S. shipbuilding industry.

That will necessarily require the onshoring of a significant portion of production currently offshored by American multinational corporations. In the wake of the COVID-19

pandemic, almost certainly spawned in a CCP biological weapons lab in Wuhan, China, global supply chains have been under significant pressures from lockdown policies, energy price shocks, and other disruptions. Communist China, which controls much of the world's pharmaceutical production and supply chains, threatened to plunge America "into a mighty sea of coronavirus" through pharmaceutical export controls. Communist China levies higher tariffs on 10 products for every one Chinese product that is subject to a U.S.-applied higher tariff. India's ratio is even higher at 13 to one. Under current U.S. laws and regulations, an American President has limited ability to fight back against the higher MFN tariffs now being levied against American workers, farmers, ranchers, and manufacturers. One way to create such a priority list would be to choose those countries that have relatively large trade deficits with the U.S. and apply relatively high tariffs. This yellow zone includes the European Union, which features a very high deficit, along with Thailand, Taiwan, and Vietnam. The resultant glut of Communist Chinese exports in turn depresses world prices and pushes foreign rivals out of the global market. The result is to drive up world prices and thereby put pressure on American and other foreign downstream producers to move their operations, technologies, and jobs to Communist China. Communist China's looting of American technology is further enhanced by "information harvesting" conducted by Communist Chinese nationals who infiltrate U.S. universities, national laboratories, and other centers of innovation. As a result, Chinese science and engineering students frequently master technologies that later become critical to key military systems. The politics of trade policy has led to a great divide that makes trade policy reforms difficult to implement. There is a great divide among Americans that stands in the way of constructive trade policy reforms. When U.S. companies offshore their production to chase cheap labor, the result is reduced nonresidential fixed investment. Addressing these two challenges would go a long way toward restoring American greatness, both economically and militarily. Progressive attempts to use trade policy to advance whole-of-government initiatives on climate, equity will fail. A conservative trade policy should limit trade-unrelated provisions in trade agreements. Today, fewer than 1 percent work on farms, yet America is a net exporter of food. U.S. manufacturing and the economy are in decline, but the data do not show American economic carnage. The new tariffs raise consumer prices for ordinary Americans by about \$1,200 per household every year.

The Chinese government is implementing a comprehensive, long-term industrial strategy to ensure its global dominance. To calculate the trade deficit reductions, the analysis relied on the World Bank's SMART tariff simulator. This suggests that implementing the USRTA would help to create between 350,000 and 380,000 jobs. In Scenario Two, the impacts for Communist China and the EU are substantially larger: \$70.6 billion and \$25.3

billion, respectively. Under WTO rules, America still faces numerous nonreciprocal nontariff barriers around the world. This border adjustment tax would have shifted the U.S. corporate income tax from an origin-based tax applying to the production of goods and services in the United States. China's mercantilist and protectionist trade policies have led to chronic, massive, and ever-expanding trade deficits. Table 5 depicts more than 50 types of policy aggression institutionalized by the CCP across six different categories of such aggression. Once a U.S. or foreign company is coerced into entering a joint venture with a Chinese partner, the door is open to the transfer of technology. Only 20,000 American nationals were studying abroad at Chinese universities on the mainland in 2018. Chinese nationals account for approximately one-third of foreign university and college students in the United States. All of these behaviors raise the question of whether Communist Chinese nationals should be granted visas to penetrate our universities, think tanks, and research institutions. The next American President should strongly consider adopting all of them as a package. Prohibit Communist Chinese state-owned enterprises from bidding on U.S. government procurement contracts. Ban all Chinese social media apps such as TikTok and WeChat, which pose significant national security risks. Reinvigorate and expand the DHS crackdown on the CCP's use of e-sellers (including third-party sellers) and the shippers and operators of major warehouses such as Amazon, eBay, and Alibaba. America trades in a world where the WTO's MFN rules are stacked against us. Those who support secure borders and seek to onshore more of American production and supply chains do so to boost real wages of American workers. The national security argument that trade deficits matter begins with America's national-income accounting double-entry system. It follows that for both economic and national security reasons, trade deficits do indeed matter. Historically, during Republican Administrations, the USTR has been a free trader who rarely challenged the protectionist and mercantilist policies of America's trading partners. The International Trade Administration is an agency in the Department of Commerce. A cardinal rule in public policy is not to give yourself powers you wouldn't want your opponents to have. Agriculture and industry are not separate; they are as interconnected as everything else in the economy. Adopt a multi-pronged China strategy to convince the Chinese government to reform its illiberal human rights and trade policies.

The first challenge is rooted in the "most favored nation" rule of the World Trade Organization. Note that the trade deficit in goods with Communist China is by far the largest. The World Trade Organization, with its 164 members, governs international trade rules. Under MFN, WTO members can charge systematically higher tariffs to other countries to the extent negotiated in their WTO tariff schedules. When American exporters face higher tariffs, the nonreciprocal tariffs are typically much higher. China unabashedly seeks to supplant America as the world's dominant economic and military power. The

extent of Communist China's aggression is breathtaking. Industrial policy tools reinforce Communist China's mercantilist and protectionist trade policies. In this way, UC–Berkeley, whether unwittingly or wittingly, helps to boost Communist China's capabilities. By the middle of 2018, it was clear that the CCP had no intention of bargaining in good faith. Stop Communist China's abuse of the so-called de minimis exemption, which allows it to evade the tariffs. Compel the closure of all Confucius Institutes in the U.S., which serve as propaganda arms of the CCP. Establish a presidential commission or select congressional committee that would investigate the origins of the virus; its various costs, both economically and in human life. Offshoring gives American corporations readier access to the sweatshops and pollution havens of Asia and Latin America. Buffett: We have, day by day, been both selling pieces of the farm and increasing the mortgage on what we still own. The economic security argument that trade deficits matter begins with the observation that growth in any country's real, inflation-adjusted gross domestic product (GDP) depends on only four factors. Reducing a trade deficit through implementation of the U.S. Policies are not likely to succeed when they try to separate an interconnected economy into arbitrary categories.

To maintain that global positioning, it is critical that the U.S. strengthen its manufacturing and defense industrial base. The overall U.S. trade deficit, including goods and services, soared by 29 percent, from \$654 billion in 2020 to \$845 billion in 2021. Rather, it was to give the President, working in close consultation with Congress, a sophisticated and targeted tool. The results underscore the unfair and unbalanced nonreciprocal trade the U.S. is forced to accept under WTO rules. The American President who takes office in January 2025 must view the U.S.-China trade relationship within the context of the broader existential threat posed by Communist China. Every year, more than 300,000 Communist Chinese nationals attend U.S. universities or are hired at national laboratories. State-backed Chinese enterprises increasingly finance joint research programs and the construction of new research facilities on U.S. campuses. In September 2015, President Barack Obama stood with Xi Jinping in the White House Rose Garden where Xi solemnly promised not to militarize the South China Sea. The Obama and Trump Administrations both learned that Communist China will never bargain in good faith with the U.S. to stop its aggression. Strategically expand tariffs to all Chinese products and increase tariff rates. Ricardian free-trade model has been used as propaganda to thwart the adoption of measures that seek to level the global trading field for American manufacturers, farmers, ranchers, and workers. This orthodoxy is based on the ivory tower academic conclusion that if countries trade freely among each other, each will pursue its own comparative advantages. Main Street manufacturers and workers bear the brunt of these policies. Reciprocal Trade Act, the application of tariffs, or renegotiating a bad trade

deal like NAFTA all represent ways to increase net exports. Might America even lose a broader hot war because it sent its defense industrial base abroad on the wings of a persistent trade deficit? The next Administration should make every effort to find someone with that understanding and that commitment to fill this position. Without vibrant steel and aluminum industries, it will be difficult for America to provide the Pentagon with the kind of weapons it needs to defend the homeland. Trade can help American workers and businesses specialize in what they do best. The next Administration needs to end mission creep that has all but taken over trade policy in recent years. That means building institution-level safeguards against mission creep to limit abuses. America's geographic expansion ended long ago, but population growth, the U.S.-led rules-based international trading system have made possible decades of continued prosperity. Restore the World Trade Organization's dispute resolution process to full strength.

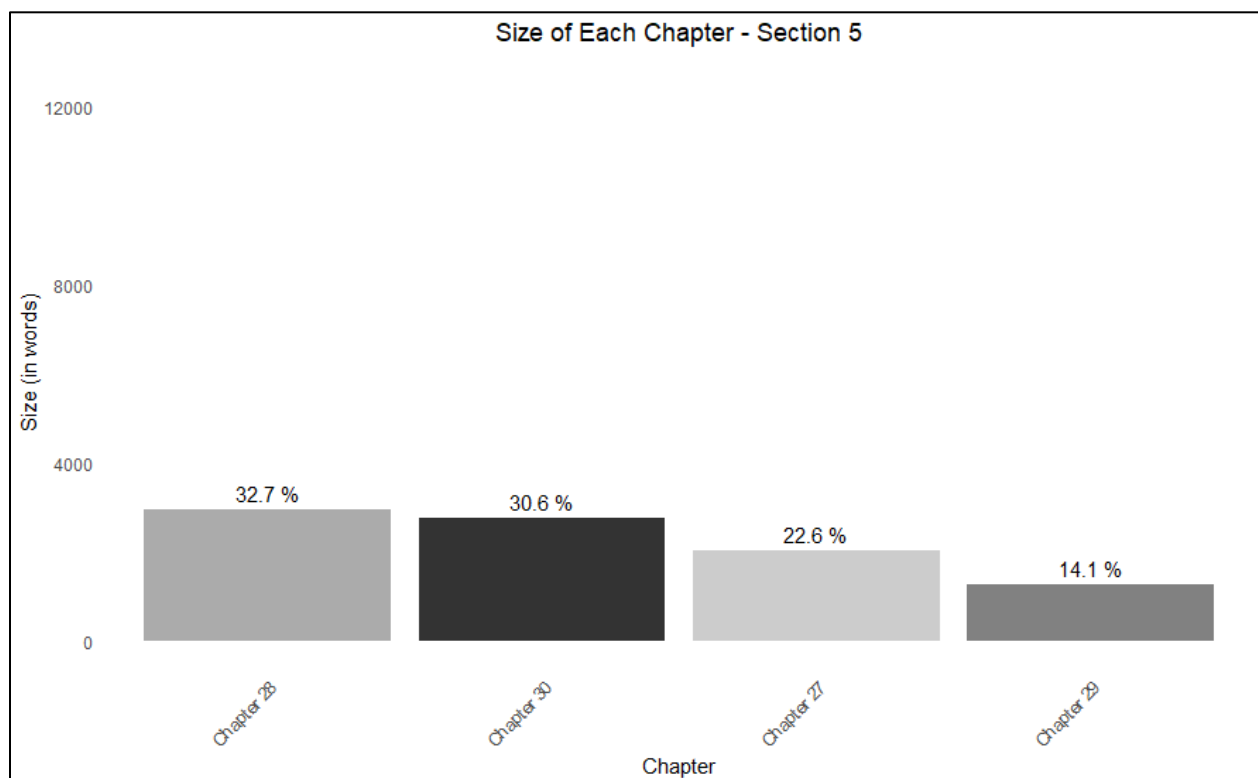
It accounts for fully one-third of that deficit and is more than twice the size of the deficit with the EU. The countries that are hurt most by the WTO's nonreciprocal tariff regime are those like the United States that charge the lowest tariffs on average. Scenario One assumes that our trading partners lower their applied tariff rates on specific products to U.S. levels in cases where their applied tariffs are higher. A President would likely have to prioritize which countries he should negotiate with first. Under the USRTA, the President has the authority to "negotiate and seek to enter into an agreement" that "commits the country to... eliminate [its] nontariff barriers." If the country refuses to come to the negotiating table and lower its nontariffs, then the President can levy reciprocal duties to offset or mirror those barriers. Communist Chinese industrial policy seeks to promote the "digestion, absorption, and re-innovation" of technologies and intellectual property (IP) from around the world. The laws are designed to prevent the export of sensitive technologies with military applications. The Chinese government directs and unfairly facilitates the systematic investment in, and acquisition of, U.S. companies and assets. Any further negotiations with Communist China are likely to be both fruitless and dangerous. Prohibit all Communist Chinese investment in high-technology industries. Hold the CCP accountable for the COVID-19 virus, which almost certainly originated as a genetically engineered virus from the Wuhan Institute of Virology. The economics of trade deficits are not adequately understood by the American public or by the policymaking intelligentsia. Warren Buffett: Trade deficits matter a great deal. Our trade policy decisions will tell you what we Americans really think of ourselves. A conservative approach to economic policy should treat value as value, whether it is created on a farm, in a factory, or in an office.

Beijing's ultimate goal is for domestic companies to replace foreign companies as designers and manufacturers of key technology and products first at home, then abroad.

Figure 1 shows that the USRTA priority list would include the countries in red and yellow. U.S. bilateral deficit reductions in Scenario One of \$18.5 billion for China and \$8.0 billion for the EU. The question is whether that next President should seek to decouple economically and financially from Communist China. A significant problem facing agencies like the Departments of Commerce, Defense, and State is the growth of ‘dual-use’ technologies. He says the U.S. has been behaving like an extraordinarily rich family that possesses an immense farm. The trade deficit rises along with the fall in investment, further reducing GDP growth. During the Trump Administration, President Trump’s key policy advisers and Cabinet officials clashed on the issues of international trade. Much of the cheating that does take place in the global trading arena can be addressed through antidumping (AD) and countervailing duty (CVD) cases. It is equally critical that the National Security Adviser, the Chairman of the Council of Economic Advisers, and the Director of the National Economic Council (NEC) all be aligned on trade policy. Despite the obvious exploitation of American farmers, ranchers, manufacturers, and workers by the international trading system and Communist Chinese aggression, powerful political forces nonetheless exist that profit from the status quo. Neither free trade nor protectionism will create jobs. In 1776, nearly 90 percent of Americans were farmers. The factory worker who builds a tractor does as much to boost farm production as the farmers themselves. Rejoin the Trans-Pacific Partnership (TPP), whose 11 members are developing institutional trade norms without U.S. input or involvement. Beijing made not a single substantive reform in response to four rounds of tariffs plus an attempted Phase One agreement.

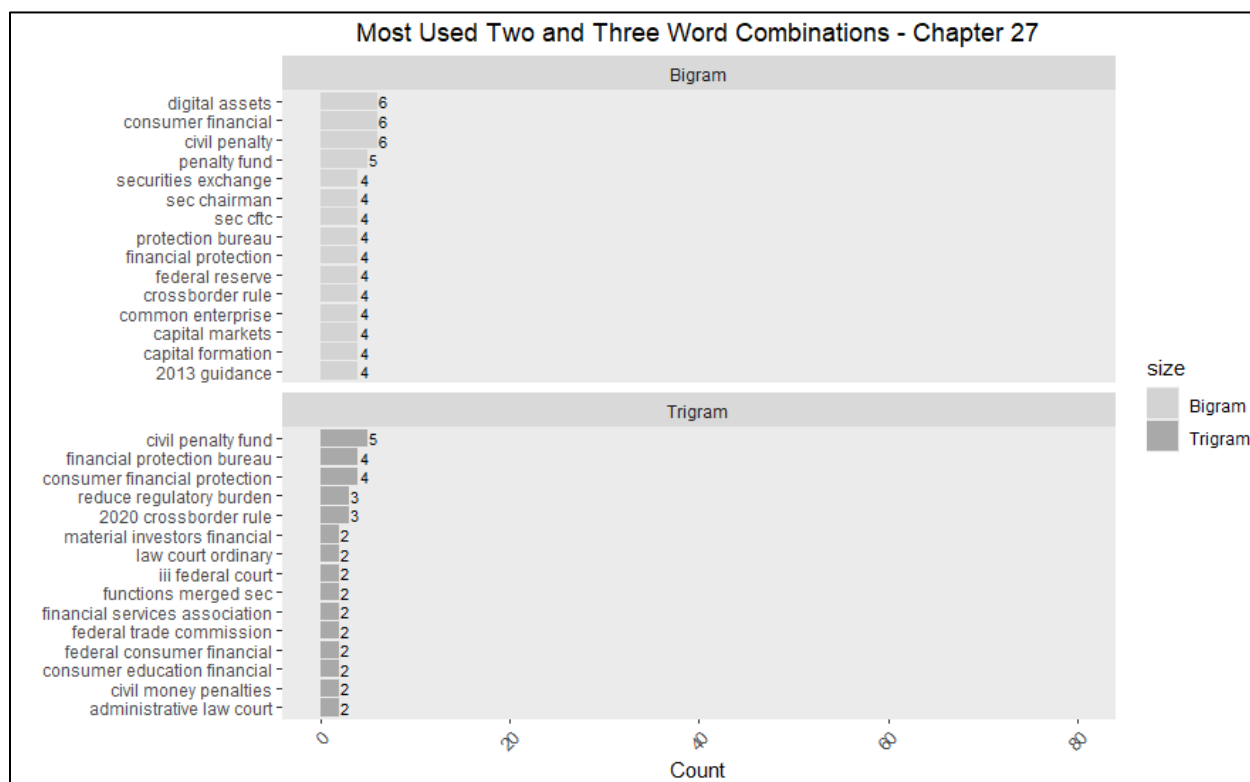
Over the same time period, imports of consumer goods, capital goods, and the category of foods, feeds, and beverages were the highest on record. Table 1 catalogues that deficit for the top 13 countries plus the European Union (EU) in fiscal year (FY) 2022. China strategically uses protectionist export restraints, including export quotas and export duties. These tariffs would lead Communist China’s lead negotiator, Vice Premier Liu He, to agree tentatively in April of 2019 to what would have been the most comprehensive trade deal in global history. The better policy option was to decouple both economically and financially from Communist China. The following policy options were on the drawing board or in discussion as preparations for a potential Trump second term were being made. Delist any Communist Chinese stocks that do not meet Public Company Accounting Oversight Board standards. The most obvious problem with this orthodoxy is that nowhere is Ricardian free trade mirrored in the real world. By buying up America’s companies, technologies, farmland, food producers, and key elements of the domestic supply chain, Communist China can gain more and more control of the U.S. manufacturing and defense-industrial base. Trade policy works best when it sticks to trade and treats separate issues separately.

Within this broad sample of 132 countries, U.S. exporters face higher tariffs in 467,015 different cases. Scenario Two assumes that we raise our tariffs in order to uphold the principle of reciprocity. For example, one of America's largest trading partners, Japan, runs a significant bilateral trade surplus. Xi has promised that the deed will be done by 2049, the 100-year anniversary of the Communist takeover of the Mainland. As a result, on June 15, President Trump began to impose a series of tariffs on Chinese products. Some Americans historically have supported open borders and offshoring under the flag of the Ricardian trade model. Under Section 232 of the Trade Expansion Act of 1962, the President has the authority, through tariffs or other means, to reduce imports from other countries. Trade-unrelated provisions are routinely hijacked by progressives and rent-seekers and dilute otherwise worthwhile trade agreements. China deserves special consideration, as does the World Trade Organization. The 19th century saw Western expansion and a growing population working for the American dream. Five years into the biggest experiment with tariffs since the Great Depression, the results are in.



Section 5: Independent Regulatory Agencies

Chapter 27: Financial Regulatory Agencies



The SEC enforcement system does not need to have both district court cases and APs. End the practice of delegating the decision to initiate an enforcement case. Congress should require an Inspector General's (or possibly a GAO) report regarding SEC information technology spending and contracting. Instead, both agencies have chosen regulation by enforcement—and have done it poorly. In the absence of regulatory action, Congress should enact legislation that achieves these goals. Congress should: Promulgate a joint regulation providing that a holder of digital assets may not be deemed a party to an investment contract.

The SEC and Congress should fundamentally reform the securities laws governing issuers, broker-dealers, exchanges, and other market participants. The SEC needs to be reformed to achieve its important core functions more effectively, to improve transparency and due process, and to reduce unnecessary regulatory impediments to capital formation. Congress should establish an independent board or commission and charge it with producing a detailed report. Financial regulators should remove regulatory impediments to entrepreneurial capital formation. Eliminate all administrative proceedings (APs) within the SEC except for stop orders related to defective registration statements. Amend the definition of commodity to include digital assets that are not a security as so defined.

Terminate the Consolidated Audit Trail (CAT) program. The proposed SEC climate change rule would quadruple the costs of being a public company. Oppose efforts to redefine the purpose of business in the name of social justice.

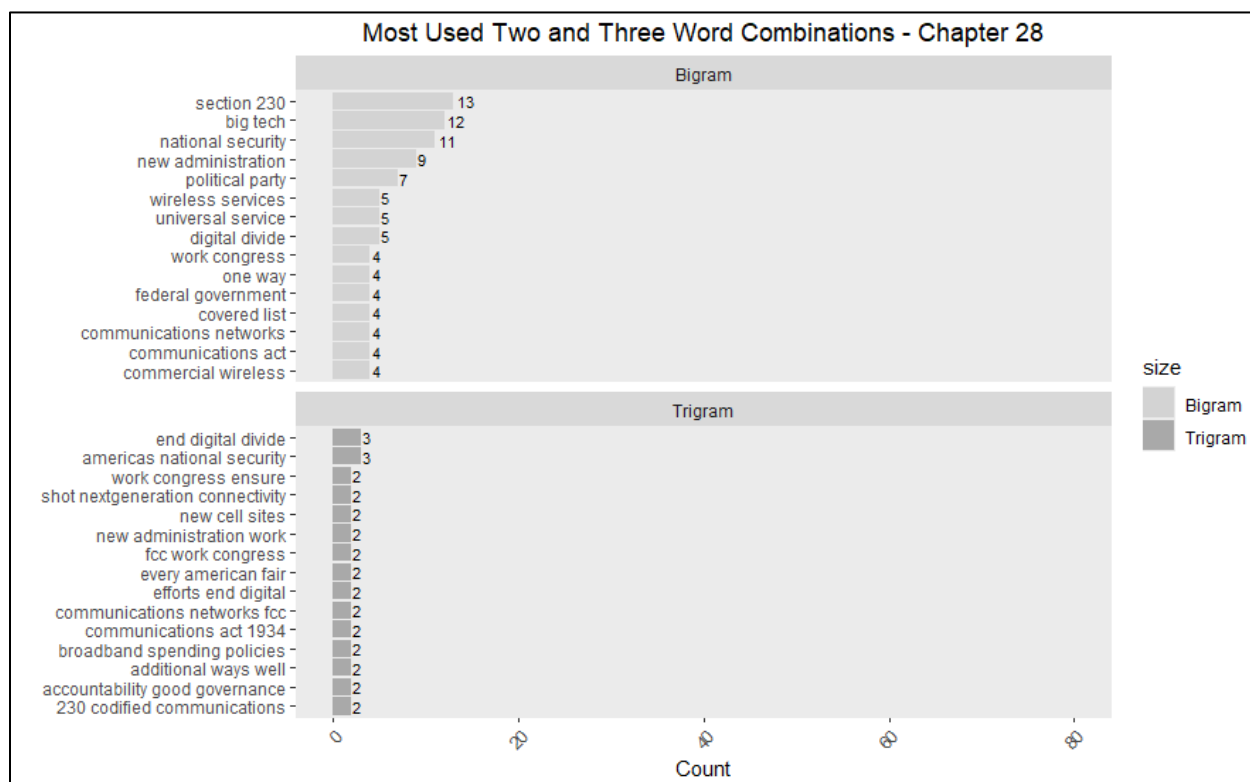
Discrimination based on immutable characteristics has no place in financial regulation. Simplify and streamline Regulation A (the small issues exemption) and Regulation CF (crowdfunding) Exempt peer-to-peer lending from federal and state securities laws and reduce the regulatory burden on Regulation CF debt securities. Abolish Rule 144 and other regulations that restrict securities resales and instead require a company that has sold securities to provide sufficient current information to the market. Modernize the definition of commodity (which is now largely a laundry list of agricultural commodities) and clarify the treatment of digital assets. Replace the existing position limits rule, which reduces liquidity and makes markets more volatile. Reduce overly prescriptive rules implementing the CFTC's core principles. Both the SEC and the CFTC have been irresponsible actors in the digital asset area. The SEC, FINRA itself, or Congress should: require that FINRA's Board of Governors meetings be open to the public.

The Securities and Exchange Commission (SEC) should be reducing impediments to capital formation, not radically increasing them. Repeal the Dodd-Frank mandated disclosures relating to conflict minerals, mine safety, resource extraction, and CEO pay ratios. Amend Section 2 of the CEA to authorize the CFTC Chairman to remove the agency's Executive Director without a Commission vote. Congress and the SEC need to conduct more robust oversight of self-regulatory organizations.

The securities laws are now extremely complex and do not constitute a coherent, rational regulatory regime. Equal protection of the law, equal opportunity and individual merit should govern regulatory decisions. Statutorily limit the time for an investigation to two years with no extensions. They have had more than a decade to promulgate rules governing digital assets, yet the SEC has utterly failed to do so.

The Securities Act of 1933 and the Securities Exchange Act of 1934 reflect nearly nine decades of rushed and haphazard amendments. PCAOB and FINRA should be abolished, and their regulatory functions should be merged into the SEC. Congress should: Preempt blue sky registration, qualification, and continuing reporting requirements for securities traded on established securities markets. The CFTC should: Allocate more resources to core agency functions rather than ancillary and support operations. establish funding amounts for the Commissioners' offices by statute with adjustments for inflation. Further delegation of authority to the exchanges to set position limits and position accountability levels where appropriate for the relevant market. SROs need to be reformed; otherwise, as discussed above, SRO regulatory functions should be merged into the SEC.

Chapter 28: Federal Communications Commission



Five Commissioners are appointed by the President and confirmed by the Senate for fixed five-year terms. By tradition, the Chairperson resigns when a new President of a different political party is sworn into office. The FCC has facilitated the transition from 3G to 4G and now 5G offerings in two ways.

The FCC revoked or denied the licenses of carriers like China Mobile, China Telecom, and China Unicom. The program is about \$3 billion short of the total amount of funding needed to complete the rip and replace process.

By law, only a bare majority of Commissioners can be from the same political party. Any new presidential Administration should consider filing a similar or new petition. The FCC could look to Section 230 and the Consolidated Reporting Act as potential sources of authority. Some argue that Congress should revisit the program's entire funding structure and determine whether to continue subsidizing the provision of service. The FCC should publish a list of all entities that hold FCC authorizations, licenses, or other grants of authority with more than 10 percent ownership by foreign adversarial governments.

Ordinarily, the five-member FCC is divided politically three to two with a majority of Commissioners from the same political party as the President. By resigning, the exiting Commissioner enables the President to nominate someone from his own political party to

the FCC. There is no separate Senate confirmation process for the position of FCC Chairperson. In recent years, the FCC has employed between 1,300 and 1,500 people. Within this framework, Big Tech should be required to offer a transparent appeals process. Reforms that prohibit discrimination against core political viewpoints are one way to do this. The Biden Administration's Treasury Department has not announced a final decision concerning its long-pending review of TikTok. If that inaction persists, or if the Administration allows TikTok to continue to operate in the U.S., a new Administration should ban the application on national security grounds.

The FCC is an independent regulatory agency that has jurisdiction over interstate and international communications by radio, television, wire, satellite, and cable. Any merger that involves a wireless company, broadcaster, or similar entity that holds an FCC license must obtain FCC approval. The FCC should clarify that the more limited Section 230(c)(2) protections apply to any covered platform's decision to restrict access to material provided by someone else. Big Tech derives tremendous value from the federal government's universal service investments. Fully fund the federal "rip and replace" program. Congress established a \$1.9 billion Secure and Trusted Communications Networks Reimbursement Program to reimburse communications providers for the reasonable expenses they would incur to remove, replace, and dispose of insecure Huawei and ZTE gear.

Congress could legislate in a way that does not require any platform to host illegal content. The FCC should also work with Congress to ensure stronger protections against young children accessing social media sites. Congress should require Big Tech companies to start contributing an appropriate amount.

The FCC has generated more than \$200 billion for the U.S. Treasury through spectrum auctions. The FCC needs to change course and bring new urgency to achieving four main goals: Reining in Big Tech, Promoting national security, Unleashing economic prosperity and Ensuring FCC accountability and good governance. These corporate behemoths are not merely exercising market power; they are abusing dominant positions. The FCC should issue an order that interprets Section 230 in a way that eliminates the expansive, non-textual immunities. A new Administration should create a more regular and timely process for reviewing entities with ties to the CCP's surveillance state.

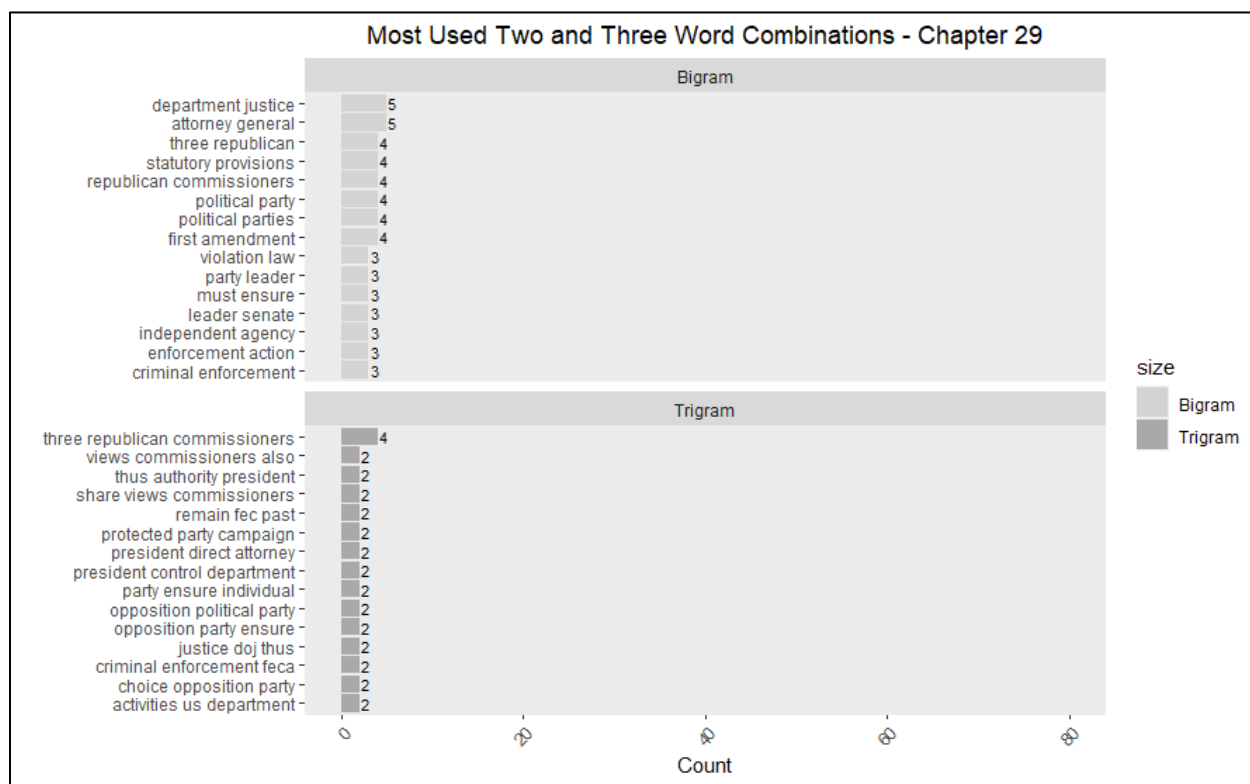
At the outset, the FCC can clarify that Section 230 does not apply broadly to every decision that a platform makes. The FCC and Congress should work together to formulate rules that empower consumers. The FCC's current approach is the regulatory equivalent of taxing horseshoes to pay for highways. End the unregulated end run. A bipartisan bill that

would require the FCC to publish this type of list has been introduced in the House of Representatives.

There are no limits on the number of terms that a person can serve as an FCC Commissioner. The FCC has addressed “net neutrality” rules and the regulatory framework that should apply to broadband offerings. The FCC administers an approximately roughly \$9 billion-a-year program called the Universal Service Fund (USF), which has been funded by a line-item charge that traditional telephone companies add to consumers’ monthly bills. A handful of corporations can shape everything from the information we consume to the places we shop. Such clarifications might also include drawing out the traditional legal distinction between distributor and publisher liability. At present, the FCC requires broadband providers to comply with a transparency rule that can provide a good baseline for Big Tech. The FCC’s roughly \$9 billion Universal Service Fund provides the support necessary to subsidize the agency’s affordable Internet and rural connectivity programs.

The President nominates the person who will serve in the minority Commissioner role. The agency is organized into a series of bureaus and offices based on function. The FCC’s Section 230 reforms should track the positions outlined in a July 2020 Petition for Rulemaking filed at the FCC near the end of the Trump Administration. The FCC should work with Congress to ensure that antidiscrimination provisions are applied to Big Tech. Section 230 encourages Internet platforms to provide tools that will “empower” users to engage in their own content moderation. The FCC obtains this funding through a line-item charge that carriers add to consumers’ monthly bills for traditional telecommunications service. During the Trump Administration, the FCC ushered in a new and appropriately strong approach to the national security threats posed by the Chinese Communist Party (CCP) The FCC eliminated federal subsidies for telecommunications equipment from Huawei and ZTE. China Telecom and similar entities have been banned from operating in the U.S. in a manner that would require an FCC license or authorization.

Chapter 29: Federal Election Commission



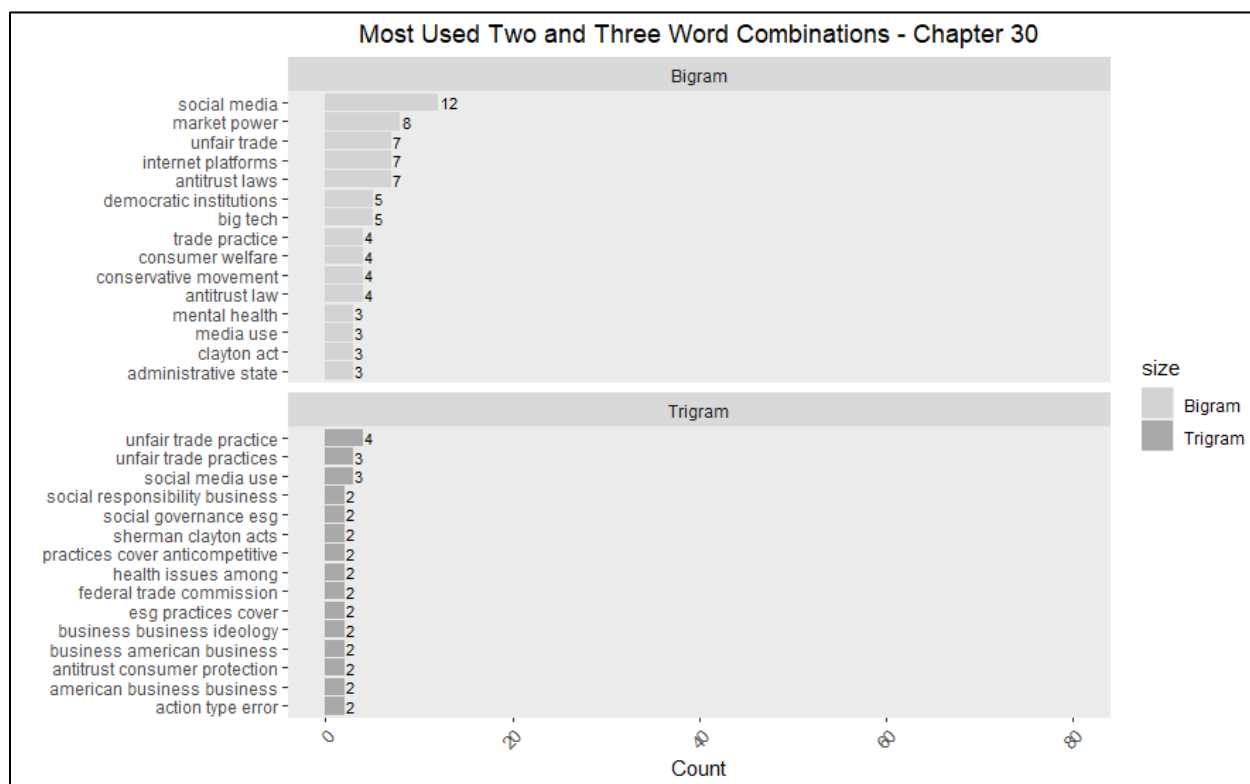
The Federal Election Commission (FEC) began operations in 1975 to enforce the Federal Election Campaign Act. While the FEC has exclusive civil enforcement authority over FECA, the U.S. Justice Department has criminal enforcement authority. The FEC regulates in one of the most sensitive areas of the Bill of Rights: political speech and political activity. The President's most significant power is the appointment of the six commissioners who govern the FEC, subject to confirmation by the U.S. Senate. In practice, this has meant that the FEC has always had three Democrat and three Republican commissioners. In the almost 50-year history of the FEC, this tradition has only been broken once—when Senate Majority Leader Harry Reid refused to approve one of George W. Bush's nominees (Hans von Spakovsky) In 2025, when a new President assumes office, the term of five of the current FEC commissioners will have either expired or be about to expire. The department must not construe ambiguous provisions against the public instead of the government. It should be but not always obvious to overzealous government prosecutors that if a federal law is confusing, it would be unjust to prosecute individuals.

FECA governs the raising and spending of funds in all federal campaigns for Congress and the presidency. Currently, the longest serving commissioner still at the FEC is Ellen Weintraub (D), whose regular term expired in 2007. There is a long-held political tradition since the FEC's founding that when a commission slot held by a member of the

opposition political party opens up, the President consults with, and nominates, the chosen nominee. The President assuming office in 2025 must ensure, if the three Republican commissioners do not wish to remain on the FEC past their terms, that nominees for these positions share the views of those commissioners. The President assuming office in 2025 must ensure, if the three Republican commissioners do not wish to remain on the FEC past their terms, that nominees for these positions share the views of those commissioners.

Also, to the extent that the President has the ability to negotiate with the Democratic Party leader in the Senate, he should try to temper any choice. Also, to the extent that the President has the ability to negotiate with the Democratic Party leader in the Senate, he should try to temper any choice. The President must ensure that the DOJ, just like the FEC, is directed to only prosecute clear violations of FECA.

Chapter 30: Federal Trade Commission



The Clayton Act, adopted in 1914, builds upon the Sherman act, outlawing certain practices, such as price fixing. FTC actions, therefore, turn on the antitrust principles and market principles it adopts. Republican Senator John Sherman explained to Congress in support of his eponymous legislation: If we will not endure a king as a political power, we should not endure an autocrat of trade. There is less and less debate around the growth of monopoly rents throughout the U.S. economy. Some conservatives think that antitrust enforcement should be invested solely in the Department of Justice (DOJ) The FTC's commissioners are not removable at will by the President, which many quite reasonably believe violates the Vesting Clause of Article II of the Constitution. This type of behavior can rise to the level of an unfair trade practice. Depression, self-harm, suicide attempts, and suicide all increased sharply among U.S. adolescents between 2011 and 2019. The FTC should examine platforms' advertising and contractmaking with children as a deceptive or unfair trade practice.

Conservatives cannot unilaterally disarm and fail to use the power of government to further a conservative agenda. This is an unfair trade practice, particularly when it occurs in industries that enjoy market power and special privileges or relationships with the government. Social media and other large platforms form millions of contracts every year with American children.

Taft saw in this economic threat broader implications for American society since “the building of great and powerful corporations which had, many of them, intervened in politics” Many view the first 90 years of U.S. antitrust policy as unprincipled in its approach. Judge Robert Bork in his influential book *The Antitrust Paradox* found economic justifications for previously denounced behavior. Practices such as Environmental, Social, and Governance (ESG) requirements on publicly traded corporations undermine liberal democracy, a truly open society, and, indeed, rule of law. The FTC must consider the role of government itself in maintaining market concentration in areas ranging from pharmaceuticals and healthcare to avionics, banking, and real estate brokerage. As experience shows, the administrative state will grow and further its own agenda. Managers who insert their own values into underwriting agreements, contracts for professional services, or other business transactions coopt shareholder value for their own personal utility. Excessive social media use is strongly linked to mental health issues among individuals. COPPA fails because it only protects children under the age of 13, leaving older teenagers completely unprotected.

Bork also defended corporate “bigness” if it came about through internal growth or acceptable mergers. Khan said she turned down deals when firms offered social justice policies in return for approving unlawful deals.

In 1890, the U.S. Congress enacted the Sherman Act, the first federal prohibition on trusts and restraints of trade. Antitrust law can combat dominant firms’ baleful effects on democratic institutions. The sheer cost of compliance with regulation favors large firms, which can more efficiently spread the cost of regulation over a larger revenue base. FTC Chair Lina Khan said there is no ESG loophole in the antitrust laws.

For Milton Friedman, market mechanisms, not political mechanisms, are the appropriate way to determine the allocation of scarce resources to alternative uses. The government, as guided by democratically passed laws, already regulates activities such as fossil fuel extraction and gun manufacturing.

While the FTC has enforcement or administrative responsibilities under more than 70 laws, the FTCA and the Clayton Act are the focus of its regulatory energy. Recently, many in the conservative movement have taken a broader view of antitrust. The former Republican President and future Supreme Court Justice William Howard Taft wrote at the time, The federal antitrust law is one of the most important statutes ever passed in this country. The FTC’s recent rescinding of its 2015 Policy Statement was undoubtedly ill-considered. Businesses should not replace democratic decision-making with their own judgment on controversial matters. Currently, the Child Online Privacy Protection Act (COPPA) regulates the information internet firms can obtain from children.

America's antitrust laws are over a century old. The business of American business is business, not ideology. Many wish to preserve the productivity and efficiency focus of an economic-based consumer welfare standard approach. Others are more willing to look at the effects of business concentration in certain industries. The Supreme Court ruling in *Humphrey's Executor* upholding agency independence seems ripe for revisiting. Congress should investigate ESG practices as a cover for anticompetitive activity and possible unfair trade practices. The privileges extended to corporations in American society come with the expectation that they will pursue profits for shareholders. Milton Friedman recognized this problem decades ago when answering the question whether businesses have ethical or social obligations. As a corollary, businesses that make general offers of service to the public forego profits by refusing to service a lawful activity, i.e., fossil fuel extraction or gun manufacturing.

Sherman and Clayton Acts demonstrate Congress's concern about the political and economic power of the oil and railroad trusts of the first Gilded Age. The possibility that these rents are extracted at least in part through regulatory capture can function as a bar to entrance for new competitors. Unless conservatives take a firm hand to the bureaucracy and marshal its power to defend a freedom-promoting agenda, nothing will stop the bureaucracy's anti-free market, leftist march.

Onward!

The idea of Mandate for Leadership was first conceived in the fall of 1979 at a Heritage Foundation board of trustees meeting. It was founded by Frank Shakespeare and Bill Middendorf. The original Mandate served as a conservative plan of action for the Reagan Administration. Many of the study's authors were recruited into the Administration to implement its recommendations. The recommendations ranged from internal bureaucratic reorganizations to plans to implement specific, fundamental changes in every imaginable policy area. President Reagan's Mandate led to tax cuts and other economic policies that gave America one of the longest periods of peacetime economic growth in its history. As a result of those recommendations, the Trump Administration cut taxes and eliminated unnecessary regulations, creating a growing economy and the lowest unemployment rate in five decades. The Mandate allows the American people to hold their politicians accountable to the principles they profess to believe in.

Former Treasury Secretary Bill Simon and former GSA Administrator Jack Eckerd discussed the predicament they had faced when they first joined a new, more conservative presidential Administration. The two men were concerned about how to prepare for a conservative President-elect. It contained more than 2,000 detailed, actionable policy recommendations to move the federal government in a conservative direction. The vision for was that it would serve as a guidebook of specific policy recommendations for reducing the size and scope of the government. Mandate was released on January 21, 1981, at the first meeting of Reagan's Cabinet. After his first year in office, the Administration had implemented 64 percent of its policy recommendations. It also prioritized veterans' care and rebuilt our national defenses. And, very importantly, it allows the American people to see concrete evidence of the progress an Administration is making toward reversing the growth of government and implementing conservative solutions in its stead.

The Heritage Foundation is a conservative think tank based in Washington, D.C. They decided to form task forces of experts on a range of policy issues. The recommendations led to a rebuilding of the United States military, helped to bring an end to the Cold War and to the Soviet Union itself, and reinvigorated the American people.

Resources

Dans, P., Groves, S., & Roberts, K. D. (2023). *Mandate for leadership: The conservative promise 2025*. The Heritage Foundation.