

In 2022, PhRMA Donated \$530,000 To Conservative Groups Leading The Leonard Leo-Connected Project 2025 And Parroting The Big Lie While Fighting Expanded Voter Access

Summary: In 2022, the Pharmaceutical Research and Manufacturers of America, or PhRMA, [representing](#) the country's largest pharmaceutical companies [spent](#) millions in contributions and grants as part of its [multi-pronged attack](#) against the Inflation Reduction Act's Medicare drug negotiation provisions. **An Accountable.US review has found that among groups benefiting from PhRMA money in 2022, organizations intimately involved with the Heritage Foundation's 2025 Presidential Transition Project, also known as Project 2025, received \$530,000 from the pharmaceutical group. Making matters worse these organizations have fought against expanded voter access, while often parroting the Big Lie that the 2020 presidential election was stolen.**

The 2025 Presidential Transition Project is an initiative [launched](#) by the Heritage Foundation in April 2022 to [create](#) a government-in-waiting for the next Republican presidency [led](#) by Paul Dans, a former Trump official who served as chief of staff at the U.S. Office of Personnel Management before joining the Heritage Foundation. The first major initiative of Project 2025 was the [creation](#) of the Project 2025 Advisory Board consisting of [over 80 member organizations](#) "[focused on recruiting personnel and preparing comprehensive policy recommendations to ensure the next conservative presidential administration is prepared for success on day one.](#)" In 2022, Project 2025 Advisory Board members [received](#) \$965,000 in funds from the Heritage Foundation, accounting for 58% of Heritage's total grantmaking that year.

In April 2023, Project 2025 [released](#) the latest edition of the "[Mandate for Leadership: The Conservative Promise.](#)" which serves as a "comprehensive policy guide for the next conservative U.S. president" with policy recommendations from "more than 35 primary authors and hundreds of contributors" impacting "all aspects of the federal government." **The Mandate for Leadership explicitly [calls for the repeal of the Inflation Reduction Act's Medicare drug negotiation program](#)** while also attacking the Biden administration's Health and Human Services Department as pushing policies focused on "LGBTQ+ equity" and "harmful identity politics that replaces biological sex with subjective notions of 'gender identity.'"

Project 2025 is also [tied](#) to conservative judicial mastermind Leonard Leo through the Teneo Network, a secretive association of conservative politicians, business leaders, activists, and professionals that is advising the effort. Leonard Leo [became](#) chair of the Teneo Network in 2021 and has [vowed](#) to use the organization to "crush liberal dominance" in many areas of American society.

Project 2025 groups Advisory Board members that received money from PhRMA in 2022 include:

- **The Heritage Foundation**, which [received](#) \$125,000 from PhRMA and is the architect of Project 2025. The Heritage Foundation maintains a so-called [Election Fraud Database](#) based on unfounded claims that voter fraud is widespread, with a Brookings Institution [analysis](#) of the data finding Texas voter fraud was a mere 0.000096%, as Heritage personnel [push allegations](#) of third parties "harvesting" mail-in ballots to influence election results.
- **American Commitment**, a conservative nonprofit dedicated to "[free markets, economic growth, constitutionally-limited government, property rights, and individual freedom.](#)" [received](#) \$75,000 from PhRMA. In January 2019, American Commitment [joined](#) conservative groups in attacking H.R. 1, the For the People Act—which had been described as the "[most significant voting rights and democracy reform in more than half a century](#)"—as "[fundamentally undermin\[ing\] the American electoral system.](#)"

- **The American Legislative Exchange Council (ALEC)**, an organization of conservative state legislators dedicated to [“the principles of limited government, free markets, and federalism.”](#) [received](#) \$110,000 from PhRMA. PhRMA also donated \$75,000 to committees tied to Florida House Rep. Daniel Perez, an insurance attorney who [served](#) as the 2023 ALEC National Chair and is the [current](#) Speaker of the Florida House of Representatives. In early 2020, ALEC CEO Lisa Nelson was [involved](#) in discussions on how conservative state legislators and attorneys could “question the validity of an election,” including drafting letters for legislators to send to secretaries of state.
- **The Competitive Enterprise Institute (CEI)**, a conservative think tank, [received](#) \$25,000 from PhRMA. [CEI President and CEO](#) Kent Lassman [coauthored](#) a chapter of the Mandate for Leadership related to trade while seven other CEI employees were cited as contributors. In November 2021, CEI Senior Fellow Mario Loyola, who also contributed to the Mandate for Leadership, [parroted](#) bogus claims that January 6 should not have been labeled an insurrection given it "had no chance" with progressives' control of all institutions, likening progressive protesters in Wisconsin and Texas to insurrectionists and claiming the media would have called the election stolen if "Trump loyalists" had won.
- **FreedomWorks**, a conservative advocacy group, [received](#) \$70,000 from PhRMA. Stephen Moore, [FreedomWorks' Senior Economist](#), [coauthored](#) a chapter of Project 2025's Mandate for Leadership discussing policy recommendations within the U.S. Treasury Department while two other FreedomWorks employees were listed as contributors to the report. Following the 2020 presidential election, FreedomWorks [amplified](#) baseless voter fraud claims and later [selected](#) conservative election lawyer Cleta Mitchell to lead its “National Election Protection Initiative” seeking to restrict state voter access while also rallying opposition to federal legislation expanding voter access. Cleta Mitchell closely [advised](#) Donald Trump in his efforts to overturn the 2020 presidential election and has since continued to advocate for restricting voter access, including an April 2023 discussion with conservative donors where she pressed the need to [“limit voting on college campuses, same-day voter registration and automatic mailing of ballots to registered voters”](#) as reforms were needed “for any candidate other than a leftist to have a chance to WIN in 2024.”
- **The Pacific Research Institute (PRI)**, a conservative think tank dedicated to [“advancing free-market policy solutions.”](#) [received](#) \$125,000 from PhRMA. In a June 2020 [op-ed](#), Pacific Research Institute fellow Kerry Jackson spouted right-wing claims that mail-in ballots would lead to "worse results" and "ballot harvesting" to influence election results, claiming the U.S. government shouldn't make it "too easy" for voters to cast ballots.

Table of Contents

Heritage Foundation.....	8
American Commitment.....	10
American Legislative Exchange Council (ALEC).....	12
Competitive Enterprise Institute (CEI).....	16
FreedomWorks.....	19
Pacific Research Institute (PRI).....	23

The 2025 Presidential Transition Project Is An Initiative Launched By The Heritage Foundation To Create A Government-In-Waiting For The Next Republican Presidency By Bringing Together Over 75 Member Organizations “Focused On Recruiting Personnel And Preparing Comprehensive Policy Recommendations To Ensure The Next Conservative Presidential Administration Is Prepared For Success On Day One.”

The 2025 Presidential Transition Project Is An Initiative Launched By The Heritage Foundation To Create A Government-In-Waiting For The Next Republican Presidency.

The Heritage Foundation Launched The 2025 Presidential Transition Project In April 2022. “The Heritage Foundation today announced the formation of the Project 2025 Advisory Board, the first major initiative of the 2025 Presidential Transition Project since its launch in April.” [The Heritage Foundation, [06/24/22](#)]

The Goal Of The 2025 Presidential Transition Project Is To Develop “Conservative Policy Recommendations” For The Incoming President In The Event That Republicans Retake The White House In 2024. “The 2025 Presidential Transition Project is focused on two key fronts—preparing the next administration with conservative policy recommendations and the properly vetted and trained personnel needed to defeat the administrative state, implement those policies, and take back America.” [The Heritage Foundation, [06/24/22](#)]

The 2025 Presidential Transition Project Is Also Vetting And Training Personnel Who Could Work In The New Administration. “The 2025 Presidential Transition Project is focused on two key fronts—preparing the next administration with conservative policy recommendations and the properly vetted and trained personnel needed to defeat the administrative state, implement those policies, and take back America.” [The Heritage Foundation, [06/24/22](#)]

The 2025 Presidential Transition Project Is Led By Paul Dans, A Former Trump Administration Official Who Served As Chief Of Staff At The U.S. Office Of Personnel Management Before Joining The Heritage Foundation.

Paul Dans, Director Of The 2025 Presidential Transition Project, Worked In The Trump Administration As Chief Of Staff At The U.S. Office Of Personnel Management Before Joining The Heritage Foundation. “Paul Dans directs Heritage’s 2025 Presidential Transition Project, organizing policy and personnel recommendations and training for appointees in the next presidential administration. Prior to joining Heritage, Dans served in the Trump Administration as Chief of Staff at the U.S. Office of Personnel Management where he managed the federal agency in charge of human resources policy for the more than two million federal workers.” [Heritage Foundation, accessed [01/04/24](#)]

Paul Dans Also Served As OPM’s White House Liaison During The Trump Administration Where He Worked “Integrally With The White House Office Of Presidential Personnel To Staff The Approximately 4000 Presidential Appointees Across The Federal Government,” Before Being Named Chairman Of The National Capital Planning Commission In January 2021. “He also served as OPM’s White House liaison and worked integrally with the White House Office of Presidential Personnel to staff the approximately 4000 presidential appointees across the federal government. In January 2021, President Trump appointed Dans to serve as Chairman of the National Capital Planning Commission.”

The Project 2025 Advisory Board Is The First Major Initiative Of The 2025 Presidential Transition Project, Bringing Together Over 75 Member Organizations “Focused On Recruiting Personnel And Preparing Comprehensive Policy Recommendations To Ensure The Next Conservative Presidential Administration Is Prepared For Success On Day One.”

The Project 2025 Advisory Board, Which Launched In June 2022, Is A “Major Initiative” Of The Heritage Foundation’s 2025 Presidential Transition Project. “The Heritage Foundation today announced the formation of the Project 2025 Advisory Board, the first major initiative of the 2025 Presidential Transition Project since its launch in April.” [Heritage Foundation, [06/24/22](#)]

In October 2023, The Heritage Foundation Announced The Project 2025 Advisory Board, “Focused On Recruiting Personnel And Preparing Comprehensive Policy Recommendations To Ensure The Next Conservative Presidential Administration Is Prepared For Success On Day One,” Had Reached 75 Members. “In a historic moment for the conservative movement, The Heritage Foundation announced today its 2025 Presidential Transition Project has reached 75 coalition partners. Conservative organizations from across the country have come together to make up Project 2025’s Advisory Board, which is focused on recruiting personnel and preparing comprehensive policy recommendations to ensure the next conservative presidential administration is prepared for success on day one.” [Heritage Foundation, [10/10/23](#)]

Project 2025’s Policy Manifesto, The “Mandate For Leadership: The Conservative Promise,” Explicitly Calls For The Repeal Of The Inflation Reduction Act’s Medicare Drug Negotiation Program While Bashing The Biden Administration’s Promotion Of “LGBTQ Equity” And “Harmful Identity Politics That Replaces Biological Sex With Subjective Notions Of ‘Gender Identity.’”

In April 2023, Project 2025 Released The Latest Edition Of The “Mandate For Leadership: The Conservative Promise,” Which Serves As A “Comprehensive Policy Guide For The Next Conservative U.S. President” With Policy Recommendations From “More Than 35 Primary Authors And Hundreds Of Contributors” Impacting “All Aspects Of The Federal Government.”

April 2023: The 2025 Presidential Transition Project Released The Ninth Edition Of Its “Mandate For Leadership: The Conservative Promise,” To Help Its “Goal Of Shaping Policy Decisions Among Presidential Candidates.” “With the goal of shaping policy decisions among presidential candidates, the 2025 Presidential Transition Project announced the publication of the ninth edition of ‘Mandate for Leadership: The Conservative Promise.’ It’s the earliest publication of ‘Mandate’ ever—months before candidates square off in the first presidential primary debate.” [The Heritage Foundation, [04/21/23](#)]

The Heritage Foundation Described The Mandate For Leadership As A “Comprehensive Policy Guide For The Next Conservative U.S. President,” Pulling Together “Expertise Of Hundreds Of Political Appointees, Policy Scholars, And Conservative Leaders Across The Conservative Movement.” “A comprehensive policy guide for the next conservative U.S. president, the book pulls from the expertise of hundreds of political appointees, policy scholars, and conservative leaders across the conservative movement. The book builds upon the legacy of the 1981 edition of ‘Mandate for Leadership,’ which appeared on The Washington Post’s paperback bestseller list.” [The Heritage Foundation, [04/21/23](#)]

The Mandate For Leadership, Edited By Project 2025 Director Paul Dans And Heritage Fellow Steven Groves, Contained 30 Chapters With Policy Recommendations From “More Than 35 Primary Authors And Hundreds Of Contributors” Impacting “All Aspects Of The Federal Government.” “Mandate for Leadership: The Conservative Promise’ features 30 chapters spanning all aspects of the federal government. Editors Paul Dans, director of Project 2025, and Steven Groves, the Margaret Thatcher fellow at Heritage, worked with more than 35 primary authors and hundreds of contributors to assemble the 900-page book, which will be distributed Friday at Heritage’s two-day Leadership Summit in National Harbor, Maryland.” [The Heritage Foundation, [04/21/23](#)]

Project 2025’s Mandate For Leadership Explicitly Calls For The Repeal Of The Inflation Reduction Act’s Medicare Drug Negotiation Program While Also Attacking The Biden Administration’s Health And Human Services Department For Pushing Policies It Claimed Focused On “LGBTQ Equity” And “Harmful Identity Politics That Replaces Biological Sex With Subjective Notions Of ‘Gender Identity.’”

Project 2025’s Mandate For Leadership Attacked The Inflation Reduction Act’s Medicare Drug Negotiation Program As “Government Price Controls” That Would “Limit Access To Medications And Reduce Patient Access To New Medication” And Called For Its Immediate Repeal. “The Inflation Reduction Act (IRA) created a drug price negotiation program in Medicare that replaced the existing private-sector negotiations in Part D with government price controls for prescription drugs. These government price controls will limit access to medications and reduce patient access to new medication. This ‘negotiation’ program should be repealed, and reforms in Part D that will have meaningful impact for seniors should be pursued.” [Project 2025 Mandate for Leadership, accessed [01/09/24](#)]

Project 2025’s Mandate For Leadership Also Attacked The Biden Administration’s Health And Human Services Department For Supposedly Pushing Policies Focused On “LGBTQ+ Equity,’ Subsidizing Single-Motherhood, Disincentivizing Work, And Penalizing Marriage” When “Families Comprised Of A Married Mother, Father, And Their Children Are The Foundation Of A Well-Ordered Nation And Healthy Society.” “Families comprised of a married mother, father, and their children are the foundation of a well-ordered nation and healthy society. Unfortunately, family policies and programs under President Biden’s HHS are fraught with agenda items focusing on ‘LGBTQ+ equity,’ subsidizing single-motherhood, disincentivizing work, and penalizing marriage. These policies should be repealed and replaced by policies that support the formation of stable, married, nuclear families.” [Project 2025 Mandate for Leadership, accessed [01/09/24](#)]

The Mandate For Leadership Also Slammed “Harmful Identity Politics That Replaces Biological Sex With Subjective Notions Of ‘Gender Identity’” Being Pushed By “Radical Actors Inside And Outside Government.” “Radical actors inside and outside government are promoting harmful identity politics that replaces biological sex with subjective notions of ‘gender identity’ and bases a person’s worth on his or her race, sex, or other identities. This destructive dogma, under the guise of ‘equity,’ threatens American’s fundamental liberties as well as the health and well-being of children and adults alike.” [Project 2025 Mandate for Leadership, accessed [01/09/24](#)]

In 2022, Project 2025 Advisory Board Members Received \$965,000 In Funds From The Heritage Foundation, Accounting For 58% Of Heritage’s Total Grantmaking That Year, With Nearly 40 Advisory Board Members Also Receiving Money From “Dark-Money Groups Linked To Leonard Leo.”

In 2022, Project 2025 Advisory Board Members Received \$965,000 In Funds from The Heritage Foundation, Accounting For 58% Of Heritage’s Total Grantmaking That Year...

In 2022, The Heritage Foundation Gave \$965,000 To Organizations On The Advisory Board Of Project 2025, Accounting For 58% Of Heritage’s Total Grantmaking That Year. “The Heritage Foundation, a conservative think tank, stepped up efforts to boost its Project 2025 initiative by ramping up grants to the venture aimed at creating a ‘government-in-waiting’ for the next Republican presidential administration, according to a new tax filing. The foundation distributed over \$1.67 million in grants in 2022 — including a total of \$965,000 to organizations on the advisory board of Project 2025, tax records show. These donations accounted for 58% of Heritage’s total grant-making in 2022.” [NBC News, [11/17/23](#)]


...As Well As Money From “Dark-Money Groups Linked To Leonard Leo, A Major Right-Wing Donor Who Influenced The Shaping Of The Supreme Court’s Conservative Supermajority Under Trump.”

In 2022, Nearly 40 Organizations Represented On Project 2025’s Advisory Board Received Money From “Dark-Money Groups Linked To Leonard Leo, A Major Right-Wing Donor Who Influenced The Shaping Of The Supreme Court’s Conservative Supermajority Under Trump.” “Project 2025’s board of more than 80 conservative organizations includes nearly 40 that have received funding from dark-money groups linked to Leonard Leo, a major right-wing donor who influenced the shaping of the Supreme Court’s conservative supermajority under Trump. Leo was a key outside adviser to Trump on his judicial picks while he was in office, though their relationship has soured in recent years, The New York Times recently reported.” [NBC News, [11/17/23](#)]

Leonard Leo Is Directly Involved In Project 2025 Through The Teneo Network, A Secretive Association Of Conservative Politicians, Business Leaders, Activists, And Professionals That Is Advising The Effort.

The Teneo Network Is A Secretive Group Of Right-Wing Politicians, Activists, Business Leaders, And Professionals Based Out Of Austin, Texas.

The Teneo Network Is A Nonprofit Organization That Has Been Incorporated In Texas Since 2018:

TENEONETWORK, INC.	
Texas Taxpayer Number	32068564890
Mailing Address	1601 ELM ST STE 4360 DALLAS, TX 75201-4701
 Right to Transact Business in Texas	ACTIVE
State of Formation	TX
Effective SOS Registration Date	10/03/2018
Texas SOS File Number	0803134062
Registered Agent Name	COGENCY GLOBAL INC.
Registered Office Street Address	1601 ELM ST., SUITE 4360 DALLAS, TX 75201

[Texas Comptroller of Public Accounts, accessed [04/06/23](#)]

- The Teneo Network Was Founded By Evan Baehr, A Managing Partner Of The Venture Capital Fund Learn Capital.** “Baehr is managing partner of Learn Capital, a venture capital fund that backs and builds companies that drive human flourishing. He’s Founder of Teneo, a national leadership organization, author of the best selling book Get Backed from Harvard Business Press, and host of the Arena, a TV show celebrating bold founders.” [Evan Baehr’s personal website, accessed [04/06/23](#)]

Teneo Network Recruits, Connects, And Deploys Leaders In Business, Media, Finance, Entertainment, And Politics Who Share A Conservative Worldview And Seek To Influence The Greater Culture. “Teneo is the talent pipeline for the conservative movement. [...] We’re building the capacity to do for the broader culture what Leonard and others were able to do in law, We’re recruiting, connecting, and deploying extraordinary leaders within business, media, finance, entertainment, and other sectors. We have an extraordinary network of leading CEOs, film producers, private equity investors, high-ranking public officials, leading journalists, Navy SEALs, public policy leaders, and best-selling authors across the country.” [Bradley Impact Fund, interview with Teneo president Amanda Covo, accessed [04/06/23](#)]

The Teneo Network Is A Member Of The Project 2025 Advisory Board.

The Teneo Network Is A Member Of The Project 2025 Advisory Board. [Project 2025, accessed [12/21/23](#)]

In 2021, Leonard Leo Took Over As The Chairman Of The Teneo Network.

According To Its FY 2021 IRS Form 990, Leonard Leo Became The Chairman Of The Teneo Network In 2021:

(A) Name and title	(B) Average hours per week (list any hours for related organizations below dotted line)	(C) Position (do not check more than one box, unless person is both an officer and a director/trustee)						(D) Reportable compensation from the organization (W-2/1099-MISC/1099-NEC)	(E) Reportable compensation from related organizations (W-2/1099-MISC/1099-NEC)	(F) Estimated amount of other compensation from the organization and related organizations
		Individual trustee or director	Institutional Trustee	Officer	Key employee	Highest compensated employee	Former			
(1) LEONARD LEO Chairman	1.000	X		X				0	0	0

[Teneo Network, Form 990, [FY 2021](#)]

Leonard Leo Plans To Leverage The Teneo Network To “Crush Liberal Dominance” In Many Areas Of American Society.

In A Video Address To Teneo Network Members, Leonard Leo Said He Planned To Use The Group To “Crush Liberal Dominance” In Media, Entertainment, And The Corporate World. “Now, Leo declared in a slick but private video to potential donors, he planned to ‘crush liberal dominance’ across American life. The country was plagued by ‘woke-ism’ in corporations and education, ‘one-sided journalism’ and ‘entertainment that’s really corrupting our youth,’ said Leo amid snippets of cheery music and shots of sunsets and American flags.” [ProPublica, [03/09/23](#)]

Heritage Foundation

In 2022, The Pharmaceutical Research and Manufacturers of America (PhRMA) Donated \$125,000 To The Heritage Foundation, Architects Of The 2025 Presidential Transition Project.

In 2022, PhRMA Donated \$125,000 To the Heritage Foundation.

In 2022, PhRMA Donated \$125,000 To The Heritage Foundation:

(6) HERITAGE FOUNDATION							
214 MASS. AVE NE WASHINGTON, DC 20002	73-7327730	501 (C) 3		125,000.			GENERAL CONTRIBUTION

[PhRMA 2022 IRS Form 990, [11/15/23](#)]

- **The Heritage Foundation Is A Conservative Think Tank Dedicated To “Formulat[ing] And Promot[ing] Public Policies Based On The Principles Of Free Enterprise, Limited Government, Individual Freedom, Traditional American Values, And A Strong National Defense.”** “Every day, The Heritage Foundation is building an America where freedom, opportunity, prosperity, and civil society flourish. Heritage’s mission is to formulate and promote public policies based on the principles of free enterprise, limited government, individual freedom, traditional American values, and a strong national defense.” [The Heritage Foundation, accessed [12/21/23](#)]
- **The Heritage Foundation Launched The 2025 Presidential Transition Project In April 2022.** “The Heritage Foundation today announced the formation of the Project 2025 Advisory Board, the first major initiative of the 2025 Presidential Transition Project since its launch in April.” [Heritage Foundation, [06/24/22](#)]

The Heritage Foundation Maintains A So-Called Election Fraud Database On Unfounded Claims That Voter Fraud Is Widespread, With A Brookings Institution Analysis Of The Data Finding Texas Voter Fraud Was A Mere 0.000096%, As Heritage Personnel Push Allegations Of Third Parties "Harvesting" Mail-In Ballots To Influence Election Results.

Heritage Maintains A So-Called Election Fraud Database Within Findings That Have Been Criticized By The Brookings Institution As Insignificant, Including An Analysis Of Its Texas Reported Cases Amounting To A Mere 0.000096% Of Data Collected Between 2005 And 2022.

The Heritage Foundation Maintains An Election Fraud Database, Which Tracks A Range Of Claimed Election Fraud Cases. "The Heritage Foundation, a conservative think tank, has been monitoring election fraud cases state by state. Election fraud covers a range of activities — such as registering someone to vote and forging their signature, filling out an absentee ballot for someone who has died or moved away, voting while ineligible, or pretending to be someone else at the polling place and voting." [Brookings Institution, [11/22/23](#)]

A Review Of The Database By The Brookings Institution Shows The Number Of "Proven" Fraud Cases Is Insignificant, With Data Collected By Heritage Finding Election Fraud In Texas Over Nearly Two Decades "Amounted To 0.000096% Of All Ballots Cast — Hardly Evidence Of A Fundamentally Corrupt System." "They find that there have been 1,465 proven cases of election fraud — 1,264 of these resulted in criminal prosecutions and the remainder resulted in civil prosecutions, diversion programs, judicial findings, or official findings. These may sound like big numbers, however, they must be examined in context. The findings encompass more than a decade of data during which, nationally, hundreds of millions of votes have been cast. For instance, in Texas, Heritage found 103 cases of confirmed election fraud. However, those 103 ranged from 2005 to 2022 during which time over 107 million ballots were cast. There were 11 million ballots cast in the 2020 presidential election alone. The fraud in Texas amounted to 0.000096% of all ballots cast — hardly evidence of a fundamentally corrupt system." [Brookings Institution, [11/22/23](#)]

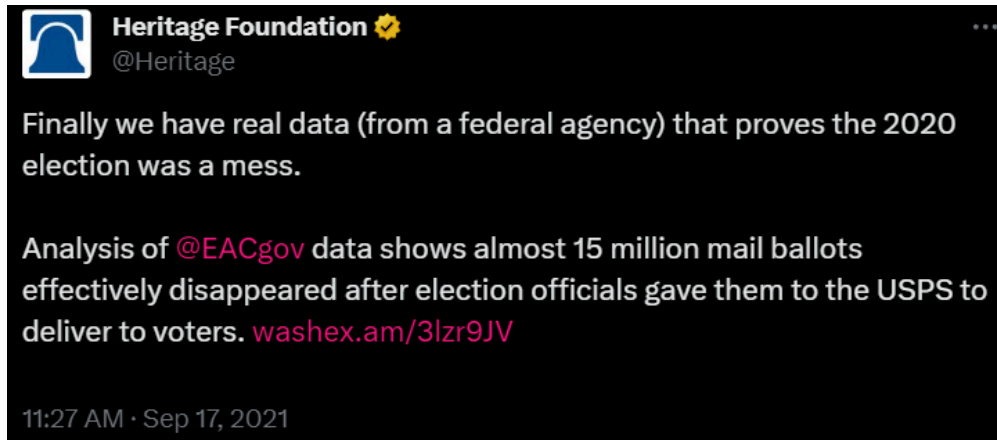
Ahead Of The 2020 Election, A Heritage Senior Legal Fellow Alleged That "Party Activists, Campaign Consultants, And Other Political Guns-For-Hire" Engage In "Vote Harvesting," Which "Is A Proven Threat To The Integrity Of Our Elections."

October 2019: Heritage Senior Legal Fellow Hans A. Von Spakovsky Alleged That "Party Activists, Campaign Consultants, And Other Political Guns-For-Hire" Engage In "Vote Harvesting," With Places Like D.C. And California Essentially Legalizing The Practice Of Harvesting Absentee Ballots. "Vote harvesting gives party activists, campaign consultants, and other political guns-for-hire the ability to manipulate election outcomes either through coercion of voters or outright ballot theft and forgery. Yet, in places like California and the District of Columbia, vote harvesting is perfectly legal. [...] The vote-harvesting issue arises in the District of Columbia and the 27 states that allow anyone to pick up an absentee ballot from a voter and deliver it to election officials. The contrast between these two approaches can be seen in North Carolina and California." [Heritage Foundation, [10/30/19](#)]

Spakovsky Further Made Bogus Claims That States Are Allowing Third Parties "Who Have A Stake In The Outcome Of An Election Unsupervised Access To Voters And Their Absentee Ballots," Which "Is A Proven Threat To The Integrity Of Our Elections." "Obviously, there needs to be a way for individuals who cannot vote in person on election day due to illness or some other valid reason to cast a vote, and absentee

ballots are the easiest way to make that possible. But the rules governing absentee ballots should not make them susceptible to theft, forgery or coercion. That is exactly what states are doing when they allow vote harvesting. Giving third parties who have a stake in the outcome of an election unsupervised access to voters and their absentee ballots is not wise. Indeed, it is a proven threat to the integrity of our elections." [Heritage Foundation, [10/30/19](#)]

September 2021: Heritage Claimed On X That "The 2020 Election Was A Mess" And That 15 Million Mail Ballots "Disappeared After Election Officials Gave Them To The USPS":



[Heritage Foundation via X, [09/17/21](#)]

American Commitment

In 2022, PhRMA Donated \$75,000 To American Commitment, A Conservative Nonprofit And Member of The Project 2025 Advisory Board Dedicated To "Free Markets, Economic Growth, Constitutionally-Limited Government, Property Rights, And Individual Freedom."

In 2022, PhRMA Donated \$75,000 To American Commitment.

In 2022, PhRMA Donated \$75,000 To American Commitment:

(10) AMERICAN COMMITMENT							
1155 15TH ST NW WASHINGTON, DC 20005	45-2600535	501(C)4		75,000.			GENERAL CONTRIBUTION

[PhRMA 2022 IRS Form 990, [11/15/23](#)]

American Commitment, A Member Of The Project 2025 Advisory Board, Is A Conservative Organization Dedicated To "Free Markets, Economic Growth, Constitutionally-Limited Government, Property Rights, And Individual Freedom."

American Commitment Is A Nonprofit Conservative Organization Dedicated To "Free Markets, Economic Growth, Constitutionally-Limited Government, Property Rights, And Individual Freedom," Including "Deliver[ing] Timely, Effective Public Policy Research To The Broader Free-Market Movement." "We are dedicated to restoring and protecting the American Commitment to free markets, economic growth, Constitutionally-limited government, property rights, and individual freedom. American Commitment engages in critical public policy fights over the size and intrusiveness of government through direct advocacy, strategic policy analysis, and grassroots mobilization. Working with key partners, American

Commitment delivers timely, effective public policy research to the broader free-market movement.” [American Commitment, accessed [12/21/23](#)]

American Commitment Is A Member Of The Project 2025 Advisory Board. [Project 2025, accessed [12/21/23](#)]

American Commitment Joined Conservative Groups In Attacking H.R. 1, The For The People Act—Which Had Been Described As The “Most Significant Voting Rights And Democracy Reform In More Than Half A Century”—As “Fundamentally Undermin[ing] The American Electoral System.”

In January 2019, American Commitment Signed A Letter Attacking H.R. 1, The For The People Act As “Fundamentally Undermin[ing] The American Electoral System” While The Brennan Center For Justice Described The Legislation As The “Most Significant Voting Rights And Democracy Reform In More Than Half A Century.”

January 2019: American Commitment President Phil Kerpen Signed On To A Letter Led By The Conservative Action Project Bashing H.R. 1, The For The People Act, As “Fundamentally Undermin[ing] The American Electoral System” While Claiming To “Restor[e] Democracy” And “Preven[t] Corruption.” “Conservatives are united in opposing H.R. 1, the attempt by House Democrats to fundamentally undermine the American electoral system. While they cloak the bill in terms of ‘restoring democracy’ and ‘preventing corruption,’ the legislation has one goal: to protect incumbents, at the expense of the First Amendment, federalism, and individual voter integrity.” [Conservative Action Project, [01/28/19](#)]

The Brennan Center For Justice Described H.R. 1 As The “Most Significant Voting Rights And Democracy Reform In More Than Half A Century.” “American democracy urgently needs repair. We now have a historic opportunity to bring about transformative change. In both houses of Congress, the For the People Act — H.R. 1 in the House and S. 1 in the Senate — was designated as the first bill, a top priority this session. This historic legislation responds to twin crises facing our country: the ongoing attack on democracy — reflected in the assault on the Capitol on January 6 and the subsequent flood of vote suppression bills across the country — and the urgent demand for racial justice. It is based on the key insight that the best way to defend democracy is to strengthen democracy. If enacted, it would be the most significant voting rights and democracy reform in more than half a century.” [Brennan Center for Justice, [01/29/21](#)]

American Legislative Exchange Council (ALEC)

In 2022, PhRMA Donated \$110,000 To The American Legislative Exchange Council (ALEC), A Member Of The Project 2025 Advisory Board Made Up Of Conservative State Legislators Dedicated To “The Principles Of Limited Government, Free Markets And Federalism.”

The American Legislative Exchange Council (ALEC), A Member Of The Project 2025 Advisory Board, Is An Organization Of Conservative State Legislators Dedicated To “The Principles Of Limited Government, Free Markets And Federalism.”

The American Legislative Exchange Council Is The Country’s “Largest Nonpartisan, Voluntary Membership Organization Of State Legislators Dedicated To The Principles Of Limited Government, Free Markets And Federalism,” With Membership Including “Nearly One-Quarter Of The Country’s State Legislators.” “The American Legislative Exchange Council is America’s largest nonpartisan, voluntary membership organization of state legislators dedicated to the principles of limited government, free markets and federalism. Comprised of nearly one-quarter of the country’s state legislators and stakeholders from across the policy spectrum, ALEC members represent more than 60 million Americans and provide jobs to more than 30 million people in the United States.” [American Legislative Exchange Council, accessed [12/21/23](#)]

ALEC Is A Member Of The Project 2025 Advisory Board. [Project 2025, accessed [12/21/23](#)]

In 2022, PhRMA Donated \$110,000 To The American Legislative Exchange Council (ALEC).

In 2022, PhRMA Donated \$110,000 To The American Legislative Exchange Council (ALEC):

(1) AMERICAN LEGISLATIVE EXCHANGE COUNCIL							
2900 CRYSTAL DR STE 600 ARLINGTON, VA 22202	52-0140979	501 (C) 3	110,000.				GENERAL CONTRIBUTION

[PhRMA 2022 IRS Form 990, [11/15/23](#)]

In 2022, PhRMA Also Donated \$75,000 To Committees Tied To Florida House Rep. Daniel Perez, An Insurance Attorney Who Served As The 2023 ALEC National Chair And Is The Current Speaker Of The Florida House Of Representatives.

In 2022, PhRMA Donated \$25,000 To Conservatives For A Better Florida, A Political Committee Chaired By Florida House Rep. Daniel Perez Who Served As The 2023 ALEC National Chair And Is The Current Speaker Of The Florida House Of Representatives

Rep. Daniel Perez Served As The 2023 ALEC National Chair From December 2022 To December 2023:



[X, [12/01/22](#)]

- **November 30, 2023: Kansas State President Ty Masterson Succeeded Daniel Perez As ALEC’s National Chair.** “Kansas Senate President Ty Masterson is now the new national chair of the American

Legislative Exchange Council. Masterson took the gavel last week from Republican Florida state Rep. Daniel Perez, who is designated to become Florida's next House speaker." [Sunflower State Journal, [12/04/23](#)]

- **In An X Post, Rep. Perez Said It Was “The Honor Of A Lifetime” To Serve As The 2023 ALEC National Chairman:**



[X, [11/30/23](#)]

September 2023: Rep. Daniel Perez Was Designated To Serve As Florida House Speaker For The 2024-26 Legislative Session Starting January 9, 2024. “Miami’s influence over statewide politics became stronger Monday as Rep. Daniel Perez was designated speaker of the Florida House for the 2024-26 legislative term, becoming the second presiding officer from Miami in the last decade. Perez, 36, a Republican, will assume control at a time when his party holds a super majority in both chambers and controls all statewide offices in Florida.” [Miami Herald, [09/18/23](#)]

- **The Florida Legislative Session Began Tuesday, January 9, 2024.** “Florida lawmakers will drop the gavel Tuesday on the 2024 legislative session. We got the holidays out of the way, now it is that time of year again when we all start to look at the Florida Capitol and wonder what new laws will lawmakers pass this year. The gavels are set to drop Tuesday morning, kicking off that 60-day lawmaking gauntlet in Tallahassee.” [WFLX, [01/09/24](#)]

In 2022, PhRMA Donated \$25,000 To Conservatives For A Better Florida, A Political Committee Associated With Florida House Speaker Daniel Perez:

CONSERVATIVES FOR A BETTER FLORIDA 82-2477852
 2100 SALZEDO ST, SUITE 200
 CORAL GABLES, FL 33134
 AMOUNT PAID FROM ORGANIZATION'S OWN FUNDS. 25,000.
 AMOUNT OF POLITICAL CONTRIBUTIONS RECEIVED AND DELIVERED. NONE

[PhRMA 2022 IRS Form 990, [11/15/23](#)]

- Daniel Perez Chairs Conservatives For A Better Florida:

Conservatives for a Better Florida

Type:Political Committee
Status:Active
Address:2100 Salzedo Street
 Suite 200
 Coral Gables, FL 33134
Phone:305438658
Website:<http://conservativesforabetterflorida.com/>
Chairperson:Daniel A. Perez
Treasurer:Anthony Fiore
 2100 SALZEDO ST STE 200
 CORAL GABLES, FL 33134

[Florida Department of State, accessed [01/04/24](#)]

In 2022, PhRMA Also Donated \$50,000 To The Florida Free Enterprise Fund, Which Donated \$25,000 To Perez's Conservatives For A Better Florida.

In 2022, PhRMA Donated \$50,000 To The Florida Free Enterprise Fund:

FLORIDA FREE ENTERPRISE FUND 86-1257230
 PO BOX 11309
 TALLAHASSEE, FL 32302
 AMOUNT PAID FROM ORGANIZATION'S OWN FUNDS. 50,000.
 AMOUNT OF POLITICAL CONTRIBUTIONS RECEIVED AND DELIVERED. NONE

[PhRMA 2022 IRS Form 990, [11/15/23](#)]

- In May 2022, The Florida Free Enterprise Fund Donated \$25,000 To Perez's Conservatives For A Better Florida:

Florida Free Enterprise Fund

*This information is being provided as a convenience to the public, has been processed by the Division of Elections and should be cross referenced with the original report on file with the Division of Elections in case of questions.
[About the Campaign Finance Data Base](#)*

Rpt Yr	Rpt Type	Date	Amount	Expense Paid To	Address
2022	M5	05/05/2022	25,000.00	CONSERVATIVES FOR A BETTER FLO	2100 SALZEDO STREET

[Florida Department of State, accessed [01/04/24](#)]

Daniel Perez Is An Insurance Attorney By Trade, Currently Working As The In-House Counsel for Doctors HealthCare Plans, A Florida-Based “Medicare Advantage Health Plan Offering Coverage For Eligible Medicare Beneficiaries Across Miami-Dade And Broward County.”

Daniel Perez Is An Insurance Attorney By Trade, Currently Working As “In-House Counsel For Doctors HealthCare Plans, A Company That Provides Plans To Medicare Recipients In Miami-Dade County.”
“When he is not working in the Florida Legislature, Perez works as an attorney in the insurance industry. (Three of the last five House speakers, counting Renner, have been lawyers.) After getting his undergraduate degree from Florida State University and his law degree from Loyola University, Perez spent two years with the Miami-based Downs Law Group and almost four with Cole, Scott & Kissane. He now is in-house counsel for Doctors HealthCare Plans, a company that provides plans to Medicare recipients in Miami-Dade County.” [City & State Florida, [09/18/23](#)]

Doctor HealthCare Plans Is A Florida-Based “Medicare Advantage Health Plan Offering Coverage For Eligible Medicare Beneficiaries Across Miami-Dade And Broward County.” “Doctors HealthCare Plans (DHCP) is a Florida-based, locally owned and operated Medicare Advantage Health Plan offering coverage for eligible Medicare beneficiaries across Miami-Dade and Broward County. The health plan was founded on a deep commitment to the community and provides an extensive network of providers, pharmacies and hospitals.” [Doctor HealthCare Plans, accessed [01/09/24](#)]

In Early 2020, ALEC CEO Lisa Nelson Was Involved In Discussions On How Conservative State Legislators And Attorneys Could “Question The Validity Of An Election,” Including Drafting Letters For Legislators To Send To Secretaries Of States.

In Early 2020, ALEC CEO Lisa Nelson Discussed “Action Items That Legislators Can Take To Question The Validity Of An Election” With Conservative Attorneys While Recommending Legislators Send Letters To Their Secretaries Of State Questioning Potential Results.

During A February 2020 Strategy Session With The Council For National Policy, ALEC CEO Lisa Nelson Reportedly Told A Room Of Conservative Activists That Her Organization Had Been Working With Republican Attorneys On “Action Items That Legislators Can Take To Question The Validity Of An Election.” “American Legislative Exchange Council (ALEC) CEO Lisa Nelson told a room full of conservative activists that ALEC had been working with three GOP attorneys on ‘action items that legislators can take to question the validity of an election.’ The comments were made during a strategy session about elections at the Council for National Policy. Nelson told the group, ‘obviously we all want President Trump to win and win the

national vote. But it's very clear from all the comments and all the suggestions up front that really when it comes down to is the states and the state legislators.” [Documented, [10/26/20](#)]

During Her Remarks, Nelson Recommended Legislators “Write A Letter To The Secretary Of State Questioning The Validity Of An Election And Saying What Did Happen That Night” And That They Had Been “Drafting A Lot Of [These Letters].” “They can write a letter to the secretary of state questioning the validity of an election and saying what did happen that night,” Nelson said. ‘So we are drafting a lot of those things. If you have ideas in that area, let us know and we’ll get those to the state legislators and they can start to kind of exercise their political muscle in that area.” [Documented, [10/26/20](#)]

Competitive Enterprise Institute (CEI)

In 2022, PhRMA Donated \$25,000 To The Competitive Enterprise Institute (CEI), A Conservative Think Tank And Member Of The Project 2025 Advisory Board Working To “Reform America’s Unaccountable Regulatory State” And Whose President And CEO Coauthored A Chapter Of The Mandate For Leadership Related To Trade While Seven Other CEI Employees Were Cited As Contributors.

In 2022, PhRMA Donated \$25,000 To The Competitive Enterprise Institute (CEI).

In 2022, PhRMA Donated \$25,000 To The Competitive Enterprise Institute:

(7) COMPETITIVE ENTERPRISE INSTITUTE						GENERAL CONTRIBUTION
1310 L ST NW 7TH FLR WASHINGTON, DC 20005	52-1351785	501 (C) 3		25,000.		GENERAL CONTRIBUTION

[PhRMA 2022 IRS Form 990, [11/15/23](#)]

The Competitive Enterprise Institute, A Member Of The Project 2025 Advisory Board, Is A Conservative Think Tank Working To “Reform America’s Unaccountable Regulatory State.”

The Competitive Enterprise Institute Is A Conservative Think Tank Working To “Reform America’s Unaccountable Regulatory State.” “CEI’s mission is to reform America’s unaccountable regulatory state. We develop and advocate policies to eliminate harmful bureaucratic controls so people can live in a freer, healthier, and more prosperous nation.” [Competitive Enterprise Institute, accessed [12/21/23](#)]

The Competitive Enterprise Institute Is A Member Of The Project 2025 Advisory Board. [Project 2025, accessed [12/21/23](#)]

Kent Lassman, President And CEO Of The Competitive Enterprise Institute, Coauthored A Chapter Of Project 2025’s Policy Manifesto, “Mandate For Leadership: The Conservative Promise,” Related To Trade While Seven Other CEI Employees Were Cited As Contributors.

Kent Lassman, President And CEO Of The Competitive Enterprise Institute, Authored Half Of Chapter 26 Of The Mandate For Leadership, Entitled, “The Case For Free Trade”:

Project 2025

PRESIDENTIAL TRANSITION PROJECT

26 Trade

The Case for Fair Trade

Peter Navarro

The Case for Free Trade

Kent Lassman

[Project 2025, accessed [01/09/24](#)]

- “Kent Lassman Is President And CEO Of The Competitive Enterprise Institute.” [Project 2025 Mandate for Leadership, accessed [01/09/24](#)]

Seven Other Competitive Enterprise Institute Employees Were Listed As Contributors To Project 2025’s “Mandate For Leadership: The Conservative Promise”:

Name	Title
John Berlau	CEI Senior Fellow and Director of Finance Policy
Dan Greenberg	CEI General Counsel
Marlo Lewis	CEI Senior Fellow
Iain Murray	CEI Vice President for Strategy and Senior Fellow
Jessica Melugin	CEI Director of the Center for Technology & Innovation
Mario Loyola	Former CEI Senior Fellow and Current Heritage Foundation Senior Fellow
Ben Lieberman	CEI Senior Fellow

[Project 2025 Mandate for Leadership, accessed [01/09/24](#)]

In November 2021, CEI Senior Fellow Mario Loyola Parroted Bogus Claims That January 6 Should Not Have Been Labeled An Insurrection Given It "Had No Chance" With Progressives' Control Of All Institutions, Likening Progressive Protestors In Wisconsin And Texas To Insurrectionists And Claiming The Media Would Have Called The Election Stolen If "Trump Loyalists" Had Won.

In November 2021, CEI Senior Fellow Mario Loyola Parroted Bogus Claims That January 6 Should Not Have Been Viewed As An Insurrection "Given Progressives' Near-Control Of Our Institutions," Likening January 6 To Protesters Opposing State-Based Legislation In Wisconsin And Texas.

November 2021: CEI Senior Fellow Mario Loyola Wrote A Piece Citing A *Wall Street Journal* Article That Claimed January 6 Should Not Be Seen As An Insurrection "Given Progressives' Near-Total Control Of Our Institutions," Adding "It Had No Chance." "The Wall Street Journal recently ran one of those opinion pieces you know you'll remember years later. In 'The Impossible Insurrection of January 6,' the Journal's Barton Swaim argues that the invasion of the Capitol by a mob of Trump supporters shouldn't be considered an insurrection or an attempted coup, chiefly because, given progressives' near-total control of our institutions, it had no chance: *It is irrefutable that some form of modern liberalism or progressivism prevails in nearly every sphere of American public life: the news media, the universities, K-12 education, the entertainment industry, corporate boardrooms, mainline religious organizations, college and professional sports (excluding the fans), much of U.S. military bureaucracy, and state and federal agencies.*" [Competitive Enterprise Institute, [11/27/21](#)]

Loyola Further Compared The Events Of January 6 To "Progressive Protesters" Who Opposed A Wisconsin Budget-Reform Bill And Opposed The Texas Legislature From Approving An Abortion Bill. "I was horrified by the events of January 6, for the same reason I was horrified in 2011 when progressive protesters invaded the Wisconsin state capitol to block a budget-reform bill; and in 2013 when they shouted down an abortion bill in the Texas legislature from the rafters; and in 2020, when they spent a good part of the summer destroying public monuments, besieging federal buildings, abusing the police, and attacking local youngsters for trying to put out their fires when the responsible authorities were too lily-livered to do their jobs." [Competitive Enterprise Institute, [11/27/21](#)]

Loyola Further Argued The "Mainstream Media" Would Have Instead Reported The Election Stolen If "Trump Loyalists" Had Won The White House And Both Chambers Of Congress.

Loyola Concluded That The Events Of January 6 Might Have Been Different If "Trump Loyalists Had Enjoyed Overwhelming Majorities In Both Houses Of Congress," Claiming The "Mainstream Media" Would Have Then Reported The Election Stolen. "Still, Swaim's broader point is hard to discredit if you consider the counterfactual. Imagine what might have happened if, on January 6, Trump loyalists had enjoyed overwhelming majorities in both houses of Congress and in the state legislatures of key battleground states. And imagine further that the vice president, Senate majority leader, and speaker of the House were all supportive of Trump's bid. And imagine that the mainstream media was insistently reporting that the election had been stolen. In that case, the result of January 6 might indeed have been quite different." [Competitive Enterprise Institute, [11/27/21](#)]

Unite and Get Ready to Fight

Surrendering to the progressive dominance of the state is not an option.

Mario Loyola • 11/27/2021

[Competitive Enterprise Institute, [11/27/21](#)]

In September 2022, CEI Attorney Devin Watkins Moderated A Panel Discussion Hosted By The Conservative Federalist Society Where Panel Members Claimed Liberals Used January 6 As An Excuse To Strip Americans Of The Right To Vote, Calling It An "Exaggeration" And A "Lie."

In September 2022, CEI Attorney Devin Watkins Moderated A Panel Discussion Hosted By The Federalist Society Where Panelists Called January 6 "A Lie," Arguing Instead Of An Insurrection, The Events Were Used To Strip Voters The Right To Duly Elect Their Representatives.

September 2022: CEI Attorney Devin Watkins Moderated A Panel Discussion Hosted By The Federalist Society Titled, "Who Decides if January 6 Was an Insurrection Prohibiting the Election Of Participants?" [The Federalist Society, [09/22/22](#)]

Featuring:

- **James Bopp, Jr.**, General Counsel, James Madison Center for Free Speech
- **Kory Langhofer**, Managing Partner, Statecraft
- **Pressly M. Millen**, Partner, Womble Bond Dickinson
- **Moderator: Devin Watkins**, Attorney, Competitive Enterprise Institute

[The Federalist Society, [09/22/22](#)]

During The Discussion, Panelist James Bopp Jr. Claimed January 6 "[Was] A Classic Example Of Liberal Exaggeration" And "A Lie" To "Strip The Voters Of Their Right To Elect Their Representative People." "This is a classic example of liberal exaggeration where they weaponize an issue to attack their opponents and democracy. They take something which, in my opinion, was bad enough which was a despicable attack on the US capitol, and they turn it into a lie and the lie is that there was an insurrection on that day. They deploy this lie then to undermine democracy by trying to remove people from office, preventing them from being candidates for office. Thereby stripping the voters of their right to elect their representative people and empowering bureaucrats, lawyers, and judges with the power to select who's going to be in public office." [The Federalist Society, [09/22/22](#)]

FreedomWorks

In 2022, PhRMA Donated \$70,000 To FreedomWorks, A Conservative Advocacy Group And Member Of The Project 2025 Advisory Board Working To Advance "Limited Government, Social Tolerance, And Individual Liberty" Whose Chief Economist Coauthored A Chapter Of The "Mandate For Leadership" Discussing Potential Changes Within The U.S. Treasury Department.

In 2022, PhRMA Donated \$70,000 To FreedomWorks.

In 2022, PhRMA Donated \$70,000 To FreedomWorks:

(8) FREEDOMWORKS							
111 K ST NE STE 600 WASHINGTON, DC 20002	52-1349353	501(C)4	70,000.				GENERAL CONTRIBUTION

[PhRMA 2022 IRS Form 990, [11/15/23](#)]

FreedomWorks, A Member Of The Project 2025 Advisory Board, Is A Conservative Advocacy Group Working To Advance “Limited Government, Social Tolerance, And Individual Liberty.”

FreedomWorks Is A Conservative Advocacy Group Working To “Mobilize The Center Right And Politically Homeless In America Who Do Not Feel Their Values Of Limited Government, Social Tolerance, And Individual Liberty Are Being Represented In Political Discourse Today.” “FreedomWorks exists to mobilize the center right and politically homeless in America who do not feel their values of limited government, social tolerance, and individual liberty are being represented in political discourse today.” [FreedomWorks, accessed [12/21/23](#)]

FreedomWorks Is A Member Of The Project 2025 Advisory Board. [Project 2025, accessed [12/21/23](#)]

Stephen Moore, FreedomWorks’ Senior Economist, Coauthored A Chapter Of Project 2025’s Policy Manifesto, “Mandate For Leadership: The Conservative Promise,” Discussing Potential Changes Within The U.S. Treasury Department, While Two Other FreedomWorks Employees Served As Contributors To The Report.

Stephen Moore, FreedomWorks’ Senior Economist, Coauthored Chapter 22 Of The Mandate For Leadership Discussing Potential Policy Changes Within the U.S. Treasury Department:

Project 2025

PRESIDENTIAL TRANSITION PROJECT

22 Department of the Treasury

William L. Walton

Stephen Moore

David R. Burton

[Project 2025, accessed [01/09/24](#)]

- **Stephen Moore Is The Senior Economist at FreedomWorks, Where He “Communicates FreedomWorks’ Vision For A Pro-Growth Economic Agenda To Grassroots Activists And Media Nationwide, As Well As Conducting Original Economic Analysis.”** “Stephen Moore is FreedomWorks’ Senior Economist. He communicates FreedomWorks’ vision for a pro-growth economic agenda to grassroots activists and media nationwide, as well as conducting original economic analysis.” [FreedomWorks, accessed [01/09/24](#)]

Other FreedomWorks Employees Serving as Contributors To The Mandate For Leadership, Include Cesar Ybarra And Laura Zorc. [Project 2025 Mandate for Leadership, accessed [01/09/24](#)]

- **Laura Zorc Is FreedomWorks’ Vice President Of Programs And Executive Director Of B.E.S.T (Building Education For Students Together):**



LAURA ZORC


*Vice President of Programs &
Executive Director of B.E.S.T.*


[FreedomWorks, accessed [01/09/24](#)]

- **Cesar Ybarra Was FreedomWorks’ Former Vice President Of Policy Before Joining The House Freedom Caucus As Policy Director In May 2023:**

Cesar I. Ybarra
Policy Director at House Freedom Caucus

Experience

 **Policy Director**
U.S. House of Representatives
May 2023 - Present · 9 mos
House Freedom Caucus

 **FreedomWorks**
2 yrs 3 mos

- **Vice President of Policy**
Jan 2022 - May 2023 · 1 yr 5 mos
- **Senior Director of Legislative Affairs**
Mar 2021 - Jan 2022 · 11 mos

[LinkedIn, accessed [01/09/24](#)]

Following The 2020 Presidential Election, FreedomWorks Amplified Baseless Voter Fraud Claims And Later Selected Conservative Election Lawyer Cleta Mitchell To Lead Its “National Election Protection Initiative” Seeking To Restrict State Voter Access While Also Rallying Opposition To Federal Legislation Expanding Voter Access.

FreedomWorks Amplified Baseless Voter Fraud Claims In The Days Following The 2020 Presidential Election And Organized Protests Against Legitimate Election Results In Michigan And Pennsylvania.

After The 2020 Presidential Election, FreedomWorks Amplified Baseless Claims The Election Had Been Stolen From President Trump, Going As Far As Organizing Protests In Not Only Michigan And Pennsylvania But Also Oklahoma, “A Solidly Red State Whose Votes For Trump [Were] Not Being Contested.” “The same rightwing activists that helped grow the Tea party movement and spread protests against coronavirus lockdowns are now organizing demonstrations alleging fraud outside vote-counting locations in Democratic cities. Amplifying Donald Trump’s baseless claims that Democrats are trying to steal the election, established conservative players are encouraging citizens to show up to protest in person at locations where ballots are being counted, prompting concerns about intimidation of poll workers. FreedomWorks, a conservative advocacy group backed by wealthy donors that played an influential role in the

Tea Party movement, touted the appearance of protesters with their preprinted FreedomWorks signs in Detroit and Philadelphia on Thursday. The group was advertising more protests in Michigan and Pennsylvania on Friday, as well as a 'solidarity' protest in Oklahoma, a solidly red state whose votes for Trump are not being contested." [The Guardian, [11/06/20](#)]

In March 2021, FreedomWorks Selected Conservative Election Lawyer Cleta Mitchell To Lead Its "National Election Protection Initiative" Seeking To Change State Voting Laws Over False Claims Of Fraud While Also Rallying Opposition To Federal Legislation Expanding Voter Access.

March 2021: Conservative Election Lawyer Cleta Mitchell Was Selected To Lead FreedomWorks' "National Election Protection Initiative" Seeking To "Change Voting Laws To Curb Potential But Unproven Election Fraud" Many Saw As "Aimed At Limiting Minority Votes." "But Mitchell, a combative and top lawyer in the right's drive to promote unproven charges of sizable voting fraud in 2020 and tighten future voting laws, was not idle for long. She has now emerged in a series of roles that have put her at the heart of what many see as a ferocious Republican push on limiting voting rights that now reaches across America. Last month, Mitchell was tapped by the libertarian FreedomWorks to spearhead a \$10m drive in seven key states including Georgia, Arizona and Michigan to change voting laws to curb potential but unproven election fraud, which many Democrats and legal experts view as aimed at limiting minority votes." [The Guardian, [04/25/21](#)]

As Head Of FreedomWorks' "National Election Protection Initiative," Mitchell Was Tasked With Rallying Opposition To Congressional Legislation Expanding Voter Access. "According to a FreedomWorks spokesman, another key part of Mitchell's mission leading its "National Election Protection Initiative", is to rally opposition to a House-passed bill that in part would expand voting rights nationally which its sponsors see as necessary to counter the conservative assaults on voting rights in many states. Georgia last month enacted a law that makes voting tougher with new curbs on absentee ballots and on voters in heavily Democratic urban and suburban areas, sparking lawsuits from civil rights and liberal groups, plus a sharp attack from Biden." [The Guardian, [04/25/21](#)]

Adam Brandon, President Of Freedomworks, Praised Mitchell As "An Outspoken Advocate And Voice Of Reason For Improved Election Laws, Especially During The Chaotic 2020 Election Cycle" And Called Her The Organization's "Guide" In "Training And Deploying Activists In The States To Monitor Election Procedures." "FreedomWorks' president, Adam Brandon, has hailed Mitchell as 'an outspoken advocate and voice of reason for improved election laws, especially during the chaotic 2020 election cycle', and dubbed her 'our guide', chairing its election initiative, which will also include training and deploying activists in the states to monitor election procedures." [The Guardian, [04/25/21](#)]

Cleta Mitchell Closely Advised Donald Trump In His Efforts To Overturn The 2020 Presidential Election And Has Since Continued To Advocate For Restricting Voter Access, Including An April 2023 Discussion With Conservative Donors Where She Pressed The Need To "Limit Voting On College Campuses, Same-Day Voter Registration And Automatic Mailing Of Ballots To Registered Voters" As Reforms Were Needed "For Any Candidate Other Than A Leftist To Have A Chance To WIN In 2024."

Following The 2020 Presidential Election, Cleta Mitchell Advised Donald Trump In His Efforts To Overturn The Election, Including Sitting On The Infamous Phone Call Between Trump And Georgia Secretary Of State Brad Raffensperger, Where Trump Reportedly Said, “All We Have To Do, Cleta, Is Find 11,000-Plus Votes.”

Following The 2020 Presidential Election, Cleta Mitchell Advised Donald Trump In His Efforts To Overturn The Election, Even Sitting On The Infamous Phone Call Between Trump And Georgia Secretary Of State Brad Raffensperger When He Asked Raffensperger To “Find” Enough Votes To Overturn The Election, Stating, “All We Have To Do, Cleta, Is Find 11,000-Plus Votes.” “Mitchell advised Trump and was on the call between Trump and Georgia Secretary of State Brad Raffensperger in January 2021 when Trump asked Raffensperger to “find” enough votes to overturn the result. “All we have to do, Cleta, is find 11,000-plus votes,” Trump said on the call, which is now under investigation by Fulton County District Attorney Fani Willis as part of a broader inquiry into efforts to overturn the 2020 result in Georgia.” [The Washington Post, [04/20/23](#)]

In April 2023, Cleta Mitchell Reportedly Discussed With Conservative Donors The Need To “Limit Voting On College Campuses, Same-Day Voter Registration And Automatic Mailing Of Ballots To Registered Voters,” Claiming “The Left Ha[d] Manipulated The Electoral Systems To Favor One Side ... Theirs,” And That Reforms Were Needed “For Any Candidate Other Than A Leftist To Have A Chance To WIN In 2024.”

April 2023: The *Washington Post* Reported Cleta Mitchell Had Recently Discussed With Conservative Donors The Need To “Limit Voting On College Campuses, Same-Day Voter Registration And Automatic Mailing Of Ballots To Registered Voters.” “A top Republican legal strategist told a roomful of GOP donors over the weekend that conservatives must band together to limit voting on college campuses, same-day voter registration and automatic mailing of ballots to registered voters, according to a copy of her presentation reviewed by The Washington Post. Cleta Mitchell, a longtime GOP lawyer and fundraiser who worked closely with former president Donald Trump to try to overturn the results of the 2020 presidential election, gave the presentation at a Republican National Committee donor retreat in Nashville on Saturday.” [The Washington Post, [04/20/23](#)]

During The Meeting, Mitchell Claimed “The Left Ha[d] Manipulated The Electoral Systems To Favor One Side ... Theirs,” And That Reforms Were Needed “For Any Candidate Other Than A Leftist To Have A Chance To WIN In 2024.” “Mitchell told her RNC audience that her organization, the Election Integrity Network, ‘is NOT about winning campaigns,’ according to the text of the presentation. But the slides gave little other rationale for why campus or mail voting should be curtailed. At another point in the presentation, she said the nation’s electoral systems must be saved ‘for any candidate other than a leftist to have a chance to WIN in 2024.’ ‘The Left has manipulated the electoral systems to favor one side ... theirs,’ she wrote in the presentation. ‘Our constitutional republic’s survival is at stake.’” [The Washington Post, [04/20/23](#)]

Pacific Research Institute

In 2022, PhRMA Donated \$125,000 To The Pacific Research Institute (PRI), A Conservative Think Tank And Member Of The Project 2025 Advisory Board Dedicated To “Advancing Free-Market Policy Solutions.”

In 2022, PhRMA Donated \$125,000 To The Pacific Research Institute (PRI).

In 2022, PhRMA Donated \$125,000 To The Pacific Research Institute:

(12) PACIFIC RESEARCH INSTITUTE PO BOX 60485 PASADENA, CA 91116	94-2528433	501 (C) 3	125,000.			GENERAL CONTRIBUTION
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[PhRMA 2022 IRS Form 990, [11/15/23](#)]

The Pacific Research Institute, A Member Of The Project 2025 Advisory Board, Is A Conservative Think Tank Dedicated To “Advancing Free-Market Policy Solutions.”

The Pacific Research Institute Is A Conservative Think Tank Dedicated To “Champion[ing] Freedom, Opportunity, And Personal Responsibility For All Individuals By Advancing Free-Market Policy Solutions.” “The mission of the Pacific Research Institute (PRI) is to champion freedom, opportunity, and personal responsibility for all individuals by advancing free-market policy solutions. Since its founding in 1979, PRI has remained steadfast to the vision of a free and civil society where individuals can achieve their full potential. Put simply, public policy is too important to be left just to the experts. Individuals are the real decision makers when it comes to their schools, health care, and environment. PRI reinforces this ideal by providing you with the information, inspiration, and opportunity to make decisions about the daily issues that matter most to you. The Institute’s activities include publications, events, media commentary, legislative testimony, and community outreach.” [Pacific Research Institute, accessed [12/21/23](#)]

The Pacific Research Institute Is A Member Of The Project 2025 Advisory Board. [Project 2025, accessed [12/21/23](#)]

In A June 2020 Op-Ed, Pacific Research Institute Fellow Kerry Jackson Spouted Right-Wing Claims That Mail-In Ballots Would Lead To "Worse Results" And "Ballot Harvesting" To Influence Election Results, Claiming The U.S. Government Shouldn't Make It "Too Easy" For Voters To Cast Ballots.

In A June 2020 Op-Ed, Pacific Research Institute Fellow Kerry Jackson Made Claims That Allowing Voters To Cast Ballots By Mail Would Lead To "Worse Results," Parroting Claims It Would Lead To "Ballot Harvesting" While Further Claiming The Government Shouldn't Make Voting "Too Easy."

June 2020: In An Op-Ed For City Journal, Pacific Research Institute Fellow Kerry Jackson Claimed That Mail-In Ballots Would Lead To "Worse Results," Parroting Claims That Voting By Mail Would Lead To Third Party Candidates "Harvesting" Ballots Which Would Be A "Recipe For Mischie And Wrongdoing." "Voting by mail represents progress, we've been told; no one should have to leave his home to exercise the franchise. Thus goes the reasoning behind a new law that requires every registered Californian to receive a ballot for the fall election through the U.S. Postal Service. But will convenience voting yield better outcomes? More likely it will make them worse. [...] Mark Hemingway persuasively argued recently in RealClearPolitics that 'a significant increase in mail-in voting this fall could greatly incentivize 'ballot harvesting' where third parties collect mail-in ballots on behalf of voters and deliver them to election officials.' Ballot harvesting is a 'recipe for mischief and wrongdoing,' says the Heritage Foundation's Hans A. von Spakovsky." [City Journal, [06/25/20](#)]

Jackson Further Argued That Voting By Mail Is "Troubling" Because It Made Voting "Too Easy," Claiming "Participating In Democracy Shouldn't Be An Afterthought." "Even if election integrity were never in question, vote-by-mail is still troubling, because it makes voting too easy. Participating in democracy shouldn't be an afterthought. A voter who studies the candidates and issues, goes to the poll site on the designated day, and endures a certain amount of inconvenience demonstrates more commitment to the process than the voter who fills out a ballot that came in the mail and who may not bother to vote if more were required of him." [City Journal, [06/25/20](#)]