

# Project 2025 Directors At Center Of Effort To Overturn 2020 Election And Protect Trump Allies Through Shady MAGA “Nerve Center” Groups

**SUMMARY:** Project 2025, led by prominent right-wing think tank the [Heritage Foundation](#) and backed by over 100 far-right groups, is a blueprint for far-right MAGA conservatives to dismantle critical checks and balances and undermine democracy.

Now, Accountable.US research shows that Project 2025’s [three directors](#) include career right-wing operatives who played central roles in the effort to subvert 2020 election, who helped lead far-right MAGA groups suspected of illegitimately funneling money to personally benefit former Trump Chief of Staff Mark Meadows, and who helped block one of the biggest environmental lawsuits in history:

## Paul Dans, Project 2025 Director

- Dans said Project 2025 is “[systematically preparing to march into office and bring a new army aligned, trained, and essentially weaponized conservatives, ready to do battle against the deep state.](#)”
- When Trump gave Dans the “[powerful](#)” appointment of Office of Personnel Management (OPM) White House liaison, agency officials said he had “[clearly come with some kind of agenda](#)” with little knowledge of relevant law and said “[he’s upsetting all kinds of apple carts without any basis of knowledge.](#)”
- Due to allegedly “[poor treatment](#)” from then-OPM White House liaison Paul Dans, OPM Director Dale Cabaniss “[abruptly resigned](#)” after Dans and another Trump ally reportedly [pressured](#) her to replace OPM’s Chief of Staff and to evade federal hiring rules.
- Dans’ answer “[wasn’t no](#)” when a reporter asked if Trump could order a criminal prosecution against former Vice President Mike Pence for refusing to overturn the 2020 election.
- Biden removed Dans as [Chair](#) of the National Capital Planning Commission after D.C.’s Deputy Mayor said Dans and Trump’s other “[last-minute](#)” appointees would “[impede Washington’s progress toward racial and economic equity, climate change and affordable housing.](#)”
- Dans claims to be “[the intellectual architect](#)” of Chevron’s case against prominent environmental lawyer Steven Donziger, who represented thousands of Ecuadorian citizens in a historic [\\$9.5 billion](#) class action over Chevron’s alleged “[massive contamination](#)” of the Amazon rainforest. Due in part to Dans’ efforts, Donziger “[lost everything](#)” and Chevron was [released](#) from [liability](#).
- Dans has long been affiliated with right-wing court “[architect](#)” Leonard Leo’s Federalist Society, giving the Society up to [\\$33.989](#) since 2006, serving on the [steering committee](#) for its New York City lawyers chapter, and serving as a [co-chairman](#) for a Federalist Society publication committee.

## Spencer Chretien, Project 2025 Associate Director

- Chretien was a special assistant to President Trump and “[Associate Director of Presidential Personnel](#)” for the Trump administration, identifying, recruiting, and placing “[hundreds of political appointees.](#)”

- Chretien has “[spent his entire career in the conservative movement](#),” including serving as [Director Of Programs](#) for [far-right FreedomWorks](#), working for the [election conspiracy-spreading American Legislative Exchange Council \(ALEC\)](#), and earning a [2024 fellowship](#) from the [anti-tax Club For Growth Foundation](#).
- While FreedomWorks’ Director of Programs, Chretien wrote an article claiming that “[virtually every institution in our society has been captured by the left](#)” and concluding, “[we need to take over the bureaucracy](#).”
- While Associate Director of Presidential Personnel, Chretien [recommended](#) Ken Klukowski to a DOJ post. Klukowski, who became a high-level DOJ aide, had a [leading role in the effort to overturn the 2020 election](#), was [in close contact](#) with leading election reversal figures Jeffrey Clark and John Eastman, and sent election denier Rep. Scott Perry (R-PA) a document that “[outlined an argument central to the fake elector scheme](#).”
- While Associate Director of Presidential Personnel, Chretien [directly hired](#) Heidi Stirrup to be DOJ’s White House liaison. Stirrup, who was Trump’s “[eyes and ears](#)” at the DOJ, was [banned](#) from the Department’s building in December 2020 for pressuring staff to “[give up sensitive information about election fraud](#).”
- While Associate Director of Presidential Personnel, Chretien’s “[boss](#)” was John McEntee, who was “[the man who made January 6 Possible](#),” who “[backed the president’s manic drive to overturn the election, and helped set the stage for the January 6 assault on the Capitol](#).”
- While at Trump’s [Department of Housing and Urban Development \(HUD\)](#), Chretien [worked on](#) and [co-authored](#) material promoting the Trump administration’s Opportunity Zone program, a “[multibillion-dollar tax break](#)” that benefited wealthy and well-connected investors [at the expense of struggling communities](#).

#### **Troup Hemenway, Project 2025 Associate Director**

- Troup Hemenway is an [Associate Director](#) of Project 2025 and previously oversaw appointments in the Trump administration. Hemenway was hired to the Trump White House while he was an [undergraduate](#), at a federal pay level generally reserved for “[top professionals holding advanced degrees](#).”
- Hemenway is the [president](#) and [executive director](#) of [Personnel Policy Operations \(PPO\)](#), a project of MAGA “[nerve center](#)” the Conservative Partnership Institute (CPI), which [raised suspicion](#) for funneling over \$1 million to a legal defense fund for CPI leader and former Trump Chief of Staff Mark Meadows.
- Hemenway was a “[key official](#)” in the Trump PPO under its former director John McEntee, who was “[the man who made January 6 possible](#),” who “[backed the president’s manic drive to overturn the election, and helped set the stage for the January 6 assault on the Capitol](#).”
- Hemenway was in a “[boot camp](#)” [fellowship](#) for the Claremont Institute, which “[made the intellectual case for Trump](#)” and includes in its leadership [John Eastman](#), a Trump lawyer who has been [criminally charged](#) for his central efforts to overturn the 2020 election.
- Hemenway was in an [intensive fellowship program](#) at Hillsdale College, the “[‘shining city on a hill’ for conservatives](#)” which has condemned the “[dehumanizing, discriminatory trend of so-called ‘social justice’](#)” in its official catalog.

- Hemenway was in a [yearlong fellowship](#) focusing on “[the human cost of the radical socialist agenda](#)” from the [anti-tax Club for Growth Foundation](#), a group which [heavily backed lawmakers](#) after they tried to overturn the 2020 election.

## **TABLE OF CONTENTS**

Paul Dans, Project 2025 Director.....	1
Spencer Chretien, Project 2025 Associate Director.....	11
Troup Hemenway, Project 2025 Associate Director.....	20

## **Project 2025 Director Paul Dans**

### **Paul Dans Directs “Heritage’s 2025 Presidential Transition Project” And Previously Served In The Trump Administration In The Office Of Personnel Management (OPM) And The Trump Department Of Housing And Urban Development (HUD).**

**Paul Dans Directs “Heritage’s 2025 Presidential Transition Project.”** “Paul Dans directs Heritage’s 2025 Presidential Transition Project, organizing policy and personnel recommendations and training for appointees in the next presidential administration.” [Heritage Foundation, accessed [2/16/24](#)]

**Dans Was Chief Of Staff For The Trump Administration’s Office Of Personnel Management (OPM) And Was Appointed To The National Capital Planning Commission.** “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. 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.” [Heritage Foundation, accessed [2/16/24](#)]

**Dans Previously Worked At The Department Of Housing And Urban Development, In International Law, And Founded A Law Firm.** “Before his time at OPM, Dans was a Senior Advisor in the Office of Community Planning and Development at the U.S. Department of Housing and Urban Development. An attorney, he has extensive experience in high-stakes commercial litigation. His 20 years of practice include work at several large international law firms in New York City from 1997-2012, prior to founding his own law firm.” [Heritage Foundation, accessed [2/16/24](#)]

### **Dans Said Project 2025 Is “Systematically Preparing To March Into Office And Bring A New Army Aligned, Trained, And Essentially Weaponized Conservatives, Ready To Do Battle Against The Deep State.”**

**During A Heritage Foundation Panel On Project 2025, Dans Said They Are “Systematically Preparing To March Into Office And Bring A New Army Aligned, Trained, And Essentially Weaponized Conservatives, Ready To Do Battle Against The Deep State.”** “What we are doing is systematically preparing to march into office and bring a new army, aligned, trained, and essentially weaponized conservatives, ready to do battle against the deep state.” [The Heritage Foundation via YouTube, [04/28/23](#), (0:57)]

## **Dans Has Used Phrases Like “Smash” And “Wrecking Ball” To Describe What He Would Do To The Federal Government, Including Restoring A Trump Executive Order To Allow As Many As 50,000 Federal Employees To Be Fired At Will And To “Supersize The Number Of Political Appointees.”**

**Dans Has “Used Terms Like ‘Smash’ And ‘Wrecking Ball’ To Describe What Conservatives Have In Mind For The Federal Government.”** “Dans is the director of the Heritage Foundation’s Project 2025, a \$22 million effort to recruit an army of conservative appointees and lay the foundation for what the project hopes will be the next Republican administration. He uses terms like ‘smash’ and ‘wrecking ball’ to describe what conservatives have in mind for the federal government, comparing their effort to the 1984 Apple commercial in which a runner takes down an Orwellian bureaucracy by chucking a sledgehammer at a movie screen.” [The Atlantic, [02/24/23](#)]

**Dans Has Claimed That “The Technocratic State Of Dispassionate Experts” Has Been “An Utter Failure.”** “We’re at the 100-year mark with the notion of a technocratic state of dispassionate experts,’ Paul Dans, who served as chief of staff of the Office of Personnel Management during the Trump administration, told me. ‘The results are in: It’s an utter failure.’” [The Atlantic, [02/24/23](#)]

**“At The Top Of” Dans’ Priorities Is To Reissue A Trump Executive Order, Which Biden Reversed, To “Allow The Government To Remove Civil-Service Protections From As Many As 50,000 Federal Jobs,” Creating A New Class Of “Schedule F” Employees That Could Be Fired At Will.** “At the top of Vought and Dans’s must-do list for the next president: reissuing an executive order that Trump signed during his final months in office—and which President Joe Biden promptly reversed—that would allow the government to remove civil-service protections from as many as 50,000 federal jobs. The move would create a new class of employees known as Schedule F whom the president could fire at will.” [The Atlantic, [02/24/23](#)]

**The Executive Order Would Also “Supersize The Number Of Political Appointees In Senior Positions In The Government.”** “It would essentially supersize the number of political appointees in senior positions in the government, currently about 4,000.” [The Atlantic, [02/24/23](#)]

## **Dans Has Said “It’s Not Rocket Science” While Downplaying The Importance Of Government Experience—Meanwhile, “A Significant Number Of NASA Employees Could Find Themselves” In Schedule F.**

**Dans Has “Downplayed The Importance Of Government Experience” In A New Republican Administration, Saying “It’s Not Rocket Science.”** “We can’t change the leadership of an organization every three or six years and expect the organization to perform in an outstanding way,’ says Robert McDonald, the former CEO of Procter & Gamble and a longtime Republican whom President Barack Obama nominated to lead the Department of Veterans Affairs in 2014. ‘You’ve got to have continuity of leadership.’ That doesn’t much concern Dans, who downplayed the importance of government experience in his recruitment drive for the next Republican administration. ‘I’m fully confident that the American people have the skills and have the ability to do these government jobs. It’s not rocket science,’ he told me.” [The Atlantic, [02/24/23](#)]

**According To A Website For Nasa Employees, “A Significant Number Of NASA Employees Could Find Themselves” In Schedule F.** “Given tidbits that have dribbled out of places such as OMB, a significant number of NASA employees could find themselves in this new category with little or no advanced notice.” [NASA Watch, [12/09/20](#)]

## **With “No Evidence,” Dans Has Accused Biden Of Personally Ordering Justice Dept. Criminal Cases Against Trump—Meanwhile, His Answer “Wasn’t No” When A Reporter Asked If Trump Could Order A Criminal Prosecution Against Former Vice President Mike Pence For Refusing To Overturn The 2020 Election.**

Dans, With “No Evidence,” Has Accused President Biden Of Personally Ordering The Justice Department To Prosecute Trump In At Least Two Federal Cases. “I asked Dans whether a president should be able to direct prosecutions against specific individuals. He initially deflected the question. ‘That’s happening right now,’ he said, accusing Biden of ordering the charges that the Justice Department has brought in two separate cases against Trump—a claim for which there is no evidence.” [The Atlantic, [02/24/23](#)]

Dans’ “Answer Wasn’t No” When A Reporter Asked If Trump Could Personally Order Criminal Prosecution Of Former President Mike Pence For Refusing To Overturn The 2020 Election For Trump. “I changed the topic to Mike Pence. Trump has assailed his former vice president for refusing to help him overturn their defeat, but Pence has never been accused of criminal wrongdoing. Could Trump, as president, simply order the Department of Justice to prosecute him under this theory of presidential power? ‘Whether a president actually gets into identifying people who ought to be prosecuted, I don’t know if we ever get to that stage,’ Dans said. He brought up a different example, arguing that a president could direct prosecutors to go after, say, Mexican drug cartels for their role in the opioid epidemic. I pressed him one more time on whether Trump could order the prosecution of someone like Pence. The answer wasn’t no. ‘I’m not in law school,’ Dans replied. ‘We’re not going to hypotheticals.’” [The Atlantic, [02/24/23](#)]

## **February 2021: Quickly After Trump Gave Dans A “Last-Minute” Appointment To Chair The National Capital Planning Commission (NCPC), Biden Removed Him After D.C.’s Deputy Mayor Said Dans And Other Trump Appointees Would “Impede Washington’s Progress Toward Racial And Economic Equity, Climate Change And Affordable Housing.”**

January 2021: Then-President Trump Appointed Dans To Be Chairman Of The National Capital Planning Commission (NCPC). “In January 2021, President Trump appointed Dans to serve as Chairman of the National Capital Planning Commission.” [Heritage Foundation, accessed [2/16/24](#)]

- **Dans, Appointed To A Six-Year Term, Was In A Position To Oversee The NCPC’s “Review Of Federal Construction Projects, Long-Range Planning Efforts, And Planning Policies In The National Capital Region.”** “Paul Dans was named as the new Chairman of the National Capital Planning Commission (NCPC) for a six-year term that extends to January 1, 2027. [...] In his new role at NCPC, Chairman Dans will lead the 12-member Commission and oversee the Commission’s review of federal construction projects, long-range planning efforts, and planning policies in the National Capital Region.” [National Capital Planning Commission, [01/27/21](#)]
- **The NCPC “Oversees Development Of Federal Property In The DC Area.”** “Two appointees to the National Capital Planning Commission, which oversees development of federal property in the DC area, have also been dismissed.” [CNN, [02/06/21](#)]
- **Dans Was NCPC Chairman For Only Two Months:**



Chairman

National Capital Planning Commission

Jan 2021 - Feb 2021 - 2 mos

Washington DC-Baltimore Area

[Linkedin Profile for Paul Dans, accessed [02/27/24](#)]

**February 3, 2021: Only Days After Dans Was Named To The NCPC, President Biden Removed Him After Washington D.C.'s Deputy Mayor Asked To Remove Dans And Trump's Other "Last-Minute Appointments," Noting They Would "Impede Washington's Progress Toward Racial And Economic Equity, Climate Change And Affordable Housing."** "The Biden administration has removed key Trump appointees from several federal agencies that oversee the look and feel of D.C. neighborhoods and buildings — and city officials are pushing for more. Deputy Mayor John Falcicchio sent an unusual letter to Biden's personnel director last week, asking for a review of Trump's last-minute appointments to the National Capital Planning Commission and the U.S. Commission of Fine Arts. Because these two boards are responsible for approving development in the city, the new members could impede Washington's progress toward racial and economic equity, climate change and affordable housing, Falcicchio wrote in a letter obtained by The Washington Post. The White House took action Feb. 3, when it notified the NCPC that Paul Dans, a member of the Trump administration who had been appointed chairman of the commission on Jan. 5, and Gibson Worsham, an architect and historic preservation expert who had been appointed Dec. 30, "are no longer members of the commission," according to NCPC spokesman Stephen Staudigl." [The Washington Post, [02/10/21](#)]

- **January 27, 2021: Dans Was Appointed To The NCPC.** [National Capital Planning Commission, [02/27/21](#)]

**March 2020: When Dans Was Given The "Powerful" Appointment Of OPM White House Liaison, Agency Officials Said He Had "Clearly Come With Some Kind Of Agenda" With Little Knowledge Of Relevant Law And Said "He's Upsetting All Kinds Of Apple Carts Without Any Basis Of Knowledge."**

**Paul Dans Was OPM Chief Of Staff From December 2020 To January 2021, Previously Serving As OPM's White House Liaison And Senior Advisor To The Director From February 2020 To December 2020:**

The image shows a screenshot of a LinkedIn profile for Paul Dans. At the top, it says "OPM U.S. Office of Personnel Management (OPM)" with a duration of "1 yr". Below this, there are two job entries:

- Chief Of Staff**  
Dec 2020 - Jan 2021 · 2 mos  
Washington DC-Baltimore Area
- White House Liaison and Senior Advisor to the Director**  
Feb 2020 - Dec 2020 · 11 mos  
Washington, District of Columbia, United States

[Linkedin Profile for Paul Dans, accessed [02/27/24](#)]

**March 2020: When Dans Was Given The "Powerful" Appointment As OPM White House Liaison And Senior Adviser, Officials Saw It As An "Affront," With One Saying He Had "Clearly Come With Some Kind Of Agenda" While Noting That He Didn't Have Experience In Relevant Law.** "Cabaniss stepped down because of, what two people familiar with the matter said, was poor treatment from the 29-year-old head of the Presidential Personnel Office, John McEntee, and a powerful appointee at OPM, Paul Dans, the new White House liaison and senior adviser to the director of OPM. [...] Some officials see the hiring of Dans — a lawyer who previously worked in New York and recently started at the agency, according to two people familiar with the matter — as yet another affront. The job of White House liaison generally entails matching qualified people with political vacancies at an agency and moving appointees in and out of positions when needed. Dans has 'clearly come with some kind of agenda,' said a person familiar with his hiring, who noted Dans

doesn't appear to have much of a background in Title V of the U.S. code, which deals with how the government is organized and how the federal civil service operates. Dans didn't respond to a request for comment." [Politico, [03/17/20](#)]

**A Person Familiar With Dans' Appointment As OPM White House Liaison And Senior Adviser Said, "He's Upsetting All Kinds Of Apple Carts Without Any Basis Of Knowledge."** "Cabaniss stepped down because of, what two people familiar with the matter said, was poor treatment from the 29-year-old head of the Presidential Personnel Office, John McEntee, and a powerful appointee at OPM, Paul Dans, the new White House liaison and senior adviser to the director of OPM. [...] Dans is still going through the suitability background check but already is making some people nervous in his new agency, according to the person familiar with Dans' hiring. 'He's upsetting all kinds of apple carts without any basis of knowledge,' this person said." [Politico, [03/17/20](#)]

### **March 2020: Due To Allegedly "Poor Treatment" From Paul Dans—Who Was Then OPM's White House Liaison And Senior Adviser—OPM Director Dale Cabaniss "Abruptly Resigned" After Dans And Another Trump Ally Reportedly Pressured Her To Replace OPM's Chief Of Staff And To Evade Federal Hiring Rules.**

**March 2020: OPM Director Dale Cabaniss "Abruptly Resigned," Due To "Poor Treatment" From Then-OPM White House Liaison And Senior Adviser Paul Dans And From The Trump Administration's "29-Year-Old Head Of The Presidential Personnel Office."** "Dale Cabaniss, the director of the government's Office of Personnel Management, resigned abruptly on Tuesday, effective immediately. Cabaniss stepped down because of, what two people familiar with the matter said, was poor treatment from the 29-year-old head of the Presidential Personnel Office, John McEntee, and a powerful appointee at OPM, Paul Dans, the new White House liaison and senior adviser to the director of OPM." [Federal Times, [03/17/20](#)]

**Dans, Who Was Reportedly Named OPM White House Liaison Over Cabaniss' Objection, Then "Put Pressure" On Her To Replace An OPM Chief Of Staff Who Opposed A Trump Loyalist's Plan To Increase "Direct Hiring" In The Executive Branch, A Plan Which "Evades Government Rules," Include Those To Give Veterans Preference.** "During her short tenure, Cabaniss reportedly had conflicts with John McEntee, the White House personnel director, who was brought back into the administration in January. To expand White House control of personnel in federal agencies, McEntee, who reports directly to Trump, ordered abrupt staffing changes at OPM. McEntee replaced OPM's White House liaison with Paul Dans in February over Cabaniss's objection. Then, Dans and McEntee put pressure on Cabaniss to replace OPM's chief of staff, Jonathan Blyth, who had opposed McEntee's plan to increase so-called 'direct hiring' authority throughout the executive branch, first reported by the Independent. That authority evades government rules, including a law that gives veterans preference in obtaining federal employment." [The Daily Beast, [06/24/20](#)]

**The Resignation Cast "A Cloud Of Uncertainty Over The Federal Workforce As It Struggles To Decide How To Handle The Coronavirus Outbreak, With Growing Questions About The Trump Administration's Decision To Keep Most Government Offices Open."** "The departure casts a cloud of uncertainty over the federal workforce as it struggles to decide how to handle the coronavirus outbreak, with growing questions about the Trump administration's decision to keep most government offices open and how it is handling remote work. OPM is the human resources management policy shop for the federal government's civil service, and it deals with health benefits and retirement, among other issues." [Federal Times, [03/17/20](#)]

**It Was Seen As "A Turbulent Period For" OPM.** "The director of the Office of Personnel Management abruptly submitted her resignation March 17, amid a turbulent period for the federal government's personnel office. An OPM spokesperson confirmed that the agency had received the resignation of Director Dale Cabaniss, after she had spent less than six months on the job. Politico reported that sources within OPM said Cabaniss left due to negative treatment by the head of the Presidential Personnel Office, John McEntee, and White House liaison Paul Dans." [Federal Times, [03/17/20](#)]

**2009: Paul Dans Claims To Be “The Intellectual Architect” Of Chevron’s Case Against Prominent Environmental Lawyer Steven Donzinger, Who Represented Thousands Of Ecuadorian Citizens In A Historic \$9.5 Billion Class Action Over Chevron’s Alleged “Massive Contamination” Of The Amazon Rainforest—Due In Part To Dans’ Efforts, Donzinger Later “Lost Everything” And Chevron Was Released From Liability.**

**Paul Dans Claims To Be “The Intellectual Architect Of The Chevron Outtakes Case, A Landmark Litigation,” Adding That His Work Was “The Subject Of A Profile In American Lawyer Magazine And A Book About The Epic Litigation.”** “I am the intellectual architect of the Chevron outtakes case, a landmark litigation wherein Chevron subpoenaed documentary movie outtakes as evidence to unravel a \$27 billion fraud being perpetrated against the company and its executives in Ecuador. [...] My work on the case was the subject of a profile in American Lawyer magazine and a book about the epic litigation.” [Republican National Lawyers Association, accessed [02/27/24](#)]

**2009: While Working For “Small Miami Law Firm” Rivero Mestre, Dans “Played A Significant Role In The Legal Strategy Of The Chevron-Ecuador Case, Which Was One Of The Biggest Civil Litigations In History.”** “Once there, he played a significant role in the legal strategy of the Chevron-Ecuador case, which was one of the biggest civil litigations in history.” [Politico, [03/17/20](#)]

- **2009: Paul Dans Was Offered Work By “Small Miami Law Firm” Rivero Mestre To Help A Lawyer For Chevron Corporation Who Was Indicted By The Ecuadorian Government For “Conspiracy To Violate Environmental Rules.”** “Dans began his legal career as an associate at two New York white-shoe law firms LeBoeuf, Lamb, Greene & MacRae and Debevoise & Plimpton. The American Lawyer reported that when he was working at a lesser-known law firm in 2009, he didn’t get a partnership, which led him to be offered work for the small Miami law firm Rivero Mestre to help out a lawyer for Chevron who had been indicted by Ecuador with a conspiracy to violate environmental rules.” [Politico, [03/17/20](#)]
- **Rivero Mestre “Represented One Of The In-House Chevron Lawyers Indicted By Ecuador” In The Conspiracy Case.** “Paul Dans was far from the most illustrious. Sure, he had the credentials—two degrees from MIT, years of training as an associate at Dewey & LeBoeuf and Debevoise & Plimpton. But when the music stopped in 2009, Dans was passed over for partnership at a less lofty firm, and he found himself calling old contacts for contract work. He got a call from Miami’s two-partner Rivero Mestre, which represented one of the in-house Chevron lawyers indicted by Ecuador.” [The American Lawyer, [08/20/14](#)]
- **According To One Estimate, Chevron Spent Over “Spent More Than Half A Billion Dollars On Litigation Costs, Which Is Likely A Record For A Single Dispute.”** “Chevron regards the Amazon case as a blood libel, and it is willing to spend what it takes to clear its name. By The American Lawyer’s estimate, America’s third-largest company has spent more than half a billion dollars on litigation costs, which is likely a record for a single dispute.” [The American Lawyer, [08/20/14](#)]

**From 1964 To 1990, Chevron Allegedly Spilled Over 16 Million Gallons Of Crude Oil—Over 80 Times More Than That Was Spilled In The 2010 Deepwater Horizon Disaster—And 18 Billion Gallons Of Polluted Wastewater In The Amazon Rainforest.** “From 1964 to 1990, Texaco, which merged with Chevron in 2001, allegedly spilled more than 16m gallons of crude oil – ‘80 times more oil than was spilled in BP’s 2010 Deepwater Horizon disaster’, according to Gizmodo – and 18bn gallons of polluted wastewater in the Amazon rainforest.” [The Guardian, [02/08/22](#)]

- **The Plaintiffs, “Mostly Indigenous People And Poor Farmers,” Alleged That Chevron’s Pollution “Caused Cancer, Miscarriages, Skin Conditions And Birth Defects.”** “The pollution allegedly



contaminated the ground and waterways with toxic chemicals that the plaintiffs – mostly Indigenous people and poor farmers – say has caused cancer, miscarriages, skin conditions and birth defects.” [The Guardian, [02/08/22](#)]

- **Donzinger’s Case—Originally Filed Against Texaco, Which Merged With Chevron In 2001—“Eventually Became A 30,000-Person Class Action Lawsuit.”** “From 1964 to 1990, Texaco, which merged with Chevron in 2001, allegedly spilled more than 16m gallons of crude oil – “80 times more oil than was spilled in BP’s 2010 Deepwater Horizon disaster”, according to Gizmodo – and 18bn gallons of polluted wastewater in the Amazon rainforest. [...] In 1993, Steven Donzinger, a recent Harvard law school graduate and human rights attorney, began working on an environmental case on behalf of Ecuadorians allegedly affected by Texaco’s drilling. The case eventually became a 30,000-person class action lawsuit against Texaco in New York federal court.” [The Guardian, [02/08/22](#)]

**2011: After An Ecuadorian Court Handed An \$18 Billion Judgement Against Chevron, Which Was Later Reduced To \$9.5 Billion, Chevron Filed A Racketeer Influenced and Corrupt Organizations (RICO) Lawsuit Against Steven Donzinger, The Lawyer For Ecuadorian Plaintiffs.** “In any case, an Ecuadorian court ruled against Chevron in 2011 and ordered the company to pay \$18 billion in compensation, an amount that was later reduced to \$9.5 billion. After years of struggling with the health and environmental consequences of oil extraction, the impoverished Amazonian plaintiffs had won a historic judgment from one of the biggest corporations in the world. [...] That year, Chevron filed a Racketeer Influenced and Corrupt Organizations, or RICO, suit against Donzinger in New York City. Although the suit originally sought roughly \$60 billion in damages, and civil trials involving monetary claims of more than \$20 entitle a defendant to a jury, Chevron dropped the monetary claims two weeks before the trial.” [The Intercept, [01/29/20](#)]

**2014: A U.S. District Judge Ruled That Ecuadorian Plaintiffs “Could Not Proceed Against Chevron’s Assets In America,” Holding That Donzinger Won The Judgment In Ecuadorian Courts Illegitimately.** “In 2011, thousands of Ecuadorians won a multi-billion-dollar class-action judgment in Ecuador against Chevron Corp. for environmental contamination in the Amazon rainforest. Earlier this month, Judge Lewis A. Kaplan of the U.S. District Court for the Southern District of New York concluded that the Ecuadorians could not proceed against Chevron’s assets in America because their attorney Steven Donzinger and his legal team had obtained the judgment through corrupt means, including fraud, bribery, extortion and coercive behavior. (View the 485-page opinion.)” [University of Pennsylvania, [03/29/14](#)]

**2018: An International Tribunal Ordered Ecuador To Not Enforce Its Judgment Against Chevron After Releasing The Company From Liability For The Amazon Pollution.** “It was back in 2011 that he and his team won a \$9.5bn settlement against Chevron, which bought Texaco in 2001, but the oil giants never paid. They fought the ruling, and in 2018 an international tribunal found that Chevron had been released from liability for the pollution in the Amazon and ordered Ecuador not to enforce the judgement.” [The Independent, [01/08/24](#)]

**When Dans Joined The Ecuadorian Case In 2009, Chevron Was “On A Path To Losing A \$9.5 Billion Judgment” In The Amazon Case, Although It Had Hired Over “2,000 Professionals From 60 Law Firms.”** “In 2009, Chevron Corporation was on a path to losing a \$9.5 billion judgment in an Amazon courtroom for oil pollution in Ecuador. What the plaintiffs saw as the world’s greatest environmental trial, the company perceived as the world’s greatest litigation fraud. Either way, it evolved into the world’s most intensive dispute. To expose the truth about the Amazon trial—and to neutralize the Ecuadoreans’ indomitable lawyer Steven Donzinger—Chevron would eventually hire more than 2,000 professionals from 60 law firms.” [The American Lawyer, [08/20/14](#)]

**While Investigating The Plaintiff’s Lawyer, Steven Donzinger, Dans Noticed That Donzinger Appeared In “Crude,” A Documentary About Chevron’s Pollution With “600 Hours Of Raw Footage,” Inspiring Him To Draft A “Memo Calling For Chevron To Subpoena The Outtakes” From The Film.** “Back at his desk, Dans noticed that the director, Joe Berlinger, boasted in his production notes of shooting 600 hours of raw footage. If Donzinger was so indiscreet in the final cut, he wondered, what might he do in the outtakes? Blessed

with an insider's legal skills and an outsider's sense of the possible, Dans whipped up a memo calling for Chevron to subpoena the outtakes. Chevron's in-house lawyers loved the idea, which was already percolating, but the bigger-name outside counsel urged caution." [The American Lawyer, [08/20/14](#)]

**Chevron's Lawyers At Gibson Dunn Later Used Dans' Draft Petition To Subpoena The Outtakes From "Crude."** "Later that day, Gibson Dunn emailed Rivero Mestre to ask for their latest draft petition to subpoena the 'Crude' outtakes. Chevron filed it two weeks later." [The American Lawyer, [08/20/14](#)]

- **Gibson Dunn Represented Chevron In The Amazon Case.** "Enter Gibson Dunn. Chevron tapped Gibson Dunn just as the law firm was wrapping up a big win for Dole Food Company Inc. in a case with eerie parallels." [The American Lawyer, [08/20/14](#)]

**U.S. Courts Eventually "Gave The Green Light To Almost Any Discovery That Chevron Requested," Including The Outtakes.** "Suddenly, it seemed that the relationship with Cabrera that he had hidden and denied for three years was perfectly legitimate, and to suggest otherwise was disrespectful to Ecuadorean legal culture. Suddenly, after three years of touting Cabrera publicly and privately as the trial's linchpin, Donziger asserted he was just another expert. This played well in the media. But the U.S. courts weren't convinced, and they gave the green light to almost any discovery that Chevron requested." [The American Lawyer, [08/20/14](#)]

- **2010: A District Judge Ordered The Outtakes To Be Turned Over To Chevron.** "In 2010, Judge Kaplan ordered Berlinger to turn over approximately 600 hours of outtakes to Chevron." [University of Pennsylvania, [03/29/14](#)]
- **One First Amendment Expert Argued That Allowing Film Outtakes Into Legal Discovery Would "Chill Documentary Filmmaking."** "In the litigation that followed, Donziger's attorneys asserted that the cut footage had no relevance to Chevron's claims. When Cabrera's team mixed with the plaintiffs' team at the Dureno meeting, they argued, it was as innocuous as a few New York lawyers bumping into each other at a cocktail party. First Amendment guru Floyd Abrams—representing The New York Times, Dow Jones, CBS and CNN—argued that discovering outtakes would chill documentary filmmaking." [The American Lawyer, [08/20/14](#)]
- **The Ruling To Admit The Outtakes Drew "Wide Attention" Because Plaintiffs Argued The Tapes Were Protected, "In Much The Same Way That Journalists Are Generally Not Required To Turn Over Their Notebooks."** "The candid footage has come to light because Chevron's lawyers persuaded a federal judge in New York to force a filmmaker who chronicled the legal fight, Joe Berlinger, to turn over more than 500 hours of outtakes from his film, 'Crude.' The ruling has drawn wide attention because Mr. Berlinger and lawyers for the plaintiffs had argued that the outtakes were protected, in much the same way that journalists are generally not required to turn over their notebooks if they are subpoenaed in a lawsuit between other parties." [The New York Times, [01/02/11](#)]

**Environmental Lawyer Steven Donziger Eventually "Lost Everything" After Representing "Thousands Of Ecuadorean Villagers" Against Chevron And Winning A "A Multibillion-Dollar Judgment In Ecuador Against Chevron" For Its "Massive Contamination" Of The Amazon Rainforest.** "Few news outlets covered the detention of Steven Donziger, who won a multibillion-dollar judgment in Ecuador against Chevron over the massive contamination in the Lago Agrio region and has been fighting on behalf of Indigenous people and farmers there for more than 25 years." [The Intercept, [01/29/20](#)]

- **Headline: HOW THE ENVIRONMENTAL LAWYER WHO WON A MASSIVE JUDGMENT AGAINST CHEVRON LOST EVERYTHING** [The Intercept, [01/29/20](#)]
- **Donziger, Who Represented "Thousands Of Ecuadorean Villagers" Against Chevron For Its Alleged Pollution Of The Amazon For Nearly "Three Decades," "Lost His Law License, Income, Spent Hundreds Of Days Under House Arrest In New York, And In 2021 Was Sentenced To Six**

**Months In Prison.**” “What if I told you that a multinational oil company allegedly polluted the Amazon for almost three decades? And that the oil company has spent even more years refusing to accept liability? Or that a US attorney who agreed to represent thousands of Ecuadorian villagers in a lawsuit against that oil company has lost his law license, income, spent hundreds of days under house arrest in New York, and in 2021 was sentenced to six months in prison?” [The Guardian, [02/08/22](#)]

**Prominent Environmental Activist Erin Brockovich Wrote An Opinion Piece In Defense Of Donzinger Titled, “This Lawyer Should Be World-Famous For His Battle With Chevron – But He’s In Jail”:**



[The Guardian, [02/08/22](#)]

**Paul Dans Has Long Been Affiliated With Right-Wing Court “Architect” Leonard Leo’s Federalist Society, Giving The Society Up To \$33,989 Since 2006, Serving On The Steering Committee For Its New York City Lawyers Chapter, Serving As A Co-Chairman For A Federalist Society Publication Committee, And Serving As President Of His Law School’s Federalist Society Chapter.**

**Paul Dans Has Served On The Steering Committee for The Federalist Society’s New York City Lawyers Chapter.** “I have served on the steering committee of the New York City Lawyers Chapter of the Federalist Society and as a member of the Media and Communications Law Committee of the New York City Bar Association.” [Republican National Lawyers Association, accessed [02/27/24](#)]

**Paul Dans Was President Of The University Of Virginia Law School Federalist Society Chapter.** “I was president of the University of Virginia Law School Federalist Society Chapter in law school.” [Republican National Lawyers Association, accessed [02/27/24](#)]

- **Dans Earned His J.D. From University Of Virginia School Of Law In 1997.** [Linkedin Profile for Paul Dans, accessed [02/27/24](#)]

**Paul Dans Gave \$11,000-\$33,989 To The Federalist Society From 2006 Through 2019:**

Year	Membership Level	Amount
<a href="#">2006</a>	Madison Club	\$1,000-\$1,999
<a href="#">2007</a>	Madison Club	\$1,000-\$1,999
<a href="#">2008</a>	Madison Club	\$1,000-\$1,999
<a href="#">2009</a>	Madison Club	\$1,000-\$1,999

<a href="#">2010</a>	Madison Club	\$1,000-\$1,999
<a href="#">2011</a>	Madison Club	\$1,000-\$1,999
<a href="#">2014</a>	Madison Club	\$1,000-\$1,999
<a href="#">2015</a>	Madison Club	\$1,000-\$4,999
<a href="#">2016</a>	Madison Club	\$1,000-\$4,999
<a href="#">2017</a>	Madison Club	\$1,000-\$4,999
<a href="#">2019</a>	Madison Club	\$1,000-\$4,999
	<b>Total:</b>	<b>\$11,000-\$33,989</b>

**From As Early As October 2004 To As Late As October 2006, Paul E. Dans Was A Co-Chairman For The Intellectual Practice Group Publication Committee For Engage, A Federalist Society Publication:**

- **October 2004: Paul E. Dans Was A Co-Chairman For The Intellectual Property Practice Group Publication Committee For Engage, The Journal Of The Federalist Society’s Practice Groups.** [The Federalist Society, [October 2004](#)]
- **May 2005: Paul E. Dans Was A Co-Chairman For The Intellectual Property Practice Group Publication Committee For Engage, The Journal Of The Federalist Society’s Practice Groups.** [The Federalist Society, [May 2005](#)]
- **March 2006: Paul E. Dans Was A Co-Chairman For The Intellectual Property Practice Group Publication Committee For Engage, The Journal Of The Federalist Society’s Practice Groups.** [The Federalist Society, [March 2006](#)]
- **October 2006: Paul E. Dans Was A Co-Chairman For The Intellectual Property Practice Group Publication Committee For Engage, The Journal Of The Federalist Society’s Practice Groups.** [The Federalist Society, [October 2006](#)]

**Leonard Leo, Co-Chairman And Former Executive Vice President Of “Right-Wing Powerhouse Group The Federalist Society,” “Helped Fuel The Rise Of Five Of The Six Republican Supreme Court Justices” And Has Been Called “The Quiet Architect Of A Pivotal Shift To The Right Throughout The Federal Judiciary.”** “The 90-year-old was said to have gifted \$1.65 billion to a conservative nonprofit fronted by Leonard Leo, the cochairman of the right-wing powerhouse group The Federalist Society. Leo helped fuel the rise of five of the six Republican Supreme Court justices, as ProPublica noted, and has helped fund fights over abortion rights, voting laws, and other conservative causes.” [Insider, [08/26/22](#)]

- **Leonard Leo Has Been “The Quiet Architect Of A Pivotal Shift To The Right Throughout The Federal Judiciary” And The Federalist Society’s “Roughly 70,000 Members Represent A Vast Web Of Conservative Legal Power.”** “As executive vice president of the Federalist Society, Leo has been the quiet architect of a pivotal shift to the right throughout the federal judiciary. He was still at Cornell Law School in 1989 when he joined the society, a network of fresh legal minds who believed limited government was the best way to protect freedom and personal liberty. Today, under Leo’s leadership, the group’s roughly 70,000 members represent a vast web of conservative legal power.” [Politico Magazine, [2018](#)]
- **As Of 2018, Leonard Leo Was Executive Vice President Of The Federalist Society.** “Leonard Leo [...] Executive vice president, Federalist Society [...] © 2018 POLITICO LLC” [Politico Magazine, 2018]

- In 2020, Leo “Stepped Away From His Day-To-Day Role At The Federalist Society” To Run The Concord Fund, The “Rebranded” Judicial Crisis Network. “In early 2020, Leo stepped away from his day-to-day role at the Federalist Society, the national conservative lawyers group, to help steer the Concord Fund. Between mid-2019 and mid-2020, the Concord Fund paid \$1.6 million to a company affiliated with Leo called BH Group, LLC. Leo and his allies rebranded the Judicial Crisis Network as the Concord Fund, turning it into a social welfare organization that fiscally sponsors other organizations.” [The Daily Poster, [06/29/21](#)]

## **Spencer Chretien, Project 2025 Associate Director**

### **Spencer Chretien Is An Associate Director For Project 2025, Previously Serving As A Special Assistant To President Trump And “Associate Director Of Presidential Personnel” For The Trump Administration, Identifying, Recruiting, And Placing “Hundreds Of Political Appointees.”**

**Spencer Chretien Is An Associate Director For The Heritage Foundation’s Project 2025, “Supporting Each Pillar Of The Project’s Work.”** “Spencer Chretien serves as Associate Director of Heritage’s 2025 Presidential Transition Project, supporting each pillar of the project’s work.” [Heritage Foundation, [2/16/24](#)]

**From 2020-2021, Chretien Was A Special Assistant To President Trump And “Associate Director Of Presidential Personnel” In The Trump Administration, “Helping To Identify, Recruit, And Place Hundreds Of Political Appointees.”** “From 2020-2021, Chretien was a Special Assistant to President Donald J. Trump and Associate Director of Presidential Personnel, helping to identify, recruit, and place hundreds of political appointees at all levels of government.” [Heritage Foundation, [2/16/24](#)]

### **Chretien Has “Spent His Entire Career In The Conservative Movement,” Including Serving As Director Of Programs For Far-Right FreedomWorks, Working For The Election Conspiracy-Spreading American Legislative Exchange Council (ALEC), And Earning A 2024 Fellowship From The Anti-Tax Club For Growth.**

**Chretien “Has Spent His Entire Career In The Conservative Movement,” According To His Biography For The Club For Growth Foundation.** “Spencer Chretien has spent his entire career in the conservative movement and served in the Trump administration as Special Assistant to the President and Associate Director of Presidential Personnel.” [The Club for Growth Foundation, accessed [02/28/24](#)]

**Chretien “Has Traveled Extensively Across America To Meet With State-Based Partners, Legislators, And Grassroots Activists.”** “Spencer has broad experience at conservative organizations in the nation’s capital and has traveled extensively across America to meet with state-based partners, legislators, and grassroots activists.” [The Club for Growth Foundation, accessed [02/28/24](#)]

**Chretien Has Worked At “Numerous Positions At Conservative Organizations” Including Far-Right Groups The American Legislative Exchange Council (ALEC) And FreedomWorks.”** “In addition to his service in government, Chretien has held numerous positions at conservative organizations in the Washington, D.C. area—including the American Legislative Exchange Council, Citizens Against Government Waste, and FreedomWorks—and is a 2022 graduate of Hillsdale College’s James Madison Fellowship Program.” [Heritage Foundation, [2/16/24](#)]

- **The American Legislative Exchange Council (ALEC) Has “Spread Lies About The Integrity Of Our Elections To Undermine American Democracy” And Has Been Led In Part By Leading Election Conspiracist Cleta Mitchell.** “We are writing to urge you to cease your association with, and

end your funding of, the American Legislative Exchange Council (ALEC) based on its active efforts to restrict the American people's freedom to vote and spread lies about the integrity of our elections to undermine American democracy. [...] The group is led in part by Cleta Mitchell, a controversial attorney who has spread disinformation about the results of the 2020 election and served as a legal advisor to former President Trump as he secretly pushed election officials in Georgia to overturn the results of a free and fair election." [Letter from A. Philip Randolph Institute et al., [06/14/21](#)]

- **FreedomWorks Is “A Koch-Aligned Dark Money Group That Helped Start The Tea Party Movement” And In Recent Years Has Sown Election Doubt, Opposed Biden’s Progressive Agenda, Opposed COVID-19 Lockdowns, And Pushed Climate Change Denial.** “Another member of the Save America Coalition is FreedomWorks, a Koch-aligned dark-money group that helped start the tea party movement and organize protests last year to oppose Covid-19 lockdowns and ‘count legal votes’ after Biden won the presidential election. [...] FreedomWorks claims that the reconciliation package is “flooded with Green New Deal policies, cradle-to-grave welfare programs, and an unsustainable expansion of entitlement programs like Medicare.” The group criticized the bill’s provision to raise taxes on tobacco, saying the goal was “not to discourage tobacco consumption, but to pay for their socialist plan,” and claimed that the package’s Medicare negotiation provisions would raise drug costs. The group has previously pushed theories denying the existence of climate change.” [The Intercept, [10/15/21](#)]

**Chretien Is Currently Listed As Director Of Programs For Conservative Group FreedomWorks.** “Spencer Chretien is Director of Programs at FreedomWorks, a conservative advocacy organization that breaks down barriers between beltway insiders and grassroots America.” [Hillsdale College, accessed [02/28/24](#)]

- **Chretien Was Listed Among FreedomWorks’ Staff, As Of February 2024.** [FreedomWorks, accessed [02/28/24](#)]

**Chretien Is In The Club For Growth Foundation’s 2024 Fellowship Class, Which Claims To Unite “Free-Market Oriented Leaders From Across Sectors, Creating A Diverse And Powerful Nationwide Network Committed To Championing Free-Market Ideas, Principles, And Policies.”** “The Club for Growth Foundation has announced its incoming class of Fellows for 2024. First debuting in 2020, the Club for Growth Foundation’s fellowship program is uniting free-market oriented leaders from across sectors, creating a diverse and powerful nationwide network committed to championing free-market ideas, principles, and policies. [...] Spencer Chretien, Associate Director of Project 2025, The Heritage Foundation (VA)” [The Club for Growth Foundation, accessed [02/28/24](#)]

- **The Club For Growth Is “Anti-Tax Group Known For Antagonizing” The Republican Party Establishment.** “The Club for Growth is preparing to spend millions of dollars to help reelect the 20 House Republicans who opposed Kevin McCarthy’s speakership bid. David McIntosh, the president of the anti-tax group known for antagonizing the party establishment, told donors he was preparing a \$20 million defense fund to help ‘The Patriot 20’, according to a memo obtained by POLITICO.” [Politico, [07/24/23](#)]
- **The Guardian: “[Club For Growth] Has Emerged As One Of The Biggest Backers Of The Republican Lawmakers Who Sought To Overturn The US Election Results.”** [The Guardian, [1/15/21](#)]

**2021: While FreedomWorks’ Director Of Programs, Chretien Wrote An Article Claiming That “Virtually Every Institution In Our Society Has Been Captured By The Left” And Concluding, “We Need To Take Over The Bureaucracy.”**

**2021: While FreedomWorks’ Director Of Programs, Chretien Wrote An Article Titled, “We Can’t Reclaim Our Institutions Without Reclaiming The Bureaucracy.”** [FreedomWorks, [09/14/21](#)]

- **Chretien Was FreedomWorks' Director Of Programs At The Time.** "Spencer Chretien is director of programs at FreedomWorks." [FreedomWorks, [09/14/21](#)]

**Chretien Wrote, "Conservatives Across America Are Wondering Why Everything Seems To Be Against Them" And "The Short Answer Is That Virtually Every Institution In Our Society Has Been Captured By The Left."** "Conservatives across America are wondering why everything seems to be against them. The universal feeling is that things have gone awry, but that feeling is often accompanied by an inability to put one's finger on what, exactly, has happened. The short answer is that virtually every institution in our society has been captured by the Left. Liberals are consistently more politically active, donate much more, and — crucially — are far more willing than conservatives to politicize traditionally nonpolitical fields." [FreedomWorks, [09/14/21](#)]

**Chretien Wrote, "Unless And Until Conservatives Recapture America's Institutions, Our Decades-Long Cultural Losing Streak Will Only Accelerate."** "Unless and until conservatives recapture America's institutions, our decades-long cultural losing streak will only accelerate (and will no doubt expand into new frontiers)." [FreedomWorks, [09/14/21](#)]

**To "Reclaim America's Institutions," Chretien Recommended "Installing Like-Minded People In Government Jobs Of All Kinds."** "What, then, can be done to reclaim America's institutions? No one has all the answers, but one starting point could be a focus on installing like-minded people in government jobs of all kinds. Personnel is policy." [FreedomWorks, [09/14/21](#)]

**Chretien Concluded, "We Need To Take Over The Bureaucracy — It May Be The Only Way To Rein It In."** "Some eyebrows in the world of corporate wokeness would be raised, and good things would follow. We need people to write that sort of guidance and to run those school boards. We need our most competent people to take a pay cut and work for the government. We need to take over the bureaucracy — it may be the only way to rein it in." [FreedomWorks, [09/14/21](#)]

**2021: While FreedomWorks' Director Of Programs, Chretien Recommended "Five Simple Reforms For The Next Republican Administration," Claiming That Trump Saw "Ferocious Resistance To His Agenda By Career Civil Servants"—Chretien's Recommendations Included Increasing The Number Of And Authority Of Political Appointees Across The Federal Government.**

**2021: While FreedomWorks' Director Of Programs, Chretien Wrote An Article Titled, "Five Simple Reforms For The Next Republican Administration"** [FreedomWorks, [10/26/21](#)]

- **Chretien Was FreedomWorks' Director Of Programs At The Time.** "Spencer Chretien is director of programs at FreedomWorks." [FreedomWorks, [10/26/21](#)]

**Chretien Claimed That The Trump Administration Was Hindered By "Ferocious Resistance To His Agenda By Career Civil Servants" And The "Overwhelmingly Liberal Nature Of Those Who Work In Government."** "President Trump's administration was often hamstrung by bureaucratic inefficiencies, lack of aligned political personnel in place, and ferocious resistance to his agenda by career civil servants. Given the overwhelmingly liberal nature of those who work in government, some of the problems were intractable, but some could have been fixed." [FreedomWorks, [10/26/21](#)]

**Chretien Recommended That "Every Political Appointee Should Have A Boss Who Is Also A Political Appointee."** "1. Every political appointee should have a boss who is also a political appointee." [FreedomWorks, [10/26/21](#)]

**Chretien Recommended That “Every Office On An Agency’s Organizational Chart Should Be Led By A Political Appointee.”** “2. Every office on an agency’s organizational chart should be led by a political appointee.” [FreedomWorks, [10/26/21](#)]

**Chretien Recommended That “Political Appointees Should Be First In Line To Go Into The Office” During “Snowstorms, Government Shutdowns, And Pandemics.”** “3. During snowstorms, government shutdowns, and pandemics, political appointees should be first in line to go into the office.” [FreedomWorks, [10/26/21](#)]

**Chretien Recommended That “There Should Be Far More Political Appointees At Agencies Such As The FBI And The CIA.”** “4. There should be far more political appointees at agencies such as the FBI and the CIA.” [FreedomWorks, [10/26/21](#)]

**Chretien Concluded That “Complaints About The Number Of Ambassadors Who Are Political Appointees Are Unfounded.”** “5. Complaints about the number of ambassadors who are political appointees are unfounded.” [FreedomWorks, [10/26/21](#)]

**Chretien Was A 2022 Graduate Of A High-Level Fellowship Program At Hillsdale College, The “‘Shining City On A Hill’ For Conservatives” Which Has Condemned The “Dehumanizing, Discriminatory Trend Of So-Called ‘Social Justice’” In Its Official Catalog.**

**Chretien Was A “2022 Graduate Of Hillsdale College’s James Madison Fellowship Program.”** “In addition to his service in government, Chretien has held numerous positions at conservative organizations in the Washington, D.C. area—including the American Legislative Exchange Council, Citizens Against Government Waste, and FreedomWorks—and is a 2022 graduate of Hillsdale College’s James Madison Fellowship Program.” [Heritage Foundation, [2/16/24](#)]

- **The Madison Fellowship Is A “Ten-Month Long Educational Program For Serious Professionals Who Want Both A Deeper Understanding Of Our Current Political Predicament.”** “The Madison Fellowship is a ten-month long educational program for serious professionals who want both a deeper understanding of our current political predicament and a sharper view of what is needed to revitalize our American republic.” [Hillsdale College, accessed [02/29/24](#)]

**Hillsdale College, A “‘Shining City On A Hill’ For Conservatives,” Has Condemned The “Dehumanizing, Discriminatory Trend Of So-Called ‘Social Justice’ And ‘Multicultural Diversity’” In Its Official Catalog.** “In Hillsdale College, a ‘Shining City on a Hill’ for Conservatives [...] From the official catalog: ‘The college values the merit of each unique individual, rather than succumbing to the dehumanizing, discriminatory trend of so-called ‘social justice’ and ‘multicultural diversity.’” [The New York Times, [02/01/17](#)]

**While Associate Director Of Presidential Personnel, Spencer Chretien Directly Hired Heidi Stirrup To Be The Department Of Justice’s (DOJ’s) White House Liaison—Stirrup, Who Was Trump’s “Eyes And Ears” At The DOJ, Was Banned From The Building In December 2020 For Pressuring Staff To “Give Up Sensitive Information About Election Fraud” And Unilaterally Offering High-Level Positions To Political Allies.**

**Spencer Chretien, Then At The Office Of Presidential Personnel, Hired Heidi Stirrup To The Department Of Justice As Part Of Its Efforts To Prepare For “The Second Term Of The Trump Administration,” According To Stirrup’s Deposition To The Select Committee To Investigate The January 6th Attack On The U.S. Capitol:**



5            Could you please tell us how you got hired to work at the Department of Justice?

6            A    From the Office of Presidential Personnel.

7            Q    Okay. And who was that specifically?

8            A    Spencer Chretien.

9            Q    And how did it come about? Well, first, where were you working

10           immediately before the Department of Justice?

11           A    The Department of Health and Human Services.

12           Q    And how did it come about that you moved from the Department of Health

13           and Human Services to the Department of Justice?

14           A    The Office of Presidential Personnel was preparing for the second term of

15           the Trump administration and was considering political appointments in all of the

16           departments as to, you know, where they should be or where they could be or making

17           any changes, again, in preparation for the second term.

[Select Committee to Investigate the January 6th Attack on the U.S. Capitol, [04/25/22](#)]

**December 2020: Heidi Stirrup, Who Was “Serving As President Donald Trump’s Eyes And Ears At The Justice Department,” Was Banned From The Department’s Building “After Trying To Pressure Staffers To Give Up Sensitive Information About Election Fraud And Other Matters She Could Relay To The White House.”** “The official serving as President Donald Trump’s eyes and ears at the Justice Department has been banned from the building after trying to pressure staffers to give up sensitive information about election fraud and other matters she could relay to the White House, three people familiar with the matter tell The Associated Press. Heidi Stirrup, an ally of top Trump adviser Stephen Miller, was quietly installed at the Justice Department as a White House liaison a few months ago.” [Associated Press, [12/03/20](#)]

- **Stirrup Tried To “Collect Insider Information About Ongoing Cases And The Department’s Work On Election Fraud,” Even “Approaching Staffers In The Department Demanding They Give Her Information.”** “She was told within the last two weeks to vacate the building after top Justice officials learned of her efforts to collect insider information about ongoing cases and the department’s work on election fraud, the people said. Stirrup is accused of approaching staffers in the department demanding they give her information about investigations, including election fraud matters, the people said.” [Associated Press, [12/03/20](#)]
- **Stirrup “Extended Job Offers To Political Allies For Positions At Some Of The Highest Levels Of The Justice Department Without Consulting Any Senior Department Officials Or The White House Counsel’s Office” And Tried To Interfere In The Hiring Of Career Staffers.** “Stirrup had also extended job offers to political allies for positions at some of the highest levels of the Justice Department without consulting any senior department officials or the White House counsel’s office and also attempted to interfere in the hiring process for career staffers, a violation of the government’s human resources policies, one of the people said.” [Associated Press, [12/03/20](#)]
- **Stirrup Was “Previously Was A Central Figure In The Trump Administration’s Push For Hard-Line Immigration Policies.”** “Stirrup, who previously was a central figure in the Trump administration’s push for hard-line immigration policies, technically still remains in her position after being placed at the Justice Department by the White House Office of Presidential Personnel.” [Associated Press, [12/03/20](#)]

**Heidi Stirrup Stated That She Had Conversations With Spencer Chretien About The Department Of Justice’s “Election-Related Investigations,” Claiming That They Were “Nothing Substantive” And “Just Opinion”:**

10 Q Okay. Did you have any conversations with anybody at the White House  
11 about DOJ's election-related investigations?

12 A If I did, it would've been with Spencer Chretien, and just -- nothing  
13 substantive. I mean, nothing substantive; just opinion, right? I mean, just to  
14 say -- because I was curious what the Department would be doing with regard to looking  
15 at the allegations of fraud that, at the time, in the immediate aftermath of the election,  
16 that were swirling around in the public domain.

[Select Committee to Investigate the January 6th Attack on the U.S. Capitol, [04/25/22](#)]

**Asked About The Justice Dept.’s Role In Investigating The 2020 Election, Stirrup Stated, “I Would Speak With Spencer Chretien About Potential Appointments To The Department – In Other Words, Personnel Matters, Political Appointment Only, Not Career”:**

2 Q Okay. I guess I was asking not so much about your views on the 2020  
3 Presidential election as specifically any conversations you had with him about DOJ's role.

4 A So the kinds of conversations I would have with Spencer, as he was the  
5 Department of Justice liaison for political appointments and I was the White House liaison  
6 for the Department of Justice, I would speak with Spencer Chretien about potential  
7 appointments to the Department -- in other words, personnel matters, political  
8 appointment only, not career. The White House liaison and political appointees have no  
9 role in career civil service appointments, transfers, promotions, nothing of the sort.

10 So I would speak to Spencer Chretien about political appointments -- potential  
11 political appointments at the Department. The White House would make  
12 recommendations for certain candidates, and I would follow up with an interview or  
13 paperwork, mostly administrative in nature.

[Select Committee to Investigate the January 6th Attack on the U.S. Capitol, [04/25/22](#)]

**While Associate Director Of Presidential Personnel, Chretien Recommended Ken Klukowski To A DOJ Post—Klukowski, Who Became A High-Level DOJ Aide, Had A Role In The Effort To Overturn The 2020 Election, Was In Contact With Leading Election Reversal Figures Jeffrey Clark And John Eastman, And Sent Rep. Scott Perry A Document That “Outlined An Argument Central To The Fake Elector Scheme.”**

**According To Heidi Stirrup’s Deposition To The January 6th Select Committee, Spencer Chretien Recommended Ken Klukowski For A “Possible Position In The Civil Division” Of The Justice Dept.:**

1           It says, Good Afternoon, Jeff. I would like to recommend an outstanding  
2 candidate to you for the Civil Division as a DAG, D-A-G, possibly for Appellate, Ken  
3 Klukowski. How did Ken Klukowski come to your attention?  
4           A From the Office of Presidential Personnel, Spencer Chretien.  
5           Q Okay. And what did Mr. Chretien say to you?  
6           A Please take a look at this candidate for a possible position in the Civil  
7 Division.

[Select Committee to Investigate the January 6th Attack on the U.S. Capitol, [04/25/22](#)]

**Ken Klukowski, Who Became An Aide To Trump DOJ Official Jeffrey Clark, Had A Role “In The Effort To Reverse The Outcome Of The 2020 Election” Through A Fake Electors Scheme.** “At the request of DOJ, U.S. District Court Chief Judge Beryl Howell unsealed a June opinion in which she determined that 37 emails sent among Trump-era Justice Department official Jeffrey Clark, his aide Ken Klukowski and conservative attorney John Eastman and Perry (R-Pa.) — another top Donald Trump ally who chairs the House Freedom Caucus — were not protected by attorney-client privilege.” [Politico, [12/16/22](#)]

- **Klukowski Had A Role “In The Effort To Reverse The Outcome Of The 2020 Election,” Alongside John Eastman And Jeffrey Clark.** “Prosecutors have combed through more than 100,000 documents from John Eastman, Jeffrey Clark and Ken Klukowski, who played roles in the effort to reverse the outcome of the 2020 election.” [Politico, [12/16/22](#)]

**Klukowski Helped “High-Ranking” Trump DOJ Official Jeffrey Clark—Who Was “One Of The Few Lawyers” In DOJ Willing To Act On Trump’s Big Lie—To Write A Letter To State Officials In Georgia “Falsely Stating” DOJ Had Evidence Undermining Biden’s Victory In The State.** “At the time, Mr. Clark was proposing to send a letter to state officials in Georgia falsely stating that the department had evidence that could lead Georgia to rescind its certification of Mr. Biden’s victory in that key state. The effort to send the letter was cut short by Mr. Clark’s superiors. Mr. Klukowski, who briefly served under Mr. Clark at the Justice Department and had earlier worked at the White House budget office, helped Mr. Clark draft the letter to state officials in Georgia. While working at the department, he was also in contact with Mr. Eastman, according to evidence presented by the Jan. 6 House committee.” [The New York Times, [12/16/22](#)]

- **Jeffrey Clark, A “High-Ranking” Trump DOJ Official, “Was One Of The Few Lawyers Within The Department Of Justice Who Was Willing To Act On Trump’s Baseless Claims Of Election Fraud And Requests For Help In Overturning The Results Of The 2020 Presidential Election.”** “Jeffrey Clark, a high-ranking DOJ official in the Trump administration, did not appear publicly at the fifth House Jan. 6 committee hearing, but most of the witness testimony focused on his actions in President Donald Trump’s final weeks in office. Clark was one of the few lawyers within the Department of Justice who was willing to act on Trump’s baseless claims of election fraud and requests for help in overturning the results of the 2020 presidential election, witnesses said during the committee’s June 23 hearing.” [PBS NewsHour, [06/23/22](#)]

**Klukowski Was “Also In Contact” With John Eastman About Efforts To Overturn Georgia’s Election Results—Eastman Was Later Criminally Charged Alongside Trump And Others For Their Efforts In Georgia.** “Mr. Klukowski, who briefly served under Mr. Clark at the Justice Department and had earlier worked at the White House budget office, helped Mr. Clark draft the letter to state officials in Georgia. While working at

the department, he was also in contact with Mr. Eastman, according to evidence presented by the Jan. 6 House committee.” [The New York Times, [12/16/22](#)]

- **John Eastman Was Among 18 Trump Allies Criminally Charged Of Violating Racketeering Laws By Trying To Overturn Georgia’s 2020 Election Results.** “A former judge on a U.S. federal appeals court and California’s highest court vouched on Friday for the character of Donald Trump’s ex-personal lawyer John Eastman during his disciplinary trial in California. [...] Eastman is separately one of 18 Trump allies who were criminally charged in August along with the former president with violating racketeering and other laws in their efforts to challenge the 2020 election results in Georgia.” [Reuters, [10/20/23](#)]

**Klukowski Sent Rep. Scott Perry (R-PA)—Who Has Also Been Investigated For His Role In The Effort To Overturn The Election Through Fake Electors—A Document Titled ““Electors Clause/The Legislature Option,”” Which “Outlined An Argument Central To The Fake Elector Scheme.”** “The court papers, which emerged from a behind-the-scenes review of the material for any that might be protected by attorney-client privilege, said little about the contents of the emails. But they noted that each of the men was in contact with a leader of the far-right House Freedom Caucus, Representative Scott Perry, Republican of Pennsylvania, whose own phone was seized in August as part of the investigation into the fake elector scheme. [...] According to the newly unsealed papers, Mr. Klukowski sent Mr. Perry an email eight days after the election with a document attached titled ‘Electors Clause/The Legislature Option.’ The document outlined an argument central to the fake elector scheme — namely, that “the Constitution makes state legislatures the final authority on presidential elections,” the court papers said.” [The New York Times, [12/16/22](#)]

**While Associate Director Of Presidential Personnel, Chretien’s “Boss” Was John McEntee, Who Was “The Man Who Made January 6 Possible,” Who “Backed The President’s Manic Drive To Overturn The Election, And Helped Set The Stage For The January 6 Assault On The Capitol.”**

**According To Stirrup, Spencer Chretien’s “Boss” Was John McEntee, Assistant To The President For Presidential Personnel:**

- 11 Q Okay. We’ll go to exhibit 8. This is an email from you to John D. McEntee,  
12 Tuesday, November 10th, 2020, 10:44 a.m. Appears to be attaching the same memo.  
13 Who is Mr. McEntee?  
14 A He is Spencer Chretien’s boss. He was assistant to the President for  
15 Presidential personnel.  
16 Q And did you in your capacity as White House liaison at the Department of  
17 Justice report at all to Mr. McEntee?  
18 A No.  
19 Q Okay. To whom did you report?  
20 A Spencer Chretien.

[Select Committee to Investigate the January 6th Attack on the U.S. Capitol, [04/25/22](#)]

**Johnny McEntee—Known As Trump’s “Deputy President” Who “Made January 6 Possible”—**“The story of Johnny McEntee—the ‘deputy president’ who rose to power at precisely the moment when democracy was falling apart” [The Atlantic, [11/09/21](#)]

- **Headline: THE MAN WHO MADE JANUARY 6 POSSIBLE** [The Atlantic, [11/09/21](#)]
- **McEntee Had “Undeniable” Power In The Trump White House And He “Made The Disastrous Last Weeks Of The Trump Presidency Possible.”** “The office was run by Johnny McEntee. Just 29 when he got the job, he’d come up as Trump’s body guy—the kid who carried the candidate’s bags. One of Trump’s most high-profile Cabinet secretaries described him to me as ‘a fucking idiot.’ But in 2020, his power was undeniable. Trump knew he was the one person willing to do anything Trump wanted. As another senior official told me, ‘He became the deputy president.’ McEntee and his enforcers made the disastrous last weeks of the Trump presidency possible.” [The Atlantic, [11/09/21](#)]
- **McEntee And “His Enforcers” “Backed The President’s Manic Drive To Overturn The Election, And Helped Set The Stage For The January 6 Assault On The Capitol.”** “McEntee and his enforcers made the disastrous last weeks of the Trump presidency possible. They backed the president’s manic drive to overturn the election, and helped set the stage for the January 6 assault on the Capitol. Thanks to them, in the end, the elusive ‘adults in the room’—those who might have been willing to confront the president or try to control his most destructive tendencies—were silenced or gone.” [The Atlantic, [11/09/21](#)]
- **In The Final Days Of The Trump Presidency, McEntee Was “Bossing Around Cabinet Secretaries, Decapitating The Civilian Leadership At The Pentagon, And Forcing Officials High And Low To State Their Allegiance To Trump.”** “But McEntee was there—bossing around Cabinet secretaries, decapitating the civilian leadership at the Pentagon, and forcing officials high and low to state their allegiance to Trump.” [The Atlantic, [11/09/21](#)]
- **McEntee “Set Up A Rogue Legal Team” Which Had A “Role In The Effort To Pressure Vice President Mike Pence” To Overturn The 2020 Election.** “When Trump wasn’t happy with the answers he was getting from White House Counsel Pat Cipollone, McEntee set up a rogue legal team. This back-channel operation played a previously unknown role in the effort to pressure Vice President Mike Pence to overturn the vote.” [The Atlantic, [11/09/21](#)]
- **Ahead Of January 6, McEntee “Sent Pence’s Office An Absurd Memo Making The Case That Pence Would Be Following Thomas Jefferson’s Example If He Used His Power To Declare Trump The Winner Of The 2020 Election.”** “Just days before January 6, McEntee sent Pence’s office an absurd memo making the case that Pence would be following Thomas Jefferson’s example if he used his power to declare Trump the winner of the 2020 election.” [The Atlantic, [11/09/21](#)]

**While At HUD, Chretien Worked On And Promoted The Trump Administration’s Opportunity Zone Program, A “Multibillion-Dollar Tax Break” That Benefited Wealthy And Well-Connected Investors At The Expense Of Struggling Communities.**

Previously, Chretien Was A Special Policy Assistant At The Trump Department Of Housing And Urban Development (HUD). “Before his role at the White House, Chretien served as a political appointee at the Department of Housing and Urban Development.” [Heritage Foundation, [2/16/24](#)]

- **Chretien Was A Special Policy Assistant At HUD, Joining In April 2019.** [ProPublica, accessed [02/28/24](#)]

**While At HUD, Chretien Worked On The Opportunity Zones Program.** “I would like to thank Alfonso Costa, Jr., every member of the HUD OZ Task Force and HUD OZ Work Group, Paige Esterkin, and Spencer Chretien for their work on OZs [...]” [U.S. Department of Housing and Urban Development, [2022](#)]

**2019: Chretien Co-Authored An Article Touting The Opportunity Zone Program’s “Various And Powerful” Benefits For Investors.** “Included in the 2017 Tax Cuts and Jobs Act was an incentive for those with unrealized capital gains to invest in economically distressed areas. The law provided for the designation of certain low-income census tracts as Opportunity Zones. [...] The benefits of investing in Opportunity Zones through Qualified Opportunity Funds (‘QOF’) are various and powerful.” [Journal of Affordable Housing & Community Development Law via JSTOR, [2019](#)]



**HEARD FROM HUD**

## **Opportunity Finds a Home at HUD**

*Brad E. Rader and Spencer J. Chretien*

[Journal of Affordable Housing & Community Development Law via JSTOR, [2019](#)]

**While HUD Secretary, Carson Presided Over The Creation Of The Opportunity Zone Program.** “Under Carson, opportunity zones were created to spur development in struggling communities and a President Barack Obama–era rule to racially diversify the suburbs was axed.” [Realtor.com, [01/19/21](#)]

**The Opportunity Zone Tax Benefit Is “A Multibillion-Dollar Tax Break That Is Supposed To Help Low-Income Areas,” But “Has Fueled A Wave Of Developments Financed By And Built For The Wealthiest Americans.”** “But the Trump administration’s signature plan to lift them — a multibillion-dollar tax break that is supposed to help low-income areas — has fueled a wave of developments financed by and built for the wealthiest Americans.” [The New York Times, [08/31/19](#)]

**The Opportunity Zone Tax Benefit, “Tucked Into The Republicans’ 2017 Tax-Cut Legislation,” Was Supposed To Incentivize Investment Into Poor Neighborhoods, “Leading To New Housing, Businesses, And Jobs.”** “The stated goal of the tax benefit — tucked into the Republicans’ 2017 tax-cut legislation — was to coax investors to pump cash into poor neighborhoods, known as opportunity zones, leading to new housing, businesses and jobs.” [The New York Times, [08/31/19](#)]

**“Opportunity-Zone Money Is Going To Places That Do Not Need The Help, While Many Poorer Communities Are So Far Empty-Handed.”** “But even supporters of the initiative agree that the bulk of the opportunity-zone money is going to places that do not need the help, while many poorer communities are so far empty-handed. Some opportunity zones that were classified as low income based on census data from several years ago have since gentrified. Others that remain poor over all have large numbers of wealthy households.” [The New York Times, [08/31/19](#)]

**“Politically Connected Individuals Have Landed Opportunity Zone Designations For Areas In Which They Have A Financial Stake, Sometimes At The Expense Of Poorer Areas.”** “But numerous reports have highlighted ways in which politically connected individuals have landed opportunity zone designations for areas in which they have a financial stake, sometimes at the expense of poorer areas.” [ProPublica, [11/08/19](#)]

**Troup Hemenway, Project 2025 Associate Director**

**Troup Hemenway Is An Associate Director Of Project 2025 And Previously Oversaw Appointments In The Trump Administration—Hemenway Was Hired To The Trump White House While He Was An Undergraduate, At A Federal Pay Level Generally Reserved For “Top Professionals Holding Advanced Degrees.”**

**Troup Hemenway Is An Associate Director Of Project 2025 At The Heritage Foundation.** “Troup Hemenway is Associate Director for the 2025 Presidential Transition Project at The Heritage Foundation.” [Heritage Foundation, [2/16/24](#)]

**Hemenway, Whose Full Name Is John Troup Calhoun Hemenway, Was Hired To The Trump Presidential Personnel Office (PPO) In March 2020, Long Before His 2021 Graduation From The University Of Virginia’s School Of Continuing And Professional Studies.** “As some prominent Democrats call for the military to help out more with the response to the coronavirus crisis, John Troup Hemenway has been hired on a 30-day detail to help the deputy director of the Presidential Personnel Office, Michael Burley, with paperwork for Defense Department political appointees, according to one of the people. Hemenway is expected to graduate from the University of Virginia in December. Hemenway, who is in his 20s and started last week, is the third college senior to be hired in short order by the White House. One administration official praised him by saying he’s “really good at what he does.” [Politico, [03/17/20](#)]

- **Hemenway Was Still An Undergraduate At The Time Of His Hiring To The PPO.** “The same article added, however, that John Troup Hemenway has been brought on to assist the deputy director of the Presidential Personnel Office, despite the fact that Hemenway is still an undergraduate student who’s expected to graduate in December.” [MSNBC, [03/18/20](#)]
- **John Troup Calhoun Hemenway Graduated From The University Of Virginia’s School Of Continuing And Professional Studies In 2021:**

**Class of 2021 Distinguished Graduates**

[...]

**School of Continuing and Professional Studies**

[...]

- John Troup Calhoun Hemenway

[University of Virginia, accessed [02/29/24](#)]

- **According To His Resume, Hemenway Graduated From Rappahannock Community College In 2014, With An Associate Of Arts & Sciences Degree:**

**EDUCATION**

**Rappahannock Community College, Warsaw, Virginia**

*Graduate; Associate of Arts & Sciences, 2014*

- Magna Cum Laude
- Phi Theta Kappa Honor Society

[Washington Headquarters Services, accessed [02/29/24](#)]

**Hemenway Was At The GS-13 Federal Pay Level, Which Is “Generally Reserved For [...] Top Professionals Holding Advanced Degrees”:**

	Special Assistant	John Troup Calhoun Hemenway	SC	GS	13
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[Government Printing Office, accessed [02/29/24 \(.XLS\)](#)]

- **GS-13 “Is Generally Reserved For Top-Level Positions Such As Supervisors, High-Level Technical Specialists, And Top Professionals Holding Advanced Degrees.”** “GS-13 is the 13th paygrade in the General Schedule (GS) payscale, the payscale used to determine the salaries of most civilian government employees. The GS-13 pay grade is generally reserved for top-level positions such as supervisors, high-level technical specialists, and top professionals holding advanced degrees.” [Federal Pay, accessed [02/29/24](#)]

**Hemenway “Oversaw Presidential Appointments” In The Trump Administration, For The Departments of Defense, Homeland Security, Energy, and the Intelligence Community.** “Hemenway most recently worked as a senior advisor at America First Policy Institute’s America First Transition Project. At the Trump White House, he oversaw presidential appointments in the Departments of Defense, Homeland Security, Energy, and the Intelligence Community.” [Heritage Foundation, [9/25/23](#)]

- **Hemenway Was Associate Director for National Security in the Office of Presidential Personnel.** “Hemenway served in the Trump administration as Associate Director for National Security in the Office of Presidential Personnel.” [Yahoo! News, [09/13/23](#)]
- **While In The Trump Administration, Hemenway Was Also “A Senior Advisor To The Undersecretary Of Defense For Research And Engineering At The Pentagon, A Member Of The Senior Executive Service, And A Defense Fellow And Special Assistant In The Office Of The Secretary Of Defense.”** “In addition to his service in the Presidential Personnel Office, Hemenway was a senior advisor to the undersecretary of defense for research and engineering at the Pentagon, a member of the Senior Executive Service, and a defense fellow and special assistant in the Office of the Secretary of Defense.” [Heritage Foundation, [9/25/23](#)]

**Hemenway Worked On The 2016 Trump Campaign And 2016 Transition Team.** “Before joining the Trump administration, Hemenway worked on the Trump 2016 campaign and the 2016 transition team.” [Heritage Foundation, [9/25/23](#)]

**Hemenway Was The Founder Of The Courage Under Fire Legal Defense Fund.** “Hemenway holds a bachelor of science in cybersecurity from the University of Virginia, where he graduated with high honors. He is also the president of personnel policy operations and founder of the Courage Under Fire Legal Defense Fund, as well as the Association of Republican Presidential Appointees. He is a native Virginian, and a proud descendant of veterans of Washington’s Continental Army.” [Heritage Foundation, [9/25/23](#)]

**Hemenway Founded The Association Of Republican Presidential Appointees.** “He is a founder of the Association of Republican Presidential Appointees and is a proud descendant of veterans of Washington’s Continental Army.” [America First Policy Institute via Archive.org, captured 09/20/23, accessed [02/29/24](#)]

**Troup Hemenway Is The President And Executive Director Of Personnel Policy Operations (PPO), A Project Of MAGA “Nerve Center” The Conservative Partnership Institute, Which Raised Suspicion For Funneling Over \$1 Million To A Legal Defense Fund For CPI Leader Mark Meadows.**

**Troup Hemenway Is The Executive Director And President Of Personnel Policy Operations (PPO), A 501(C)(3) Tax-Exempt Non-Profit Organization:**



(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) Troup Hemenway ..... Executive Director	40.00 .....	X		X				43,365	0	0

[Personnel Policy Operations IRS Form 990, 2022, [11/15/23](#)]

- **Troup Hemenway Has Also Been Identified As The President Of PPO And The Founder Of The Courage Under Fire Legal Defense Fund.** “Troup Hemenway is the President of Personnel Policy Operations and Founder of the Courage Under Fire Legal Defense Fund. He served in the Presidential Personnel Office in the White House and the Department of Defense under the Trump Administration.” [The American Mind, [10/16/23](#)]
- **Troup Hemenway Is Also A Senior Advisor And Associate Director Of Personnel Placement With The Heritage Foundation’s 2025 Presidential Transition Project.** “The Heritage Foundation today announced Troup Hemenway, a former associate director of the Presidential Personnel Office (PPO) under President Donald Trump, has joined the 2025 Presidential Transition Project as a senior advisor and associate director of personnel placement.” [Heritage Foundation, [9/25/23](#)]

**October 16, 2023: Troup Hemenway Published An Op-Ed In The American Mind Announcing PPO’s Creation Of The Courage Under Fire Legal Defense Fund.** “After beginning with educational, networking, and legal defense operations in 2022, we soon realized that we would need to greatly expand our base of support to make a firm response to the recent distortions of American justice. This year, PPO established the Courage Under Fire Legal Defense Fund.” [The American Mind, [10/16/23](#)]

**Hemenway Was The Founder Of The Courage Under Fire Legal Defense Fund.** “Hemenway holds a bachelor of science in cybersecurity from the University of Virginia, where he graduated with high honors. He is also the president of personnel policy operations and founder of the Courage Under Fire Legal Defense Fund, as well as the Association of Republican Presidential Appointees. He is a native Virginian, and a proud descendant of veterans of Washington’s Continental Army.” [Heritage Foundation, [9/25/23](#)]

**PPO—Established By MAGA “Nerve Center” The Conservative Partnership Institute (CPI)—Was Set Up To Fund Legal Defense For Figures Subjected To A “Leftist Purge,” Including Former Trump Chief Of Staff And CPI’s “Top Executive” Mark Meadows.** “Another C.P.I. operation, not previously reported, took place in 2022. That year, the group established Personnel Policy Operations, a nonprofit set up to ‘educate and defend conservative, America First civil servants and their advisers.’ The mission included helping to fund the legal defense of individuals subjected to a ‘Leftist purge,’ including Mr. Meadows.” [The New York Times, [02/20/24](#)]

- **The Conservative Partnership Institute (CPI) Is Known As “The MAGA Movement’s ‘Nerve Center’” And “A Hotbed Of Election Denialism.”** “In a few short years, the Conservative Partnership Institute has become known in Washington as the ‘nerve center’ of the MAGA movement—an outsized power player in Congress and a hotbed of election denialism.” [The Daily Beast, [11/24/23](#)]
- **Headline: The Secret Megadonor Behind the MAGA Movement’s ‘Nerve Center’** [The Daily Beast, [11/24/23](#)]

- **Mark Meadows, CPI’s Senior Adviser, Is Paid \$847,000 Annually As The Group’s “Top Executive.”** “The group’s top executive, Jim DeMint, the former U.S. senator from South Carolina, was there, as was Mark Meadows, President Donald J. Trump’s former chief of staff, who is paid \$847,000 annually as the organization’s senior adviser.” [The New York Times, [02/20/24](#)]

**After CPI Gave PPO \$1.15 Million, PPO’s Legal Defense Fund “Issued A Single Grant” Of \$1.13 Million To A “Newly Formed Company” Named The Constitutional Rights Defense Fund, Which Dissolved Just A Year Later.** “C.P.I. contributed \$1.15 million to the legal defense fund, and in turn the defense fund issued a single grant, totaling \$1.13 million, to a newly formed company called the Constitutional Rights Defense Fund. A year later, the company dissolved.” [The New York Times, [02/20/24](#)]

**The Constitutional Rights Defense Fund’s Treasurer Was The Same Individual Who Served As Treasurer For A “Shell Company” Created By CPI Figures To Give \$1 Million To Audit Arizona’s 2020 Election Results.** “The treasurer of the defunct company, Thomas Datwyler, had performed the same function for the shell company that donated \$1 million to the Arizona audit a year earlier.” [The New York Times, [02/20/24](#)]

- **CPI Associates Previously Created A “Shell Company” To Donate \$1 Million To Audit 2020 Election Results In Arizona.** “As The Guardian first reported, a million-dollar contribution to C.P.I. in July 2021 from the Trump-affiliated Save America PAC was followed by C.P.I. associates creating a shell company that at Ms. Mitchell’s direction subsequently donated \$1 million to the audit of the 2020 election results in Arizona conducted by the Cyber Ninjas group.” [The New York Times, [02/20/24](#)]

**Sen. Sheldon Whitehouse Said Of CPI’s Operations, “You Look At All These Phony Front Groups, And The Sinecures They’ve Provided To Disgraced Trump Loyalists Like Mark Meadows And Jeffrey Clark, And When You Put It All Together, It Looks More Like A Sneaky Political Operation Than An Honest’ Nonprofit.** “You look at all these phony front groups, and the sinecures they’ve provided to disgraced Trump loyalists like Mark Meadows and Jeffrey Clark, and when you put it all together, it looks more like a sneaky political operation than an honest’ nonprofit, said Senator Sheldon Whitehouse, Democrat of Rhode Island.” [The New York Times, [02/20/24](#)]

**Hemenway Was A Senior Advisor For America First Policy Institute’s (AFPI’s) “America First Transition Project” To Staff An Incoming Republican Administration—AFPI Has Been Called A Trump “White House-In-Waiting,” Heavily Backed “Self-Described Activist Christian” Oil Billionaire Tim Dunn.**

**Hemenway Was A Senior Advisor For America First Policy Institute’s (AFPI’s) “America First Transition Project.”** “Hemenway most recently worked as a senior advisor at America First Policy Institute’s America First Transition Project. At the Trump White House, he oversaw presidential appointments in the Departments of Defense, Homeland Security, Energy, and the Intelligence Community.” [Heritage Foundation, [9/25/23](#)]

- **AFPI’s Effort Was Also Known As The American Leadership Initiative, The Group’s Effort To Prepare For The Next Republican Administration.** “At AFPI, he was a senior advisor for the American Leadership Initiative, the think tank’s effort to help prepare and staff an incoming Republican administration.” [Semafor, [09/13/23](#)]

**AFPI Has Been Called A Trump “Administration In Waiting,” With “An In-House Roster Of Trump Loyalists—including Larry Kudlow, Kevin Hassett And Keith Kellogg—Available To Fill Key Administration Positions.”** “Conservative operatives regard the new group as one of several organizations attempting to assemble an ‘administration in waiting.’ Rollins’s group boasts an in-house roster of Trump

loyalists—including Larry Kudlow, Kevin Hassett and Keith Kellogg—available to fill key administration positions.” [The Wall Street Journal, [02/23/24](#)]

**Trump’s Former Chief Domestic Policy Adviser Brooke Rollins Launched America First Policy Institute In Early 2021, With About 30 Staffers And “Millions Of Dollars” In Funding.** “Brooke Rollins spent nearly three years in Donald Trump’s White House, part of it as the former president’s chief domestic policy adviser. Now she’s trying on a new role: Helping to oversee a Trump-aligned nonprofit devoted to pushing the former president’s agenda while he’s out of office. Rollins has moved aggressively since Trump left the White House, with her soon-to-be-launched organization — America First Policy Institute — taking up office space in Arlington, Va., hiring about 30 staffers so far, and, according to Rollins, raising millions of dollars.” [Politico, [03/03/21](#)]

- **AFPI, Known As A “White House-In-Waiting,” Raised Over \$23 Million In 2022, “Nearly A Third Of Which Came From A Single Anonymous Donor.”** “A nonprofit that employs numerous Trump administration officials and is laying the groundwork for the former president’s potential second term raised more than \$23 million last year – nearly a third of which came from a single anonymous donor, previously unreported tax documents show. The documents show that America First Policy Institute – a think tank that’s been described as a ‘White House-in-waiting’ and has released a spate of conservative policy proposals – burned through most of the funds it raised, spending \$22 million over the course of the year.” [CNN, [12/06/23](#)]

**AFPI Was Founded With Heavy Backing From “Self-Described Activist Christian” And Billionaire “Texas Oilman” Tim Dunn.** “Drilling for oil made Tim Dunn, a self-described activist Christian, into a billionaire. His second act has been pumping money to Texas Republicans intent on pushing their party to the right. His third act, he hopes, will be pulling off something similar on a national level—preferably during a second Trump administration. Brooke Rollins, a former Trump domestic policy adviser, pitched Dunn in 2021 on a new think tank, America First Policy Institute, with a mission to perpetuate Trump-era policies for generations to come. The West Texas oilman, whose efforts in his home state have been both successful and polarizing, responded with both enthusiasm and money.” [The Wall Street Journal, [02/23/24](#)]

- **Dunn Was A Founding Board Member For AFPI.** “After Trump’s defeat in 2020, some of his advisers turned to Dunn for advice and funding. Rollins said she and former pro-wrestling executive Linda McMahon, who also served in the Trump administration, approached Dunn about helping launch America First. ‘We wanted to create a national organization similar to what we built in Texas that could be ready for a second [Trump] term,’ Rollins said. Dunn became a founding board member, along with McMahon, who is chair, and Kudlow.” [The Wall Street Journal, [02/23/24](#)]

**Troup Hemenway Was A “Key Official” In The Trump Presidential Personnel Office (PPO) Under Its Former Director John McEntee, Who Was “The Man Who Made January 6 Possible,” Who “Backed The President’s Manic Drive To Overturn The Election, And Helped Set The Stage For The January 6 Assault On The Capitol.”**

**Project 2025 Director Paul Dans Announced Hemenway’s Position With, ““Troup Hemenway Was A Key Official Working For John McEntee’s Presidential Personnel Office [PPO] That Finally Got That Office On Track To Serve President Trump.”** “Paul Dans, director of the 2025 Presidential Transition Project at The Heritage Foundation, welcomed Hemenway, saying: ‘Troup Hemenway was a key official working for John McEntee’s Presidential Personnel Office that finally got that office on track to serve President Trump.’” [Heritage Foundation, [09/25/23](#)]

**Hemenway Served In The Trump PPO Alongside Project 2025 Associate Director Spencer Chretien Under Former Trump PPO Director Johnny McEntee.** “It’s also notable that Heritage seems to be aiming to reassemble some corners of the Trump administration: Hemenway served alongside Spencer Chretien under

Johnny McEntee at PPO — the source noted that the trio is excited and and that they're billing the move as 'getting the band back together.'" [Semafor, [09/13/23](#)]

- **Spencer Chretien Is Project 2025's Associate Director.** [The Heritage Foundation, accessed [02/29/24](#)]
- **Johnny McEntee Is Former Director Of The Trump White House's PPO.** [Heritage Foundation, accessed [02/29/24](#)]

**Johnny McEntee—Known As Trump's "Deputy President" Who "Made January 6 Possible"—**"The story of Johnny McEntee—the 'deputy president' who rose to power at precisely the moment when democracy was falling apart" [The Atlantic, [11/09/21](#)]

- **Headline: THE MAN WHO MADE JANUARY 6 POSSIBLE** [The Atlantic, [11/09/21](#)]
- **McEntee Had "Undeniable" Power In The Trump White House And He "Made The Disastrous Last Weeks Of The Trump Presidency Possible."** "The office was run by Johnny McEntee. Just 29 when he got the job, he'd come up as Trump's body guy—the kid who carried the candidate's bags. One of Trump's most high-profile Cabinet secretaries described him to me as 'a fucking idiot.' But in 2020, his power was undeniable. Trump knew he was the one person willing to do anything Trump wanted. As another senior official told me, 'He became the deputy president.' McEntee and his enforcers made the disastrous last weeks of the Trump presidency possible." [The Atlantic, [11/09/21](#)]
- **McEntee And "His Enforcers" "Backed The President's Manic Drive To Overturn The Election, And Helped Set The Stage For The January 6 Assault On The Capitol."** "McEntee and his enforcers made the disastrous last weeks of the Trump presidency possible. They backed the president's manic drive to overturn the election, and helped set the stage for the January 6 assault on the Capitol. Thanks to them, in the end, the elusive 'adults in the room'—those who might have been willing to confront the president or try to control his most destructive tendencies—were silenced or gone." [The Atlantic, [11/09/21](#)]
- **In The Final Days Of The Trump Presidency, McEntee Was "Bossing Around Cabinet Secretaries, Decapitating The Civilian Leadership At The Pentagon, And Forcing Officials High And Low To State Their Allegiance To Trump."** "But McEntee was there—bossing around Cabinet secretaries, decapitating the civilian leadership at the Pentagon, and forcing officials high and low to state their allegiance to Trump." [The Atlantic, [11/09/21](#)]
- **McEntee "Set Up A Rogue Legal Team" Which Had A "Role In The Effort To Pressure Vice President Mike Pence" To Overturn The 2020 Election.** "When Trump wasn't happy with the answers he was getting from White House Counsel Pat Cipollone, McEntee set up a rogue legal team. This back-channel operation played a previously unknown role in the effort to pressure Vice President Mike Pence to overturn the vote." [The Atlantic, [11/09/21](#)]
- **Ahead Of January 6, McEntee "Sent Pence's Office An Absurd Memo Making The Case That Pence Would Be Following Thomas Jefferson's Example If He Used His Power To Declare Trump The Winner Of The 2020 Election."** "Just days before January 6, McEntee sent Pence's office an absurd memo making the case that Pence would be following Thomas Jefferson's example if he used his power to declare Trump the winner of the 2020 election." [The Atlantic, [11/09/21](#)]

**Hemenway Was In A "Boot Camp" Fellowship For The Claremont Institute, Which "Made The Intellectual Case For Trump" And Includes In Its Leadership John Eastman, A Trump Lawyer Who Has Been Criminally Charged For His Efforts To Overturn The 2020 Election.**

**Troup Hemenway Was A 2021 Publius Fellow For The Claremont Institute, Which Describes The Fellowship As A “Three-Week ‘Boot Camp’”:**

## 2021 Publius Fellows

[...]

**Troup Hemenway** most recently worked for the Trump Administration and previously served on the policy team for the Trump campaign. He has worked in the White House Presidential Personnel Office, as well as in the Pentagon on the Secretary’s staff in the Office of White House Liaison. He also served to structure the new Under Secretariat for Research and Engineering in the Department of Defense. Troup obtained a bachelor’s degree in Cybersecurity from the University of Virginia, graduating summa cum laude. He is currently involved with Boundary Channel Partners and the Association of Republican Presidential Appointees.

[Claremont Institute, accessed [02/29/24](#)]

- **The Claremont Institute Describes Its Publius Fellowship Program As A “Three-Week ‘Boot Camp’ In American Political Thought”:**

ORANGE COUNTY, CALIFORNIA

## Publius Fellowship

JUNE 19, 2024 - JULY 6, 2024

A three-week “boot camp” in American political thought for recent college graduates, graduate students, and individuals beginning their careers in scholarship, journalism, or government.

[Claremont Institute, accessed [02/29/24](#)]

**The Claremont Institute, Which “Made The Intellectual Case For Trump,” Has Become A “Nerve Center Of The American Right.”** “How the Claremont Institute Became a Nerve Center of the American Right [...] They made the intellectual case for Trump. Now they believe the country is in a cultural civil war.” [The New York Times, [08/03/22](#)]

**John Eastman, The Founding Director Of The Conservative Claremont Institute’s Center For Constitutional Jurisprudence, Has Been Criminally Charged For Trying To Overturn Georgia’s 2020**

**Election Results And The State Bar Of California Is Trying To Disbar Eastman Due To His Efforts To Overturn The Election.** “John Eastman is Founding Director of the Claremont Institute’s Center for Constitutional Jurisprudence, and currently serves as the Henry Salvatori Professor of Law & Community Service at Chapman University’s Dale E. Fowler School of Law. He is also a Senior Fellow of the Claremont Institute. [...] Carrie Severino is chief counsel and policy director of the Judicial Crisis Network.” [The American Mind, [06/29/18](#)]

- **Eastman Is Listed Among The Claremont Institute’s Leadership:**



[The Claremont Institute, accessed [02/29/24](#)]

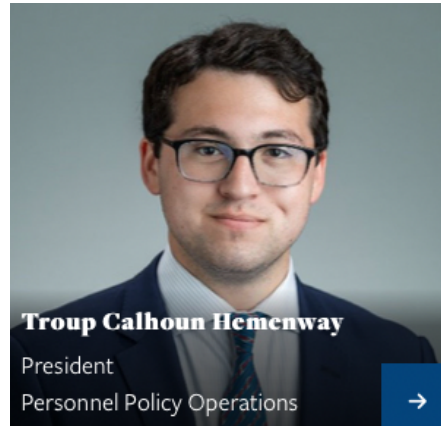
- **As Of October 2023, The State Bar Of California Was “Seeking To Strip Eastman Of His Law License” Due To His Role In Trying To Overturn The 2020 Presidential Election.** “The State Bar of California is seeking to strip Eastman of his law license, arguing that his efforts to overturn Democrat Joe Biden's victory over former Republican president Trump during the 2020 presidential election was unsupported by law or precedent and ran contrary to U.S. values. [...] Eastman, a former law professor at Chapman University in California, drafted legal memos suggesting then-Vice President Mike Pence could refuse to accept electoral votes for Biden from several swing states when Congress convened to certify the 2020 vote count. Pence rebuffed his arguments, saying he did not have legal authority.” [Reuters, [10/20/23](#)]
- **Eastman Was Among 18 Trump Allies Criminally Charged Of Violating Racketeering Laws By Trying To Overturn Georgia’s 2020 Election Results.** “Eastman is separately one of 18 Trump allies who were criminally charged in August along with the former president with violating racketeering and other laws in their efforts to challenge the 2020 election results in Georgia.” [Reuters, [10/20/23](#)]

**Hemenway Was In A High-Level Fellowship Program At Hillsdale College, The “Shining City On A Hill’ For Conservatives” Which Has Condemned The “Dehumanizing, Discriminatory Trend Of So-Called ‘Social Justice’” In Its Official Catalog.**

**Hemenway Was In The 2023-24 Class Of Hillsdale College’s Madison Fellowship, A “Ten-Month Long Educational Program For Serious Professionals Who Want Both A Deeper Understanding Of Our Current Political Predicament.”** “The Madison Fellowship is a ten-month long educational program for serious professionals who want both a deeper understanding of our current political predicament and a sharper view of what is needed to revitalize our American republic.” [Hillsdale College, accessed [02/29/24](#)]

## Madison Fellows — Class of 2023-2024

[...]



[Hillsdale College, accessed [02/29/24](#)]

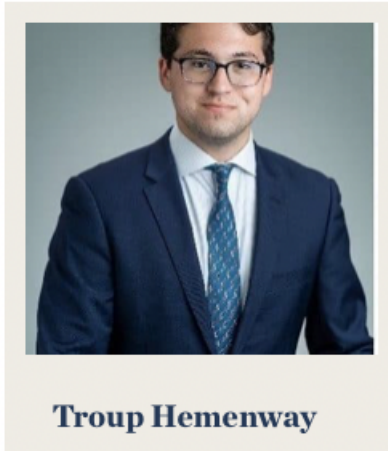
**Hillsdale College, A “‘Shining City On A Hill’ For Conservatives,” Has Condemned The “Dehumanizing, Discriminatory Trend Of So-Called ‘Social Justice’ And ‘Multicultural Diversity’” In Its Official Catalog.** “In Hillsdale College, a ‘Shining City on a Hill’ for Conservatives [...] From the official catalog: ‘The college values the merit of each unique individual, rather than succumbing to the dehumanizing, discriminatory trend of so-called ‘social justice’ and ‘multicultural diversity.’” [The New York Times, [02/01/17](#)]

**Hemenway Was In A Yearlong Fellowship Focusing On “The Human Cost Of The Radical Socialist Agenda” From The Anti-Tax Club For Growth, A Group Which Heavily Backed Lawmakers After They Tried To Overturn The 2020 Election.**

Hemenway Was In The 2023 Fellowship Class For The Club For Growth Foundation:

**2023 Fellowship Class**

[...]



**Troup Hemenway**

[The Club for Growth Foundation, accessed [02/29/24](#)]

**The Club For Growth Foundation’s Fellowship Program Is A “Yearlong Program” That Provides “Media Training On How To Pivot Towards Winning Messages And Using Impactful Stories To Convey The Human Cost Of The Radical Socialist Agenda.”** “The Club for Growth Foundation Fellowship program equips civic leaders to talk about a free society, economic liberty, and limited government, expanding the number of pro-growth Americans who are able and willing to engage in public service across a broad cross-section of society. The Fellowship is a yearlong program that consists of two seminars and virtual meetings that provide media training on how to pivot towards winning messages and using impactful stories to convey the human cost of the radical socialist agenda.” [The Club for Growth Foundation, accessed [02/29/24](#)]

**The Club For Growth Is “Anti-Tax Group Known For Antagonizing” The Republican Party Establishment.** “The Club for Growth is preparing to spend millions of dollars to help reelect the 20 House Republicans who opposed Kevin McCarthy’s speakership bid. David McIntosh, the president of the anti-tax group known for antagonizing the party establishment, told donors he was preparing a \$20 million defense fund to help ‘The Patriot 20’, according to a memo obtained by POLITICO.” [Politico, [07/24/23](#)]

**The Guardian: “[Club For Growth] Has Emerged As One Of The Biggest Backers Of The Republican Lawmakers Who Sought To Overturn The US Election Results.”** [The Guardian, [1/15/21](#)]