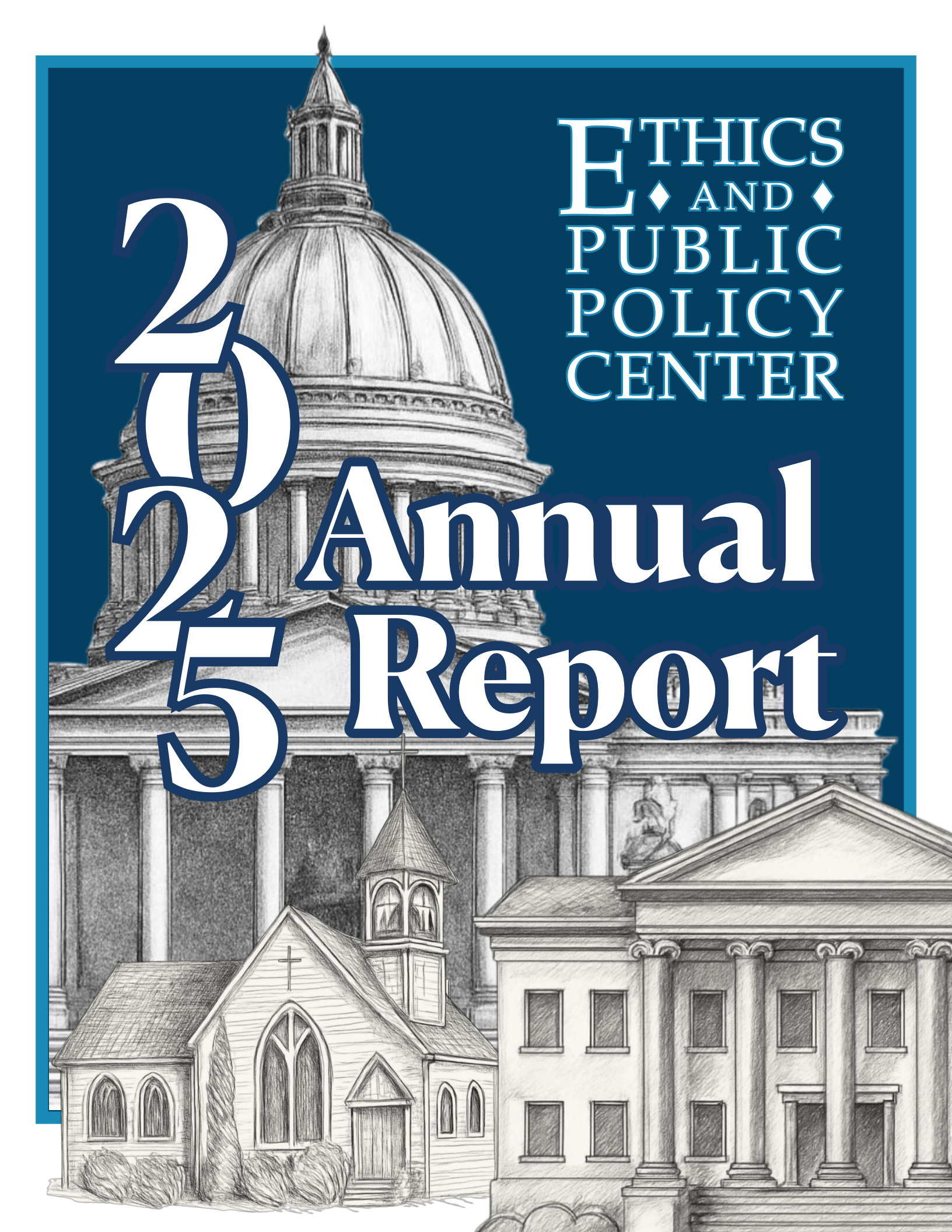


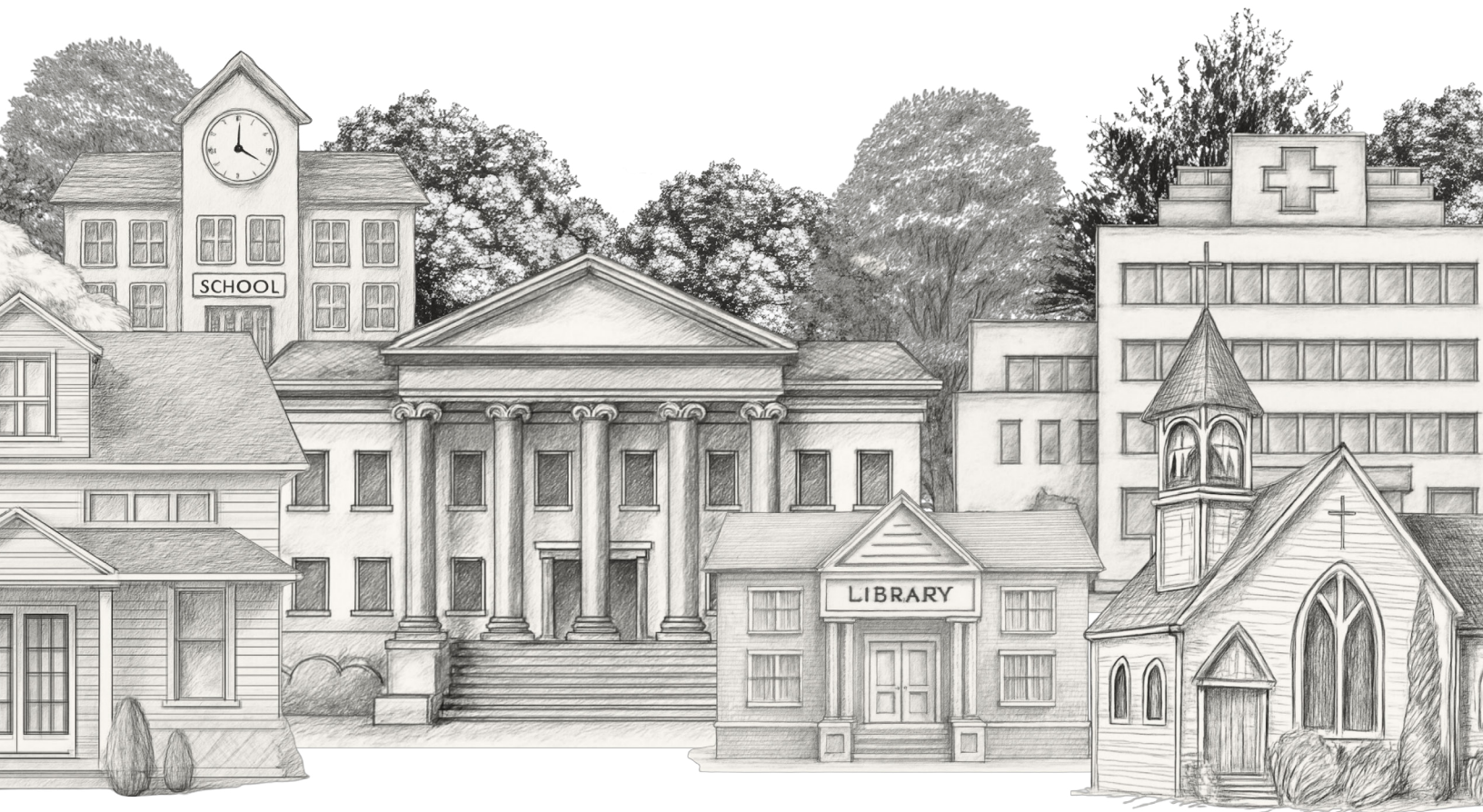


ETHICS
AND
PUBLIC
POLICY
CENTER

2025 Annual Report

*“Now is the time to go on **offense**
in offering **a compelling vision**
about the truth of the **human person**.
Most parents want that for their children,
and **our nation needs it.**”*

RYAN T. ANDERSON



DEAR FRIENDS OF EPPC:

AS I COMPLETE MY FIFTH YEAR AS PRESIDENT OF EPPC, I feel immense gratitude for the privilege of leading such an outstanding group of colleagues devoting themselves to the most important questions of our time. A report like this one can provide only a brief look at our accomplishments, but 2025 was an unprecedented year of success for EPPC in shaping public policy and contributing to the renewal of our culture.

I have argued that the way forward after the *Dobbs* decision is to move incrementally on abortion, helping our fellow citizens see that abortion isn't good for *anyone*, mother or child. EPPC struck a major blow against the abortion regime in 2025 by exposing the dangers of mifepristone, the "abortion pill," which accounts for nearly two-thirds of abortions in the country (please see p. 6). In addition, EPPC has been one of the few policy institutes to publicly challenge the shallow consensus on in vitro fertilization (IVF) and propose ethical solutions for those experiencing infertility (p. 7).

EPPC achieved a significant victory against gender ideology when it successfully argued that the Trump administration should adopt "sex-rejecting procedures" as a more accurate term than "gender-affirming care" (p. 10). What we choose to call certain phenomena and procedures is more than mere wordplay. As thinkers like George Orwell knew, the battle against ideology is fought through language.

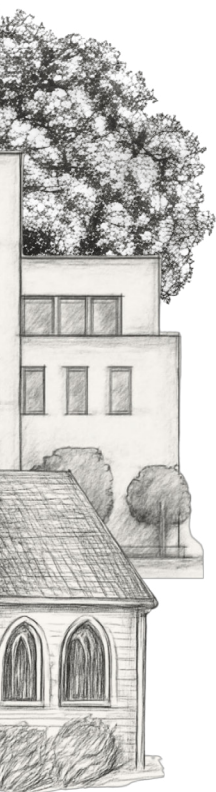
What is important about these and EPPC's other achievements last year is not simply what we did but also how we did it. Although in this report we present the work of distinct programs, our scholars and staff seek to work across programs and functions, strengthening each other's work with their own expertise. Our culture of collegiality makes EPPC much more than the sum of its parts.

Our success does not come cheap, however, especially as we face opponents who have far greater resources than we do. Our work is built on the foundation of our donors' generosity, who make sacrificial gifts to benefit others without any expectation of personal reward. Thanks to you, we begin 2026 in a better position than ever to take advantage of the opportunities and meet the challenges of the coming years.

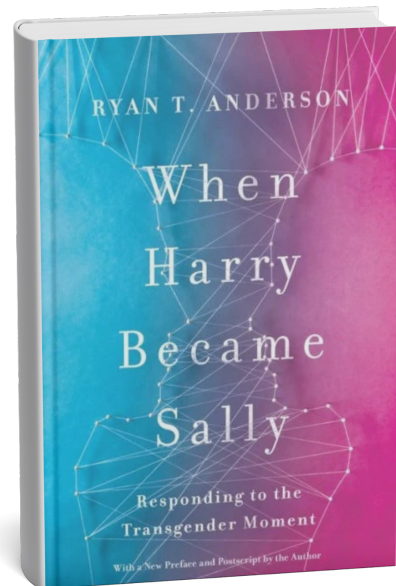
Thank you, as always, for joining us in our mission.



Ryan T. Anderson
President



2025 Highlights

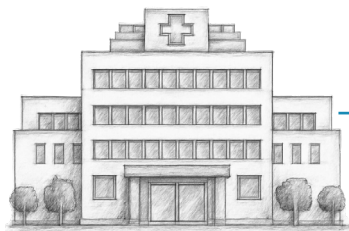


- 1 Transforming the abortion fight.** Jamie Bryan Hall and Ryan T. Anderson's study revealing that the abortion pill is 22 times more dangerous than previously recognized has prompted a review by the FDA.
- 2 Challenging IVF.** Arkansas Governor Sarah Huckabee Sanders signed the RESTORE Act, based on a model bill by Natalie Dodson.
- 3 Civic excellence.** Utah Governor Spencer Cox signed a law to establish the Center for Civic Excellence at Utah State University, based on a model bill by Stanley Kurtz.
- 4 Countering transgenderism.** Based on the work of Rachel N. Morrison, Eric Kniffin, and Mary Rice Hasson, top Trump administration officials, policy experts, and members of the media have adopted the term "sex-rejecting procedures" in place of the ideological term "gender-affirming care."
- 5 Presidential appointment.** President Donald J. Trump appointed Ryan T. Anderson to the newly established Religious Liberty Commission.
- 6 Legal victory.** In a lawsuit filed by Eric Kniffin, Washington state agreed to a settlement permanently blocking discrimination against clergy.
- 7 Book ban defeated.** In response to an EPPC campaign, Amazon lifted its four-year ban of EPPC President Ryan T. Anderson's *When Harry Became Sally: Responding to the Transgender Moment*.
- 8 Bestseller.** Penguin Random House published Clare Morell's *The Tech Exit: A Practical Guide to Freeing Kids and Teens from Smartphones*, which quickly became a bestseller in several categories.
- 9 New scholars.** EPPC strengthened its bioethics, technology, life, and constitutional studies programs with the addition of five new scholars, including U.S. Senator Mitch McConnell's former chief counsel.
- 10 Awards.** George Weigel received the Blessed Omelyan Kovch Award for his support of Ukraine; Mary Rice Hasson received the Cross *Pro Ecclesia et Pontifice* for distinguished service to the Catholic Church; Erika Bachiochi received a Freedom and Opportunity Academic Prize from the Heritage Foundation; Jennifer Bryson received a Richard D. McLellan Academic Prize from the Russell Kirk Center; and Noelle Mering was named Franciscan University of Steubenville's Alumna of the Year.

In **2025**, EPPC's **34** active scholars published **8** books and **719** articles, gave **345** interviews and speeches, and were quoted or cited another **178** times in print. They appeared **53** times in the *Wall Street Journal*, *New York Times*, and *Washington Post* alone, and their **105** Substack posts received **1.45 million** views. EPPC's work generated **955,600** organic impressions on social media, and **105,000** policy professionals, church leaders, and engaged citizens receive EPPC's work by email or Substack.

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Life

Transforming the Abortion Fight

EPPC TRANSFORMED the public discussion of abortion with a series of groundbreaking papers challenging the safety of mifepristone—the “abortion pill”—which is responsible for two-thirds of all U.S. abortions. In the largest known study of its kind, Director of Data Analysis **Jamie Bryan Hall** and President **Ryan T. Anderson** revealed that women suffer serious adverse events from mifepristone 22 times more frequently than the FDA currently acknowledges.

Based on EPPC’s work, HHS Secretary Robert F. Kennedy Jr. and FDA Commissioner Martin Makary have committed to conduct a “complete review” of the abortion pill. Fifty-one U.S. senators, 175 U.S. representatives, and 22 state attorneys general cited EPPC in letters to HHS demanding swift action on mifepristone. EPPC’s work on the abortion pill will continue in 2026 and has been covered in over 1,400 press outlets, including the *Wall Street Journal*, *New York Times*, *Washington Post*, and MSNBC.

“HISTORIC.” —U.S. Representative Chris Smith

“A BOMBSHELL.”

—U.S. Senator Josh Hawley

LIFE AND FAMILY INITIATIVE
The Abortion Pill Harms Women: Insurance Data Reveals Serious Adverse Events Affect One in Ten Patients
Jamie Bryan Hall, Director of Data Analysis and Fellow, Ethics and Public Policy Center
Ryan T. Anderson, President, Ethics and Public Policy Center

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Research Ethics

LIFE AND FAMILY INITIATIVE
The Abortion Pill Harms Women: Insurance Data Reveals Repeated Abortion Attempts Due to High Failure Rate
Jamie Bryan Hall, Director of Data Analysis, Ethics and Public Policy Center
Ryan T. Anderson, President, Ethics and Public Policy Center
May 12, 2025

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LIFE AND FAMILY INITIATIVE
FACT SHEET Excluded Adverse Events in Real-World Study of Mifepristone
Jamie Bryan Hall, Director of Data Analysis, Ethics and Public Policy Center
Ryan T. Anderson, President, Ethics and Public Policy Center
May 6, 2025

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LIFE AND FAMILY INITIATIVE
Frequently Asked Questions About the Largest Study on Chemical Abortion
Jamie Bryan Hall, Director of Data Analysis, Ethics and Public Policy Center
Ryan T. Anderson, President, Ethics and Public Policy Center
May 7, 2025

ETHICS
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Research Ethics

The report we released last week is the largest-known study of the abortion pill, based on analysis of data from an all-payer insurance claims database that includes 865,727 prescribed mifepristone abortions from 2017 to 2023. We found that 28.9 percent of women experience nausea, infection, hemorrhaging, or another serious adverse event within 45 days following a mifepristone abortion. This means that the real world rate of serious adverse events following mifepristone abortions is at least 22 times as high as the summary figure of “less than 0.5 percent” in clinical trials reported on the drug label.

Some have raised questions about our data and methodology. We address some of those below. And we will be updating this document with additional questions and answers and clarifications as needed.

1. How did you confirm solely from ICD-10 codes that the hospitalization or ER visits were related to the abortion? Isn't it possible that a person who had a medical abortion could end up at the ER within 45 days for something completely unrelated, such as a car accident or broken bone?

The emergency room visits included in the report are only those related to the chemical abortion, based on the diagnosis and procedure codes in the insurance records, and are counted only if treatment for a serious complication related to the chemical abortion took place. Thus, if a woman took the chemical abortion pill and then got into a car accident or broke a bone, that did not count. Likewise, if a woman as took the chemical abortion pill and had mild cramping related to the chemical abortion, that also did not count. Only an ER visit when the woman was treated for a serious adverse event related to the chemical abortion was counted.

This led us to exclude 220,000 emergency room visits that took place within 45 days of abortion from our analysis because they were either not serious enough or were unrelated to the chemical abortion. That is, 98,483 ER visits that occurred within 45 days of the chemical abortion involved diagnoses not clearly related to the chemical abortion or not medically serious, such as COVID-19 exposure, nicotine dependence, asthma, and anxiety disorder.

Moreover, our findings are consistent with existing FDA information in the serious adverse event section, the Mifeprex label reports abortion-related ER visits of up to 1.6%, and this study identified a nearly identical rate of 4.7%.

The reason we reported on ER visits is because the FDA does so on the drug label for mifepristone.

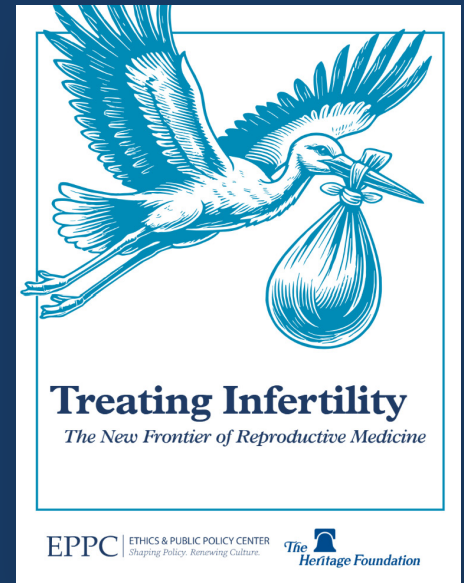


Ryan T. Anderson speaks about EPPC’s findings based on 865,000 mifepristone abortions from 2017 to 2023. Learn more at eppc.org/stop-harming-women.





In April 2025, EPPC released a series of papers on infertility, restorative reproductive medicine, and assisted reproductive technologies. Learn more at eppc.org/treating-infertility.



ABOVE Natalie Dodson (left) attends the signing of the RESTORE Act in Arkansas.

BELOW Patrick T. Brown challenged myths and revealed major concerns about IVF.

Challenging IVF

EPPC HAS BEEN ONE OF THE FEW public policy institutes to challenge the shallow consensus on in vitro fertilization (IVF). In a first-of-its-kind publication, “Treating Infertility: The New Frontier of Reproductive Medicine,” Policy Analyst **Natalie Dodson** and Emma Waters of the Heritage Foundation expose the troubling lack of regulations on assisted reproductive technologies and present morally acceptable alternatives for women struggling with infertility.

Dodson and Waters authored model legislation requiring insurance companies to cover restorative reproductive medicine (RRM), a more effective and less expensive alternative to IVF. In April, Arkansas Governor Sarah Huckabee Sanders signed the RESTORE Act, based on their model, into law. Dodson now serves as a senior advisor and counselor to HHS Secretary Robert F. Kennedy Jr.

In a new poll from EPPC, Fellow **Patrick T. Brown** revealed that a supermajority of Americans have deep reservations about embryonic screening and other implications of IVF. Brown’s “5 Things to Know about In Vitro Fertilization,” a brief for legislators and regulators, counters persistent myths.

LIFE AND FAMILY INITIATIVE

5 Things to Know About In Vitro Fertilization (IVF)

Patrick Brown, Ethics and Public Policy Center

ETHICS AND PUBLIC POLICY CENTER
Shaping Policy, Renewing Culture.

1 Myth: Expanding public funding for IVF will boost birth rates
Fact: Virtually no nation that has publicly subsidized IVF has seen a subsequent increase in birth rates

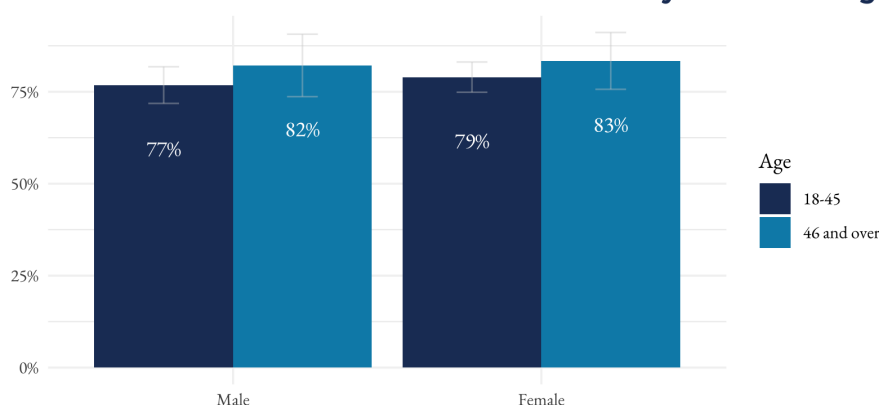
Countries like Japan, Hungary, and Australia have implemented public IVF funding, yet their overall fertility rates have continued to decline. This is partly because IVF gives some couples a false sense of security, leading them to delay trying to get pregnant, yet IVF success falls rapidly after age 35. The main exception is Israel, which compliments IVF funding with a broadly pro-family culture and generous spending on child benefits.

2 Myth: Expanding public funding for IVF is uncontroversial
Fact: The U.S.’ light-touch regulations around assisted reproduction raises questions about patient safety and bioethics concerns

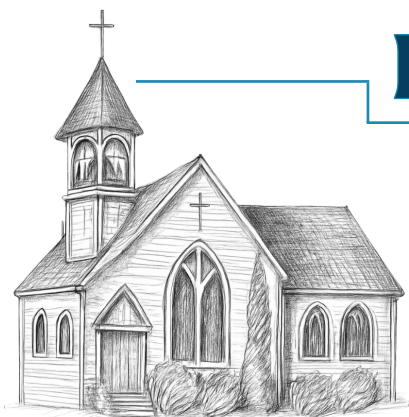
The U.S. has some of the fewest restrictions around IVF in the world; the last major regulation was passed in 1992, and most nations require much higher standards of patient care from fertility clinics. Additionally, the U.S. permits practices, such as eugenic embryo screening and sex selection, which raise serious concerns and are impermissible in many other countries.

3 Myth: Expanding public funding for IVF is inexpensive
Fact: Depending on the way it’s implemented, expanding public subsidy for IVF could

Four in five Americans have concerns on embryonic screening



Source: EPPC/YouGov Future of the Family Survey (Oct. 2025)



Religion and Public Life

Presidential Appointment

IN MAY, PRESIDENT DONALD J. TRUMP appointed **Ryan T. Anderson** to the newly created Religious Liberty Commission.

The commission is tasked with developing a report by July 4, 2026, on “the foundations of religious liberty in America, the impact of religious liberty on American society, current threats to domestic religious liberty, strategies to preserve and enhance religious liberty protections for future generations, and programs to increase awareness of and celebrate America’s peaceful religious pluralism.”

BELOW Ryan T. Anderson (far right) in the Oval Office on May 1, 2025, for the National Day of Prayer.

Texas Lieutenant Governor Dan Patrick and former HUD Secretary Ben Carson serve as the chair and vice chair of the commission, respectively. Other members include Cardinal Timothy Dolan, Bishop Robert Barron, and Rabbi Meir Soloveichik.



Victory for Religious Freedom

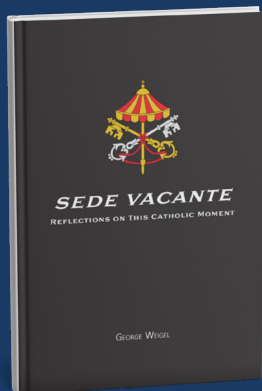
ON MAY 3, 2025, Governor Bob Ferguson of Washington state signed into law a bill requiring clergy to report suspected child abuse even if they learn about it in a penitential communication. The bill preserved privileges for attorneys, alcohol and drug recovery sponsors, and others.

Working with Alliance Defending Freedom and Spokane attorney George Ahrend, Fellow **Eric Kniffin** filed suit on behalf of four Orthodox churches. In October, Washington state agreed to a court judgment and settlement that permanently blocks the state from invading the clergy-penitent privilege and discriminating against clergy members.



ABOVE Eric Kniffin has written and spoken widely on threats to religious freedom.

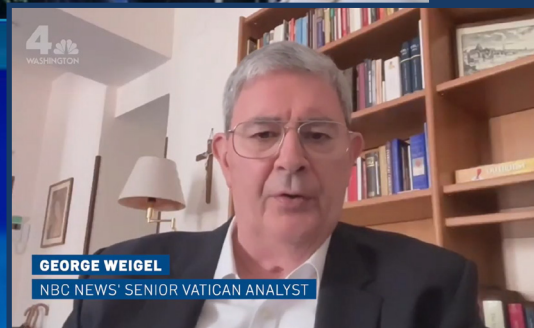
Conclave Coverage



During the papal interregnum of April and May 2025, copies of **George Weigel's** essays on the challenges facing the papacy were made available in English, French, and Italian to members of the College of Cardinals in Rome.

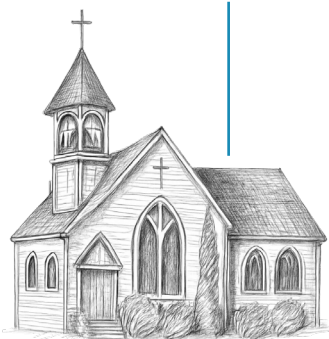
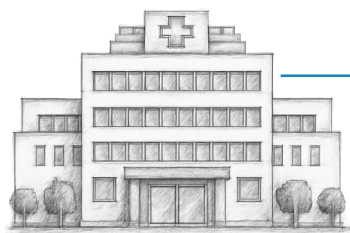


Stephen P. White (above left), Mary FioRito (top), and George Weigel (above right) were interviewed widely on the papal election.



ABOVE Ryan T. Anderson (second from left) participates in a meeting of the Religious Liberty Commission in Dallas, Texas.

Gender Ideology



Sex-Rejecting Procedures

MUCH OF THE BATTLE AGAINST GENDER IDEOLOGY is fought through language—what we choose to call certain phenomena and procedures. In May, **Eric Kniffin**, **Rachel N. Morrison**, and **Mary Rice Hasson** published a white paper arguing that HHS should adopt “sex-rejecting procedures” as a more accurate term than “gender-affirming care.” Kniffin and Hasson met with White House staff to advocate for adoption of the term and drafted a coalition letter in favor of the change signed by 44 leading attorneys, health-care professionals, and policy experts. EPPC distributed the letter to 250 key Trump administration officials and Capitol Hill staff.

By November, HHS was using the term “sex-rejecting procedures” in the press release for its major report on treatment for pediatric gender dysphoria. EPPC has continued to build consensus around the term, which has been used by top administration officials and appeared in everything from opinion pieces to amicus briefs to federal rules.

PERSON AND IDENTITY PROJECT
ADMINISTRATIVE STATE ACCOUNTABILITY PROJECT

Terminology and Definition: Replacing “Gender-Affirming Care” with “Sex-Rejecting Procedures”

ERIC KNIFFIN, MARY HASSON, AND RACHEL N. MORRISON
MAY 2, 2025

**ETHICS
AND
PUBLIC
POLICY
CENTER**
*Shaping Policy,
Renewing Culture.*



Learn more at
<https://eppc.org/sexrejectingprocedures>.

This proposal offers insight into the terminology that policy makers use when discussing medical procedures connected with a so-called “gender transition.”

At present, these procedures are typically referred to as “gender-affirming care” or “gender-affirm-

“Sex-Trait Modification” is Problematic Terminology

Some policy groups and a recent HHS Proposed Rule have proposed replacing the term “gender-affirming care” with “sex-rejecting procedures.”

“In using the term ‘sex-rejecting procedures’ . . . HHS appears to have adopted the language of the Ethics and Public Policy Center.”

MEDSCAPE MEDICAL NEWS

“The term . . . originates [from] the Ethics and Public Policy Center, which has been advocating for its usage for nearly a year.”

ACCOUNTABILITY JOURNALISM INSTITUTE



Person & Identity Project Director **Mary Rice Hasson** receives the Cross Pro Ecclesia et Pontifice for distinguished service to the Catholic Church.



CATHOLIC CHURCH'S RESPONSE TO TRANSGENDERISM

Fellow **Theresa Farnan** (right) explains the work of the Person & Identity Project.

PERSON & IDENTITY BY THE NUMBERS

8,140 attendees at **64** presentations and consultations for **62** dioceses, churches, universities, and other organizations

"It's impossible to overstate the urgency and importance of the Person & Identity Project."

ARCHBISHOP CHARLES CHAPUT

Guía rápida sobre la ideología de género

Documentos Clave de la Iglesia

PERSON & IDENTITY

ANTROPOLOGÍA CRISTIANA: "¿QUIÉN SOY?"

"¿Quién soy?" Esta es la pregunta fundamental en la vida de toda persona. Descubrir la respuesta a esta pregunta permite responder a otras preguntas clave sobre la vida: "¿Cuál es mi propósito en la vida?" "¿Cuál es el significado del sufrimiento?" "¿Qué es bueno (o malo)?" Y "¿Cómo voy a vivir?" El cristiano considera estas preguntas a la luz de nuestra relación más fundamental: con Dios, nuestro Creador.

PERSONAS EN RELACIÓN



Person & Identity Project

IN 2025, THE PERSON & IDENTITY PROJECT (PIP) continued shaping both pastoral approaches and public policy on gender ideology and parental rights. PIP published the first in-depth Spanish-language Catholic resources on gender ideology (**left**). Taken together, PIP presentations, consultations, and resources provide the most comprehensive formation available on gender ideology for clergy, deacons, teachers, and ministry staff in archdioceses and dioceses in the United States and internationally. In addition to her demanding speaking and consulting schedule, Kate O'Beirne Senior Fellow **Mary Rice Hasson** serves as a consultant to the U.S. Conference of Catholic Bishops' Committee for Religious Liberty and Committee on Laity, Marriage, Family Life, and Youth.

View all Spanish-language resources at <https://personandidentity.com/resources/spanish-toolkit/>.

Rule of Law

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Amicus Briefs

No. 25-3575

United States Court of Appeals for the Third Circuit

No. 24-297

In the Supreme Court of the United States

TAMER MAHMOUD, ET AL
v.
THOMAS W. TAYLOR, ET AL

No. 24-3278

**UNITED STATES COURT OF APPEALS
FOR THE THIRD CIRCUIT**

CHRISTIN HEAPS,
PLAINTIFF-APPELLANT,
v.
DELAWARE VALLEY REGIONAL
HIGH SCHOOL BOARD OF EDUCATION
DEFENDANT-APPELLEES.

On Appeal from the United States District
for the District of New Jersey

Case No. 3:24-cv-00107

**BRIEF OF AMICUS CURIAE IN
SUPPORT OF PLAINTIFF-APP
AND REVERSAL**

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Counsel for As

DATE OF BRIEFING: SEPTEMBER 18, 2025
FILED: SEPTEMBER 18, 2025
CLERK OF THE SUPREME COURT OF THE UNITED STATES
1000 MICHIGAN AVENUE, N.E.
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20002
TEL: (202) 544-3000
WWW.SUPREMECOURT.GOV

No. 23-35506, 23-35585

**In the United States Court of Appeals
for the Ninth Circuit**

CEDAR PARK ASSEMBLY OF GOD OF KIRKLAND, WASHINGTON,
PLAINTIFF-APPELLANT/CROSS-APPELLEE,
v.
DLER, IN HIS OFFICIAL CAPACITY AS INSURANCE
BE STATE OF WASHINGTON, JAY ROBERT LUNDEL,
CAPACITY AS THE GOVERNOR OF THE STATE OF
WASHINGTON,
v.
SANTA-APPELLEE/CROSS-APPELLANTS.

No. 25-952

**UNITED STATES COURT OF APPEALS
FOR THE SECOND CIRCUIT**

JENNIFER VITSKALIK,
PLAINTIFF-APPELLANT,
v.
SKANATEATELES CENTRAL SCHOOL DISTRICT; SKANATEATELES
CENTRAL SCHOOLS' BOARD OF EDUCATION,
DEFENDANT-APPELLEES.

On Appeal from the United States District Court
for the Northern District of New York

Case No. 5:24-CV-90115

**BRIEF OF AMICUS CURIAE OUR DUTY
IN SUPPORT OF PLAINTIFF-APPELLANT
AND REVERSAL**

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ekniff@suppco.org

Counsel for Amicus Curiae

July 7, 2025

June 12, 2025

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Public Comments

[illegible]

Administrative State Accountability Project

IN 2025, the Administrative State Accountability Project (ASAP; formerly the HHS Accountability Project) directed by **Rachel N. Morrison**, expanded its work across executive branch agencies on issues affecting health care, education, housing, and employment.

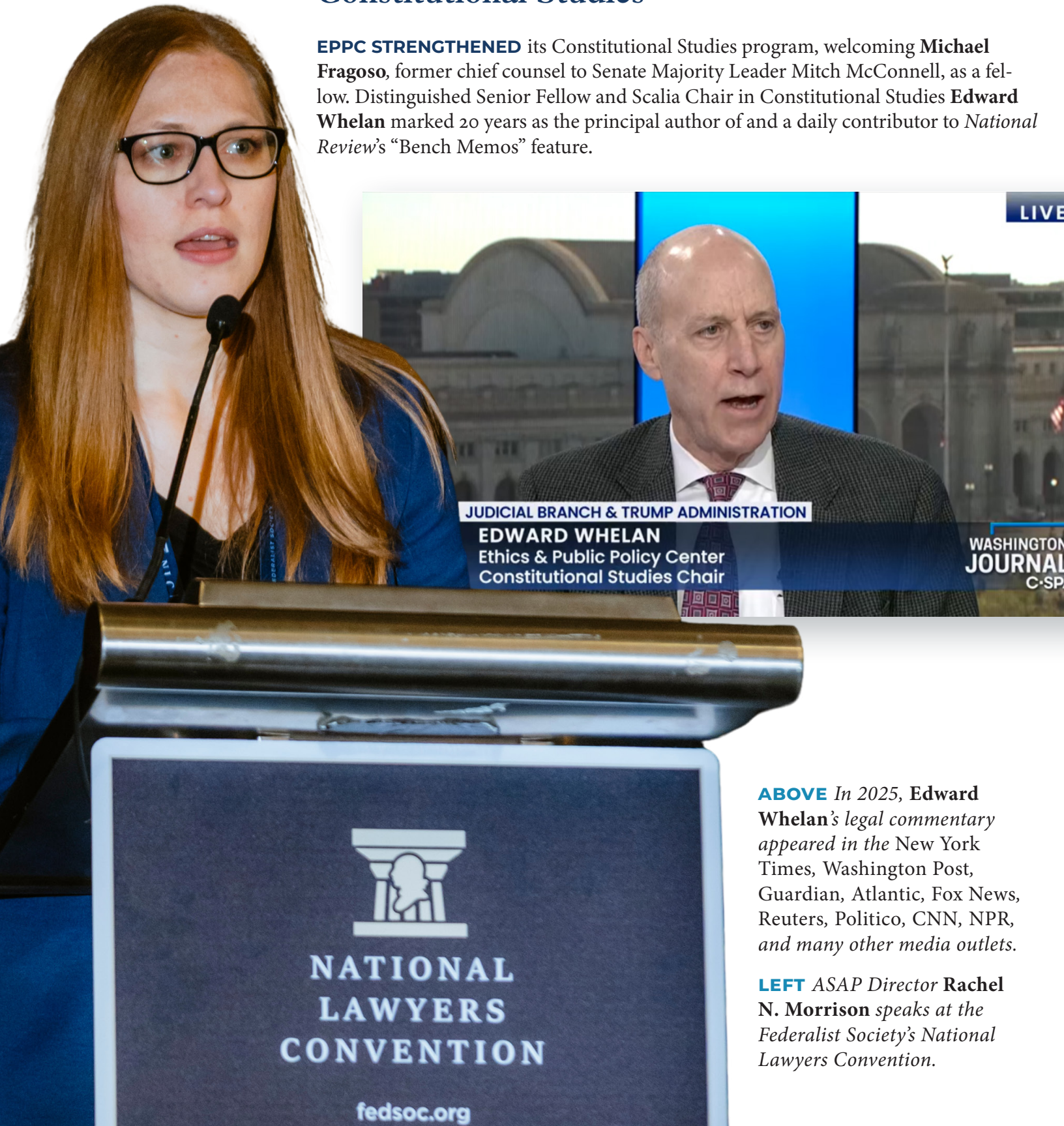
In addition to numerous amicus briefs and public comments, ASAP attorneys worked with the Trump Department of Justice's Anti-Christian Bias Task Force to remedy the Biden administration's disregard for health-care conscience rights and its failure to respect religious liberty in the rulemaking process. The resulting EPPC public report, "Eradicating Anti-Christian Bias: A Response to Executive Order 14202", has led to major enforcement and policy actions by HHS's Office of Civil Rights to safeguard federal health-care provider conscience rights.



Michael Fragoso, *former chief counsel to Senate Majority Leader Mitch McConnell*, joined EPPC's Constitutional Studies program as a fellow in 2025.

Constitutional Studies

EPPC STRENGTHENED its Constitutional Studies program, welcoming **Michael Fragoso**, former chief counsel to Senate Majority Leader Mitch McConnell, as a fellow. Distinguished Senior Fellow and Scalia Chair in Constitutional Studies **Edward Whelan** marked 20 years as the principal author of and a daily contributor to *National Review*'s "Bench Memos" feature.



ABOVE In 2025, **Edward Whelan**'s legal commentary appeared in the New York Times, Washington Post, Guardian, Atlantic, Fox News, Reuters, Politico, CNN, NPR, and many other media outlets.

LEFT ASAP Director **Rachel N. Morrison** speaks at the Federalist Society's National Lawyers Convention.

"ASAP engages in the unsung but essential task of coordinating and submitting public comments so that federal agency rules better reflect core American principles. Their work is smart, thorough, and servant-oriented."

MATT BOWMAN, ALLIANCE DEFENDING FREEDOM

Technology



Protecting Children Online

IN 2025, Fellow **Clare Morell** continued to advance state legislation to protect children online. By the end of the year, her model legislation had helped bring about age verification laws for pornographic websites in 25 states and parental consent laws for social media in 10 states.

EPPC scholars also addressed the challenges posed by artificial intelligence (AI). **Ryan T. Anderson** and Fellow **Carter Snead** drafted and signed a joint statement on AI ethics with a coalition of faith leaders and scholars at a summit in Rome. **Clare Morell** proposed an AI action plan to support America's AI dominance while protecting Americans from genuine harms to national security and human flourishing. With Policy Analyst **Chloe Lawrence**, Morell authored new model legislation to establish age restrictions for the use of AI companion chatbots.



TOP LEFT Ryan T. Anderson signs a groundbreaking AI ethics statement in Rome.

LEFT On March 26, 2025, Clare Morell testified to Congress on the dangers of social media.

TECHNOLOGY AND HUMAN FLOURISHING

An Artificial Intelligence Action Plan

Clare Morell, Fellow, Ethics and Public Policy Center

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These comments were submitted to the White House in response to the request for comment it solicited for developing the White House AI Action Plan. This document is approved for public dissemination. The document contains no business-proprietary or confidential information. Document contents may be reused by the government in developing the AI Action Plan and associated documents without attribution.

The great challenge America is facing in the development of artificial intelligence (AI) is the need for innovation and speed for America to have a competitive edge in this industry, while also ensuring American consumers are not harmed in the process. The AI Action plan should hold both goals equally, without compromising either: to both enhance and support America's AI dominance in this new global arms race and to protect Americans from the real and grave harms that AI can cause, especially threats to human well-being and to our national security.

To accomplish this the government must reckon with a deep tension in America's laissez-faire and national security logics: if something must be pursued for national security reasons, let us invest in it, but in that case let us care for govern it in the national interest. If we are not willing to spend federal money on it, an attempt to win the AI race instead allowing private companies to monetize AI products exploitatively on consumers, following the ad model of social media, is a devil's bargain. The grave choice America must face is whether we pay for AI development with taxpayer money, or with the brains of taxpayers' children. I hope the government will choose the former to help to channel the AI industry in the right direction, by funding AI development in applications that enhance our national security and promote human flourishing, applications in the hard sciences like space exploration, agricultural production, infrastructure building, engineering, and military vehicles and weapons. I oppose allowing the private industry to develop AI in the areas they think will be most profitable. A purely profit-driven model will result in products that will be highly addictive and exploitative to users, especially in the case of explicit chatbots preying on teenager brains. Such developments will only sap, rather than enhance, our national security.

My suggestions are by no means exhaustive, but drawing on my specific experience working on legislation to protect kids from online and digital harms, I believe the following should be included in the AI Action Plan:

1. The Administration should v...
- 230 Immunity does not appl...

Ms. Morell



Learn more at
eppc.org/ai.

The SAFE CHAT Act

Safeguarding Adolescents From Exploitative Chatbots and Humanlike AI Technologies

Model Legislation

ETHICS AND PUBLIC POLICY CENTER
The SAFE CHAT Act
Safeguarding Adolescents From Exploitative Chatbots and Humanlike AI Technologies

Chloe Lawrence, Policy Analyst
Clare Morell, Fellow

AN ACT
TO REQUIRE AGE VERIFICATION FOR THE USE OF ARTIFICIAL INTELLIGENCE COMPANION CHATBOTS

TITLE I – GENERAL

Section 1. Short Title.

This Act may be cited as the “Age Verification for AI Companion Chatbots Act”.

Section 2. Purpose.

The purpose of this legislation is to protect minors from harm caused by AI Companion Chatbots in this book by requiring AI Companion Platforms to operate Reasonable Age Verification Measures.

Section 3. Definitions.

“AI” means a generative artificial intelligence system or application that interacts with a user by mimicking human-like conversation, including but not limited to acting as a friend, companion, romantic or mentor, celebrity, fictional character, advisor or spiritual being; or facilitating ongoing user engagement with the AI Companion by utilizing Emotional Recognition Algorithms or information regarding user preferences or data.

“AI Companion Chatbot” means a chatbot that is designed to interact with a user by mimicking human-like conversation, including but not limited to acting as a friend, companion, romantic or mentor, celebrity, fictional character, advisor or spiritual being; or facilitating ongoing user engagement with the AI Companion by utilizing Emotional Recognition Algorithms or information regarding user preferences or data.

“AI Companion Platform” means any AI Companion Platform, including any AI Companion Platform, that makes AI Companion Chatbots available to the public.

“Reasonable Age Verification Measures” means measures that are designed to verify the age of a user before allowing the user to interact with an AI Companion Chatbot.

“User” means any person that uses or operates an AI Companion Chatbot.

“Youth” means any person that is under the age of 18.

“Youth Social Media Platform” means any platform that is designed to be used by youth.

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Chloe Lawrence joined EPPC in 2025 as a policy analyst. She previously served as speechwriter and national press secretary for U.S. Senator Deb Fischer (R-NE.). Her model legislation, the SAFE CHAT Act (Safeguarding Adolescents from Exploitative Chatbots and Humanlike AI Technologies), was published in October. Learn more at eppc.org/safe-chat-act.

The Tech Exit

IN JUNE, Penguin Random House published Clare Morell's book *The Tech Exit: A Practical Guide to Freeing Kids and Teens from Smartphones*, which quickly became a bestseller in several categories. The book exposes myths about mitigating the dangers of smartphones and social media for children and reveals a better approach, even for children already using them. Morell's media and speaking tour included some 60 engagements, from major podcasts and radio shows to *Fox & Friends* and Big Think, as well as keynote speeches at conferences, schools, and churches.



“Finally, a tech book that doesn't pull punches.”

CHRISTIANITY TODAY



“I wish every member of Congress would read this book.”

U.S. SENATOR JOSH HAWLEY

Clare Morell appeared in numerous media and speaking venues to discuss her book.

Family

IN 2025, Patrick T. Brown wrote extensively on the case for a family-friendly tax code that doesn't ignore the fiscal realities of the federal deficit. In addition to authoring major studies on child care and housing, he produced a state-by-state resource on the Child Tax Credit for Capitol Hill staff and the media (ctcfacts.org).

Percentage of Households with a Pet (by State)																	
					WI 27%						VT 24%	NH 26%			ME 24%		
WA 30%	ID 32%	MT 26%	ND 28%	MN 29%	IL 29%	MI 27%						NY 28%	MA 28%				
OR 28%	NV 30%	WY 28%	SD 29%	IA 29%	IN 30%	OH 28%	PA 27%						NJ 31%	CT 29%			RI 27%
CA 33%	UT 39%	CO 29%	NE 30%	MO 29%	KY 30%	WV 26%	VA 31%	MD 31%	DE 27%								
		AZ 29%	NM 28%	KS 30%	AR 31%	TN 30%	NC 29%	SC 29%	DC 20%								
			OK 32%	LA 31%	MS 31%	AL 29%	GA 32%										
HI 31%	AK 32%				TX 35%						FL 27%						

Source: 2023 ACS 5-year estimates



ctcfacts.org

Addressing family affordability and formation, Brown convened a conference that included policy discussions with White House, executive branch agency, and congressional staff, as well as a discussion of the portrayal of pro-life and pro-family efforts, featuring journalists from the *New York Times*, *Washington Post*, *Atlantic*, *Politico*, and other publications.

BELOW Patrick T. Brown (center) speaks at the Department of Housing and Urban Development on September 18, 2025.



Education



IN MARCH, Utah Governor Spencer Cox signed a law, based on a model bill by **Stanley Kurtz**, to establish the Center for Civic Excellence at Utah State University, calling it one of the two “most important bills of the 2025 legislative session.” Kurtz, whom one prominent critic calls a “one-man army against all things woke,” wrote and spoke extensively on the bill during the two-year debate before its passage. Several other states are considering bills or reforms inspired by Kurtz’s model.

The push continues to give K–12 students their own internet-connected devices, but the evidence is clear that it is time to get individual screens out of schools. Fellow **Clare Morell** and Policy Analyst **Chloe Lawrence** drafted policy recommendations for schools, school districts, and states that want to improve student learning.

BIOETHICS, TECHNOLOGY, AND HUMAN FLOURISHING

Getting Screens Out of Schools

CLARE MORELL AND CHLOE LAWRENCE
OCTOBER 2025

ETHICS
AND
PUBLIC
POLICY
CENTER
Shaping Policy,
Renewing Culture

1:1 Ed Tech Screens are Hurting, Not Helping Student Learning

- Despite the push over the last decade to get every child a laptop or tablet, student math and reading scores have declined in the United States. The COVID-19 pandemic partially contributed to this decline.
- A 2021 study of 11 states found that students with 1:1 device access scored lower on math and reading tests than those without.
- It is important to consider the impact of technology on student learning.
- There is a need to re-evaluate the role of technology in education.
- One solution is to limit screen time in schools.

EDUCATION AND AMERICAN IDEALS

General Education Act: Model Legislation

Stanley Kurtz, Ethics and Public Policy Center
Jenna Robinson, James G. Martin Center for Academic Renewal
David Randall, National Association of Scholars

ETHICS
AND
PUBLIC
POLICY
CENTER
Shaping Policy,
Renewing Culture

THE JAMES G.
MARTIN
CENTER
FOR ACADEMIC
RENEWAL

NATIONAL
ASSOCIATION
OF SCHOLARS

Introduction

American universities always have recognized citizens’ authority to shape the educational mission of public universities, particularly with respect to “general education”—courses prerequisite to graduation. Appointed or elected university trustees usually represent the citizenry. Trustees set the strategic direction of public universities and create or ratify general education requirements. From time to time, state legislatures do the same.

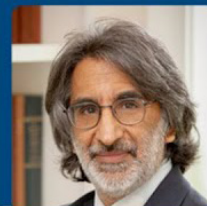


Learn more at <https://eppc.org/publication/general-education-act-model-legislation/>.



BUCKLEY
INSTITUTE

SLEDGEHAMMER OR SCALPEL: CAN TRUMP’S HIGHER ED REFORM GO TOO FAR?



Akhil Reed Amar
Yale University



Stanley Kurtz
EPPC

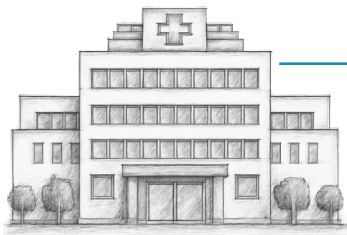


Michael Strambler
Yale School of Medicine

LEFT Stanley Kurtz discusses antisemitism on college campuses. **ABOVE** Stanley Kurtz debated higher education reform at Yale University.



Bioethics



Assisted Suicide

VISITING FELLOW ALEXANDER RAIKIN continued his groundbreaking investigative journalism on assisted suicide in the United States and Canada. In a major report, “In Contrast to *Carter*,” he revealed that despite supposed safeguards, Canada’s Medical Assistance in Dying (MAiD) regime has produced high rates of death among vulnerable people generally. Purportedly intended for the “terminally ill,” assisted suicide is now being approved in increasing numbers for the physically disabled and those with only psychological diagnoses.

Assisted suicide has now been approved in thirteen U.S. states—in three states during last year alone. Raikin has also shown that states with long-standing laws legalizing assisted suicide, such as Washington, routinely and openly fail to comply with statutory reporting requirements on the practice.

In 2025, Raikin’s work was cited in the *Wall Street Journal*, *Boston Globe*, *Telegraph* (UK), *National Post* (CN), and other major publications. He has been interviewed widely by media outlets in the United States, Canada, and the United Kingdom. His work on assisted suicide will continue in 2026.

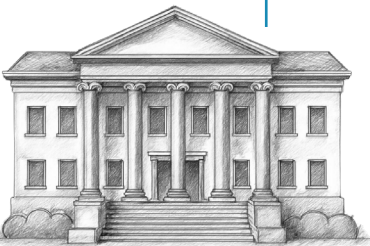


Figure 3. Outcome of Assisted Death Requests

For every 100 assisted deaths



Netherlands (1995): 200 requested deaths did not occur

The reality in Canada (2023)

Only 28 requested deaths did not occur

FIRST THINGS

PRACTITIONERS OF INFANTICIDE

ALEXANDER RAIKIN

PHYSICIAN declares his dying patient—a seven-pound baby

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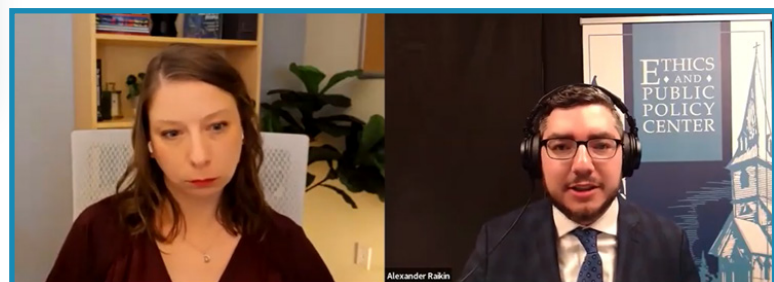
In Contrast to Carter

Assisted Dying's Impact on Canadians with Disabilities

Alexander Raikin
September 2025

A Cardus Research Report

CARDUS



ABOVE Alexander Raikin produced a report on the impact of Medical Assistance in Dying on Canadians with disabilities. **RIGHT** Raikin has been interviewed widely on assisted suicide in the United States, Canada, and the United Kingdom.



AARON KHERIATY, MD
FELLOW & DIRECTOR, ETHICS & PUBLIC POLICY CENTER

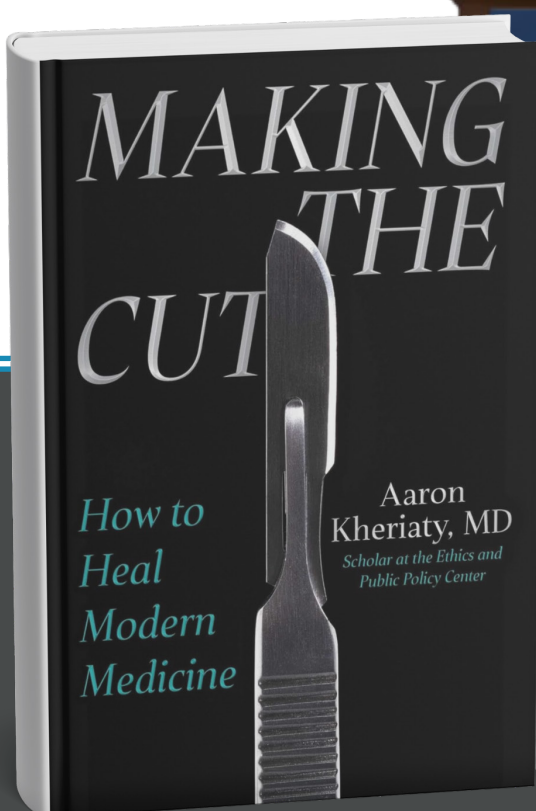
LEFT Aaron Kheriaty discusses the bioethics of IVF.
BELOW Kheriaty speaks on transhumanism.



Medicine

IN 2025, EPPC MERGED its bioethics and technology programs into a single and expanded Bioethics, Technology, and Human Flourishing program under the direction of **Aaron Kheriaty**. It is now the largest program at EPPC, coordinating the work of nearly a quarter of EPPC's active scholars.

Kheriaty's book *Making the Cut: How to Heal Modern Medicine*, was published in September. In telling the story of his medical training, he offers a trenchant critique of contemporary medical education and the U.S. health-care system. The book has been widely reviewed, and Kheriaty has lectured and given interviews at a range of universities, professional associations, and media outlets.



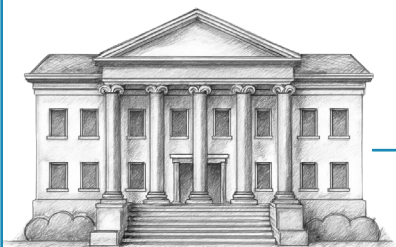
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"Essential reading for anyone interested in how to heal modern medicine."

ROBERT P. GEORGE, PRINCETON UNIVERSITY



Politics

TEAM USA



Reclaim Team USA Sports from Activism

Policy Recommendations

JENNIFER S. BRYSON
FELLOW, EPPC
JUNE 2025

ETHICS
AND
PUBLIC
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IN 2025, Senior Fellow **Henry Olsen** continued tracking the policy and electoral consequences of populist movements in the United States and Europe. He now regularly contributes to the *Washington Post*, *New York Post*, *Washington Examiner*, *National Review*, and *Brussels Signal*, in addition to producing his popular weekly podcast *Beyond the Polls*. He regularly advises foreign embassies, including those of Austria, France, Norway, and Romania on U.S. politics and the rise of global populism.

Fellow **Jennifer Bryson** exposed the political weaponization of U.S. team sports by governing bodies such as the U.S. Olympic Committee, which uses its national and international prominence to promote activist causes. In “Reclaim Team USA Sports from Activism,” she argues for the duty to prioritize athletic excellence and represent the United States as a whole and recommends practical changes in team attire and public communication to return national sports to its true purpose.



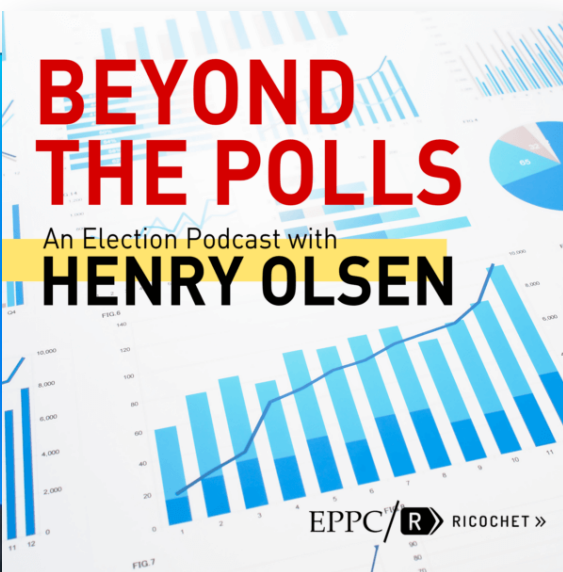
REDUCING POLITICAL POLARIZATION IN THE U.S.

HENRY OLSEN

Ethics & Public Policy Center ■ Senior Fellow

LIVE ■ 6:03 AM PT

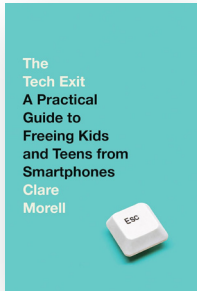
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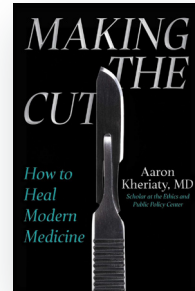


New Books by EPPC Scholars



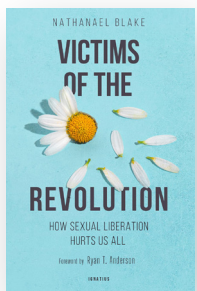
The Tech Exit
A Practical Guide to Freeing Kids
and Teens from Smartphones
by Clare Morell

“Dead-on, deeply human.”
ABIGAIL SHRIER



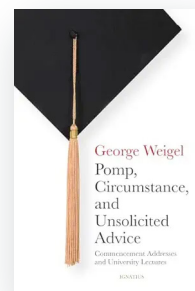
Making the Cut
How to Heal Modern Medicine
by Aaron Kheriaty

“Captivating, eye-opening.”
MOLLIE HEMINGWAY



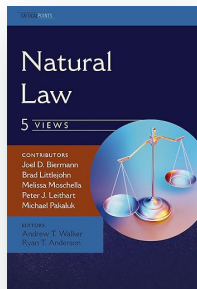
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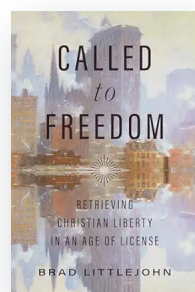
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