

A photograph of a wooden podium with several microphones on top, set against a background of two American flags. The scene is lit with a blue hue. A semi-transparent dark grey banner is overlaid across the top half of the image, containing the title text.

# **THE 2020 US PRESIDENTIAL ELECTION: Comparing the Major Candidates on Manufacturing Issues**

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## **About the Manufacturing Policy Initiative**

Housed within the top-ranked O'Neill School of Public and Environmental Affairs at Indiana University, the Manufacturing Policy Initiative (MPI) is focused on U.S. public policies impacting the competitiveness of the manufacturing sector. It serves as a source of objective, state-of-the-art information for policy makers, manufacturers, and policy analysts.

The research, outreach, and educational activities of MPI cover the intersection of technology, business, and public policy. The impact of laws and regulations on innovation is a major theme. Several significant conferences/meetings have been sponsored, including a highly-attended September 2016 event outlining a 100-day agenda for the next president of the United States.

For more information, go to: [manufacturingpolicy.indiana.edu/](http://manufacturingpolicy.indiana.edu/)

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# Introduction

Domestic manufacturing is likely to be an area of focus in the 2020 U.S. presidential election. Manufacturing is a major part of the economy in several battleground states, a fact not lost on the candidates as they formulate their positions. The incumbent president, who ran in 2016 on a promise “to bring back manufacturing jobs,” touts his accomplishments on manufacturing issues in his reelection efforts. Many of the other candidates attack that same record and offer their own policy proposals designed to make American manufacturing more competitive.

Given this attention, the Manufacturing Policy Initiative (MPI) at Indiana University has undertaken a project to compare the presidential candidates on issues of importance to U.S. manufacturing. The report does not advocate for any particular candidate, party, or policy proposal, and the assessment presented here is an educational tool that is not intended to represent the views of the O’Neill School or Indiana University. The purpose of the report is to highlight the positions of the major candidates and identify areas of agreement or disagreement to inform anyone with an interest in U.S. manufacturing.

I wish to acknowledge research on the presidential candidates conducted by the following students at Indiana University: Ronak Baldua, Charles Bodman, Michael Broodo, Joseph Browdy, Neil Brown, Alexander Crane, Britney Facenda, Dominic Giuffre, Michael Groechel, Deaton Grove, Charles Jacobs, Alexander Rothschild, Sydney Scorza, Daniel Sim, Christopher Seat, and Eric Swedelson. Alexander Crane provided additional research support in the spring and summer of 2020. Information from this research was incorporated into this report at the discretion of the author, who is solely responsible for its content.

This document describes the project and presents the initial results. This information will be updated as the 2020 election campaign progresses.

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# Methodology

Several hundred people have filed the necessary paperwork with the Federal Election Commission (FEC) to run for president of the United States in the 2020 election.

Such a large number of candidates makes any effort to compile and compare their positions unwieldy. Consequently, we chose to focus on “major” candidates—those who consistently poll the highest and garner the most media attention. Our initial list, as of December 17, 2019, included ten Democrats (specifically, those who qualified for at least one of the Democratic debates) and three Republicans.

We then identified issues of importance to a broad array of manufacturers. We did this by taking the issue categories featured in the 2016 MPI conference, “What the Next President Should Do about U.S. Manufacturing: An Agenda for the First 100 Days” and creating a single, broad question encompassing each category. To this list, we added two questions to address major issues (on tariffs, on China) that have arisen during President Trump’s term of office and which have generated a reaction from multiple candidates. Preliminary review of each campaign led us to remove questions on issues that have not yet garnered attention from the majority of candidates. We added a final, “catch-all” question to address issues not otherwise covered.

The resulting nine questions constituted our questionnaire, which was sent to each candidate’s campaign in the summer and autumn of 2019. Requests were sent by regular mail and also by email. The letter and questionnaire can be found in the appendices.

Concurrently, before any responses were received from the campaigns, answers to the questions were determined based on online research from MPI and assisted by Indiana University students. The resulting questions and answers from each responding candidate were compiled and edited to ensure consistency in formatting and tone. Information received from a campaign was integrated into this compilation. For each candidate, our sources of information are cited.

A review draft was circulated to some O’Neill School faculty, members of the MPI Advisory Board, and other individuals with substantial knowledge of manufacturing issues. Their comments and suggestions were incorporated at the discretion of the author, who is solely responsible for the final content.

An abbreviated summary of the results was placed on-line to provide the public with easy access. This abbreviated summary is available on the IU MPI webpage and is also provided in this document.

Since the initial questionnaire, two new issues have emerged in the presidential race: the government response to the COVID-19 pandemic and the economic downturn associated with the pandemic. For candidates Donald Trump and Joe Biden—the two major candidates who remain in the race as of May 2020—we have gathered and summarized their positions on these two issues.

Our plan is to revise this document as the presidential election cycle evolves, as new major candidates emerge while other candidates drop out, and as the candidates provide more detail into their preferred policies of importance to U.S. manufacturing. This version of the report includes an appendix containing information on each of the major candidates whose campaign has ended or been suspended.

# U.S. Manufacturing Facts and Trends

To appreciate the positions of the various presidential candidates on U.S. manufacturing, it is helpful to have an understanding of facts and trends impacting this important segment of the economy.

Manufacturing is the transformation of raw materials, including energy, into a tangible good, often done at scale, and the associated services (e.g., product design, research and development—R&D, marketing) required to support the production of such goods.

Among the nations of the world, the United States is #2 in its share of global production, behind China, which leapfrogged over the United States in 2010 to claim the #1 spot.<sup>1</sup>

According to the most recent (pre-pandemic) government data, U.S. manufacturing includes 250,000 firms adding \$2.3 trillion to the economy (11.6% of GDP) with the help of more than 12.8 million employees (8.5% of the workforce).<sup>2</sup> Over the past few decades, manufacturing output has steadily risen, even as the total number of employees has declined; we are producing more with fewer people.<sup>3</sup> Lower labor costs in other countries has contributed to a shift away from labor-intensive manufacturing in the U.S.; the number of jobs in U.S. manufacturing declined by roughly one-third from 2000-2010. As a share of the U.S. economy, manufacturing has also declined due to the rise of services.

The manufacturing sector is dominated by small businesses. Three-quarters of all manufacturing firms employ fewer than 20 people.<sup>4</sup> Most are classified as “pass through” entities for tax purposes; income taxes are passed through the business on to the owner as part of the owner’s individual tax return. Approximately 96% of U.S. exporters are small businesses.

The nature of manufacturing work is also evolving—from jobs involving repetitive, un-engaging tasks to those requiring active learning and problem solving. In-demand skills have also evolved with technological advances. During the most recent decade-long economic expansion, manufacturers complained of a skills gap; they could not find enough workers with the needed skills.<sup>5</sup>

Manufacturing is critical to international trade flows. More than half of U.S. exports are manufactured goods and nearly half of U.S. manufactured output is exported.<sup>6</sup> For decades, the United States has run a trade deficit in manufactured goods—the value of imports exceeds the value of exports. And in more recent years, the U.S. has run a trade deficit in advanced manufacturing.<sup>7</sup> A major factor contributing to the trade deficit is the relative strength of the U.S. dollar, driven in part because the dollar is the world’s reserve currency.

The U.S. manufacturing sector is energy-intensive. Industry is the largest energy-consuming sector of the U.S. economy, consuming more than 30% of the nation’s energy, eclipsing the transportation sector.<sup>8</sup> In recent years, U.S. shale oil and gas production has greatly increased and this has provided a competitive advantage to the most energy-intensive manufacturers (e.g., production of metals, basic chemicals, cement, and glass). Combustion of fossil energy is closely correlated with emissions of greenhouse gases (GHGs) and rising global temperatures; the industrial sector is responsible for 22% of U.S. GHG emissions, behind transportation and electricity generation.<sup>9</sup>

A key attribute of manufacturing is its value chain—the array of upstream suppliers and downstream customers that together provide all of the activities needed to create and sell a product. Dense and complex value chains are the reason that manufacturing is associated with a relatively high economic multiplier; a change in demand for manufactured goods will have a strong ripple effect. For example, a \$1 million decline in demand for manufactured goods is associated with the loss of two manufacturing jobs and 15 jobs in other sectors of the economy.<sup>10</sup> The ongoing pandemic has focused public attention on U.S. reliance on China and other nations for essential medicines and medical supplies.

Manufacturing is also an engine for science and technology, employing 30% of all scientists and engineers and responsible for two-thirds of all private sector R&D.<sup>11</sup>

Compliance with government regulation is a common duty among domestic manufacturers of all stripes. Every step of the manufacturing process (e.g., production and assembly) and each support function (e.g., environmental performance, R&D,



etc.) are subject to regulation at the federal, state, and/or local/municipal level.<sup>12</sup> Exported goods are also subject to regulation from other countries.

It is important to note that these facts and trends are generalizations; considerable variability can be found across subsectors of manufacturing. For example, most manufacturing firms (e.g., consumer product companies) are not energy intensive, some subsectors (e.g., commodity producers) spend relatively little on R&D, environmental regulations are not as extensive for the least pollution-intensive production processes, and some types of advanced manufacturing (e.g., aerospace) enjoy a positive balance of trade.

## Endnotes

<sup>1</sup> Between 2001, when it entered the World Trade Organization (WTO), and 2010, China tripled its manufacturing output. Production of goods became the engine of its growth: China has doubled its GDP every eight years and in so doing lifted 800 million people out of poverty, becoming the world's largest economy. China's economic ascension and recognition as "the world's factory" has brought renewed attention to its industrial and trade policies, which critics decry as unfair or illegal.

<sup>2</sup> Ezell, Stephen. 2020. *Policies To Stimulate U.S. Manufacturing Innovation*, Manufacturing Policy Initiative, Indiana University, May.

<sup>3</sup> Belton, Keith B. 2017. *U.S. Manufacturing: Two Key Trends, Insight into Manufacturing Policy*, Manufacturing Policy Initiative, Indiana University, December.

<sup>4</sup> Source: U.S. Census Bureau, Statistics of U.S. Businesses.

<sup>5</sup> The Manufacturing Institute, 2018. 2018 Deloitte and The Manufacturing Institute skills gap and future of work study.

<sup>6</sup> Source: U.S. Department of Commerce.

<sup>7</sup> Kota, Sridhar and Thomas C. Mahoney. 2020. *Loss of the Industrial Commons*, Manufacturing Policy Initiative, Indiana University, May.

<sup>8</sup> Source: DOE Energy Information Administration.

<sup>9</sup> Source: U.S. Environmental Protection Agency.

<sup>10</sup> Bevins, Josh. 2019. *Updated employment multipliers for the U.S. economy*, Economic Policy Institute, January 23 (blog).

<sup>11</sup> Ezell, Stephen. 2020. *Policies To Stimulate US Manufacturing Innovation*, Manufacturing Policy Initiative, Indiana University, May.

<sup>12</sup> According to a 2017 study commissioned by the National Association of Manufacturers, the Code of Federal Regulation—a compendium of regulations from all federal agencies—includes 715 parts listing 297,796 specific restrictions on domestic manufacturers.

## Similarities Across the Major Presidential Candidates

This presidential campaign can boast of a large number of major candidates, of which only two remain—as of May 19, 2020—as the likely nominees of the two major political parties. During this lengthy campaign, numerous issues have been raised and policy proposals offered. For some issues important to U.S. manufacturers, the candidates coalesced around a singular message, reflecting general bipartisan agreement:

- *Manufacturing jobs matter.* The steep drop in manufacturing jobs witnessed during the first decade of this century is deeply troubling to the presidential candidates. But there is disagreement about the major cause of this decline—with most candidates blaming international trade policy (including the rise of China as an economic power) and Andrew Yang focused on rapid technological change (such as application of artificial intelligence).<sup>1</sup> And although US manufacturing has, on net, added jobs during the recent 10-year economic expansion, the abrupt economic downturn created by the global pandemic has coincided with the loss of over one million jobs US manufacturing since January 2020.
- *The downsides of globalization.* On a related issue, the candidates are critical of globalization, the facilitating of international commerce through a steady and significant lowering of transportation and communication costs and barriers to international trade. Candidates from both parties have been openly critical of free trade agreements such as NAFTA and China's membership into the World Trade Organization as hurting American manufacturers and manufacturing workers. Remarkably, few candidates (exception: Mike Bloomberg) are defending globalization, which has been credited by economists with raising one billion people out of poverty around the world in recent decades and lowering prices that benefit all consumers. Consistent with the campaign rhetoric, the multi-decade trend of increasing globalization may have reached an inflection point.<sup>2</sup>
- *The USA must stand up to China.* There was a time during the campaign when the presidential candidates were wary about joining Donald Trump in his criticism of China's economic and technology policies, but this moment soon passed. Concern about China became a theme, with Democrats shifting to criticism of the Trump Administration's unilateral approach. All of the major candidates believe the United States should stand up to China because it poses an economic and national security risk. The COVID-19 pandemic, with its origin in the manufacturing-centric city of Wuhan, China, reinforced concern that the United States is too reliant on Chinese supply chains.

Although it does not reflect bipartisan support among all candidates, the issue of climate change deserves mention. Momentum to tackle this global issue is building. Apart from Donald Trump, every major candidate sees climate action as a political imperative. There are also other signs that political winds are shifting: Major manufacturers have criticized and/or opposed the Trump Administration's rollback of climate regulations issued under the Obama Administration (e.g., automobile fuel efficiency standards). The number of Republican members of Congress joining the call for action on climate is growing. And trade associations representing manufacturers are elevating the issue in priority in anticipation of policy action. Should Donald Trump fail to win reelection, the next administration will likely take action to limit greenhouse gas emissions, perhaps with the support of a receptive Congress.

### Endnotes

<sup>1</sup> Data from 1997-2012 on U.S. manufacturing employment show that both automation and trade caused a decline in manufacturing employment, and most of the decline occurred in multinational firms. See Fort et al. 2019. "New Perspectives on the Decline of U.S. Manufacturing," *NBER Working Paper 24490*, April.

<sup>2</sup> Irwin, Douglas A. 2020. Globalization is in retreat for the first time since the Second World War, Peterson Institute for International Economics, April 23.

# Comparison of Donald Trump and Joe Biden

As of May 29, 2020, Donald Trump and Joe Biden are the front-runners to secure their party's nomination for President. Barring unforeseen events, these two candidates will face-off in the November 2020 presidential election.

Table 1 compares the two candidates on a variety of issues important to U.S. manufacturers. To the eight issues we first identified in our standardized questionnaire from summer 2019, we added two interrelated events from 2020: the pandemic response and the 2020 economic downturn. For each of these ten issues, we describe the major points of difference between the two candidates. Our intention is not to choose sides but to emphasize differences in perspective and policy.

## PANDEMIC RESPONSE

COVID-19, which began in Wuhan, China, and has spread to every nation in the globe, has completely transformed the U.S. political landscape. A major issue to registered voters of all persuasions, the pandemic response reflects an important distinction between Donald Trump and Joe Biden.

The Trump Administration response is characterized by working with Congress to direct federal resources to the crisis, deferring important public health decisions to state and local officials, leveraging market forces, and balancing considerations of public health with those of the economy.

First, the Trump Administration has worked with Congress to pass several pieces of legislation to address immediate health needs and prop up the economy: Phase I (signed on March 6, 2020) allocated \$8.3 billion in emergency funding to federal agencies to respond to the outbreak.<sup>1</sup> Phase II (signed on March 18) was a \$3.5 billion relief package to provide nutrition benefits for needy children and individuals, free health testing for those without health insurance, paid sick and medical leave for some employees, and subsidies for unemployment benefits provided by states.<sup>2</sup> Phase III (signed on March 23) was a \$2.2 trillion package to bailout and stimulate industries and provide relief to families and small businesses (direct cash

**TABLE 1. TRUMP AND BIDEN ON KEY ISSUES**

Issue	Trump	Biden
<b>Pandemic Response</b>	Work with Congress to direct federal resources. Defer to state and local officials. Leverage market forces. Re-shore essential medical supply chains. Balance public health and the economy.	Be prepared, act quickly to utilize federal powers, and follow the advice of public health officials when opening up the economy.
<b>2020 Recession</b>	As President, Trump has shown he can grow the economy quickly. He seeks to invest in infrastructure, cut payroll taxes for employees and employers, and slash regulation of small business.	As Vice President, Biden has shown he can manage a successful recovery. He supports enactment of measures to benefit college students and seniors on social security; he would keep workers employed at reduced hours.
<b>Competitiveness</b>	America First: re-write trade deals to favor the United States, lower taxes, cut red tape.	American Leadership: U.S. leadership is needed to write the rules for the 21 <sup>st</sup> century. Invest in the middle class.
<b>Tax</b>	Support the 2017 Tax Cuts and Jobs Act.	The 2017 Tax Cuts and Jobs Act went too far in cutting business taxes.
<b>Trade Agreements</b>	Revise trade deals to favor the United States. Skepticism of multilateral agreements.	Favor a rules-based global trading system where US leads in setting the rules.
<b>China</b>	Impose tariffs unilaterally on China to force concessions.	Take on China but only in conjunction with our allies; tariffs only as last resort.
<b>Regulation</b>	Emphasize de-regulation.	Oppose de-regulation.
<b>Workforce</b>	Nudge the private sector to expand apprenticeships and create industry recognized credentials.	Embrace pro-union and pro-worker policies and subsidize education and training of future workers.
<b>Energy</b>	Expand American energy, including fossil energy.	Expand American clean energy.
<b>Climate Change</b>	Climate change is not a priority.	Climate change is an existential threat requiring immediate global action.

payment of as much as \$1200 to individuals, enhanced unemployment benefits, extended deadline for filing federal tax returns, emergency grants and forgivable loans for small businesses, loans for big business, tax credits for businesses to keep workers on the payroll, grants for hospitals and food banks).<sup>3</sup> As of May 19, no agreement has been reached over the content of an expected Phase IV legislative package. In such a measure, the Trump Administration is seeking infrastructure investment, a payroll tax cut, and liability protections for businesses that reopen.

Second, the Trump Administration has deferred major public health decisions to state and local government officials. On April 16, President Trump unveiled federal guidelines for reopening the economy, which he made clear are to be implemented at the discretion of state officials, who hold the power to open up the economy that has been shut down through stay-at-home orders and the closings of schools and businesses.

Third, the Trump Administration has been reluctant to intervene in markets, preferring the threat of federal intervention to actual intervention. For example, on March 22, President Trump said he preferred negotiating with manufacturers instead of micromanaging production utilizing the Defense Production Act, comparing such authority with the “nationalization” of industry. Nevertheless, President Trump has since invoked the Defense Production Act to prevent hoarding, restrict exports of medical supplies, and compel the production of ventilators (GM) (only after negotiations reached an impasse), masks (3M), and the opening of meat packing plants. And he signed legislation (Phase III) allocating \$1 billion for the Department of Defense to purchase supplies.<sup>4</sup>

Nevertheless, President Trump has also voiced support for using the power of the federal government to re-shore U.S. manufacturing capabilities from China, with a priority for medical supply chains (essential medicines and equipment). Several policy proposals are being floated in Congress, and the Trump Administration is taking administrative action where it has such authority (e.g., through executive order).<sup>5</sup> The Trump Administration has awarded a \$354 million federal contract to a U.S. company to produce generic drugs and treatments for COVID-19.<sup>6</sup> In addition, the Trump Administration has a plan to develop and manufacture a COVID-19 vaccine by January of 2021; the plan is called Operation Warp Speed, and it will focus on three areas: development, manufacturing, and distribution.<sup>7</sup>

Finally, the Trump Administration sees the need for balancing public health with economic growth. On April 16, he told the nation’s governors, “A prolonged lockdown combined with a forced economic depression will inflict an immense and wide-ranging toll on public health,” including “a sharp rise in drug abuse, alcohol abuse, suicide, heart disease, and many other dimensions of physical and mental wellbeing.”<sup>8</sup> He sees the need to re-start the economy even as the COVID-19 crisis continues.

Joe Biden first outlined his pandemic response plan in an April 12 op-ed published in *The New York Times*<sup>9</sup> and through almost daily public statements. His approach can be summarized as (1) be prepared, (2) act quickly to utilize federal powers, and (3) follow the advice of public health officials before opening up the economy.

A President Biden would have a pandemic response team in the White House and maintain an adequate national stockpile of supplies in anticipation of a future pandemic. He would quickly leverage federal authorities such as the Defense Production Act. And before a President Biden would re-open the economy, he would wait for a decline the number of new cases through steps recommended by public health officials: social distancing, widespread testing, robust contact tracing, and adequate hospital capacity. His statements and his plan emphasize a difference from that of the Trump Administration, which he has criticized for eliminating an existing pandemic response team established in the Obama White House, delay in utilizing the Defense Production Act, and failure to facilitate rapid testing and contact tracing. When asked about the White House guidelines for opening up the economy, he said it is “not a plan.”<sup>10</sup>

## **2020 RECESSION**

The pandemic has induced a global recession that has not spared the United States. The two candidates are pivoting from the pandemic response to the economy as the national unemployment rate hits a post-WWII high of 15% and businesses—including manufacturers—struggle to survive. In the month of April 2020, the Department of Labor reported a net loss of 1.3 million manufacturing jobs, following a net loss of 34,000 manufacturing jobs in March.

Donald Trump sees himself as the best choice to get the economy out of its pandemic-induced recession. On May 5, he said, “I did it once, two months ago we had the best economy in the history of the world, but we are going to do it again and that’s what we’re starting ... it’s going to happen pretty fast.”<sup>11</sup>

His campaign website emphasizes his pre-pandemic economic achievements:

- “GDP topping 3% in 4 quarters under his administration.”
- “Since his election, the Trump administration’s pro-growth policies have generated 6 million new jobs, the unemployment rate has fallen to its lowest point in 50 years, and wages have grown at more than 3% for 10 months in a row.”
- “The manufacturing industry created nearly half a million new jobs.”

These statements may seem odd in that the cited economic gains have been more than erased as a result of the current economic downturn. But Donald Trump seeks to remind voters that his efforts grew the economy once and, therefore, he can do it again.

How he might revive the economy can be generally discerned by his past efforts: cutting taxes, cutting regulation, and negotiating better trade deals. More specifics will be seen in any future Phase IV legislation negotiated with Congress; Trump has called for investment in infrastructure and a cut in payroll taxes.<sup>12</sup> Executive actions are also on the table: The Trump Administration is reportedly planning a new wave of de-regulation to aid small businesses, including a suspension of regulatory enforcement as businesses struggle to regain their economic footing.<sup>13</sup> Such a move need not require congressional approval but could run into trouble with the judicial branch.

The Biden campaign is emphasizing professional management and oversight of the recovery program. President Obama tasked then Vice President Biden with similar responsibility in 2009, in the throes of a recession and as Congress enacted a massive stimulus bill. Over the course of 18 months, Biden worked closely with local and state officials to ensure stimulus funding was spent as intended, reportedly spending three to four hours per day in conversation and meetings on the topic.<sup>14</sup> According to former domestic policy advisor at the time, Terrell McSweeney, “What Biden was able to do was take on these incredibly wide-ranging investments and set of programs across the board, and keep all of that in process with a relatively small staff coordinating deeply—and using his ability at the top of government to constantly keep the pressure on.”<sup>15</sup>

In the current economic downturn, Biden has been involved in the crafting of legislation. According to the Biden campaign website, after the Phase II legislation was enacted on March 18, Biden called on Congress to enact additional emergency legislation to include provisions (paid sick leave, free testing), some of which were included in Phase III legislation and some (forgiveness for student loans, increase social security checks for seniors, fiscal relief for states) that were not. He issued a detailed plan for oversight to ensure funding from the CARES Act (Phase III) is implemented as intended—fast relief to those that most need it (including small businesses), and procedures to ensure no fraud or diversion of funds to those with political connections.

He has also called for reforming short-time compensation programs. Under such programs, firms facing a drop in demand keep workers employed at reduced hours and the federal government makes up the difference in wages. Germany has long used a similar program (called Kurzarbeit) to ensure that skilled workers do not leave an industry during an economic downturn, avoiding an erosion of national manufacturing capabilities.<sup>16</sup> According to the Biden campaign website, 27 states have established short-time compensation programs, but they are limited in their scope and lack financial support from the federal government.

## **U.S. COMPETITIVENESS**

Donald Trump favors policies that he has labeled “America First.” As he noted in his inaugural address: “Every decision on trade, on taxes, on immigration, on foreign affairs, will be made to benefit American workers and American families.”

Among these policies: re-write international trade deals to favor the United States (e.g., the United States-Mexico-Canada Agreement—USMCA—was a re-write of North American Free Trade Agreement—NAFTA), lower taxes (e.g., the 2017 Tax Cuts and Jobs Act), and cut red tape (e.g., eliminating two regulations for every new regulation).

In contrast to Trump’s “America First” mindset, Biden calls for American leadership among nations. Internationally, Biden seeks “to write the rules for the 21<sup>st</sup> century.” He has argued that either China or the United States will write the rules for international trade, and therefore the United States cannot cede its seat the table during negotiations or expect to change China’s behavior absent assistance from allied nations. Biden supported the Trans Pacific Partnership (TPP), a trade deal with Asian nations that Donald Trump walked away from soon after becoming President, viewing it as a bad deal for the United States. As Vice President, Biden was in charge of bringing nations together to address climate change in the Paris Agreement; President Trump withdrew the United States from this agreement.

Domestically, Biden’s policy proposals aim for inclusive growth to benefit the middle class. For example, his campaign website details investment in infrastructure (\$1.3 billion over ten years, paid for through tax reform) and support for pro-union and pro-worker policies (stronger enforcement of labor laws, easing the ability of workers to collectively bargain with employers, raising the federal minimum wage to \$15 per hour). He calls for revitalizing U.S. manufacturing by quadrupling of funding for the Manufacturing Extension Partnership, which assists small and medium manufacturers in becoming more productive; funding place-based, low-carbon manufacturing sectors in every state through collaboration among universities, industry, and community organizations; and earmark funding for economic development in communities suffering from mass layoffs or closure of a government institution.

## **TAX**

President Trump’s most significant legislative achievement since he took office was the signing of the Tax Cuts and Jobs Act of 2017. The bill lowered taxes for most individual brackets and reduced the corporate tax rate as well as broadening and eliminating prior exemptions. According to the White House, the new law cut taxes by \$5.5 trillion dollars over a decade to increase wealth in American households and bring in more federal revenue.

Joe Biden opposed the Tax Cuts and Jobs Act, believing that the tax cuts went too far. According to the Tax Foundation, the Biden plan would raise taxes on individuals earning more than \$400,000 dollars per year from 37 percent to 39.6 percent, increase the corporate income tax from 21 percent to 28 percent, and expand tax credits to support a variety of pro-growth initiatives.

## **TRADE AGREEMENTS**

In 2016, Candidate Trump was critical of existing and proposed free trade agreements, arguing that many hurt U.S. manufacturers and led to outsourcing of American jobs. As President, Donald Trump has fulfilled a long list of promises to reform U.S trade policy, first outlined in a Pennsylvania speech from June 2016. He withdrew the United States from the TPP (which went into force as the Comprehensive and Progressive Agreement for Trans-Pacific Partnership— CPTPP). His administration negotiated with Canada and Mexico to replace NAFTA with the USMCA, which was approved by Congress with bipartisan support. He imposed protective tariffs on steel and aluminum imports and later imposed tariffs on imports of most Chinese goods that resulted in a trade war that has since paused upon negotiation of a bilateral, “Phase I” deal.

In contrast, Joe Biden favors a rules-based global trading system where the United States leads in setting the rules. He has long been an advocate of free trade agreements, but has acknowledged that past agreements did not fully protect American workers or ensure the meeting of environmental standards. Although he voted for the original NAFTA, he supported the USMCA, which will replace NAFTA. He supports the CPTPP. He considers Trump’s trade posture with China erratic; he calls instead for negotiation via a coalition with our allies.

With respect to future trade agreements, Biden’s view was expressed in a response to a questionnaire from the United Steelworkers Union.<sup>17</sup> He would oppose inclusion of Investor-State Dispute Settlement mechanisms, and favors inclusion of strong and enforceable labor provisions and strong rules of origin provisions. He promises to include labor and environmental

advocates during negotiations over future trade deals. And he promises to address issues of global overcapacity and state-owned enterprises.

## **CHINA**

Donald Trump has made China a central issue in his 2016 presidential campaign. He sees China as a strategic threat. He opposed allowing China to enter the World Trade Organization (WTO). He has called attention to the large and growing U.S. trade deficit with China on manufactured goods. He favors unilateral action by the United States to limit China's efforts to grow its economy at the expense of the U.S. economy.

Since becoming President, he has imposed tariffs on nearly all Chinese imports (and China has imposed retaliatory tariffs on U.S. imports) in an effort to extract concessions from China with respect to certain of its policies deemed as unfair trade practices. In January 2020, the Trump Administration signed a Phase I agreement with China to address some of the issues at the center of the trade war to prevent the imposition of additional U.S. tariffs. The pandemic has focused the Trump Administration on re-shoring U.S. supply chains to reduce the nation's heavy reliance on China for critical materials, including medical supplies.

When the 2020 presidential campaign began, the major Democratic candidates were hesitant about the appropriate U.S. stance on China's economic rise and its policies that facilitated its rise. Most candidates were hesitant to criticize Donald Trump's strong rhetoric and trade actions, including the imposition of tariffs that created a trade war. Over time, the Democratic candidates coalesced around China as an economic threat while condemning the Trump Administration's unilateral approach toward confrontation.

Joe Biden has claimed that either the United States or China will write the trade rules for the 21<sup>st</sup> century. He supports U.S. leadership in developing a coalition of allies to pressure China in changing its policies and practices. He has not yet indicated whether he, if elected president, would remove the Trump tariffs on Chinese imports.

## **REGULATION**

As President, Donald Trump has embraced de-regulation. He has created the first regulatory budget, a device that has simultaneously pushed agencies to cut existing regulations while making it harder for agencies to issue new regulations. In fact, the Trump Administration has slowed the growth of new regulation to unprecedented levels. Despite this emphasis, the Trump Administration has not made a significant dent in removing existing regulations and has suffered losses in court over many key de-regulatory efforts.<sup>18</sup> Furthermore, in the wake of the pandemic and ongoing recession, the Trump Administration is reportedly planning a new push for deregulation of small business along with a tighter regulatory budget.<sup>19</sup>

Joe Biden opposes the Trump Administration's efforts at de-regulation, especially for regulations issued during Biden's tenure as Vice President in the Obama Administration. According to his campaign website, Biden, if elected, would restore many Obama regulations, most notably those relating to combating climate change. Throughout his career in the U.S. Senate, Biden has supported federal regulation to achieve his preferred policy agenda. For example, he opposed a major regulatory reform bill that was part of the Republican "Contract for America" agenda in 1995.

## **WORKFORCE**

The Trump Administration seeks to address the skills gap facing U.S. manufacturers through expanding apprenticeship programs, but has chosen to do so by leveraging industry-based programs rather than expansion of government-managed programs. Specifically, in March 2020, the Department of Labor issued a final regulation authorizing third-party organizations to approve industry-recognized apprenticeship programs (IRAPs).<sup>20</sup> The President's Workforce Advisory Board, co-chaired by Ivanka Trump and Commerce Secretary Wilbur Ross, is working with the private sector on an ad campaign to encourage young adults to pursue skilled careers that do not rely on a traditional four-year college degree, and is encouraging the development of a standard digital format for workers to facilitate the sharing of skills with interested employers.<sup>21</sup> In addition, the Trump Administration has created a Pledge to America's Workers and recruited manufacturers to commit to job training initiatives for up to 1.2 million workers.<sup>22</sup>

In contrast, Joe Biden plans to invest federal dollars in education and workforce training, primarily at community colleges. According to his campaign website, Biden proposes to make debt-free two years' worth of community college education or other high-quality training programs, increasing community college funding, and investing \$50 billion dollars to support business partnerships with community colleges and apprenticeships. Furthermore, Biden proposes making all undergraduate colleges tuition-free for families earning less than \$125,000 dollars per year.

## **ENERGY**

The Trump's administration chief goal with regard to energy policy is to expand American energy, including fossil energy, by unleashing the full potential of America's natural resources. Upon entering office, President Trump reversed many Obama-era energy decisions: he lifted the moratorium on off-shore drilling<sup>123</sup>, repealed the Clean Power Plan<sup>24</sup>, approved the Keystone XL and Dakota Access pipelines<sup>25</sup>, and repealed various emissions restrictions. Furthermore, as part of the tax reform bill, Congress opened up the Arctic National Wildlife Refuge for gas and oil extraction. Trump's actions have increased U.S. exports of oil and natural gas; the United States now exports more energy than is imported.

In contrast, Joe Biden seeks to expand clean energy as a means to address climate change. As a United States Senator, Biden consistently voted against the expansion of fossil fuel consumption (e.g., the Trans-Alaska Pipeline), in favor of clean energy (wind and solar) tax incentives, and in favor of removing subsidies for oil and gas exploration.<sup>26</sup> Unlike other major Democratic presidential candidates, Biden does not support banning hydrofracturing on federal land<sup>27</sup> and he foresees a role for nuclear energy.<sup>28</sup> According to his campaign website, Biden refuses to accept campaign contributions from oil, gas, and coal corporations or executives.<sup>29</sup>

## **CLIMATE CHANGE**

The Trump Administration does not see climate change as a priority. The Administration has reversed or is in the process of reversing many Obama-era regulations and decisions to limit greenhouse gas emissions.<sup>30</sup> For example, President Trump withdrew the United States from the Paris Agreement<sup>31</sup> and repudiated a study produced within his own administration warning of the potential effects of climate change.<sup>32</sup>

In contrast, Joe Biden sees climate change as an existential threat. He would commit the United States to net-zero emissions of greenhouse gases by the year 2050. He pledges to deliver rigorous new fuel standards, impose green infrastructure requirements, develop clean energy technology, and enact a national strategy to subsidize low-carbon manufacturing. According to his campaign website, Biden has called for the rejoining of the Paris Agreement, eliminating federal subsidies of fossil fuel, and disallowing new oil and gas permits on public land.<sup>33</sup>

## **Endnotes**

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<sup>2</sup> The Families First Coronavirus Response Act became Public Law 116-127. [Source: Congress.gov.](#)

<sup>3</sup> The Coronavirus Aid, Relief, and Economic Security (CARES) Act became Public Law 116-136. Additional funding for the paycheck protection program became Public Law 116-139. [Source: Congress.gov.](#)

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# JOE BIDEN

Joe Biden (D-DE) is a former U.S. senator and vice president of the United States.



**1. U.S. Competitiveness in Manufacturing.** The U.S. manufacturing sector is important to the nation's economy, but its economic profile declined in significance from 2000-2010, when manufacturing employment dropped by one-third and China overtook the U.S. as the world's leading manufacturing nation. Do you have a plan to improve U.S. competitiveness in manufacturing?

Biden has a specific plan for manufacturing that is part of his national strategy to combat climate change. He wants to develop a low-carbon manufacturing sector in every state through technological innovation and workforce training. According to his campaign website, allocated tax credits and subsidies will be available for businesses to upgrade equipment and processes, invest in expanded or new factories, and deploy low-carbon technologies, as long as all stakeholders are part of the process of determining a bottom-line win for jobs, workers, clean energy, and long-term community investment.

Biden's program would be paid for by "rolling back" the Trump tax incentives and closing other loopholes in the tax code.

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**2. Labor/Workforce.** U.S. manufacturers employ nearly 13 million workers. Workforce issues include the so-called "skills gap" (i.e., manufacturers are having difficulty acquiring skilled labor). What policies/programs do you support to address workforce issues in manufacturing?

Biden says we need stronger labor laws and a tax code that rewards a middle class that has been cut out of decades of economic growth. He favors raising the federal minimum wage to \$15 per hour. He wants to "stop Republican attempts to strip away worker rights to form unions and collectively bargain." He wants to put an end to unnecessary occupational licensing.

According to Biden, "Every American should have the opportunity throughout their lives to obtain the skills and education to realize their full potential. And everyone should have the opportunity to update their skills as rapidly as the economy changes."

He would invest in school vocational training and partnerships between high schools, community colleges, and employers. Such partnerships, he believes, will create programs that allow students to earn an industry credential upon high school graduation—a credential that readies them for a good-paying career. He says career and technical education can also be used to increase access to middle- and high-school courses in computer science so that students learn computational thinking and prepare them for range of good careers.

With regard to unions, Biden supports their formation and role in representing the workforce and collective bargaining. He has even spoken about criminalizing anti-union behavior by companies. At a forum in Iowa hosting several Democratic presidential candidates, Biden said, "We should think about criminalization . . . to not [be able] to get engaged and vote for a union, that you have a right for."

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**3. China.** U.S. manufacturers complain that China's policies and practices relating to technology and intellectual property have created an uneven playing field that benefits Chinese manufacturers at the expense of manufacturers from other countries. How would you engage with China to change their policies and practices with respect to technology and intellectual property? Which policies and practices would you seek to change, and to what end?

Biden says the U.S. also needs to “outcompete China” by investing in research and development, modern infrastructure, and a modern workforce. We can create millions of good paying jobs. According to Biden, “We should own the 21st century.”

Biden believes China is stealing our intellectual property and dumping steel. He says if the U.S. doesn't set the rules then we are letting China set the rules. He wants to “organize the world” against China.

Biden believes the approach taken by the Trump Administration, however, is wrong. “Trump is alienating our allies,” he says. The Trump tariffs, he says, hurt U.S. farmers, consumers, and manufacturers. Instead, Biden wants to build a united front of our allies to pressure China to change.

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**4. Tariffs.** The Trump Administration has imposed additional tariffs on many kinds of imports for reasons ranging from national security to fair trade. The increase in tariffs—including retaliatory tariffs from other countries—has created winners and losers among U.S. manufacturers. What is your position on the imposition of tariffs on imported manufactured goods? How would you change or alter existing tariffs, and to what end?

Biden opposes the “Trump tariffs,” which he claims are hurting farmers, consumers, and manufacturers.

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**5. Trade Agreements.** Because most internationally traded goods are manufactured goods, trade policies and trade agreements have a significant impact on U.S. manufacturing. What is your plan to develop new and/or modify existing trade agreements to support U.S. manufacturing?

Biden says, “When it comes to trade, either we're going to write the rules of the road or China is—and not in a way that advances our values.” Biden supported NAFTA as a senator and TPP as vice president. He supports a progressive U.S. trade policy in which labor unions and environmental advocates are directly at the table and that would “secure the wins that the American people need to compete and lead in the global economy.”

The Vice President has opposed Trump's handling of China and criticized what is the first phase of Trump's trade deal signed in January. He said, “China is the big winner of Trump's ‘phase-one’ trade deal with Beijing... true to form, Trump is getting precious little in return for the significant pain and uncertainty he has imposed on our economy, farmers, and workers.” He also added that the deal “won't actually resolve the real issues at the heart of the dispute, including industrial subsidies, support for state-owned enterprises, cyber-theft, and other predatory practices in trade and technology.”

He supports the recently enacted USMCA.

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**6. Energy/Climate Change.** There is scientific consensus that man-made emissions of greenhouse gases (GHGs), primarily due to combustion of fossil energy, is adversely impacting the global climate. According to the U.S. EPA, U.S. industry—including energy-intensive manufacturing—is responsible for approximately 22% of the nation's greenhouse gas emissions. What is your position on climate change and U.S. policies to address climate change and/or the combustion of fossil energy?

Biden believes climate change is an existential threat. “There is no greater challenge facing our country and our world.” He supports the Paris Agreement, which President Trump withdrew from. The Biden Plan on climate (a form of the Green New Deal, which Biden supports) will (1) ensure the U.S. achieves a 100% clean energy economy and reaches net zero emissions no later than 2050, (2) invest in smart infrastructure to withstand the impacts of climate change, (3) lead an international effort to ramp up their domestic commitments, (4) protect communities disproportionately impacted by climate change, and (5) enact a national strategy to develop a low-carbon manufacturing sector in every state through technological innovation and workforce training.

According to the Biden plan, “industries from textiles to machine tools to metal fabrication to the most advanced manufacturing technologies will be eligible for funding to modernize, compete, create jobs, and move to clean energy futures.” Allocated tax credits and subsidies will be available for businesses to upgrade equipment and processes, invest in expanded or new factories, and deploy low-carbon technologies, “as long as all stakeholders are part of the process of determining a bottom-line win for jobs, workers, clean energy, and long-term community investment.”

The program would be paid for by “rolling back the Trump tax incentives” and closing other tax loopholes in the tax code.

Biden favors investment to create 500,000 electric vehicle recharging stations across the U.S.

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**7. Regulation.** The U.S. manufacturing sector is a heavily regulated sector of the economy. Do you favor reducing the regulatory burden on manufacturing? If elected, are there specific regulations or regulatory programs you would revise and, if so, to what end?

When he was a U.S. senator, he opposed comprehensive regulatory reform legislation pushed by Republicans—the bill passed the GOP-majority House but was not approved by the Senate.

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**8. Taxes.** Approximately ¾ of all U.S. manufacturing firms are pass-through entities (i.e., pass-through business income is taxed on the business owners' tax returns through the individual income tax code), and all manufacturers are subject to taxes on capital investment. What is your position on federal taxes imposed on U.S. manufacturers? If elected, would you amend federal taxes and, if so, to what end?

Biden favors a “pro-growth, progressive tax code that treats workers as job creators and closes loopholes that benefit shareholders at the expense of workers.” Biden would reverse the “Trump tax cuts for the super-wealthy” and corporations (but keep the corporate income tax rate lower than it was before the 2017 law). Biden favors an increase in the capital gains tax rate.

According to the Tax Policy Center, Biden's tax plan would increase federal revenue by \$4 trillion dollars

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# DONALD TRUMP

Donald Trump (R-NY) is president of the United States.



## 1. U.S. Competitiveness in Manufacturing.

The U.S. manufacturing sector is important to the nation's economy, but its economic profile declined in significance from 2000-2010, when manufacturing employment dropped by one-third and China overtook the U.S. as the world's leading manufacturing nation. Do you have a plan to improve U.S. competitiveness in manufacturing?

Donald Trump believes his policies (tax cuts, de-regulation, greater enforcement of trade laws, etc.) are responsible for the growth in U.S. jobs, and U.S. manufacturing jobs in particular, during his term. "Manufacturing jobs continue to outperform under this administration, with an average increase of 20,000 new jobs per month compared to 8,000 per month in the second term of the Obama administration." His campaign claims that optimism among U.S. manufacturers reached a historic high during the Trump Administration.

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**2. Labor/Workforce.** U.S. manufacturers employ nearly 13 million workers. Workforce issues include the so-called "skills gap" (i.e., manufacturers are having difficulty acquiring skilled labor). What policies/programs do you support to address workforce issues in manufacturing?

The Trump Administration is taking steps to increase the supply of skilled labor in manufacturing, primarily through incentives to expand apprenticeships in the private sector.

Through three executive orders (13836, 13837, and 13839), Trump moved to reduce the amount of official union time paid for by taxpayers, more swiftly remove employees for poor performance or conduct, and rework how agencies and unions interact via collective bargaining. Union interest groups have reacted negatively to these actions.

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**3. China.** U.S. manufacturers complain that China's policies and practices relating to technology and intellectual property have created an uneven playing field that benefits Chinese manufacturers at the expense of manufacturers from other countries. How would you engage with China to change their policies and practices with respect to technology and intellectual property? Which policies and practices would you seek to change, and to what end?

The Trump Administration has taken steps to confront China over its policies and practices related to intellectual property and technology. It has imposed tariffs on nearly all Chinese imports as leverage to engage in negotiations with China to reform its economic policies related to intellectual property. It has initiated cases against China in the World Trade Organization.

In December 2019, the Trump Administration announced a "Phase I agreement" with China that eliminates and/or reduces some tariffs in exchange for some reforms to China's trade practices.

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**4. Tariffs.** The Trump Administration has imposed additional tariffs on many kinds of imports for reasons ranging from national security to fair trade. The increase in tariffs—including retaliatory tariffs from other countries—has created winners and losers among U.S. manufacturers. What is your position on the imposition of tariffs on imported manufactured goods? How would you change or alter existing tariffs, and to what end?

When he campaigned for president, Donald Trump promised to confront unfair trade practices that harm American commerce. The Trump Administration has done this by increasing the number of antidumping and countervailing duty investigations compared to previous administrations. Tariffs have been imposed on washing machines, solar panels, steel and aluminum imports, and nearly all Chinese imports.

Trump believes tariffs are an effective tool to extract concessions from other countries on policies detrimental to U.S. interests.

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**5. Trade Agreements.** Because most internationally traded goods are manufactured goods, trade policies and trade agreements have a significant impact on U.S. manufacturing. What is your plan to develop new and/or modify existing trade agreements to support U.S. manufacturing?

The Trump Administration has been active in shaping free trade agreements. The U.S. has withdrawn from the Trans Pacific Partnership (TPP), revised the KORUS agreement with the Republic of Korea, and renegotiated the North American Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA), now known as the United States, Mexico, and Canada Agreement (USMCA). The Trump Administration has brought cases to the WTO, while at the same time seeking reforms to the WTO.

Trump has long argued that a trade deficit hurts the U.S. economy.

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**6. Energy/Climate Change.** There is scientific consensus that man-made emissions of greenhouse gases (GHGs), primarily due to combustion of fossil energy, is adversely impacting the global climate. According to the U.S. EPA, U.S. industry—including energy-intensive manufacturing—is responsible for approximately 22% of the nation's greenhouse gas emissions. What is your position on climate change and U.S. policies to address climate change and/or the combustion of fossil energy?

The Trump Administration has taken steps to expand U.S. energy production through expanding oil and gas drilling on federal lands and offshore, approving exports of fossil energy to other countries, and approving infrastructure projects to expand access to energy resources.

On climate change, the Trump Administration has taken steps to repeal or modify regulations put in place during the Obama Administration to control GHG emissions, and the U.S. has withdrawn from the Paris Climate Accord, an international agreement to limit GHG emissions. In mid-2019, the EPA under the Trump Administration repealed the Obama-era Clean Power Plan which established emissions guidelines aimed to curb carbon output by existing power plants.

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**7. Regulation.** The U.S. manufacturing sector is a heavily regulated sector of the economy. Do you favor reducing the regulatory burden on manufacturing? If elected, are there specific regulations or regulatory programs you would revise and, if so, to what end?

Donald Trump is a proponent of de-regulation. The Trump Administration has greatly reduced the growth of federal regulations (though an executive order requiring regulators to issue two deregulatory actions for every new regulatory action) and selectively repealed or removed existing regulations. As president, Donald Trump has signed 15 congressional resolutions of disapproval for specific regulations issued under the Obama Administration.

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**8. Taxes.** Approximately ¾ of all U.S. manufacturing firms are pass-through entities (i.e., pass-through business income is taxed on the business owners' tax returns through the individual income tax code), and all manufacturers are subject to taxes on capital investment. What is your position on federal taxes imposed on U.S. manufacturers? If elected, would you amend federal taxes and, if so, to what end?

Donald Trump signed into law the Tax Cuts and Jobs Act, which cut corporate and individual income tax rates, including tax rates on pass-through entities. This law represented the first major tax reform in 30 years. Manufacturers were among the major beneficiaries.

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## Abbreviated Summary by Issue

This section categorizes major candidates by issue. This categorization does not convey every aspect of each question posed to the candidates. Rather, categories were listed to highlight differences between the candidates and in a form that would facilitate on-line accessibility.

### **Manufacturing Competitiveness**

Has specific plan to grow U.S. manufacturing: Biden, Sanders, Trump, Warren

### **Labor/Workforce**

Pro-union: Biden, Booker, Buttigieg, Gabbard, Harris, Klobuchar, O'Rourke, Sanders, Warren

Expand apprenticeships: Booker, Buttigieg, Castro, Klobuchar, O'Rourke, Steyer, Trump, Warren

Expand vocational education: Biden, Bloomberg, Booker, Buttigieg, Castro, Gabbard, Harris, Steyer, Warren, Yang

### **Climate/Energy**

Supports the Green New Deal: Biden, Booker, Buttigieg, Catro, Gabbard, Harris, Klobuchar, O'Rourke, Sanders, Steyer, Warren, Yang

Favors a price on carbon: Biden, Booker, Buttigieg, Castro, Harris, Klobuchar, O'Rourke, Yang

End fossil fuel subsidies: Booker, Castro, Gabbard, Sanders, Warren

Ban fracking: Buttigieg, Gabbard, Sanders, Steyer

### **Deregulation**

Has a plan for deregulation: Trump

### **2017 Tax Reform Law**

Opposes: Bloomberg, Booker, Buttigieg, Castro, Gabbard, Harris, Sanders, Steyer, Warren

Supports: Trump, Weld

Seeks targeted changes: Biden, Klobuchar, O'Rourke

### **Trade**

In favor of trade liberalization: Biden, Bloomberg, O'Rourke, Weld

Opposed to trade liberalization: Booker, Gabbard, Harris, Klobuchar, Sanders, Trump, Warren

Supports USMCA: Biden, Bloomberg, Buttigieg, Gabbard, Klobucher, Steyer, Trump, Warren, Weld

### **Tariffs**

Pro-tariffs: Gabbard, Klobuchar, Sanders, Trump, Warren

Anti-tariffs: Biden, Bloomberg, Buttigieg, Harris, O'Rourke, Steyer, Walsh, Weld, Yang



## **Appendix A: Major Candidates No Longer Campaigning**

# MIKE BLOOMBERG

Mike Bloomberg (D-NY) is a former mayor, founder of a global news service, and philanthropist.



## 1. U.S. Competitiveness in Manufacturing.

The U.S. manufacturing sector is important to the nation's economy, but its economic profile declined in significance from 2000-2010, when manufacturing employment dropped by one-third and China overtook the U.S. as the world's leading manufacturing nation. Do you have a plan to improve U.S. competitiveness in manufacturing?

Bloomberg has no specific competitiveness plan for the manufacturing sector. His economic plan emphasizes free markets, balanced budgets, and major investments in infrastructure and job training. According to his campaign website, he “will work to strengthen the middle class, invest in education, create good-paying jobs in renewable energy and other industries with a bright future, and open the door to opportunity for every American.”

**2. Labor/Workforce.** U.S. manufacturers employ nearly 13 million workers. Workforce issues include the so-called “skills gap” (i.e., manufacturers are having difficulty acquiring skilled labor). What policies/programs do you support to address workforce issues in manufacturing?

Bloomberg promises to invest in “pathways that create new opportunities and access to well-paying jobs for all Americans,” citing his past record as mayor of New York City and as a philanthropist in promoting skills training. He supports expanding the earned income tax credit (EITC).

He supports \$15 minimum wage.

**3. China.** U.S. manufacturers complain that China's policies and practices relating to technology and intellectual property have created an uneven playing field that benefits Chinese manufacturers at the expense of manufacturers from other countries. How would you engage with China to change their policies and practices with respect to technology and intellectual property? Which policies and practices would you seek to change, and to what end?

Bloomberg favors deeper economic ties with China, and opposes the Trump trade war, which he blames for hurting the economy, costing U.S. jobs, and hindering innovation. He favors a greater opening up of the Chinese economy to foreign firms. He acknowledges China's unfair trade practices, which he believes need to be resolved through negotiation.

Bloomberg has been critical of the Trump trade war with China and critical of tariffs in general as hurting consumers.

**4. Tariffs.** The Trump Administration has imposed additional tariffs on many kinds of imports for reasons ranging from national security to fair trade. The increase in tariffs—including retaliatory tariffs from other countries—has created winners and losers among U.S. manufacturers. What is your position on the imposition of tariffs on imported manufactured goods? How would you change or alter existing tariffs, and to what end?

Bloomberg has been critical of the Trump trade war with China and critical of tariffs in general as hurting consumers.

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**5. Trade Agreements.** Because most internationally traded goods are manufactured goods, trade policies and trade agreements have a significant impact on U.S. manufacturing. What is your plan to develop new and/or modify existing trade agreements to support U.S. manufacturing?

Bloomberg has long favored trade liberalization and multinational trade deals. He sees international trade as a way to address global challenges. He supported the TPP and criticized U.S. withdrawal from it.

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**6. Energy/Climate Change.** There is scientific consensus that man-made emissions of greenhouse gases (GHGs), primarily due to combustion of fossil energy, is adversely impacting the global climate. According to the U.S. EPA, U.S. industry—including energy-intensive manufacturing—is responsible for approximately 22% of the nation's greenhouse gas emissions. What is your position on climate change and U.S. policies to address climate change and/or the combustion of fossil energy?

Addressing climate change is a top priority for Bloomberg. He is skeptical of the Green New Deal, arguing that Congress will not enact it. If elected, he would reverse Trump's efforts to de-regulate control of greenhouse gas emissions, rejoin the Paris Climate Agreement, and use foreign policy to encourage climate action by other countries. His domestic climate plan would establish a 100% clean energy economy by 2050 with an emphasis on the power sector. He would place a moratorium on new fossil fuel leases on federal lands. He is open to nuclear power and supported fracking because he sees natural gas as cleaner than coal.

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**7. Regulation.** The U.S. manufacturing sector is a heavily regulated sector of the economy. Do you favor reducing the regulatory burden on manufacturing? If elected, are there specific regulations or regulatory programs you would revise and, if so, to what end?

Bloomberg would reverse Trump de-regulatory efforts on environmental rules, in particular rules to reduce greenhouse gas emissions. We have not found information from the Bloomberg campaign or candidate on his stance toward regulatory reform.

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**8. Taxes.** Approximately ¾ of all U.S. manufacturing firms are pass-through entities (i.e., pass-through business income is taxed on the business owners' tax returns through the individual income tax code), and all manufacturers are subject to taxes on capital investment. What is your position on federal taxes imposed on U.S. manufacturers? If elected, would you amend federal taxes and, if so, to what end?

Bloomberg opposed the 2017 tax reform law, which he thought would worsen the budget deficit without living up to its economic growth projections. He supports expanding the earned income tax credit (EITC). He opposes a wealth tax as proposed by other candidates.

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# COREY BOOKER

Cory Booker (D-NJ) is a U.S. senator.



## 1. U.S. Competitiveness in Manufacturing.

The U.S. manufacturing sector is important to the nation's economy, but its economic profile declined in significance from 2000-2010, when manufacturing employment dropped by one-third and China overtook the U.S. as the world's leading manufacturing nation. Do you have a plan to improve U.S. competitiveness in manufacturing?

Booker believes manufacturing is a cornerstone of the U.S. economy. He has promoted small business manufacturing investment through legislation to improve access to capital. He wants to address the skills gap in manufacturing through legislation to expand apprenticeships via federal tax credit for employers. He supports the Green New Deal, which would provide government subsidies to U.S. manufacturers to make and export green products while creating good-paying jobs.

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## 2. Labor/Workforce.

U.S. manufacturers employ nearly 13 million workers. Workforce issues include the so-called "skills gap" (i.e., manufacturers are having difficulty acquiring skilled labor). What policies/programs do you support to address workforce issues in manufacturing?

Booker wants to expand apprenticeships through a federal tax credit for employers. He wants to make community college tuition free and boost investment in vocational training. He wants to establish a path to debt-free college.

He supports raising the federal minimum wage to \$15 per hour, make it easier for workers to join a union, hold businesses responsible for pay discrimination, require corporations to share their profits with workers, and only support trade deals that support working families.

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## 3. China.

U.S. manufacturers complain that China's policies and practices relating to technology and intellectual property have created an uneven playing field that benefits Chinese manufacturers at the expense of manufacturers from other countries. How would you engage with China to change their policies and practices with respect to technology and intellectual property? Which policies and practices would you seek to change, and to what end?

Booker describes China as a "totalitarian regime" that has to be faced down due to its unfair trade policies. He has criticized President Trump for creating rifts with allies instead of working with them to pressure China to change. Booker says "American needs allies" when taking on China.

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## 4. Tariffs.

The Trump Administration has imposed additional tariffs on many kinds of imports for reasons ranging from national security to fair trade. The increase in tariffs—including retaliatory tariffs from other countries—has created winners and losers among U.S. manufacturers. What is your position on the imposition of tariffs on imported manufactured goods? How would you change or alter existing tariffs, and to what end?

Booker has criticized the Trump Administration for imposing tariffs on allies such as Canada, arguing that allies are needed to push back on unfair trade practices.

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**5. Trade Agreements.** Because most internationally traded goods are manufactured goods, trade policies and trade agreements have a significant impact on U.S. manufacturing. What is your plan to develop new and/or modify existing trade agreements to support U.S. manufacturing?

Booker criticizes past trade agreements for not protecting factory workers or small businesses. He had problems with TPP, and has not made clear his opinion about the U.S. joining CPTPP. He has demanded changes to USMCA. Moving forward, Booker says he will only support trade deals that help working families.

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**6. Energy/Climate Change.** There is scientific consensus that man-made emissions of greenhouse gases (GHGs), primarily due to combustion of fossil energy, is adversely impacting the global climate. According to the U.S. EPA, U.S. industry—including energy-intensive manufacturing—is responsible for approximately 22% of the nation’s greenhouse gas emissions. What is your position on climate change and U.S. policies to address climate change and/or the combustion of fossil energy?

Booker believes climate change is a crisis and an existential threat. As president, he would rejoin the Paris Climate Accord, reverse the Trump Administration’s rollback of environmental regulations, work to implement the Green New Deal, end federal subsidies for fossil fuel production, place a moratorium on drilling on public lands, and prohibit construction of new fossil fuel infrastructure when cost-competitive clean energy alternatives are available. He favors nuclear energy. He has said he supports placing a price on carbon.

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**7. Regulation.** The U.S. manufacturing sector is a heavily regulated sector of the economy. Do you favor reducing the regulatory burden on manufacturing? If elected, are there specific regulations or regulatory programs you would revise and, if so, to what end?

Booker has opposed use of the Congressional Review Act to disapprove rules adopted late in the Obama administration and has sponsored legislation to repeal the Act and restore those rules that were previously disapproved. He has opposed what he calls the Trump Administration’s “rollback” of environmental regulation.

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**8. Taxes.** Approximately ¾ of all U.S. manufacturing firms are pass-through entities (i.e., pass-through business income is taxed on the business owners’ tax returns through the individual income tax code), and all manufacturers are subject to taxes on capital investment. What is your position on federal taxes imposed on U.S. manufacturers? If elected, would you amend federal taxes and, if so, to what end?

Booker has criticized the tax reform law of 2017 as being a tax cut for the wealthy at the expense of “ordinary Americans.” He wants to end the tax cuts, which he says add to the budget deficit. He opposes a wealth tax as offered by Elizabeth Warren. He supports taxing capital gains as ordinary income, and he wants to raise marginal tax rates.

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# PETE BUTTIGIEG

Pete Buttigieg (D) is the Mayor of South Bend, Indiana.



## 1. U.S. Competitiveness in Manufacturing.

The U.S. manufacturing sector is important to the nation's economy, but its economic profile declined in significance from 2000-2010, when manufacturing employment dropped by one-third and China overtook the U.S. as the world's leading manufacturing nation. Do you have a plan to improve U.S. competitiveness in manufacturing?

Buttigieg's clean energy plan would quadruple federal clean energy research and development (R&D) and invest \$550 billion in technology deployment to ensure "these technologies are built here at home". Such investments will "ensure U.S. manufacturers are leading the way."

Buttigieg would also double federal funding for the Manufacturing Extension Partnership program, which works with small and medium manufacturers to improve productivity and train the workforce of the future.

To improve U.S. competitiveness in general, Buttigieg proposes major new investments in infrastructure (clean water and wastewater, transportation and mobility, rural broadband, and climate resilience), education (e.g., ensure debt-free college), and entrepreneurship (for those in underrepresented backgrounds).

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## 2. Labor/Workforce.

U.S. manufacturers employ nearly 13 million workers. Workforce issues include the so-called "skills gap" (i.e., manufacturers are having difficulty acquiring skilled labor). What policies/programs do you support to address workforce issues in manufacturing?

Buttigieg believes that technology/automation and globalization are shifting the skills that workers will need for future. It is a phenomenon he believes is affecting all income levels, education levels, and occupations. He favors giving people the "resiliency and ability to adapt." As mayor, he has been planning a lifelong learning system to combine K-12 education and college certifications in addition to giving people credit for on-the-job learning.

Buttigieg supports a "doubling" of apprenticeships and expansion of "earn and learn" opportunities (traditional and virtual apprenticeships, paid internships, and career and technical education programs for high school students). In his "rural economy plan," Buttigieg would invest \$5 billion over ten years to "ensure an apprenticeship program is available within 30 miles of every American."

Buttigieg supports policies to empower workers and raise wages to grow the middle class, such as raising the minimum wage to \$15 per hour, paid medical and family leave, enacting pro-union policies (end right-to-work laws, deliver card check rights, facilitate collective bargaining), and taking steps to ensure equal pay for women (institute gender pay transparency, pass the Paycheck Fairness Act, etc.).

He supports removing barriers to entrepreneurship through his "Douglas Plan" (i.e., subsidies for those with underrepresented backgrounds). And he endorses policies to achieve the goal of debt-free college.

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**3. China.** U.S. manufacturers complain that China's policies and practices relating to technology and intellectual property have created an uneven playing field that benefits Chinese manufacturers at the expense of manufacturers from other countries. How would you engage with China to change their policies and practices with respect to technology and intellectual property? Which policies and practices would you seek to change, and to what end?

Buttigieg believes that China poses a serious threat—"they are using technology for the perfection of dictatorship." He believes the Trump Administration's approach—imposing tariffs on Chinese imports—is a "fool's errand" because the tariffs are a tax that hurts American farmers and consumers and, in the end, won't force China to change its policies. He believes both sides lose in a trade war.

Buttigieg's strategy involves "banding together with our allies" to put pressure on China. According to him, if China does not change its "unacceptable economic policies" (described as intellectual property theft, forced technology transfer, and dumping of excess capacity), then the U.S. "must be prepared to use tariffs."

He says our long-term strategy should be to play offense, not defense. He favors investments in infrastructure and education and R&D "as well as reforms to our immigration, export control, and foreign investment regimes that are coordinated with our allies."

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**4. Tariffs.** The Trump Administration has imposed additional tariffs on many kinds of imports for reasons ranging from national security to fair trade. The increase in tariffs—including retaliatory tariffs from other countries—has created winners and losers among U.S. manufacturers. What is your position on the imposition of tariffs on imported manufactured goods? How would you change or alter existing tariffs, and to what end?

According to Buttigieg, tariffs are "de facto domestic taxes" that hurt farmers, workers, and consumers. He points out that American's are paying more than \$500-\$1,000 per year because of the Trump Administration tariffs.

He says that tariffs "should be employed only with a clear strategy and endgame, and in coordination with our allies."

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**5. Trade Agreements.** Because most internationally traded goods are manufactured goods, trade policies and trade agreements have a significant impact on U.S. manufacturing. What is your plan to develop new and/or modify existing trade agreements to support U.S. manufacturing?

Buttigieg wants an "honest discussion" about trade, including Washington's "broken promises" that trade deals would only be beneficial and not result in a loss of jobs.

His bottom-line: "whether an agreement would create and protect good jobs in America, including manufacturing jobs."

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**6. Energy/Climate Change.** There is scientific consensus that man-made emissions of greenhouse gases (GHGs), primarily due to combustion of fossil energy, is adversely impacting the global climate. According to the U.S. EPA, U.S. industry—including energy-intensive manufacturing—is responsible for approximately 22% of the nation's greenhouse gas emissions. What is your position on climate change and U.S. policies to address climate change and/or the combustion of fossil energy?

Buttigieg wants the U.S. to rejoin the Paris Climate Accord. He supports the Green New Deal that includes major investments to create "a 100% clean energy society." He supports a carbon tax-and-dividend policy. He favors a ban on fracking.

Buttigieg's clean energy plan would quadruple federal clean energy R&D and invest \$550 billion in technology deployment to ensure "these technologies are built here at home". Such investments will "ensure U.S. manufacturers are leading the way." His plans include investment in adaptation and resilience across all parts of the U.S.

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**7. Regulation.** The U.S. manufacturing sector is a heavily regulated sector of the economy. Do you favor reducing the regulatory burden on manufacturing? If elected, are there specific regulations or regulatory programs you would revise and, if so, to what end?

Buttigieg believes a big problem is “regulatory capture.” Society has become more unequal. Powerful businesses get their way in Washington. Current examples include the tech sector, but it’s a bigger problem in the agriculture sector. Regulatory capture threatens democracy and capitalism.

He favors a “sensible and transparent” regulatory strategy. He has criticized the Trump Administration’s reforms, which have been undertaken “haphazardly and without adequate input from affected communities.” According to Buttigieg, “stripping away basic health and safety standards” has not strengthened the manufacturing sector.

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**8. Taxes.** Approximately ¾ of all U.S. manufacturing firms are pass-through entities (i.e., pass-through business income is taxed on the business owners’ tax returns through the individual income tax code), and all manufacturers are subject to taxes on capital investment. What is your position on federal taxes imposed on U.S. manufacturers? If elected, would you amend federal taxes and, if so, to what end?

Buttigieg promises to “not raise taxes on small manufacturers.” Tax increases will be focused on “top-earning individuals.”

Buttigieg opposes the 2017 tax reform law because it cut taxes for the wealthy and will increase the budget deficit. He sees a need to raise taxes to erase the budget deficit from that law and raise revenue for needed investments in infrastructure, education, and health. He would consider a higher, marginal income tax rate on those earning the most, in addition to a wealth tax. He has said the only reason to raise taxes on the middle class is if the revenue can be invested in ways that benefit the middle class.

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**9. Other Issues.**

Buttigieg would allow rural residents to embrace immigration.

Buttigieg would provide \$200 million in federal support for state and local government’s regional economic strategies.

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# JULIAN CASTRO

Julian Castro (D) is the former mayor of San Antonio, Texas and former Secretary of Housing and Urban Development.



## 1. U.S. Competitiveness in Manufacturing.

The U.S. manufacturing sector is important to the nation's economy, but its economic profile declined in significance from 2000-2010, when manufacturing employment dropped by one-third and China overtook the U.S. as the world's leading manufacturing nation. Do you have a plan to improve U.S. competitiveness in manufacturing?

Castro has not announced a plan on manufacturing per se. He has advanced an education plan that includes developing a skilled workforce.

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## 2. Labor/Workforce.

U.S. manufacturers employ nearly 13 million workers. Workforce issues include the so-called "skills gap" (i.e., manufacturers are having difficulty acquiring skilled labor). What policies/programs do you support to address workforce issues in manufacturing?

Castro recognizes the shortage of skilled workers in the economy and would transform high school to greatly expand vocational education opportunities. He seeks greater partnerships between employees and schools to address labor market needs. He would provide federal tax credits to support hiring and on-the-job educational opportunities. He would promote competency-based pathways to industry-recognized credentials. Every high school graduate would have the opportunity to earn one year of college credit at no additional cost before graduation.

To address the student loan debt crisis, Castro has a specific plan that includes tuition-free college including community college, trade, and vocational schools.

He favors raising the federal minimum wage to \$15/hour. He supports paid family and medical leave.

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## 3. China.

U.S. manufacturers complain that China's policies and practices relating to technology and intellectual property have created an uneven playing field that benefits Chinese manufacturers at the expense of manufacturers from other countries. How would you engage with China to change their policies and practices with respect to technology and intellectual property? Which policies and practices would you seek to change, and to what end?

Castro believes China is the biggest geopolitical threat to the United States. Castro supports the goal of taking on China, but he wants to change the approach being used by the Trump Administration, which emphasizes tariffs, which he believes is hurting American families. Castro says he would negotiate with China to "ratchet down" the trade war. And he wants the U.S. to be a leader on issues of human rights.

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**4. Tariffs.** The Trump Administration has imposed additional tariffs on many kinds of imports for reasons ranging from national security to fair trade. The increase in tariffs—including retaliatory tariffs from other countries—has created winners and losers among U.S. manufacturers. What is your position on the imposition of tariffs on imported manufactured goods? How would you change or alter existing tariffs, and to what end?

Missing.

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**5. Trade Agreements.** Because most internationally traded goods are manufactured goods, trade policies and trade agreements have a significant impact on U.S. manufacturing. What is your plan to develop new and/or modify existing trade agreements to support U.S. manufacturing?

Castro has been generally pro-trade. He supported NAFTA. More recently, he seeks changes USMCA, and has said “we ought to only strike trade agreements that are good for American workers and American companies.”

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**6. Energy/Climate Change.** There is scientific consensus that man-made emissions of greenhouse gases (GHGs), primarily due to combustion of fossil energy, is adversely impacting the global climate. According to the U.S. EPA, U.S. industry—including energy-intensive manufacturing—is responsible for approximately 22% of the nation’s greenhouse gas emissions. What is your position on climate change and U.S. policies to address climate change and/or the combustion of fossil energy?

Castro supports the Green New Deal. He would return the U.S. to the Paris Agreement. He has advocated an end to government subsidies to “Big Oil.” He sees climate change as an issue that impacts the most people who have contributed the least toward it. He wants the EPA to proactively protect low-income communities and communities of color from pollution. He wants to allow for refugees fleeing climate-related disasters.

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**7. Regulation.** The U.S. manufacturing sector is a heavily regulated sector of the economy. Do you favor reducing the regulatory burden on manufacturing? If elected, are there specific regulations or regulatory programs you would revise and, if so, to what end?

Castro has voiced his opposition to deregulation of the financial sector. He has voiced support for “smart regulation, strong regulation.”

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**8. Taxes.** Approximately ¾ of all U.S. manufacturing firms are pass-through entities (i.e., pass-through business income is taxed on the business owners’ tax returns through the individual income tax code), and all manufacturers are subject to taxes on capital investment. What is your position on federal taxes imposed on U.S. manufacturers? If elected, would you amend federal taxes and, if so, to what end?

Castro opposes the 2017 tax reform law.

He believes work and wealth should be taxed at the same rate. He favors an “inherited wealth” tax and he would raise the tax on capital gains to equate with the marginal tax rate for the wealthy.

He would use the revenue from these taxes to benefit working families: A universal child care credit for families of “modest” means, universal pre-K education and universal child care. To promote gender pay equity, he would include paid family and medical leave. Castro believes such policies will reduce child poverty by two-thirds. He would expand the earned income tax credit (EITC).

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Umair Irfan. 2019. "A guide to how 2020 Democrats plan to fight climate change." *Vox*, September 12.

# TULSI GABBARD

Tulsi Gabbard (D-HI) is a Member of the U.S. House of Representatives.



## 1. U.S. Competitiveness in Manufacturing.

The U.S. manufacturing sector is important to the nation's economy, but its economic profile declined in significance from 2000-2010, when manufacturing employment dropped by one-third and China overtook the U.S. as the world's leading manufacturing nation. Do you have a plan to improve U.S. competitiveness in manufacturing?

Gabbard has not announced a plan to grow U.S. manufacturing or manufacturing jobs. She has not communicated a position on federal programs designed to make U.S. manufacturing more competitive: Manufacturing USA or the Manufacturing Extension Partnership (MEP). She has called for major investments in infrastructure, which would be financed by ending spending on wars and overseas military conflicts.

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## 2. Labor/Workforce.

U.S. manufacturers employ nearly 13 million workers. Workforce issues include the so-called "skills gap" (i.e., manufacturers are having difficulty acquiring skilled labor). What policies/programs do you support to address workforce issues in manufacturing?

Gabbard supports a Bernie Sanders proposal to eliminate tuition and fees at four-year public colleges and universities for families that make up to \$125,000 a year, and make community college tuition-free for everyone. She has said, "Whether it's vocational training or a college degree, education should not be cost-prohibitive for anyone." She has sponsored legislation to allow veterans to use their GI Bill benefits for apprenticeship programs in the skilled trades.

Gabbard is pro-union: She has consistently received high scores for her voting record in Congress on issues important to organized labor.

She supports raising the minimum wage to \$15/hour, and mandatory paid family and medical leave.

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## 3. China.

U.S. manufacturers complain that China's policies and practices relating to technology and intellectual property have created an uneven playing field that benefits Chinese manufacturers at the expense of manufacturers from other countries. How would you engage with China to change their policies and practices with respect to technology and intellectual property? Which policies and practices would you seek to change, and to what end?

Gabbard acknowledges differences with China on technology transfer and intellectual property. However, she believes the trade war with China is hurting U.S. business and manufacturers because it is creating uncertainty. She also sees increasing economic tensions as increasing the possibility of a "hot" war. She seeks a "win-win global strategy based on cooperation, not confrontation."

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**4. Tariffs.** The Trump Administration has imposed additional tariffs on many kinds of imports for reasons ranging from national security to fair trade. The increase in tariffs—including retaliatory tariffs from other countries—has created winners and losers among U.S. manufacturers. What is your position on the imposition of tariffs on imported manufactured goods? How would you change or alter existing tariffs, and to what end?

Gabbard has criticized President Trump’s trade policy, which she has said is having “devastating impacts” on working Americans and creating uncertainty for business. She seeks a “win-win global strategy based on cooperation, not confrontation.” She would, if elected, “probably not” continue with the Trump tariffs on Chinese goods.

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**5. Trade Agreements.** Because most internationally traded goods are manufactured goods, trade policies and trade agreements have a significant impact on U.S. manufacturing. What is your plan to develop new and/or modify existing trade agreements to support U.S. manufacturing?

Gabbard is generally critical of past trade agreements, which she sees as mainly benefiting multinational corporations. She has criticized NAFTA for hurting ordinary Americans. She was opposed to the U.S. joining the Trans-Pacific Partnership (TPP). She supports USMCA.

Her position has been characterized as “generally anti-trade” by the Peterson Institute for International Economics. VoteSmart.org has labeled her as generally against lowering barriers to trade.

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**6. Energy/Climate Change.** There is scientific consensus that man-made emissions of greenhouse gases (GHGs), primarily due to combustion of fossil energy, is adversely impacting the global climate. According to the U.S. EPA, U.S. industry—including energy-intensive manufacturing—is responsible for approximately 22% of the nation’s greenhouse gas emissions. What is your position on climate change and U.S. policies to address climate change and/or the combustion of fossil energy?

Gabbard favors ending subsidies to the fossil fuel industry and nuclear power industry, banning fracking and offshore drilling. She would close down existing nuclear power plants. She says the U.S. needs to invest in 100% renewable and safe energy sources like wind, solar, and geothermal. She supports the Green New Deal. She supports the Paris Agreement and criticized U.S. withdrawal from it.

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**7. Regulation.** The U.S. manufacturing sector is a heavily regulated sector of the economy. Do you favor reducing the regulatory burden on manufacturing? If elected, are there specific regulations or regulatory programs you would revise and, if so, to what end?

As a Member of Congress, Gabbard has voted against Republican-sponsored legislation to reform federal regulation.

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**8. Taxes.** Approximately ¾ of all U.S. manufacturing firms are pass-through entities (i.e., pass-through business income is taxed on the business owners’ tax returns through the individual income tax code), and all manufacturers are subject to taxes on capital investment. What is your position on federal taxes imposed on U.S. manufacturers? If elected, would you amend federal taxes and, if so, to what end?

As a Member of Congress, Gabbard voted against the 2017 tax reform law. She described it as a “failure” that resulted in “tax giveaways to corporations” while adding to the national debt and not benefiting working Americans or small business.

She favors eliminating tax incentives for offshoring. She favors eliminating corporate tax breaks.



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# KAMALA HARRIS

Kamala Harris (D-CA) is a U.S. senator.



## 1. U.S. Competitiveness in Manufacturing.

The U.S. manufacturing sector is important to the nation's economy, but its economic profile declined in significance from 2000-2010, when manufacturing employment dropped by one-third and China overtook the U.S. as the world's leading manufacturing nation. Do you have a plan to improve U.S. competitiveness in manufacturing?

Harris has sponsored the 21<sup>st</sup> Century Skills Act, which would give workers up to \$8,000 for training plus expenses. She supports the Green New Deal to address climate change, which involves government subsidies for U.S. manufacturers to make and export green products while creating good-paying jobs.

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## 2. Labor/Workforce.

U.S. manufacturers employ nearly 13 million workers. Workforce issues include the so-called "skills gap" (i.e., manufacturers are having difficulty acquiring skilled labor). What policies/programs do you support to address workforce issues in manufacturing?

Harris says "we have to supply and equip the American worker with the skills they need to thrive." She has sponsored the 21<sup>st</sup> Century Skills Act, which would give workers up to \$8,000 for workforce training plus expenses.

She aims to make community college free and a four-year public college debt-free.

She believes Americans are struggling to get by "because leaders in Washington are not working in the interests of working people." To raise wages, she aims "to empower unions, make a \$15 minimum wage the national floor, and create stricter penalties for companies that cheat their workers."

She seeks to address pay inequality (between men and women) by requiring companies to show they are not engaged in pay discrimination. Companies would be fined 1% of their profits for every 1% wage gap they allow to persist for work of equal value. Revenues from fines would go toward providing for paid family and medical leave, which she believes should be universal.

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## 3. China.

U.S. manufacturers complain that China's policies and practices relating to technology and intellectual property have created an uneven playing field that benefits Chinese manufacturers at the expense of manufacturers from other countries. How would you engage with China to change their policies and practices with respect to technology and intellectual property? Which policies and practices would you seek to change, and to what end?

Harris has criticized President Trump's go-it-alone approach to foreign policy, which she believes "has undermined the partnerships and institutions we've spent decades building in every corner of the world." She has said that America must fight alongside its allies when confronting China's unfair trade practices.

As senator, she has been critical of the impact of President Trump's tariffs on U.S. consumers, and she has been supportive of a tougher stance against China's theft of intellectual property.

She wants to "hold China accountable" but argues that the U.S. needs to partner with China on climate and North Korea.

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**4. Tariffs.** The Trump Administration has imposed additional tariffs on many kinds of imports for reasons ranging from national security to fair trade. The increase in tariffs—including retaliatory tariffs from other countries—has created winners and losers among U.S. manufacturers. What is your position on the imposition of tariffs on imported manufactured goods? How would you change or alter existing tariffs, and to what end?

Harris said that Trump “is erratic” on trade policy and this has hurt U.S. farmers and U.S. consumers. She says she is “not a protectionist democrat,” and that the U.S. needs trade.

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**5. Trade Agreements.** Because most internationally traded goods are manufactured goods, trade policies and trade agreements have a significant impact on U.S. manufacturing. What is your plan to develop new and/or modify existing trade agreements to support U.S. manufacturing?

Harris believes that past trade agreements have hurt the middle class and working people. She would not have voted for NAFTA because it didn’t do enough to protect American workers. She does not support USMCA. She opposed TPP and has not indicated whether the U.S. should join Comprehensive and Progressive Trans-Pacific Partnership (CPTPP). She seeks policies that “better protect American workers and American industry.” She claims she is not a “protectionist Democrat.”

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**6. Energy/Climate Change.** There is scientific consensus that man-made emissions of greenhouse gases (GHGs), primarily due to combustion of fossil energy, is adversely impacting the global climate. According to the U.S. EPA, U.S. industry—including energy-intensive manufacturing—is responsible for approximately 22% of the nation’s greenhouse gas emissions. What is your position on climate change and U.S. policies to address climate change and/or the combustion of fossil energy?

Harris believes the climate crisis represents an existential threat to the United States. If elected, she promises to have the U.S. “immediately re-enter the Paris Agreement and make climate cooperation a key diplomatic priority for the United States.” She supports a Green New Deal to “build a clean economy that creates good-paying jobs for the future” by modernizing our transportation, energy, water infrastructure; accelerating the spread of electric vehicles, solar panels, and wind turbines; and otherwise making investments in a carbon-free future.” She wants to take on fossil fuel companies—“we’ve done it in California.” She has said she endorses carbon pricing.

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**7. Regulation.** The U.S. manufacturing sector is a heavily regulated sector of the economy. Do you favor reducing the regulatory burden on manufacturing? If elected, are there specific regulations or regulatory programs you would revise and, if so, to what end?

Harris has criticized President Trump for “the gutting of life-saving environmental protections, and the erosion of rules to protect workers, veterans, and young people from predatory corporations.”

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**8. Taxes.** Approximately ¾ of all U.S. manufacturing firms are pass-through entities (i.e., pass-through business income is taxed on the business owners’ tax returns through the individual income tax code), and all manufacturers are subject to taxes on capital investment. What is your position on federal taxes imposed on U.S. manufacturers? If elected, would you amend federal taxes and, if so, to what end?

Harris says her “first priority” as president will be to give working and middle class families an overdue income boost. She would reverse the 2017 tax reform law, which she sees as a “trillion-dollar tax cut for big corporations and the top 1%,” and she would use that money to give a tax credit of up to \$6,000 to working families each year.

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# AMY KLOBUCHAR

Amy Klobuchar (D-MN) is a U.S. senator.



## 1. U.S. Competitiveness in Manufacturing.

The U.S. manufacturing sector is important to the nation's economy, but its economic profile declined in significance from 2000-2010, when manufacturing employment dropped by one-third and China overtook the U.S. as the world's leading manufacturing nation. Do you have a plan to improve U.S. competitiveness in manufacturing?

Amy Klobuchar has not issued a plan on manufacturing per se. She has proposed a one trillion-dollar infrastructure program, leveraged with \$650 billion in federal funding. Federal projects would maintain Davis-Bacon wage standards and all materials would have to be made in America. She would pay for this program with a series of corporate tax reforms, including raising the corporate tax rate to 25% and closing loopholes “that encourage companies to move jobs overseas.”

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## 2. Labor/Workforce.

U.S. manufacturers employ nearly 13 million workers. Workforce issues include the so-called “skills gap” (i.e., manufacturers are having difficulty acquiring skilled labor). What policies/programs do you support to address workforce issues in manufacturing?

Klobuchar wants to create more incentives for employers to provide workforce training. She supports “empowering workers with the tools they need to succeed in the evolving digital economy and preparing them for the jobs of tomorrow.”

She plans to expand apprenticeship opportunities with a goal of doubling the number of apprenticeships to one million by the end of her first term.

Klobuchar favors pro-union policies (free and fair union elections, protecting collective bargaining rights, eliminating RTW laws, and making it easier for workers to join unions). She has said, “When unions do well, other workers do well that aren’t even in unions.”

Klobuchar supports a federal minimum wage of \$15/hour, paid family and medical leave plans. She believes two years of college should be free.

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## 3. China.

U.S. manufacturers complain that China's policies and practices relating to technology and intellectual property have created an uneven playing field that benefits Chinese manufacturers at the expense of manufacturers from other countries. How would you engage with China to change their policies and practices with respect to technology and intellectual property? Which policies and practices would you seek to change, and to what end?

Klobuchar says China is the biggest economic threat facing the U.S. and that the U.S. should challenge China, but she has been critical of President Trump's approach. She has said she would “go back to the negotiating table with our allies,” examine these tariffs—“some of them could stay on and then make sure that we’re using trade enforcement.”

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**4. Tariffs.** The Trump Administration has imposed additional tariffs on many kinds of imports for reasons ranging from national security to fair trade. The increase in tariffs—including retaliatory tariffs from other countries—has created winners and losers among U.S. manufacturers. What is your position on the imposition of tariffs on imported manufactured goods? How would you change or alter existing tariffs, and to what end?

Klobuchar favors use of tariffs in certain situations. On China, she would “go back to the negotiating table with our allies,” examine these tariffs—“some of them could stay on and then make sure that we’re using trade enforcement.”

She has said that “we don’t have a focused tariff on steel” and that we have wrongly imposed tariffs on our allies. She claims “300,000 jobs lost” because of tariffs. She promises not to be “erratic” when it comes to tariffs.

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**5. Trade Agreements.** Because most internationally traded goods are manufactured goods, trade policies and trade agreements have a significant impact on U.S. manufacturing. What is your plan to develop new and/or modify existing trade agreements to support U.S. manufacturing?

Klobuchar seeks changes to USMCA.

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**6. Energy/Climate Change.** There is scientific consensus that man-made emissions of greenhouse gases (GHGs), primarily due to combustion of fossil energy, is adversely impacting the global climate. According to the U.S. EPA, U.S. industry—including energy-intensive manufacturing—is responsible for approximately 22% of the nation’s greenhouse gas emissions. What is your position on climate change and U.S. policies to address climate change and/or the combustion of fossil energy?

Klobuchar believes climate change is a crisis. She supports the Green New Deal, calling it “aspirational.” If elected president, she would have the U.S. rejoin the Paris agreement, bring back Obama regulations (Clean Power Plan) to address greenhouse gas emissions, and support “sweeping” legislation.

Klobuchar is open to nuclear energy.

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**7. Regulation.** The U.S. manufacturing sector is a heavily regulated sector of the economy. Do you favor reducing the regulatory burden on manufacturing? If elected, are there specific regulations or regulatory programs you would revise and, if so, to what end?

Klobuchar opposes Donald Trump’s regulatory budget. She favors a targeted approach to regulatory reform. She opposes Trump efforts to roll back Obama-era regulations to reduce greenhouse gas emissions.

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**8. Taxes.** Approximately ¾ of all U.S. manufacturing firms are pass-through entities (i.e., pass-through business income is taxed on the business owners’ tax returns through the individual income tax code), and all manufacturers are subject to taxes on capital investment. What is your position on federal taxes imposed on U.S. manufacturers? If elected, would you amend federal taxes and, if so, to what end?

Klobuchar thinks the 2017 tax reform law went too far in lowering taxes. She favors raising the corporate tax rate from 21% to 25%, and using the proceeds to pay for her infrastructure plan. She favors expanding the earned income tax credit. And she favors raising the capital gains tax rate.

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# BETO O'ROURKE

Beto O'Rourke (D-TX) is a former member of the U.S. House of Representatives.



## 1. U.S. Competitiveness in Manufacturing.

The U.S. manufacturing sector is important to the nation's economy, but its economic profile declined in significance from 2000-2010, when manufacturing employment dropped by one-third and China overtook the U.S. as the world's leading manufacturing nation. Do you have a plan to improve U.S. competitiveness in manufacturing?

As part of his economic plan, O'Rourke promises major investments in infrastructure and research and development (R&D) (double spending as a percentage of GDP). He would increase federal funding to create manufacturing jobs, including a tripling of funding for the Manufacturing Extension Partnership (MEP) program and sustained funding for the Manufacturing USA program.

He would appoint a Federal Reserve Board Chairman who would prioritize full employment. He also wants to eliminate sexism and racism in the small business lending market.

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## 2. Labor/Workforce.

U.S. manufacturers employ nearly 13 million workers. Workforce issues include the so-called "skills gap" (i.e., manufacturers are having difficulty acquiring skilled labor). What policies/programs do you support to address workforce issues in manufacturing?

As part of his \$5 trillion plan to combat climate change, O'Rourke would create clean energy jobs, including paid training grants for workers to earn skills in the changing economy.

He wants to provide free community college, invest \$90 billion to create 5 million paid apprenticeships "linked to good jobs" over the next decade, triple funding for the DOL Adult Training Program. He would require publicly traded companies that boost executive pay to also boost training for workers making less than \$100,000. He would reform immigration, in part to help fill vacant jobs.

O'Rourke is pro-union (protecting every worker's right to join a union, eliminate state RTW laws, increase enforcement against employers for unjust treatment of workers, ending mandatory arbitration clauses), favors mandatory paid family leave, supports a federal minimum wage of \$15/hour, and calls for an end to pay disparity based on sex or disability. He has proposed a 21<sup>st</sup> Century Labor Contract to ensure all workers will be able to join a union if they want, receive a living wage, and get paid "for what they do and not who they are."

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## 3. China.

U.S. manufacturers complain that China's policies and practices relating to technology and intellectual property have created an uneven playing field that benefits Chinese manufacturers at the expense of manufacturers from other countries. How would you engage with China to change their policies and practices with respect to technology and intellectual property? Which policies and practices would you seek to change, and to what end?

O'Rourke opposes President Trump's tariffs on Chinese goods, which he believes have hurt Americans and not changed China's practices. He would fight against China's policies and practices by reforming/modernizing the World Trade Organization (WTO) (so it can tackle currency manipulation, state-owned enterprises, and enforce strong labor and environmental standards) and lead a global coalition to stop China's "anti-competitive" behavior.

To counter China, O'Rourke would de-list Chinese companies from U.S. stock exchanges, limiting Chinese company access to the U.S. financial system, screening and potentially limiting Chinese investment in strategic sectors of the U.S. economy, work with allies to bring targeted countervailing duties cases against China, and aggressively counter



currency manipulation (better detection, focus on countries with large trade surpluses with the U.S., react with countervailing currency intervention in extreme cases).

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**4. Tariffs.** The Trump Administration has imposed additional tariffs on many kinds of imports for reasons ranging from national security to fair trade. The increase in tariffs—including retaliatory tariffs from other countries—has created winners and losers among U.S. manufacturers. What is your position on the imposition of tariffs on imported manufactured goods? How would you change or alter existing tariffs, and to what end?

O’Rourke supports “targeted” tariffs as a tool that may sometimes be necessary. Tariffs should not be used to “drive anti-immigrant agendas” or cause “further pain” to American businesses and workers. He opposes President Trump’s tariffs on China, and would revoke them if elected (provided that China revokes its retaliatory tariffs on American products). He has labeled steel tariffs “a huge mistake”.

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**5. Trade Agreements.** Because most internationally traded goods are manufactured goods, trade policies and trade agreements have a significant impact on U.S. manufacturing. What is your plan to develop new and/or modify existing trade agreements to support U.S. manufacturing?

O’Rourke’s four-part trade plan includes (1) “ending Trump’s trade war,” (2) defending America’s interests against competitors like China (through modernizing the WTO for the 21<sup>st</sup> century), (3) only pursuing trade agreements that meet minimum standards (including strong labor and environmental standards, creation of an independent enforcement commission, adequate enforcement capacity in developing countries, and strict rules of origin), and (4) enhance competitiveness of U.S. workers and small business (greater investment in infrastructure, ending tax incentives for foreign investment, immigration reform).

He opposes NAFTA given its negative impact on American communities. He would seek changes to USMCA. He has criticized TPP for weak rules of origin.

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**6. Energy/Climate Change.** There is scientific consensus that man-made emissions of greenhouse gases (GHGs), primarily due to combustion of fossil energy, is adversely impacting the global climate. According to the U.S. EPA, U.S. industry—including energy-intensive manufacturing—is responsible for approximately 22% of the nation’s greenhouse gas emissions. What is your position on climate change and U.S. policies to address climate change and/or the combustion of fossil energy?

O’Rourke believes climate change is the greatest threat facing America. As part of his plan to combat climate change, O’Rourke would create clean energy jobs, including paid training grants for workers to earn skills in the changing economy. His four-part plan includes (1) taking executive actions (including re-entering the Paris accord), (2) investing \$5 trillion over ten years in infrastructure and investment (through a \$1.5 trillion in federal resources funded by cutting tax breaks for the rich and ending fossil fuel subsidies), (3) guaranteeing a net zero emissions by 2050 (and halfway there by 2030) consistent with the Green New Deal by imposing a legally enforceable price on carbon (and require publicly traded companies to report climate risks), and (4) increasing resilience of communities (by greatly expanding pre-disaster mitigation grants, reforming the law to ensure re-building minimizes vulnerabilities, and boosting investment in climate resilience). He favors cap-and-trade over a carbon tax.

As a Congressman, O’Rourke has sided with the fossil fuel interests: he voted to end the U.S. prohibition on oil exports and for a bill to speed approval of exports of natural gas. He would increase environmental regulations on the fossil fuel industry to justify existing subsidies.

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**7. Regulation.** The U.S. manufacturing sector is a heavily regulated sector of the economy. Do you favor reducing the regulatory burden on manufacturing? If elected, are there specific regulations or regulatory programs you would revise and, if so, to what end?

As a Congressman, O'Rourke voted to support banking deregulation. He has said he prefers regulating "Big Tech" as opposed to breaking them up. He favors regulation to ensure protection for "small business from anticompetitive behavior."

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**8. Taxes.** Approximately ¾ of all U.S. manufacturing firms are pass-through entities (i.e., pass-through business income is taxed on the business owners' tax returns through the individual income tax code), and all manufacturers are subject to taxes on capital investment. What is your position on federal taxes imposed on U.S. manufacturers? If elected, would you amend federal taxes and, if so, to what end?

As a congressman, O'Rourke voted against the 2017 tax reform law. He opposed the cost of the new law.

As a presidential candidate, O'Rourke has said he would roll back the "worst elements" of the Trump tax cuts, and set the top marginal income tax rate back at 39% and the corporate rate up to 28% (it is currently 21%). He would raise taxes on capital gains and dividends. He wants to use the revenue to invest in infrastructure, education, health care. He has proposed a tax on families that do not have family members in the armed forces to fund veterans' initiatives. He would raise the social security tax cap.

O'Rourke promises to impose a 0.1% financial transaction tax and use the revenue to support "educational equity" programs and ending speculation of high-frequency traders.

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# BERNIE SANDERS

Bernie Sanders (D-VT) is a U.S. senator.



## 1. U.S. Competitiveness in Manufacturing.

The U.S. manufacturing sector is important to the nation's economy, but its economic profile declined in significance from 2000-2010, when manufacturing employment dropped by one-third and China overtook the U.S. as the world's leading manufacturing nation. Do you have a plan to improve U.S. competitiveness in manufacturing?

According to Sanders, “we lost millions of manufacturing jobs because of bad trade deals and the rise of China. We should re-write our trade deals.” He calls for a Green New Deal “to transform our energy system away from fossil fuels and into energy efficiency and sustainable energy and, in the process, create millions of good paying jobs.”

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## 2. Labor/Workforce.

U.S. manufacturers employ nearly 13 million workers. Workforce issues include the so-called “skills gap” (i.e., manufacturers are having difficulty acquiring skilled labor). What policies/programs do you support to address workforce issues in manufacturing?

Sanders wants to enact a federal jobs guarantee, to ensure everyone is guaranteed a stable job. “A full employment economy,” he says, “is not a radical idea.”

Sanders favors raising the federal minimum wage to at least \$15 per hour; making sure men and women are paid the same wage for the same job through the Paycheck Fairness Act; guaranteeing all workers paid family and medical leave, paid sick leave and paid vacation; and making it easier for workers to join unions through the Workplace Democracy Act. He wants to remove Right-to-Work laws.

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## 3. China.

U.S. manufacturers complain that China's policies and practices relating to technology and intellectual property have created an uneven playing field that benefits Chinese manufacturers at the expense of manufacturers from other countries. How would you engage with China to change their policies and practices with respect to technology and intellectual property? Which policies and practices would you seek to change, and to what end?

Sanders points out that since the U.S. gave China favored trade status (which he voted against), America has lost over 4 million manufacturing jobs due to outsourcing. “It's wrong to pretend that China isn't one of our major economic competitors,” he said. Sanders wants to rewrite U.S. trade policies. He calls for an end to outsourcing. He believes China should be labeled a currency manipulator. If elected president, Sanders won't appoint a U.S. Trade Representative who worked on Wall Street. Sanders says President Trump is taking on China in the wrong way.

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## 4. Tariffs.

The Trump Administration has imposed additional tariffs on many kinds of imports for reasons ranging from national security to fair trade. The increase in tariffs—including retaliatory tariffs from other countries—has created winners and losers among U.S. manufacturers. What is your position on the imposition of tariffs on imported manufactured goods? How would you change or alter existing tariffs, and to what end?

Sanders supports imposing tariffs on countries like China, Russia, South Korea and Vietnam to prevent them from illegally dumping steel and aluminum into the U.S. and throughout the world. He believes Donald Trump's plan to impose tariffs on Canada and the European Union is “an absolute disaster” that will cause unnecessary economic pain to farmers, manufacturers and consumers.

According to Sanders, “If Trump were serious about protecting good-paying American jobs he would sign an executive order today to prevent large companies that outsource jobs to low-wage countries from receiving

lucrative federal contracts and corporate welfare.” Instead of imposing piecemeal tariffs on our trading partners, Sanders would comprehensively and fundamentally re-write all of our “failed unfettered trade policies to stop the race to the bottom” and lift living standards in the U.S. and throughout the world.

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**5. Trade Agreements.** Because most internationally traded goods are manufactured goods, trade policies and trade agreements have a significant impact on U.S. manufacturing. What is your plan to develop new and/or modify existing trade agreements to support U.S. manufacturing?

Sanders claims that “the average American” is not making more than a few decades ago because of “our disastrous trade policy.” Sanders led opposition to NAFTA, which he claims has cost U.S. jobs due to outsourcing. He wants a trade policy “that represents workers and farmers.” He wants to punish companies that outsource by prohibiting them from obtaining a federal contract.

Sanders favors a trade policy that benefits American workers and creates living-wage jobs, and opposes “unfair trade agreements written by multinational corporations.” According to him, a new trade policy would eliminate incentives for outsourcing jobs; expand Buy American and other government policies to increase U.S. jobs; include strong labor, environmental, and human rights standards written into the core text of all trade agreements; include enforceable rules against currency cheating; support communities of color; and eliminate trade deals that increase the cost of medicines.

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**6. Energy/Climate Change.** There is scientific consensus that man-made emissions of greenhouse gases (GHGs), primarily due to combustion of fossil energy, is adversely impacting the global climate. According to the U.S. EPA, U.S. industry—including energy-intensive manufacturing—is responsible for approximately 22% of the nation’s greenhouse gas emissions. What is your position on climate change and U.S. policies to address climate change and/or the combustion of fossil energy?

Sanders believes climate change is not a hoax and is an existential threat. Sanders intends to transform our energy system away from fossil fuels and into energy efficiency and sustainable energy and, in the process, create millions of good paying jobs through a Green New Deal. Under his plan, we would invest in infrastructure to protect the most vulnerable communities; reduce carbon pollution from our transportation system by building high-speed passenger rail, electric vehicles, and public transit; ban fracking and new fossil fuel infrastructure; ban fossil fuel leases on public lands; and end exports of coal, natural gas, and crude oil. He also wants criminal prosecution of greenhouse gas emitters like ExxonMobil. He would end fossil fuel subsidies.

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**7. Regulation.** The U.S. manufacturing sector is a heavily regulated sector of the economy. Do you favor reducing the regulatory burden on manufacturing? If elected, are there specific regulations or regulatory programs you would revise and, if so, to what end?

Sanders is pro-regulation. He supports greater regulation of financial markets and the banking industry. He believes the enormous concentration of ownership in the financial sector is hurting the middle class and limiting choices and raising prices for consumers and small business.

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**8. Taxes.** Approximately ¾ of all U.S. manufacturing firms are pass-through entities (i.e., pass-through business income is taxed on the business owners' tax returns through the individual income tax code), and all manufacturers are subject to taxes on capital investment. What is your position on federal taxes imposed on U.S. manufacturers? If elected, would you amend federal taxes and, if so, to what end?

Sanders wants to eliminate offshore tax scams through the corporate Tax Dodging Prevention Act, scrap the income cap on social security payroll taxes, end special tax breaks for capital gains and dividends for the top 1%, substantially increase the top marginal tax rate on income above \$10 million, and close tax loopholes that benefit wealthy large corporations.

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# TOM STEYER

Tom Steyer (D-CA) is a former financial advisor, hedge fund manager, and political activist.



## 1. U.S. Competitiveness in Manufacturing.

The U.S. manufacturing sector is important to the nation's economy, but its economic profile declined in significance from 2000-2010, when manufacturing employment dropped by one-third and China overtook the U.S. as the world's leading manufacturing nation. Do you have a plan to improve U.S. competitiveness in manufacturing?

Steyer, who calls himself “a progressive and capitalist,” does not have a competitiveness plan specific for the manufacturing sector. His domestic agenda is based on three pillars: “breaking the corporate stranglehold, investing in people, and harnessing innovation and promoting competition.” More specifically, Steyer calls for rebuilding the nation's infrastructure, increasing resources for public schools and workforce training (including apprenticeships and vocational education), negotiating new trade agreements with strategic partners and emerging nations, and addressing climate change by “incubating . . . green industry sectors.”

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## 2. Labor/Workforce.

U.S. manufacturers employ nearly 13 million workers. Workforce issues include the so-called “skills gap” (i.e., manufacturers are having difficulty acquiring skilled labor). What policies/programs do you support to address workforce issues in manufacturing?

Steyer supports a federal minimum wage of \$15/hour. He seeks to expand the earned income tax credit (EITC). He characterizes himself as pro-union and supports policies that would better enable labor unions to organize workers.

He calls for “major” investments in worker training and apprenticeship programs to produce “a highly trained, skilled, and educated workforce and meet the technological needs of our changing economy.” He is concerned about the impact of automation on jobs.

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## 3. China.

U.S. manufacturers complain that China's policies and practices relating to technology and intellectual property have created an uneven playing field that benefits Chinese manufacturers at the expense of manufacturers from other countries. How would you engage with China to change their policies and practices with respect to technology and intellectual property? Which policies and practices would you seek to change, and to what end?

Steyer recognizes China as an economic competitor, but says that the United States must cultivate a relationship with Beijing. He has criticized the “Trump trade war” with China as “an abject failure” and, if elected, he would “walk away from it on his first day” as President. Acknowledging that China “doesn't obey the rules” and “steals” intellectual property, Steyer would work with allies through existing institutions, “like the WTO.”

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## 4. Tariffs.

The Trump Administration has imposed additional tariffs on many kinds of imports for reasons ranging from national security to fair trade. The increase in tariffs—including retaliatory tariffs from other countries—has created winners and losers among U.S. manufacturers. What is your position on the imposition of tariffs on imported manufactured goods? How would you change or alter existing tariffs, and to what end?

Steyer has criticized Donald Trump's fondness for tariffs as harming American workers. He would “rollback” the Trump tariffs on “Day 1.”

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**5. Trade Agreements.** Because most internationally traded goods are manufactured goods, trade policies and trade agreements have a significant impact on U.S. manufacturing. What is your plan to develop new and/or modify existing trade agreements to support U.S. manufacturing?

Steyer says he would negotiate trade agreements “with everyone at the table, including labor and environmental groups.” He supports USMCA.

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**6. Energy/Climate Change.** There is scientific consensus that man-made emissions of greenhouse gases (GHGs), primarily due to combustion of fossil energy, is adversely impacting the global climate. According to the U.S. EPA, U.S. industry—including energy-intensive manufacturing—is responsible for approximately 22% of the nation’s greenhouse gas emissions. What is your position on climate change and U.S. policies to address climate change and/or the combustion of fossil energy?

Climate change is the central feature of the Steyer campaign. If elected, he would declare the climate crisis a national emergency on day one and push for sweeping legislation to address it. His extensive plan to address climate change includes moving to 100% renewable sources of electricity by 2040; ending fossil fuel mining, drilling, and fracking on public lands and offshore oil drilling; ending federal permitting of fossil fuel infrastructure; and “winding down” fossil fuel production nationwide.

He would end EPA waivers given to oil companies to avoid the ethanol mandate.

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**7. Regulation.** The U.S. manufacturing sector is a heavily regulated sector of the economy. Do you favor reducing the regulatory burden on manufacturing? If elected, are there specific regulations or regulatory programs you would revise and, if so, to what end?

Steyer has been critical of the Trump Administration’s efforts to rescind or repeal environmental regulation issued under the Obama Administration.

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**8. Taxes.** Approximately ¾ of all U.S. manufacturing firms are pass-through entities (i.e., pass-through business income is taxed on the business owners’ tax returns through the individual income tax code), and all manufacturers are subject to taxes on capital investment. What is your position on federal taxes imposed on U.S. manufacturers? If elected, would you amend federal taxes and, if so, to what end?

Steyer has criticized as “shortsighted” the 2017 tax reform law, with its tax cuts that “overwhelmingly benefit large corporations and the rich.” He favors repeal. He supports a “wealth tax” on the “top 0.1%” of American families, which he estimates will raise “\$1.7 trillion over ten years” and be used “to fix healthcare, create new jobs in a clean energy economy, and fund education.” It will also “pay for a tax cut for American families making less than \$250,000 and individuals making less than \$200,000.”

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# JOE WALSH

Joe Walsh (R-IL) is a former Republican Congressman from Illinois and talk show host.



## 1. U.S. Competitiveness in Manufacturing.

The U.S. manufacturing sector is important to the nation's economy, but its economic profile declined in significance from 2000-2010, when manufacturing employment dropped by one-third and China overtook the U.S. as the world's leading manufacturing nation. Do you have a plan to improve U.S. competitiveness in manufacturing?

Walsh has not released or voiced a specific plan for manufacturing competitiveness. He views himself a conservative and espouses policies that promote free trade and limited government involvement in the economy.

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## 2. Labor/Workforce.

U.S. manufacturers employ nearly 13 million workers. Workforce issues include the so-called "skills gap" (i.e., manufacturers are having difficulty acquiring skilled labor). What policies/programs do you support to address workforce issues in manufacturing?

Walsh believes that U.S. manufacturing is doing more with less, primarily through automation. He believes automation (including AI) will both destroy and create jobs. Government can help with resources in training workers to address "this major transformation" of the economy.

Walsh favors policies that provide opportunity. He supports "a responsible system of social safety nets that are shielded from abuse and fraud by responsible controls." According to his campaign website, "economic mobility" is a key part of the American dream, and he thinks the federal government should allow states to lead on education and education reform.

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## 3. China.

U.S. manufacturers complain that China's policies and practices relating to technology and intellectual property have created an uneven playing field that benefits Chinese manufacturers at the expense of manufacturers from other countries. How would you engage with China to change their policies and practices with respect to technology and intellectual property? Which policies and practices would you seek to change, and to what end?

Walsh believes that "China cheats," and that the U.S. should stand up to China. However, he has been critical of the Trump approach that has led to a trade war, and he argues instead for "bringing the world" together to deal with China. "I believe in free trade. Everybody loses in a trade war," Walsh has said. If elected, he would end the US tariffs on Chinese goods "on Day One."

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## 4. Tariffs.

The Trump Administration has imposed additional tariffs on many kinds of imports for reasons ranging from national security to fair trade. The increase in tariffs—including retaliatory tariffs from other countries—has created winners and losers among U.S. manufacturers. What is your position on the imposition of tariffs on imported manufactured goods? How would you change or alter existing tariffs, and to what end?

According to his campaign website, Walsh believes that tariffs "punish American industries, builders, consumers, and families." "We've seen American factories continue to close under Trump, and basic materials and goods are getting more expensive. Now is not the time to be slamming the brakes on the American economy."

Walsh wrote, "Mr. Trump's tariffs are a tax increase on middle-class Americans and are devastating to our farmers. That's not a smart electoral strategy."



Walsh said he would, if elected, undo the Trump tariffs on “hundreds of billions of dollars’ worth of Chinese goods, which have fueled fears of a global recession and led American businesses to pull back on hiring.”

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**5. Trade Agreements.** Because most internationally traded goods are manufactured goods, trade policies and trade agreements have a significant impact on U.S. manufacturing. What is your plan to develop new and/or modify existing trade agreements to support U.S. manufacturing?

We have not found statements from the Joe Walsh campaign or candidate Walsh on trade agreements such as USMCA or TPP. However, throughout his congressional career, he supported free trade agreements that lower tariffs.

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**6. Energy/Climate Change.** There is scientific consensus that man-made emissions of greenhouse gases (GHGs), primarily due to combustion of fossil energy, is adversely impacting the global climate. According to the U.S. EPA, U.S. industry—including energy-intensive manufacturing—is responsible for approximately 22% of the nation’s greenhouse gas emissions. What is your position on climate change and U.S. policies to address climate change and/or the combustion of fossil energy?

Walsh believes humans have played a role in climate change and that the Republican Party needs to acknowledge that a warming planet is a problem. He wants the Republican Party to “wake up” to this “existential” issue. He supports a price on carbon. If elected, he would assemble experts to develop a plan to leverage American innovation and entrepreneurship to “attack this issue.” He thinks we need to transition away from fossil fuels, but it will take time.

If elected, Walsh would not rejoin the Paris Climate Accord.

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**7. Regulation.** The U.S. manufacturing sector is a heavily regulated sector of the economy. Do you favor reducing the regulatory burden on manufacturing? If elected, are there specific regulations or regulatory programs you would revise and, if so, to what end?

We have not found specific statements from the Walsh campaign or candidate Walsh on regulation or regulatory reform.

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**8. Taxes.** Approximately ¾ of all U.S. manufacturing firms are pass-through entities (i.e., pass-through business income is taxed on the business owners’ tax returns through the individual income tax code), and all manufacturers are subject to taxes on capital investment. What is your position on federal taxes imposed on U.S. manufacturers? If elected, would you amend federal taxes and, if so, to what end?

The Walsh campaign website does not include a statement outlining the candidate’s position on taxes. When asked about the 2017 tax reform law, Walsh said, “That was a horrible tax cut...I believe in cutting taxes. That was a bad tax cut. I would have given the middle class a payroll tax cut.”

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**9. Other Issues.** Please feel free to describe other policies or government actions supported by your campaign that would impact the competitiveness of U.S. manufacturing.

Walsh has made clear he is running because he opposes Donald Trump. “I’m running against Trump because he’s morally unfit. Period. It’s about Trump. It’s not about the issues.”

Walsh has been critical of the rising national debt. He emphasizes that the debt has increased under President Trump, which he sees as “unsustainable.” He seeks an “honest discussion” about how the U.S. will pay off its debt.

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# ELIZABETH WARREN

Elizabeth Warren (D-MA) is a U.S. senator.



## 1. U.S. Competitiveness in Manufacturing.

The U.S. manufacturing sector is important to the nation's economy, but its economic profile declined in significance from 2000-2010, when manufacturing employment dropped by one-third and China overtook the U.S. as the world's leading manufacturing nation. Do you have a plan to improve U.S. competitiveness in manufacturing?

Elizabeth Warren aims to pursue an agenda of “economic patriotism” to create quality American jobs and promote American industry. She would start by creating a new Department of Economic Development, which would replace the Commerce Department, subsume other agencies, and be tasked with creating a national jobs strategy. She wants to more actively manage U.S. currency (i.e., weaken the dollar) to promote exports and domestic manufacturing. She would leverage federal research and development (R&D) investment to ensure that production arising from federally funded research takes place in the USA. And she would restructure worker training programs to emphasize apprenticeship programs (and increase federal support by a factor of 10).

Under Warren's Green Manufacturing Plan, the federal government would invest \$2 trillion over ten years in (1) clean energy R&D (\$400 billion), (2) federal procurement of American-made clean-energy products (\$1.5 trillion), and (3) export promotion for American-made clean energy technology (\$100 billion). According to Warren, this plan would create a million new jobs and reverse manufacturing job losses of the past two decades.

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**2. Labor/Workforce.** U.S. manufacturers employ nearly 13 million workers. Workforce issues include the so-called “skills gap” (i.e., manufacturers are having difficulty acquiring skilled labor). What policies/programs do you support to address workforce issues in manufacturing?

Warren is up-front about her goal to rebuild the middle class, and “put power back in the hands of workers and unions.” For example, she wants to transform large American companies by letting their workers elect at least 40% of the company's Board members to give them a voice over wages and outsourcing. Under her Green Manufacturing Plan (her version of the Green New Deal), all federal contractors must pay all employees at least \$15 per hour, guarantee employees 12 weeks of paid family and medical leave, maintain fair scheduling practices, and ensure employees may exercise collective bargaining rights. She wants to restructure worker training programs to emphasize apprenticeship programs (and increase federal support by a factor of 10).

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**3. China.** U.S. manufacturers complain that China's policies and practices relating to technology and intellectual property have created an uneven playing field that benefits Chinese manufacturers at the expense of manufacturers from other countries. How would you engage with China to change their policies and practices with respect to technology and intellectual property? Which policies and practices would you seek to change, and to what end?

According to Warren, we've let China “get away with the suppression of pay and labor rights, poor environmental protections, and years of currency manipulation. All to add some zeroes to the bottom line of big corporations with no loyalty or allegiance to America.”

In Asia, Warren wants to encourage our allies to enhance their multilateral cooperation and build alternatives to China's coercive diplomacy. She thinks the U.S. should respond to China's efforts to force companies to hand over sensitive technology to gain access to the Chinese market and penalize theft of U.S. intellectual property.

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**4. Tariffs.** The Trump Administration has imposed additional tariffs on many kinds of imports for reasons ranging from national security to fair trade. The increase in tariffs—including retaliatory tariffs from other countries—has created winners and losers among U.S. manufacturers. What is your position on the imposition of tariffs on imported manufactured goods? How would you change or alter existing tariffs, and to what end?

Warren has said, “Tariffs are an important tool but they are not long-term solutions to our failed trade agenda and must be part of broader strategy that the Trump Administration lacks.” She promises to remove U.S. duties (tariffs) if the workers within the protected industries are not benefitting.

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**5. Trade Agreements.** Because most internationally traded goods are manufactured goods, trade policies and trade agreements have a significant impact on U.S. manufacturing. What is your plan to develop new and/or modify existing trade agreements to support U.S. manufacturing?

Warren believes that U.S. trade policies have crushed the middle class. She opposes USMCA unless changes are made to better protect working families. In contrast to President Trump, she would not push another country to extend exclusivity periods for prescription drugs as part of a trade agreement.

Warren says that U.S. trade policy has been broken for decades because it rewards giant corporations. She wants to transform how the U.S. negotiates trade agreements (e.g., greater transparency and public input), alter the approval process (e.g., require a regional analysis of impacts, ensure input from congressional committees and advisory bodies), and set preconditions on the content (e.g., protect Buy American programs, include strong country-of-origin requirements to promote domestic manufacturing, oppose Investor-State Dispute Settlements). Warren would create automatic triggers to initiate investigations into unfair trade practices by other countries. She promises to remove U.S. duties (tariffs) if the workers within the protected industries are not benefitting.

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**6. Energy/Climate Change.** There is scientific consensus that man-made emissions of greenhouse gases (GHGs), primarily due to combustion of fossil energy, is adversely impacting the global climate. According to the U.S. EPA, U.S. industry—including energy-intensive manufacturing—is responsible for approximately 22% of the nation’s greenhouse gas emissions. What is your position on climate change and U.S. policies to address climate change and/or the combustion of fossil energy?

Warren believes climate change is an existential threat, and government must take bold action to combat it. Her Green Manufacturing Plan will direct \$2 trillion to manufacturing clean energy technology. Warren would return the U.S. to the Paris Agreement and restore the Obama-era Clean Power Plan. She will stop drilling and promote renewable energy on public lands. She would set a goal of providing 10% of electricity generation from renewable sources. She would require publicly traded companies to disclose climate-related risk in their required financial reports.

Warren says that in all future trade agreements, we must end all fossil energy subsidies and include a plan to reduce GHG emissions consistent with the Paris Agreement. She wants to reform WTO rules to allow for subsidies for green products and sustainable energy production. She favors a border carbon adjustment on imports of carbon-intensive products from countries with lower emission standards.

Warren argues that the U.S. could reduce 70% of GHG emissions through regulation.

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**7. Regulation.** The U.S. manufacturing sector is a heavily regulated sector of the economy. Do you favor reducing the regulatory burden on manufacturing? If elected, are there specific regulations or regulatory programs you would revise and, if so, to what end?

According to Warren, “President Trump and his team have embarked on an aggressive effort to kill the rules that protect the American people from corporate predators.” She believes Republicans used control of Congress to promote a “de-regulatory agenda that puts profits over safety, security, and opportunity for everyone else.” She favors strong government rules, and does “not accept a government that works only for a privileged few.”

She has said, “I don’t think every regulation is good. Sometimes regulators get it wrong. Sometimes old rules need updating. Sometimes rules should be eliminated outright.”

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**8. Taxes.** Approximately ¾ of all U.S. manufacturing firms are pass-through entities (i.e., pass-through business income is taxed on the business owners’ tax returns through the individual income tax code), and all manufacturers are subject to taxes on capital investment. What is your position on federal taxes imposed on U.S. manufacturers? If elected, would you amend federal taxes and, if so, to what end?

According to Warren, the Republican tax bill slashed the corporate tax rate and handed hundreds of billions of dollars more to corporations. Warren proposes the Real Corporate Profits Tax, which would apply only to the largest companies (those reporting more than \$100 million in annual profits). For every dollar above \$100 million, the corporation must pay a 7% tax, which is in addition to whatever its tax liability might be under corporate tax rules. This will raise more than \$1 trillion in revenue over ten years.

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# BILL WELD

Bill Weld (R) is a former governor of Massachusetts.



## 1. U.S. Competitiveness in Manufacturing.

The U.S. manufacturing sector is important to the nation's economy, but its economic profile declined in significance from 2000-2010, when manufacturing employment dropped by one-third and China overtook the U.S. as the world's leading manufacturing nation. Do you have a plan to improve U.S. competitiveness in manufacturing?

Weld has not voiced a plan to improve U.S. manufacturing competitiveness. His economic plan rests largely on free trade and a balanced budget.

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## 2. Labor/Workforce.

U.S. manufacturers employ nearly 13 million workers. Workforce issues include the so-called "skills gap" (i.e., manufacturers are having difficulty acquiring skilled labor). What policies/programs do you support to address workforce issues in manufacturing?

Weld would make two years of community college free for people who lose their job because of AI an automation that is coming. He wants to issue more work visas, not less.

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## 3. China.

U.S. manufacturers complain that China's policies and practices relating to technology and intellectual property have created an uneven playing field that benefits Chinese manufacturers at the expense of manufacturers from other countries. How would you engage with China to change their policies and practices with respect to technology and intellectual property? Which policies and practices would you seek to change, and to what end?

Weld has been critical of tariffs and Trump's embrace of tariffs.

Weld has been critical of China's stealing of intellectual property from U.S. companies. He says we must convince China that IP theft will decrease foreign investment in China's economy.

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## 4. Tariffs.

The Trump Administration has imposed additional tariffs on many kinds of imports for reasons ranging from national security to fair trade. The increase in tariffs—including retaliatory tariffs from other countries—has created winners and losers among U.S. manufacturers. What is your position on the imposition of tariffs on imported manufactured goods? How would you change or alter existing tariffs, and to what end?

Weld opposes tariffs and has criticized Donald Trump for being a fan of tariffs.

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**5. Trade Agreements.** Because most internationally traded goods are manufactured goods, trade policies and trade agreements have a significant impact on U.S. manufacturing. What is your plan to develop new and/or modify existing trade agreements to support U.S. manufacturing?

Weld believes in free trade. He supported NAFTA, which President Trump re-negotiated as the USMCA, and points out that the new deal is nearly identical to the old one.

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**6. Energy/Climate Change.** There is scientific consensus that man-made emissions of greenhouse gases (GHGs), primarily due to combustion of fossil energy, is adversely impacting the global climate. According to the U.S. EPA, U.S. industry—including energy-intensive manufacturing—is responsible for approximately 22% of the nation’s greenhouse gas emissions. What is your position on climate change and U.S. policies to address climate change and/or the combustion of fossil energy?

Weld believes climate change is a serious threat that requires global action. He would have the U.S. rejoin the Paris Agreement. He doesn’t support a carbon tax, but does support tradeable emission credits. He supports incentives to maximize renewable energy sources. He supports nuclear power and has said this is his major disagreement with the Green New Deal.

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**7. Regulation.** The U.S. manufacturing sector is a heavily regulated sector of the economy. Do you favor reducing the regulatory burden on manufacturing? If elected, are there specific regulations or regulatory programs you would revise and, if so, to what end?

We have not found public statements from Bill Weld regarding his overall stance on regulation or deregulation in the context of his presidential campaign.

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**8. Taxes.** Approximately ¾ of all U.S. manufacturing firms are pass-through entities (i.e., pass-through business income is taxed on the business owners’ tax returns through the individual income tax code), and all manufacturers are subject to taxes on capital investment. What is your position on federal taxes imposed on U.S. manufacturers? If elected, would you amend federal taxes and, if so, to what end?

Weld supported the 2017 tax reform law, which cut taxes. He says the law probably cut taxes too much for the rich and did not do enough for the bottom 25%. He supports its provisions on accelerated depreciation, which “has a direct impact on job creation”. He also favored repatriation of foreign profits.

As to tax reform, he wants to do more for the working poor. Expand the EITC.

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# ANDREW YANG

Andrew Yang (D) is an entrepreneur from New York, N.Y.



## 1. U.S. Competitiveness in Manufacturing.

The U.S. manufacturing sector is important to the nation's economy, but its economic profile declined in significance from 2000-2010, when manufacturing employment dropped by one-third and China overtook the U.S. as the world's leading manufacturing nation. Do you have a plan to improve U.S. competitiveness in manufacturing?

Andrew Yang has not announced a plan to improve the competitiveness of manufacturing. He believes automation is responsible for the loss of 4 million manufacturing jobs in the first decade of this century. He says Donald Trump became president in large part because he promised to bring these jobs back. But, according to Yang, “these jobs are not coming back—the U.S. cannot revive manufacturing.” Yang sees this threat and recommends a redistribution of the wealth created by automation in the form of a “freedom dividend”—a universal basic income of \$1,000 per month to every U.S. citizen over the age of 18. He also supports a major infrastructure investment for the U.S.

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## 2. Labor/Workforce.

U.S. manufacturers employ nearly 13 million workers. Workforce issues include the so-called “skills gap” (i.e., manufacturers are having difficulty acquiring skilled labor). What policies/programs do you support to address workforce issues in manufacturing?

According to Yang, college has been over-prescribed. He admits that there are “tens of millions of jobs that will be with us for decades that do not require a college degree, including machinists, high-end manufacturing, etc.”

He wants to remove all stigma from vocational education and dramatically increase its availability. He seeks to expand offerings of classes considered vocational—including in IT and computer science. He wants to create tax incentives for businesses that invest in local community colleges and provide co-working opportunities. He also believes that apprenticeships should be a part of the future of education for millions of Americans—“to give them a runway to a fulfilling livelihood.”

He believes the federal government should subsidize moving costs for Americans relocating for work. He suggests state licensure boards should increase the mobility of individual licenses.

He is not a fan of retraining programs. He thinks federal retraining programs have been shown to be relatively ineffective. He believes his “freedom dividend” will allow people to invest in themselves.

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## 3. China.

U.S. manufacturers complain that China's policies and practices relating to technology and intellectual property have created an uneven playing field that benefits Chinese manufacturers at the expense of manufacturers from other countries. How would you engage with China to change their policies and practices with respect to technology and intellectual property? Which policies and practices would you seek to change, and to what end?

Yang believes China's intellectual property theft is a serious problem. He argues that we should make it a priority to reset our relationship with China to address this issue and others. He said a trade war is the wrong way to go. He believes there are other ways to address the imbalances we have with China. However, he “would not repeal the tariffs on China on Day 1.”



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**4. Tariffs.** The Trump Administration has imposed additional tariffs on many kinds of imports for reasons ranging from national security to fair trade. The increase in tariffs—including retaliatory tariffs from other countries—has created winners and losers among U.S. manufacturers. What is your position on the imposition of tariffs on imported manufactured goods? How would you change or alter existing tariffs, and to what end?

Yang believes tariffs have adverse impacts on consumers (including businesses and farmers). He thinks there are other ways to address the U.S. trade imbalance. If tariffs must be imposed, “they should be announced at least three years in advance to give businesses time to adjust.” Regarding the tariffs imposed on China during the Trump Administration, Yang said he “would not repeal them on Day 1.”

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**5. Trade Agreements.** Because most internationally traded goods are manufactured goods, trade policies and trade agreements have a significant impact on U.S. manufacturing. What is your plan to develop new and/or modify existing trade agreements to support U.S. manufacturing?

We have found no announced position from Andrew Yang on NAFTA, the WTO, or other trade agreements.

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**6. Energy/Climate Change.** There is scientific consensus that man-made emissions of greenhouse gases (GHGs), primarily due to combustion of fossil energy, is adversely impacting the global climate. According to the U.S. EPA, U.S. industry—including energy-intensive manufacturing—is responsible for approximately 22% of the nation’s greenhouse gas emissions. What is your position on climate change and U.S. policies to address climate change and/or the combustion of fossil energy?

Yang favors a technology-centered approach to climate change that includes nuclear power and research into geoengineering. He would invest heavily in adaptation to help people cope with the impacts of climate change.

Yang favors a carbon fee and dividend, similar to the one proposed by the conservative Climate Leadership Council. According to Yang, such a policy would “allow businesses to find market-based solutions to their carbon emissions while benefitting American citizens and providing funding for alternative fuel research and upgrades to our current energy systems. It could also be used to subsidize fuel costs for low-income Americans.” He favors a border adjustment to address “carbon leakage”—offshoring production to avoid U.S. climate policy. He also supports the Green New Deal.

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**7. Regulation.** The U.S. manufacturing sector is a heavily regulated sector of the economy. Do you favor reducing the regulatory burden on manufacturing? If elected, are there specific regulations or regulatory programs you would revise and, if so, to what end?

Yang has voiced support for a regulatory sunset clause. He has said, “We should only pass laws that have defined metrics for success, and there should be a sunset period defined—a time during which, barring Congressional action, the law would be removed from the books.”

Yang is concerned about regulatory capture. He has said, “We should rein in corporate excesses by appointing regulators who are paid a high salary—commensurate with senior jobs in the private sector—and prohibited from going to private industry afterward.”

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**8. Taxes.** Approximately ¾ of all U.S. manufacturing firms are pass-through entities (i.e., pass-through business income is taxed on the business owners' tax returns through the individual income tax code), and all manufacturers are subject to taxes on capital investment. What is your position on federal taxes imposed on U.S. manufacturers? If elected, would you amend federal taxes and, if so, to what end?

Yang supports a value-added tax (VAT) equal to half the European level—10%. He would use the proceeds to pay for a universal basic income. According to Yang, “The VAT will capture the value of automation in a way that income taxes do not.” He favors a 0.1% tax on the sale of stocks, bonds, and derivatives. He wants to eliminate state/local tax breaks to lure firms/corporations to a specific geographical location within the United States. And he wants to allow Americans to direct 1% of their tax bill to a specific project.

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**9. Other Issues.**

Yang wants more immigration to “build human capital.” He would raise the number of people who can enter the country every year.

**Sources**

ABC News and Univision, Democratic Debate, Houston, Texas, September 12.

Andrew Yang campaign website, accessed August 23, 2019: <https://www.yang2020.com/>

Gary Clyde Hufbauer and Euijin Jung, “Where Do Democratic Presidential Candidates Stand on Trade?” Peterson Institute for International economics, blog post, March 25: <https://www.piie.com/blogs/trade-investment-policy-watch/where-do-democratic-presidential-candidates-stand-trade>

*Politico*. 2019. Presidential Candidates on the Issues, accessed August 24: <https://www.politico.com/2020-election/candidates-views-on-the-issues/andrew-yang/>

## Appendix B: Letter and Questionnaire

Dear Campaign Manager:

On behalf of the Manufacturing Policy Initiative (MPI) at Indiana University, I respectfully request information from the campaign, through the enclosed questionnaire, on policies that would impact the competitiveness of U.S. manufacturing.

MPI serves as a source of objective, state-of-the-art information for policy makers and manufacturers and offers analysis and recommendations on public policy issues affecting U.S. manufacturing. We are gathering information on your policies to enable the public to learn and compare the positions of the major presidential candidates on issues important to U.S. manufacturing.

We plan to publish this information online in October 2019 and periodically update it until the November 2020 election.

To ensure our research includes information from your campaign, **please complete the enclosed questionnaire and return it, by noon, September 15, 2019**, in the self-addressed envelope. Any questions can be directed to me at keith.belton@iu.edu, phone 812-855-6122.

Please note that this request has also been sent electronically through your campaign's website.

Thank you for your attention to our request. And please feel free to contact me if you have any questions.

Sincerely,

Keith B. Belton  
Director, Manufacturing Policy Initiative

# Questionnaire

- 1. U.S. Competitiveness in Manufacturing.** The U.S. manufacturing sector is important to the nation's economy, but its economic profile declined in significance from 2000-2010, when manufacturing employment dropped by one-third and China overtook the U.S. as the world's leading manufacturing nation. Do you have a plan to improve U.S. competitiveness in manufacturing?
- 2. Labor/Workforce.** U.S. manufacturers employ nearly 13 million workers. Workforce issues include the so-called "skills gap/training gap" (i.e., manufacturers are having difficulty acquiring skilled labor). Which policies/programs do you support to address workforce issues in manufacturing?
- 3. China.** U.S. manufacturers complain that China's policies and practices relating to technology and intellectual property have created an uneven playing field that benefits Chinese manufacturers at the expense of manufacturers from other countries. How would you engage with China to change their policies and practices with respect to technology and intellectual property? Which policies and practices would you seek to change, and how?
- 4. Tariffs.** The Trump Administration has imposed additional tariffs on many kinds of imports for reasons ranging from national security to fair trade. The increase in tariffs—including retaliatory tariffs from other countries—has created winners and losers among U.S. manufacturers. What is your position on the imposition of tariffs on imported manufactured goods? How would you change or alter existing tariffs?
- 5. Trade Agreements.** Because most goods that are traded internationally are manufactured goods, trade policies and trade agreements have a significant impact on U.S. manufacturing. What is your plan to develop new and/or modify existing trade agreements to support U.S. manufacturing?
- 6. Energy/Climate Change.** There is scientific consensus that man-made emissions of greenhouse gases (GHGs), primarily due to combustion of fossil energy, is adversely impacting the global climate. According to the U.S. EPA, U.S. industry—including energy-intensive manufacturing—is responsible for approximately 22% of the nation's greenhouse gas emissions. What is your position on climate change and U.S. policies to address climate change and/or the combustion of fossil energy?
- 7. Regulation.** The U.S. manufacturing sector is a heavily regulated sector of the economy. Do you favor reducing the regulatory burden on manufacturing? If elected, are there specific regulations or regulatory programs you would revise and, if so, how?
- 8. Taxes.** Approximately  $\frac{3}{4}$  of all U.S. manufacturing firms are pass-through entities (i.e., pass-through business income is taxed on the business owners' tax returns through the individual income tax code), and all manufacturers are subject to taxes on capital investment. What is your position on federal taxes imposed on U.S. manufacturers? If elected, would you amend federal taxes and, if so, how?
- 9. Other Issues.** Please feel free to describe other policies or government actions supported by your campaign that would impact the competitiveness of U.S. manufacturing.

## Appendix C: Response from Buttigieg Campaign



### Manufacturing Policy Initiative at Indiana University 2020 Presidential Candidate Questionnaire

1. US Competitiveness in Manufacturing. The US manufacturing sector is important to the nation's economy, but its economic profile declined in significance from 2000-2010, when manufacturing employment dropped by one-third and China overtook the US as the world's leading manufacturing nation. Do you have a plan to improve US competitiveness in manufacturing?

A central component of my approach to improve US manufacturing competitiveness is outlined in my climate change plan, which sets a goal of achieving a net-zero emissions economy by 2050. We need new technologies for advanced wind and solar as well as other clean electricity sources, long-duration and seasonal storage, smart grid systems, advanced vehicle technologies, steel and cement manufacturing that can contain captured carbon, and direct air capture of greenhouse gases. My plan is to quadruple federal clean energy R&D and invest \$550 billion in technology deployment in order to make sure that these technologies are built here at home. These investments will ensure that our manufacturers are leading the way in producing innovative clean energy technologies for domestic and foreign markets.

I will also double funding for small-scale manufacturing partnerships. The Commerce Department's Manufacturing Extension Partnership (MEP) is a public-private partnership that helps train small- and medium-scale manufacturing entrepreneurs. For example, with the support of Indiana's MEP at Purdue University, South Bend's Pathways On Demand Workforce Development Program funded innovative training for seven area manufacturers in lean manufacturing and other competitive business practices. Unlike the current administration — which has repeatedly tried to eliminate MEP funding — I will double this funding to \$3 billion and enable MEPs to train workers in new business practices, from cybersecurity to supply chain management to workforce development.

2. Labor/Workforce. US manufacturers employ nearly 13 million workers. Workforce issues include the so-called "skills gap/training gap" (i.e., manufacturers are having difficulty acquiring skilled labor). Which policies/programs do you support to address workforce issues in manufacturing?

One approach to closing the skills gap is to support apprenticeships in manufacturing, so new workers can both support their families and learn valuable skills in partnership with experienced ones. I will double apprenticeships and expand access to other "earn-and-learn" opportunities (such as traditional and virtual apprenticeships, paid internships, and career and technical education programs for high schoolers). These opportunities directly align workforce needs with hands-on experience and classroom instruction. Our current apprenticeship system enrolls fewer than 600,000 apprentices each year. In my rural economy plan, I outline my vision for investing up to \$5 billion over the next decade to ensure that an apprenticeship program in a growing industry is available within 30 miles of every American.

3. China. US manufacturers complain that China's policies and practices relating to technology and intellectual property have created an uneven playing field that benefits Chinese manufacturers at the expense of manufacturers from other countries. How would you engage with China to change their policies and practices with respect to technology and intellectual property? Which policies and practices would you seek to change, and how?

China has long exploited America's economic openness and used its state-linked firms as a tool of its economic statecraft and authoritarian foreign policy. Unfortunately, the United States has consistently underestimated China's ambition and capacity, while overestimating our ability to change China. America should be banding together with our allies — together we are about 60% of the world economy — to put real pressure on China's unacceptable trading practices, including industrial espionage, theft of intellectual property, and subsidies. At the same time, we must be prepared for a world in which China still does not fundamentally change its economic model. We need a strategy that jettisons wishful thinking and instead promotes and protects our industrial base, and that of our allies as well. That starts with major new investments in our infrastructure, education, and R&D as well as reforms to our immigration, export control, and foreign investment regimes that are coordinated with our allies, preventing China from playing us off one another.

4. Tariffs. The Trump Administration has imposed additional tariffs on many kinds of imports for reasons ranging from national security to fair trade. The increase in tariffs—including retaliatory tariffs from other countries—has created winners and losers among US manufacturers. What is your position on the imposition of tariffs on imported manufactured goods? How would you change or alter existing tariffs?

My goal would be to level the playing field and hold foreign manufacturers to the same high labor and environmental standards to which we are holding American manufacturers. For example, my climate change plan calls for a carbon tax-and-dividend to set an economy-wide price on carbon and put money back in the hands of everyday Americans. For foreign manufacturers, we would use a border adjustment tax, so we can also hold them accountable.

When it comes to China, I would give away nothing to Beijing for free, and would not shy away from a strategy that includes tariffs as leverage. At the same time, tariffs are de facto domestic taxes, imposing real costs on American workers and farmers — estimated to be \$500-\$1,000 per household if the current trade war continues — so they should be employed only with a clear strategy and endgame, and in coordination with our allies. Today, there is no clear strategy, and no acknowledgment of the major costs being imposed on American workers and families.

Beyond China, the administration's threat to impose tariffs on our allies and partners like India, South Korea and Japan, is self-defeating. We should be working together and focusing on our common challenge in China.

If China does not make enduring changes to its unacceptable economic practices — including theft of intellectual property, forced technology transfer, and dumping of excess capacity — we must be prepared to use tariffs. But the current administration’s exclusive focus on tariffs is a mistake. Our first and foremost priority should be major new investments in our national competitiveness. Our long-term strategy must be to focus on offense, not just defense.

5. Trade Agreements. Because most goods that are traded internationally are manufactured goods, trade policies and trade agreements have a significant impact on US manufacturing. What is your plan to develop new and/or modify existing trade agreements to support U.S. manufacturing?

For too long, Washington sold trade deal after trade deal with the promise that a rising tide would lift all boats. It hasn’t — in part because of inadequate investment here at home. It’s understandable that a lot of Americans just don’t trust Washington to negotiate trade deals that would work for them. This is why we need an honest national discussion about trade, including the ways in which Washington broke repeated promises that new trade deals would export only goods and not jobs and then added insult to injury by failing those who lost their jobs or saw their wages stagnate.

I believe that if we make the right investments in our children, our workers, our infrastructure, frontier technologies, and our alliances, America does not need to put up walls around our economy. We can set the rules of the road and ensure that competition in the world’s fastest growing markets happens on our terms, not our competitors’. But the bottom-line metric I will apply to any proposed trade agreements is simple: whether the agreement would create and protect good jobs in America, including manufacturing jobs. My policy on empowering workers in a changing economy emphasizes that economic policies have to be focused on growing incomes for the 90%.

6. Energy/Climate Change. There is scientific consensus that man-made emissions of greenhouse gases (GHGs), primarily due to combustion of fossil energy, is adversely impacting the global climate. According to the US EPA, US industry—including energy-intensive manufacturing—is responsible for approximately 22% of the nation’s greenhouse gas emissions. What is your position on climate change and US policies to address climate change and/or the combustion of fossil energy?

Climate catastrophe is on the horizon, and history will judge us for how we rise to meet this challenge in our time. My goal is to make our society a net-zero emissions one no later than 2050, working aggressively toward immediate targets to be met in the years ahead. We will build a resilient nation that can stand up to the extreme weather and sea level rise that we are already facing and lead the world in bringing our international partners and local leaders together to solve this crisis. Under my climate change plan, we will double the clean electricity generated in the US by 2025 and build a clean electricity system by 2035. We will require all new cars to be zero-emissions by 2035 and require the same for new heavy-duty vehicles, buses, ships, and aircraft by 2040.

To make this happen, we'll quadruple our investments in clean energy R&D and create three innovative funds to deploy clean energy technology in communities across the country. We'll develop new manufacturing process and technologies right here at home to build the products we need for energy efficient-buildings, clean energy, and clean vehicles. We'll provide loan guarantees to factories so they can retool existing automobile assembly lines, and we'll boost domestic manufacturing of innovative materials, batteries, and electric propulsion technologies. In the process, we'll create 3 million high-quality, well-paying clean energy jobs.

7. Regulation. The US manufacturing sector is a heavily regulated sector of the economy. Do you favor reducing the regulatory burden on manufacturing? If elected, are there specific regulations or regulatory programs you would revise and, if so, how?

In order to support small-scale manufacturing, develop new technologies to help solve our climate crisis, and support quality jobs in manufacturing, we need a sensible and transparent regulatory strategy. Under the current administration, regulations have been changed haphazardly and without adequate input from affected communities. This has created an unstable business environment and provided false solutions to our problems. Stripping away basic health and safety standards, for example, has not strengthened the manufacturing sector but has only made it harder for businesses that play by the rules and treat their workers fairly to compete with other employers. In my administration, we will take meaningful steps to grow and strengthen the manufacturing industry.

8. Taxes. Approximately  $\frac{3}{4}$  of all US manufacturing firms are pass-through entities (i.e., pass-through business income is taxed on the business owners' tax returns through the individual income tax code), and all manufacturers are subject to taxes on capital investment. What is your position on federal taxes imposed on US manufacturers? If elected, would you amend federal taxes and, if so, how?

We will not raise taxes on small manufacturers. Our tax increases will be focused on top-earning individuals.

9. Other Issues. Please feel free to describe other policies or government actions supported by your campaign that would impact the competitiveness of US Manufacturing.

The competitiveness of all our businesses, especially our manufacturing, starts with our workers. We have to ensure that our workers can share in the gains of the economy and are able to make full use of their talents and their energy. That means requiring equal pay and promotion for equal work. It also means ensuring that workers have basic protections, including paid family leave and sick leave. If workers lead healthy, stable lives, they'll be more productive at work, which will mean that our businesses have a significant competitive advantage.

We also need to invest in local communities, since each community is uniquely qualified to determine how to spur its own economic development and job growth. My administration will grant \$200 million in federal funds to support state and local governments' regional development strategies and will help these governments research and share best practices on how to support local manufacturers.