

A wooden podium with several microphones and flags in the background. The podium is dark wood and has several microphones of various colors (black, silver, red) on top. Behind the podium are two American flags on poles, set against a blue background. The text is overlaid on the top half of the image.

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. Three 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/

Table of Contents

About the Manufacturing Policy Initiative	Inside Front Cover
Introduction	3
Methodology	5
Joe Biden	7
Cory Booker	10
Pete Buttigieg	13
Julian Castro	16
Kamela Harris	19
Amy Klobuchar	22
Beto O'Rourke	25
Bernie Sanders	28
Donald Trump	31
Elizabeth Warren	33
Bill Weld	36
Andrew Yang	38
Abbreviated Summary	41
Appendix A: Letter and Questionnaire	42-43
Appendix B: Response from Buttigieg Campaign	44

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. 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 list, as of September 1, 2019, includes ten Democrats (specifically, those who qualified for the September 12, 2019 debate) and two 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. We requested that each campaign respond by September 15, 2019. Requests were sent by regular mail and also by email. The letter and questionnaire can be found in Appendix A.

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 candidate were compiled and edited to ensure consistency in formatting and tone. Any information received from a campaign by the September 15, 2019 deadline 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.

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.

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.

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.

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.

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.

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 supported NAFTA as a senator and TPP as vice president. He opposes USMCA in its current form because it is a “gift to pharmaceutical companies” and its labor and environmental provisions “must be further strengthened.” 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.”

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 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.

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.

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, 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.

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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.

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.

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.

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.

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.

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.

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.

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).

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.

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."

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 Americans 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."

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."

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.

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.

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.

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.

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.

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.

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.

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.”

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.

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.”

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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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 21st 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.

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 21st 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.

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.

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.

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.”

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.

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.”

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.”

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.

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.”

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.

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.

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.

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.

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.

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 21st 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."

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).

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”.

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 21st 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.

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.

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."

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.”

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.

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.

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.

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.

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.

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.

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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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.

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.

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.

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.

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, 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), which awaits congressional approval. The Trump Administration has brought cases to the WTO, while at the same time seeking reforms to the WTO.

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.

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.

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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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.

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).

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.

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.

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.

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.

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.”

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.

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.

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.

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.

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.

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.

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.

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.

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.

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."

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.”

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.

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.

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.”

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.

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.

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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, Harris, Klobuchar, O'Rourke, Sanders, Warren

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

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

Climate/Energy

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

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

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

Ban fracking: Buttigieg, Sanders

Deregulation

Has a plan for deregulation: Trump, Yang

2017 Tax Reform Law

Opposes: Booker, Castro, Harris, Sanders, Warren

Supports: Trump, Weld

Seeks targeted changes: Biden, Buttigieg, Klobuchar, O'Rourke, Weld

Trade

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

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

Tariffs

Pro-tariffs: Sanders, Trump

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

China

Has specific plan to take on China: Biden, O'Rourke, Sanders, Trump

Appendix A: 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 B: 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.

