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2024 Elections – Key Policy Positions and Scenario Analysis

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Tax and Economic Policy

Tax and Economy – Presidential Positions



Kamala Harris

- As vice president and as a presidential candidate in 2024, Harris has mostly advocated for the same tax policy priorities as President Biden, including touting the energy-tax provisions in the Inflation Reduction Act (IRA, <u>Pub. L. 117-169</u>) and committing to protect tax and audit rates for individuals and businesses earning less than \$400,000 per year.
- In line with President Biden's FY 2025 Budget request, Harris proposed raising the corporate tax rate from 21% to 28% and raising the capital gains tax rate. As part of her presidential campaign in 2019, she had proposed raising the corporate tax rate to 35%.
- As a senator, Harris' most notable tax policy proposal was her introduction of the LIFT the Middle Class Act (LIFT Act), which would have established a refundable tax credit of up to \$3,000 for single tax filers and \$6,000 for joint filers with low or moderate incomes.
- Harris also introduced the Rent Relief Act of 2019, which would have created a tax credit for low- to moderate-income rent-burdened Americans.
- During her 2020 presidential campaign, Harris highlighted several concepts such as restoring the marginal income tax rate for the top 1% of earners to 39.6% and implementing an "income-based premium tax" of 4% on households making more than \$100,000 to pay for her version of "Medicare for All."

Donald Trump

- One of Trump's biggest priorities will be cementing his legacy through extending or making permanent the tax rate reductions in the Tax Cuts and Jobs Act of 2017 (TCJA, <u>Pub. L. 115-97</u>), including individual, business and estate tax rates.
- Trump has also proposed taking many TCJA provisions further, such as reducing the TCJA-enacted corporate tax rate of 21% to 20%.
- Trump has proposed numerous additional tax policy proposals on the campaign trail, including to eliminate federal taxation of tip income as well as eliminating the taxation of Social Security benefits.
- Trump has also expressed interest in greater taxation of university endowments.
- To offset the cost of ending the TCJA's tax provisions, Trump has suggested imposing a 10% baseline tariff on all imports, with a 60% tariff on imports from China.

Tax and Economy – Scenario Analysis

Harris-led Divided Government	Democratic Trifecta	Trump-led Divided Government	Republican Trifecta
 A compromise tax bill in Congress to address the TCJA expiring provisions would likely include extensions of the child tax credit (including with a lookback provision) and bipartisan business tax provisions, including research and development credits. It is unclear whether these provisions would also be applied retroactively. 	 Democrats will seek to promote tax fairness through tax rate increases on wealthy taxpayers, including through novel proposals like the taxation of unrealized gains Increased audits on high- income taxpayers and corporations. Expiration of multiple TCJA provisions, mainly provisions benefiting businesses. This would entail corporate increases and modifications to deductions like Sec. 199A. Inclusion of several elements of the American Rescue Plan Act (Pub. L. <u>117-2</u>) in a tax bill. 	 A compromise tax bill in Congress to address the TCJA expiring provisions would likely include extensions of the child tax credit and bipartisan business tax provisions, including research and development credits. It is unclear whether these provisions would be applied retroactively. Mild embrace of tariffs as a pay-for to extend the TCJA, and potentially letting some TCJA provisions expire to reduce the cost of an extension. 	 Full-throated extension of TCJA tax provisions, protecting or further reducing tax rates across the board for individuals and businesses. Larger embrace of tariffs as a pay-for to extend the TCJA, possibly adapting Trump's policy imposing a 10% tariff on imports. Coordinated efforts to make permanent or extend the Section 199A deduction for passthrough businesses. Repealing some IRA energy-tax credits. Scaling back IRS enforcement.
	nt will likely extend TCJA ddle class, including those that olds earning under \$400,000	 Multiple camps are forming v provisions and offsets to be i and there is no guaranteed p led government. Protection of tax rates for mi 	ncluded in a tax bill in 2025, ath forward with a Republican-

Tax and Economy – VP Positions

TBD	JD Vance 🐧
We will follow up after the Democratic vice-presidential candidate is selected.	 Once a critic of Trump, particularly during Trump's presidential campaign in 2016, Vance has become one of Trump's fiercest allies and can be expected to broadly adopt Trump's tax policy positions. Vance has been particularly active on proposals concerning the taxation of university endowments, especially in the Senate. He has introduced or cosponsored bills like the College Endowment Accountability Act (<u>5. 3514</u>), which would increase the excise tax from 1.4% to 35% on private university endowments with assets of at least \$10 billion. Vance also has populist tax views that may counter conventional Republican views. With regard to corporate taxation, Vance introduced the Stop Subsidizing Giant Mergers Act (<u>S. 4011</u>) with Sen. Sheldon Whitehouse (D-RI), which targets large corporate mergers by treating reorganizations as taxable events if the acquirer and acquired company both have over \$500 million in gross receipts. Vance holds protectionist views concerning clean energy tax credits: he introduced the Drive American Act (<u>S. 2962</u>), which is designed to eliminate over \$100 billion in existing EV subsidies and replace them with the "America First Vehicle Credit," a credit of up to \$7,500 for new gas or diesel-powered vehicles.

Financial Services Policy

Financial Services – Presidential Positions

Kamala Harris	Donald Trump
 In the Senate, Harris introduced the Accountability for Wall Street Executives Act, which would empower state attorneys general and other state law enforcement to issue subpoenas while conducting investigations into national banks' compliance with state law. She also supported legislation to require the Federal Reserve to conduct stress tests on large financial institutions to gauge their resilience to climate-related financial risks. Harris has been supportive of increased Consumer Financial Protection Bureau (CFPB) oversight of various lenders. As vice president, she announced the CFPB's proposal to remove medical debt from credit reports, and her office coordinated with North Carolina officials on a pilot project to forgive medical debt for 2 million individuals. During her 2020 campaign, Harris proposed a financial transactions tax (FTT) that would consist of a 0.2% tax on stock trades, a 0.1% tax on bond trades, and a 0.002% tax on derivative transactions. 	 In previous campaigns, Trump promised to repeal the Dodd-Frank Act and reduce burdensome, anti-growth regulations. During his first term, Trump issued an Executive Order (EO) outlining his "Core Principles for Regulating the United States Financial System." The principles include empowering Americans to make financial decisions and requiring more rigorous regulatory impact analysis of proposed financial regulations. Trump also issued an EO requiring that agencies rescind two federal regulations for every newly created regulation. Trump has assumed a pro-cryptocurrency position on the campaign trail, a reversal from his stance on digital assets as president. He has repeatedly opposed ESG initiatives, vowing to end the Securities and Exchange Commission's (SEC) climate rule and issue an executive order to limit employer offerings of ESG funds in retirement plans.

Financial Services – Scenario Analysis

Harris-led Divided Government	Democratic Trifecta	Trump-led Divided Government	Republican Trifecta
 Democratic control of either committee would center the agenda on consumer protection and access to services, while the Republican-held committee would further pro-innovation and pro- growth policies in addition to championing a digital assets framework. These differences set up further gridlock in any divided government scenario. 	 Potential for SAFER Banking Act passage if the bill can reach 60 votes in the Senate. Increased likelihood of a comprehensive AI package advancing through both chambers. Congress would face increased pressure to extend 36% loan caps under the Military Lending Act to all consumers. 	 Reversal of SEC's regulation by enforcement on crypto and continued legislative push for a digital asset regulatory framework that splits responsibility between the SEC and CFTC. Effort to redefine Unfair and Deceptive Acts and Practices (UDAAP) in a narrower way. CFPB would likely reinstate a regulatory sandbox program. 	 Congress would likely work to place the CFPB under congressional appropriations, require enhanced rulemaking standards and move to a five-member independent commission, among other changes. CRA reversal of numerous Biden administration policies finalized at the end of his term within the CRA lookback window.
 Pending Biden administration rules, like the SEC's long-awaited human capital and board diversity rules and CFPB's controversial medical debt and consumer credit proposals, would eventually be finalized. Rewrites to the controversial Basel III Endgame proposal would continue. The impacts of <i>Loper</i> and the <i>Jarkesy</i> decision will hinder rulemaking and enforcement activity, with <i>Loper</i> forcing agencies to adopt new legal arguments. 		 on deregulation and pro-bus For example, the SEC will shi disclosure regimes and focus access and support innovatio options to reverse formal guilt 	ft away from enhanced on policies to increase market on. The CFPB would consider all

Financial Services – VP Positions

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TBD	JD Vance 🕔
We will follow up after the Democratic vice-presidential candidate is selected.	 Vance teamed up with Sen. Elizabeth Warren (D-MA) to criticize the FDIC's sale of First Republic Bank to JPMorgan Chase, citing banking consolidation concerns. They also partnered on the Failed Bank Executives Clawback Act, which would penalize bank executives when their institutions fail. He cosponsored the Credit Card Competition Act, a controversial bill that has received broad criticism from the financial services industry. He circulated draft legislation that would create a regulatory framework for digital assets. Vance led a letter urging the CFPB and Department of Justice (DOJ) to rescind guidance warning banks against using immigration status as part of a loan application. Vance voiced support for Federal Trade Commission (FTC) Chairwoman Lina Khan's antitrust enforcement efforts. He sponsored a bill that would insure all deposits in accounts used for payroll and related purposes at banks with less than \$225 billion assets, as well as all credit unions.

Housing Policy

Housing – Presidential Positions



Kamala Harris

- While campaigning for president in July, Harris publicly voiced support for President Biden's proposal for a 5% cap on annual rent increases, stating that "we will take on corporate landlords and cap unfair rent increases."
- As California's attorney general, Harris secured an \$18 billion agreement as part of a settlement regarding bank servicing and foreclosure misconduct during the foreclosure crisis.
- Harris drafted and helped pass the California Homeowner Bill of Rights in 2013, which issued numerous reforms in the mortgage process and how foreclosures are handled.
- In the Senate, Harris sponsored the Rent Relief Act in 2018, a bill that would create a refundable tax credit for renters who earn below \$100,000 annually and spend more than 30% of their income on rent and utilities.
- Harris sponsored the Housing is Infrastructure Act, which would provide \$70 billion to address the public housing capital backlog, and other funds to support public housing.

Donald Trump

- The Republican Party's 2024 platform proposed opening portions of federal lands for new home construction, tax incentives to support first-time buyers, and rescinding "unnecessary" regulations.
- Trump wrote an op-ed with former HUD Secretary Ben Carson in 2020, criticizing efforts to eliminate local single-family zoning regulations.
- His administration terminated the Obama-era Affirmatively Furthering Fair Housing regulation.
- His administration also raised the threshold for providing disparate impact liability, rolling back the 2013 Disparate Impact Standard rule.
- Created Opportunity Zones as a way for businesses to invest in underserved neighborhoods through the 2017 Tax Cuts and Jobs Act.
- Trump's Treasury Department released a plan to end the conservatorship of Fannie Mae and Freddie Mac.
- Issued and extended a federal eviction moratorium during the COVID-19 pandemic.

Housing – Scenario Analysis

Harris-led Divided Government	Democratic Trifecta	Trump-led Divided Government	Republican Trifecta
 Housing would be a main focus of a Democratically led House Financial Services Committee or Senate Banking Committee. Sen. Tim Scott (R-SC) would chair a Republican Senate Banking Committee and may also place an emphasis on housing, so there may be some opportunities for bipartisanship on specific issues. 	 Congress would face increased pressure from the administration and consumer groups to act on Harris' and Biden's calls for a 5% cap on annual rent increases. Refundable tax credit for renters could be included in a tax package. Congress would look to advance hundreds of billions of dollars in housing initiatives under the 2022 House-passed Build Back Better bill. 	 If Republicans control either the House Financial Services or Senate Banking committees, the panels will be led by first-time chairs. Rep. Patrick McHenry's (R- NC) successor is unlikely to focus on housing, but housing has been a major issue for Sen. Tim Scott (R- SC) during his time as ranking member. In any divided government scenario, there will be an emphasis on housing in at least one of the two committees of jurisdiction. 	 As indicated below, the administration would rescind numerous Biden-era HUD policies. Congress would also be able to sucesssfully rescind eligible housing rules via the Congressional Review Act (CRA). Congress would significantly reduce HUD funding in the annual appropriations process. HUD would likely move to prohibit noncitizens from living in federally assisted housing.
rental application fees.Most of the Biden-era rulemaking	tenant screening practices and ing efforts will broadly continue. ed rules on mortgage refinancing continue to issue RFIs and later, I Home Loan Banks; and HUD ergy efficiency and awarding	 and secondary mortgage market likelihood of being rescinded. The Biden-era Department of Junion in the multifamily housing mark software would be reversed. The FHFA would likely attempt Freddie Mac and end the gover 	ustice (DOJ)-led price fixing probe ket relating to rent-setting to recapitalize Fannie Mae and mment conservatorship. firmatively Furthering Fair Housing

Housing – VP Positions

TBD	JD Vance 🕔
We will follow up after the Democratic vice-presidential candidate is selected.	 Vance has attributed the national rise in housing price to illegal immigration, mentioning the connection in Senate Banking Committee hearings and on the campaign trail. He introduced legislation that would prevent sanctuar jurisdictions from receiving Community Development Block Grant funds. Vance has frequently criticized institutional single family housing investors for purchasing homes that would otherwise be purchased by first-time homebuyers. He supports broad cuts to HUD's budget, asserting that the spending is inflationary.

Health Care Policy

Health Care – Presidential Positions



Kamala Harris

- Harris has cemented herself as a staunch advocate of abortion rights. She promises to codify abortion-related protections enshrined in *Roe v. Wade* into federal law.
- She has promised to expand and strengthen health care coverage provided by the Affordable Care Act (ACA) and reduce health care costs, pivoting from her previous support of a single-payer health care system.
- Harris supports extending Medicaid coverage in the 10 states that have not yet expanded it under the ACA.
- Harris continues to support efforts to lower the cost of prescription drugs and provisions included in the Inflation Reduction Act (IRA), including Medicare drug price negotiations. When Harris was running for president, she wanted to go further on drug pricing and proposed capping U.S. prices to the lowest ones negotiated by other countries to no more than the OECD average. Harris also previously endorsed "marchin" rights under the Bayh Dole Act.
- When Harris was attorney general of California, she focused heavily on health care consolidation and anticompetitive behavior in pharmaceutical, insurance and hospital industries. She filed an antitrust lawsuit to block a proposed \$54 billion merger of two insurers.
- As vice president, she took the lead on medical debt initiatives and announced rules that ban medical debt from credit reports.

Donald Trump

- Trump said he wants to leave abortion in the hands of the states after the Supreme Court overturned *Roe v. Wade* and declined to endorse a federal abortion ban. Trump has also advocated for exceptions and strongly supports the availability of in vitro fertilization (IVF).
- Trump has softened his "repeal and replace" approach to the ACA, instead highlighting that he is looking at alternatives to make it less expensive. He previously supported establishing Medicaid block grants, Medicaid work requirements and upper payment limits. His administration repealed the individual mandate tax penalty and protected insurance coverage for people with preexisting conditions.
- Trump has been critical of both the pharmaceutical industry and pharmacy benefit managers (PBMs), often rallying against the high cost of prescription drugs. His previous administration finalized regulations that allow states to import lower-cost drugs from Canada and issued regulations requiring hospitals and health insurers to provide consumers list prices for specific drugs and services.
- Trump continues to tout his prior efforts on the Most Favored Nation drug pricing proposal.
- Trump has promised to end surprise medical billing and increase fairness through price transparency, building on his previous administration's efforts.

Health Care – Scenario Analysis

Harris-led Divided Government	Democratic Trifecta	Trump-led Divided Government	Republican Trifecta
 A Harris-led divided government would likely continue focusing on the drivers of high health care costs such as consolidation in health care markets including mergers, acquisitions, horizontal/vertical consolidations and PBMs. A divided government could work to improve maternal health outcomes and provide innovative care for rare disease patients. 	 A Democratic trifecta would likely focus heavily on protecting abortion access and advocating for reproductive rights, such as codifying provisions in <i>Roe v. Wade.</i> It would also likely work to extend enhanced ACA subsidies and expand Medicare and Medicaid coverage. It could further Medicare negotiations for drug prices and implement price caps on drugs. 	 A Trump-led divided government would likely pursue polices to increase PBM transparency, promote competition and expand access to new affordable health care and prescription drug options. It would also support focusing on chronic disease and long-term care, as well as innovation. 	 A Republican trifecta would likely aim to modify provisions in the ACA related to Medicaid, including implementing Medicaid block grants or establishing work requirements. It would likely push more conservative social issues, such as policies to ban taxpayer funding for gender-affirming care or opposing late-term abortion.
 and increase equity within ru FTC and HHS would continue health care, following their c and consolidation within hea CMS will continue to select a prescription drugs prices. 	nd negotiate Medicare ect consumers from misleading	 changes to Medicaid. The agreintroduce the Most Favore HHS would shift away from a more on policies to increase 	rice transparency and making ency would also likely d Nation drug pricing proposal. health equity lens and focus

Health Care – VP Positions

TBD	JD Vance 🕔
We will follow up after the Democratic vice-presidential candidate is selected.	 Vance previously praised Trump for his policy to leave abortion decisions to the states and highlighted that he supports reasonable exceptions. Although Vance has a limited voting record on health care, he has taken conservative stances on several health care-related issues. In the Senate, Vance voted against the Right to IVF Act (S. 4445). He also introduced the Protect Children's Innocence Act (S. 2357), which would make it a crime for doctors to provide gender-affirming care to minors and prohibit taxpayer funding for care broadly. Vance also cosponsored the Promising Pathways Act (S 1906), which would create a new time-limited conditional approval pathway at the FDA. He also voter to advance legislation to regulate PBMs. In 2022, Vance noted that he would support allowing Medicare to negotiate prescription drug prices so seniors are not paying excessive costs for prescription drugs. He also said he supported allowing American companies to import drugs from overseas, highlighting that Europe pays less for drugs, even drugs that were developed in the United States. Vance has expressed frustration over the CDC and previously supported banning the DOT from using federal funds to enforce mask mandates. He founded a charity to help address the opioid crisis.

Immigration Policy

Immigration Policy – Presidential Positions

Kamala Harris

- In March 2021, President Biden tapped Harris to engage Mexico and Northern Triangle countries on identifying and addressing the root causes of illegal migration across the region.
- In February 2024, Harris <u>endorsed</u> the Senate's bipartisan border security package and would revive it if elected.
- During her 2020 presidential campaign, Harris issued a plan to expand the use of deferred action programs and pledged to use executive actions to prevent certain undocumented immigrants from deportations.
- In a May 2024 <u>statement</u>, Harris pledged to protect from deportation those enrolled in the Deferred Action for Childhood Arrivals (DACA) program.
- In January 2024, Harris called for a implementing a "meaningful pathway to citizenship" to address the current border situation.
- In her first Senate floor <u>speech</u>, Harris denounced Trump's migration restrictions, declaring that "an undocumented immigrant is not a criminal."
- In July 2021 <u>remarks</u>, Harris called on Congress to pass legislation to provide a pathway to citizenship for DACA recipients and Dreamers (<u>H.R.16</u>) and to reform the H-2A visa temporary agricultural worker program(<u>H.R.4319</u>).
- In November 2019, Harris said she would support lifting current per-country caps on H-1B visas.
- Harris twice sponsored legislation to expedite the reunification of separated families and promote the humane treatment of asylumseeking immigrants (S.3227 & S.557), to prohibit the use of federal funds for building or expanding migrant detention facilities (S.2849 & S.2221), to improve the safety standards and resettlement processes for unaccompanied children (S.3624 & S.388), and to enhance protections for migrants facing immigration-related legal proceedings (S.2219 & S.349).

Donald Trump

- In an April 2024 <u>interview</u>, Trump said his second term agenda would include deporting 15-20 million migrants from the United States; he also expressed openness in creating funding incentives for state and local law enforcement to assist with the federal government's immigration enforcement.
- In a June 2024 <u>interview</u>, Trump floated a proposal to provide green cards to foreign students who graduate from U.S.-based colleges.
- In May 2023, Trump <u>pledged</u> to pass an Executive Order (EO) banning birthright citizenship on the first day of his second term in office.
- During his first term, Trump pushed for the construction of a wall along the U.S.-Mexico border; he has pledged to "complete" the wall if returned to the White House.
- During his first term, Trump utilized the Title 42 public health order to expel asylum seekers due to public health concerns.
- Under his guidance, DHS instituted the Migrant Protection Protocols (MPP) program in 2018, also known as the "Remain in Mexico" policy.
- Trump moved to rescind the Deferred Action for Childhood Arrivals (DACA) program in 2017.
- Soon after entering office, Trump signed <u>EO 13769</u>, which placed restrictions on admitting refugees from several Middle East and North African nations.

Immigration Policy– Scenario Analysis

Harris-led Divided Government	Democratic Trifecta	Trump-led Divided Government	Republican Trifecta
 Congressional passage of increases to <i>certain</i> employment-based visas. 	 Democrats advance legislation providing a pathway to citizenship for undocumented immigrants. Congressional passage of increases to <i>most</i> employment-based visas. 	 Congressional passage of increases to <i>certain</i> employment-based visas. Institution of asylum and visa restrictions via EO; related legislation will advance only in the Republican-controlled chamber. 	 Republicans pass legislation to designate drug cartels as "unlawful enemy combatants" Institution of asylum and visa restrictions via legislation and EO.
 Minor increases in annual funding for border agencies to manage the current border situation. Passage of legislation to codify the DACA program or a version of the American Dream and Promise Act (<u>H.R.16</u>). Passage of the EAGLE Act (<u>H.R.3648/S.4567</u>) to eliminate the per-country limit for employment-based immigrants. Passage of the H–1B and L–1 Visa Reform Act (<u>S.979</u>) to reduce visa fraud. Harris will utilize executive action to safeguard or expand visa and asylum programs. 		to manage the current borde	reases to <i>certain</i> employment- <u>R.3648/S.4567</u>) to eliminate

Immigration Policy– VP Positions

TBD	JD Vance 🕔
We will follow up after the Democratic vice-presidential candidate is selected.	 Vance has opposed granting amnesty to undocumented immigrants; he has <u>called</u> for deportin all those who entered the country illegally. Vance has expressed support for Trump's border wall, calling for it to be completed. Vance has expressed support for instituting a merit- based immigration system. Vance sponsored the Timely Departure Act (<u>S.2656</u>) that would require foreign nationals to submit cash deposits with DHS that would be refunded upon lawfully completing their stay; he also introduced legislation (<u>S.3516</u>) that would impose a 10% tax on money transfers going abroad to fund domestic border security efforts. Vance sponsored the State Border Security Act (<u>S.3668</u> that would allow state-level law enforcement to construct border fencing—and prohibit the federal government from removing such barriers. Vance sponsored the No Community Development Block Grants for Sanctuary Cities Act (<u>S.3915</u>) that would cut federal funding for state and local communities that do not comply with federal immigration authorities.

Trade Policy

Trade – Presidential Positions

Kamala Harris	Donald Trump
 Harris supported President Biden's actions to limit dependence on Chinese goods, and she said China needs to be held accountable for its anticompetitive behavior, including intellectual property theft. In 2021, Harris met with World Trade Organization (WTO) Director General Ngozi Okonjo-Iweala and said they both "agreed on the importance of using trade to promote equity and economic growth." Harris criticized Trump's trade policies during his presidency, and she was one of 10 senators to oppose the USMCA. During her 2020 campaign, Harris said any trade deal she signed should protect workers and the environment. In a 2019 presidential debate, Harris stated, "I am not a protectionist Democrat," and advocated for maintaining export markets for American goods. Harris has said she would have voted "no" on the North America Fair Trade Agreement (NAFTA). Harris opposed President Obama's proposed Trans-Pacific Partnership (TPP) trade agreement. 	 Trump touts his "America First" trade policy, which is aimed at eliminating the trade deficit and protecting American jobs. Trump proposed a 60% tariff on Chinese goods and phasing out Chinese imports of essential goods, as well as a 10% tariff on most other imports. Trump proposed levying tariffs on electric vehicles (EVs) from Mexico, stating China manufactures EVs in Mexico to avoid tariffs. In his first term, Trump withdrew from TPP negotiations, and he imposed tariffs amounting to roughly \$380 billion worth of goods in 2018 and 2019, mostly on Chinese goods. Trump proposed revoking China's Most Favored Nation status, and he criticized China's admission into the WTO. Trump negotiated USMCA in 2018 and criticized NAFTA, which he threatened to withdraw from, as "the worst trade deal ever made." Trump opposed Ngozi Okonjo-Iweala becoming director general of the WTO, and he threatened to pull the U.S. out of the WTO due to unfair treatment.

Trade – Scenario Analysis

Harris-led Divided Government	Democratic Trifecta	Trump-led Divided Government	Republican Trifecta
 Harris will likely continue President Biden's trade policy including actions to limit China's anticompetitive behavior, including implementing new tariffs on Chinese goods. 	 Harris will likely be more willing to stray from President Biden's trade policy as she has expressed disapproval of protectionist actions in the past. Harris will push more aggressively for the inclusion of environmental protections in trade agreements, specifically during the review of USMCA in 2026. 	 Trump will implement high tariffs on Chinese goods and seek other actions to decouple the U.S. and China economies. 	 Trump will likely push for tariffs on all imports. Trump will be hesitant to join trade agreements with other nations. Trump has seemed willing to advocate for the use of tariffs as a revenue source during tax negotiations.
 Harris will be hesitant to imp manufacturers and consume Harris will advocate for envir trade agreements. 			oring of essential goods. 5 USMCA review to limit China's bugh manufacturing in Canada 9 and block Director General

Trade– VP Positions

TBD	JD Vance 🕔
We will follow up after the Democratic vice-presidential candidate is selected.	 Vance expressed support for Trump's trade policy proposals and said the United States "should be much more aggressive in applying tariffs on a whole host of industries." Vance expressed support for devaluing the U.S. dollar to boost American manufacturing. In March, Vance introduced a bill to restrict the Chinese government from accessing U.S. capital markets and exchanges if it fails to comply with international laws relating to finance, trade and commerce (S.3945), and the Stop Mexico's Steel Surge Act (S.3917) to reimpose duties on Mexican steel. Vance has objected to several foreign acquisitions including a recent acquisition of U.S. Steel by Nippon Steel, a Japanese company. In 2023, Vance cosponsored the Leveling the Playing Field 2.0 Act (S.1856), which would make it easier for petitioners to bring new cases for U.S. antidumping and countervailing duties. In 2023, Vance wrote a letter to Secretary Gina Raimondo in opposition of the DOC's review of Vietnam to determine if the nation should be classified as a market economy.

International Affairs

International Affairs – Presidential Positions

Kamala Harris	Donald Trump
 Harris gained a significant portion of her for experience during her time as vice preside be expected to largely continue the existin President Biden. The potential Harris administration would continue to pursue global labor and enviro issues. She is expected to support Ukraine against invasion and continue to participate in multinstitutions such as NATO. She would likely continue to aid Israel, alth has been seen as more supportive of Pales Biden . Harris is expected to support existing polic to counter Chinese influence in Africa and Pacific. Harris's foreign policy team has largely bee of establishment figures and would pursue agenda similar to past Democratic administication. 	 that has often rejected the notion that America has a responsibility to manage world affairs. His will continue to focus on China, and his administration would look at policies that harm Chinese influence and strengthen U.S. engagement in the Indo-Pacific region. Trump would likely continue to provide aid to Israel and Taiwan. However, he has criticized support for Ukraine and would most likely push for a negotiated settlement in the conflict. A second Trump administration would also be expected to act more unilaterally and push NATO countries to take on a greater role in paying for the alliance's defense. On labor issues, Trump would place an emphasis on protecting domestic manufacturing and would likely pursue protectionist policies that prevent jobs from

International Affairs – Scenario Analysis

Harris-led Divided Government	Democratic Trifecta	Trump-led Divided Government	Republican Trifecta
 It will become more difficult to pass another aid package for Ukraine. Legislation related to bipartisan priorities, such as China, will be considered. America will continue to support multilateral bodies, although funding might be more difficult to secure. There will be some level of progressive influence over administration policies. 	 Democrats would pursue more sweeping changes in treaties and legislation that places an emphasis on Democratic priorities, such as labor and the environment. Congress would authorize greater spending on global aid and military support for Ukraine. Existing policies towards Israel and the Netanyahu government would be scrutinized. 	 Congress will pursue bipartisan legislation focused on competition with China. The administration will restrict American support for Ukraine at global bodies. Policymaking controlled by the administration will be influenced by skepticism of traditional American global engagement. The United States will remain broadly supportive of Israel. 	 Trump will pass more aggressive legislation against China. U.S. support for Israel and sanctions on Iran will increase. Further Ukraine aid will be very unlikely; Congress and the administration might push for negotiations with Russia. Congress and the administration will pursue "America First" policies focused primarily on American interests.
 Harris will maintain Biden's t on curbing Chinese influence A Harris administration will a engagement with allies arou supporting Ukraine against R conflict in Gaza. Pressure to pursue a ceasefing 	also focus on expanded nd the globe, as well as Sussia and Israel during its	bad actions.Trump will continue to be me	untering Chinese influence and ore skeptical of continuing aid is towards supporting Israel and abor and environmental

International Affairs – VP Positions

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TBD	JD Vance
TBD	
We will follow up after the Democratic vice-presidential candidate is selected.	 Vance is largely skeptical of aggressive foreign policy untied from immediate domestic interests and has rejected the establishment Republican philosophy encouraging active global engagement. Like Trump, Vance favors a protectionist trade policy and has been a strong supporter of Israel and a vocal critic of continued U.S. assistance to Ukraine. Vance has often framed his criticism of Ukraine aid in terms of the United States needing to reorient its attention and resources to address and counter threats posed by China. He believes that an escalation in the U.SChina conflict is likely and argues that the United States should be funneling funding to countering that threat. In remarks made at the 2024 Munich Security Conference, Vance stated that Trump, in a second presidency, would not abandon Europe but rather that Trump wants Europe to "take a bigger role in its own security." Vance has said that he does not want to pull out of NATO, however he has stated that East Asia is "going to be the future of American foreign policy for the next 40 years, and Europe has to wake up to that fact."

China Policy

China – Presidential Positions



Kamala Harris

- Harris will likely follow the China competition strategy of the Biden administration. Although she is not as hawkish as Biden, Harris has called out the Chinese Communist Party for imposing territory claims on its small neighbors in the South China Sea. She has also reiterated U.S. support for Taiwan.
- During her time as senator, Harris signed on to legislation promoting the imposition of sanctions to individuals connected to human rights abuses in Hong Kong and Xinjiang. She has also committed to prioritizing China's human rights abuses to Uyghurs and others in her presidential campaign and if she wins office.
- Harris has advocated for de-risking from China to protect American interests and jobs, emphasizing the importance of increasing domestic production capabilities and international alliances.
- Harris often acts in Biden's place during crucial international gatherings of Indo-Pacific nations to boost alliances with Japan, South Korea and other regional powers. She has also led U.S. delegations during summits in Asia (like ASEAN or APEC) focused on increasing U.S. security and economic partnerships.
- Despite the "tough on China" sentiment, Harris has expressed interest to cooperate with China on climate change and anti-drug/fentanyl trafficking initiatives.

Donald Trump

- During Trump's first term has president, he took a hard stance on China by launching a trade war and hardening ties following the COVID-19 pandemic. In current campaign events, he has expressed plans to ramp up the trade war and impose tariffs of 60%–100% on every Chinese import to the United States.
- Trump's policy focus is primarily an economic nationalist and protectionist approach, which is often seen in his stance on China. He supports a sharp decoupling from China and increasing restrictions on export controls and outbound investment.
- Trump wishes to go further than bipartisan action against China's abusive practices, such as dumping goods at low costs to deter competition. He also wishes to stem the flow of U.S. technology and chips to China.
- Trump has often declined to commit to defending Taiwan against Chinese threats, claiming Taiwan should pay the United States for defense. However, many top Trump advisers and senior officials view U.S. support for Taiwan a priority for U.S. national security. The advisors and officials also advocate for continued close cooperation with Asian countries on the front line of Chinese aggression.
- Although Trump is known for being tough on China, he's occasionally expressed his admiration for Chinese President Xi Jinping's strength as its leader.

China – Scenario Analysis

Harris-led Divided Government	Democratic Trifecta	Trump-led Divided Government	Republican Trifecta
 If the Republicans retain control of the House, the Select China Committee will likely continue into the 119th Congress and work toward passing unfinished policy priorities from this year. Rep. John Moolenaar (R- MI) will also continue to chair the committee. This could include export controls, increasing domestic production and technology protections. There will also be a focus on limiting U.S. health care and technology industries to Chinese companies. 	 Democrats are unlikely to dissolve the Select China Committee if they win control of both chambers. There would be two free seats in the committee to switch the balance in the Democrats' favor, and Rep. Raja Krishnamoorthi (D-IL) would likely become the next chairman. Priorities will focus more on competition without conflict and international aid programs, including any Democratic priorities removed from unfinished business. 	 Similar to the Democratic trifecta, Republicans are unlikely to dissolve the Select China Committee. Policy priorities will also remain similar, with a focus on outbound investment, export controls, intellectual property protections and technology protections. There may be conflict with Trump's harsh decoupling plans, with an emphasis on support for providing aid or increasing alliances. 	 Select China Committee priorities will remain the same, with potential for a joint committee in the Senate. Republicans will try to push for more economic and national security-focused legislation aimed at sanctioning Chinese officials, limiting Chinese investment in the United States and other unfinished business from this year. Some policies will take a harsher decoupling stance rather than a de-risking policy.
 in U.S. foreign policy prioritie Both sides agree on legislatic outbound investment, protection property and increasing dominant 	on regarding export controls, ction of U.S. intellectual estic capabilities. port for alliances in the Indo-	 Republicans will continue the with high levels of bipartisan nationalist and protectionist capabilities (economic and m There will likely be more defemilitary and its counter-Chin There will be some support f levels than a Democratic-led 	support, maintaining the policies to support U.S. nilitary) against China. ense funding for the U.S. a program. for Taiwan, but likely at lower

China – VP Positions

TBD	JD Vance 🕔
We will follow up after the Democratic vice-presidential candidate is selected.	 Vance's priorities for China competition are focused on the economic, geopolitical and security implications of China's rise as a global power. Vance has called China's trade practices unfair and harmful to U.S. interests. He has criticized China of intellectual property theft and forced technology transfers. Vance has also highlighted that the movement of manufacturing jobs to China has significantly impacted American workers. Vance has expressed concerns about China's assertive actions in the South China Sea, arguing it challenges international norms and threatens the stability of the Indo-Pacific. He has also expressed concerns for China' rapid military modernization and its implications for U.S. miliary dominance in the region. Vance has expressed support for policies aimed at reducing U.S. dependance on China, especially in the health care and technology industries. He has also advocated for renegotiating trade agreements with China and for a reassessment of the U.S. military strategy to prioritize deterring Chinese aggression.

National Defense Policy

National Defense – Presidential Positions



Kamala Harris

- As vice president, Harris supported modernization and innovation within the military and integrating defense strategies with economic policies. She has also been vocal in her support of comprehensive assistance for veterans.
- Harris strongly supports NATO and has criticized Trump's approach to the alliance, emphasizing the importance of maintaining robust international partnerships and coalition approaches to addressing global security challenges.
- Harris has emphasized a tough stance on China, advocating for reducing economic dependence and protecting American interests. She has supported policies aimed at de-risking from China and has criticized Trump's tariffs for hurting the American economy without achieving a rebalance.
- Harris supports deepening alliances in Asia and the Indo-Pacific, endorses Taiwan's self-defense and championed human rights legislation for Hong Kong and Uyghurs. She has played a significant role in fostering transatlantic cooperation and support for Ukraine.
- Harris advocates for a two-state solution for Israel and Palestine, has called for a temporary cease-fire in Gaza and has supported legislation to restrict arms sales and military assistance to Saudi Arabia.

Donald Trump

- Trump focused on China as the foremost military threat to the United States and implemented measures to counter broader Chinese influence. His administration prioritized securing critical supply chains and protecting U.S. research and development from foreign interference.
- Trump oversaw a significant focus on rebuilding and modernizing the U.S. military, with over \$2.2 trillion in defense spending. He also established the U.S. Space Force, modernized nuclear forces, enhanced missile defenses and elevated Cyber Command to a major warfighting command.
- Trump criticized European NATO allies for not investing adequately in defense, urging them to increase their security spending, emphasizing NATO's commitment of 2% member spending on defense.
- Trump's administration took action against terrorist networks, including military action against ISIS and eliminating Abu Bakr al-Baghdadi and Qasem Soleimani.
- Trump's administration also utilized the maximum pressure campaign against Iran to deprive the government of the resources necessary to build weapons and fund terrorist proxies in the region.
- Trump's administration initiated a comprehensive assessment of the U.S. defense industrial base and implemented measures to protect information and communications technology supply chains and secure critical infrastructure.

National Defense – Scenario Analysis

Harris-led Divided Government	Democratic Trifecta	Trump-led Divided Government	Republican Trifecta
 Potential challenges to increasing defense budgets, focusing on maintaining current levels with targeted investments in modernization and cybersecurity enhancements. Continued emphasis on curbing Chinese influence, promoting alliances in the Indo-Pacific and maintaining tariffs while seeking to de-risk economic ties with China. Persistent but potentially limited U.S. military and economic assistance for Ukraine, with pressure to ensure European allies contribute more significantly. Ongoing support for Israel and counterterrorism efforts, with a focus on diplomatic solutions. 	 Increased defense budgets with substantial investments in modernizing military capabilities, enhancing cyber defenses, and advancing space and missile defense programs. Significant efforts to curb Chinese influence, deepen economic and security partnerships in the Indo- Pacific and implement policies to further reduce reliance on Chinese technologies. Robust and sustained military and economic assistance for Ukraine, with a strong commitment to supporting NATO allies and reinforcing transatlantic security. Continued support for Israel with an emphasis in establishing a ceasefire. 	 Likely to face constraints on defense budget increases, focusing on maintaining or slightly increasing current levels with targeted investments in modernizing key military capabilities. Continued emphasis on countering Chinese influence with a focus on military and economic strategies, including tariffs and strengthening alliances in the Indo-Pacific region. Likely to reduce U.S. military and economic assistance for Ukraine, with an emphasis on urging European nations to take a more significant role in supporting Ukraine financially and militarily. Focus on targeted military actions against terrorist threats, maintaining support for Israel. 	 Significant increases in defense budgets with an emphasis on modernizing military capabilities, enhancing nuclear deterrence and increased investments in shipbuilding. Aggressive stance on China, implementing strategies to counter Chinese influence, including economic decoupling, strengthening military alliances in the Indo- Pacific and increasing tariffs and sanctions. Reduction of U.S. support for Ukraine, with a focus on moving towards peace negotiations with Russia. Strong support for Israel and aggressive counterterrorism strategies, including increased military actions against terrorist organizations.
 Continued support for NATO, military modernization, enhanced cyber defenses and reducing economic dependence on China while supporting Taiwan. 			, significant military modernization ents and strong support for Israel s in the Middle East.

National Defense – VP Positions

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 We will follow up after the Democratic vice-presidential candidate is selected. Vance has consistently emphasized China's rise as the most significant threat to the future of the United States. He has expressed vocal support for the AUKUS agreement and supported policies such as the Ending China's Developing Nation Status Act and the China Trade Relations Act of 2023 to readdress U.SChina trade relations. Vance has expressed concern over the U.S. defense industrial base's reliance on China for critical defense technologies and has called for more domestic manufacturing in this sector even at a cost to GDP. Vance has been opposed to continued U.S. aid to Ukraine. Vance outlined his position in an April op-ed where he argued that further U.S. support for Ukraine continues to delay the peacemaking process and jeopardizes the ability of the U.S. to deter China. Vance has praised Trump's criticisms of European NATO partners for not adequately investing in defense 	TRD	
 Vance has been a strong supporter of Israel in the 		 most significant threat to the future of the United States. He has expressed vocal support for the AUKUS agreement and supported policies such as the Ending China's Developing Nation Status Act and the China Trade Relations Act of 2023 to readdress U.SChina trade relations. Vance has expressed concern over the U.S. defense industrial base's reliance on China for critical defense technologies and has called for more domestic manufacturing in this sector even at a cost to GDP. Vance has been opposed to continued U.S. aid to Ukraine. Vance outlined his position in an April op-ed where he argued that further U.S. support for Ukraine continues to delay the peacemaking process and jeopardizes the ability of the U.S. to deter China. Vance has praised Trump's criticisms of European NATO partners for not adequately investing in defense and called for more security spending in Europe.

Labor and Workforce Policy

Labor and Workforce – Presidential Positions

Kamala Harris

- In a recent speech, Harris vowed to sign the Protecting the Right to Organize Act should it reach her desk as president, which would enhance an employee's ability to join labor unions and strikes without fear of employer retaliation, among other things.
- When Harris ran for president in 2020, she proposed requiring companies with 100 or more employees to obtain an equal pay certification every two years, demonstrating they are paying men and women the same for analogous work.
- Harris also promised to guarantee up to six months of paid family and medical leave for all working individuals, with workers earning less than \$75,000 receiving full wage replacement. In addition, she vowed to create a new Office of Paid Family and Medical Leave.
- In the Senate, Harris cosponsored the Social Security Expansion Act to expand Social Security by \$2,400 per year.
- Harris previously chaired the White House Task Force on Worker Organizing and Empowerment.

Donald Trump

- In his Republican National Convention (RNC) platform, Trump said he will protect Social Security and make no changes to the retirement age.
- In his RNC platform, Trump said he will build up American manufacturing and ban companies that outsource jobs from doing business with the federal government.
- Trump has spoken out against a number of Biden's regulations and is expected to repeal several finalized rules, including the Registered Apprenticeship, Independent Contractor and Fiduciary rules, or not continue to defend rules such as the recent Overtime, Noncompete and Joint Employer rules in ongoing litigation.
- Trump has proposed exempting tips from income taxes.
- During his 2020 State of the Union address, Trump called for paid family leave through allowing parents to borrow from their future selves, rather than provide a new source of funding to take leave.

Labor and Workforce – Scenario Analysis

Harris-led Divided	Democratic	Trump-led Divided	Republican
Government	Trifecta	Government	Trifecta
 An expanded paid family and medical leave program could be established. Harris will likely rely on rulemaking and executive orders to implement her labor priorities. 	 A broad paid family and medical leave national program could be established. The federal minimum wage could be raised. Social Security could be expanded. 	 A narrower paid family and medical leave national program could be established. The Department of Labor is likely to see cuts in the annual appropriations bill, but not as drastic as under a Republican trifecta. Morkplace diversity, e and inclusion initiative will be eliminated. There could be cuts to Social Security, despit pledges to protect the program in the RNC platform. There could be drastic Department of Labor funding cuts. 	
 Democrats will reintroduce the Protecting the Right to		 Biden-era final rules such as the Overtime Rule and the	
Organize Act and the Raise the Wage Act, which would		Noncompete Rule that are currently stuck in litigation are at	
likely pass in whichever chamber is controlled by Democrats		risk and will not be defended by the Trump administration. Additional Biden-era final rules such as the Fiduciary Rule	
but fail in the chamber controlled by Republicans. Harris would continue defending final rules currently in		and Independent Contractor Rule will be retracted or	
litigation, such as the Overtime Rule and Noncompete Rule. If not already finalized, the Consumer Financial Protection		amended. The Consumer Financial Protection Bureau proposed rule	
Bureau rule would likely be finalized. As in previous congresses, an effort would be made to		on earned wage would not be finalized or would be	
reauthorize the Workforce Innovation and Opportunity Act		reversed. An effort could be made to reauthorize WIOA. Reps. Burgess Owens (R-UT) and Tim Walberg (R-MI) are in	
(WIOA), with likelihood of passage dependent on the		the running for chair of the Education and the Workforce	
makeup of Congress. Harris would likely work to expand and enhance the federal		Committee, and Reps. Bob Latta (R-OH) and Brett Guthrie	
apprenticeship program, building off Biden's executive		(R-KY) are running for chair of the Energy and Commerce	
order to expand registered apprenticeship programs.		Committee. Trump's Industry-Recognized Apprenticeship Program	

Labor and Workforce – VP Positions

TBD	JD Vance
We will follow up after the Democratic vice-presidential candidate is selected.	 Vance opposes the Protecting the Right to Organize Act due to the codification of collective bargaining in its current form. He has been critical of right-to-work laws that hinder union's ability to organize. Vance has supported those he deems as "good unions," having supported police unions but denounced the union for Starbucks baristas. He supported members of the United Auto Worker's strike in Ohio last year. Vance introduced the Teamwork for Employers and Managers Act, which gives employees a voluntary opportunity to negotiate with employers on their own terms without fear of repercussions. Vance opposes diversity, equity and inclusion initiatives in the workplace. Vance introduced the Fairness for Stay-At-Home Parents Act, which would add the birth of a child as a protected reason for not returning to work under the Family and Medical Leave Act. Vance has indicated he is against cuts to Social Security.

Education Policy

Education – Presidential Positions



Kamala Harris

- In the Senate, Harris cosponsored the College for All Act, which would make four-year public universities free for anyone earning less than \$125,000 and make public community college tuition free for everyone.
- As Attorney General of California, Harris erased \$5.8 billion in loans for former students at Corinthians College, alleging they used deceptive and false advertisements and aggressive marketing campaigns.
- Harris has supported the Biden administration's actions to forgive student loan debt and has reportedly advocated for additional loan forgiveness behind the scenes.
- In 2020, as a presidential candidate, Harris proposed cancelling debt for Pell Grant recipients who opened and operated a business in a disadvantaged community for at least three years.
- In 2020 and through her time in the Biden administration, Harris has vowed to pass the Child Care for Working Families Act and provide universal access to preschool for all three-and-four-year-olds. She also vowed to increase funding for Head Start and Early Head Start.
- Harris also committed to expanding the Department of Education's Office for Civil Rights.
- As a graduate of Howard University, Harris has pledged to invest in the success of HBCUs.

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Donald Trump

- In his Republican National Convention (RNC) platform, Trump vowed to dismantle the Department of Education and allow states to have complete control over the education system. He has made similar statements dating back to his 2016 campaign, and his administration proposed merging the Education and Labor departments into one federal agency as part of a larger plan to restructure the government.
- In his RNC platform, Trump vowed to overturn the Biden administration's final Title IX rule, create alternatives to traditional four-year college to reduce costs, expand 529 Education Savings Accounts, support parent choice in schools and make the expansion of the Child Tax Credit permanent.
- Trump has said he would cut federal funding for schools pushing "critical race theory, transgender insanity, and other inappropriate racial, sexual, or political content on our children."
- In a 2023 campaign video, Trump proposed taxing and fining universities with large endowments to start a new institution that will be free for everyone.
- In Trump's last proposed budget, he proposed cuts to the National Institutes of Health and the National Science Foundation and the elimination of funding to the National Endowments for the Art and Humanities.
- Trump's Tax Cuts and Jobs Act imposed a 1.4% endowment excise tax for private universities whose endowments exceed \$500,000 per student.

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Education– Scenario Analysis

Harris-led Divided Government	Democratic Trifecta	Trump-led Divided Government	Republican Trifecta
 Democrats in both chambers will introduce robust child care reform bills that will not become law without a Democratic trifecta. If there is a Democratic House and Republican Senate, there is potential for compromise child care legislation. 	 In a Democratic trifecta, a universal child care and pre-k proposal could be implemented. Biden's failed student loan debt forgiveness plan would likely be reinstated in some form. 	 A Democratic-controlled chamber could pass child care messaging bills that will not become law. Funding cuts to the Education and Health and Human Services (HHS) Departments would be proposed through appropriations, but not as drastic as under a Republican trifecta. 	 The Department of Education could be eliminated or severely pared down. The Departments of Education and HHS would likely see major cuts through appropriations. Biden's SAVE plan and other efforts to cut student loans will be overturned. Republicans will work to overhaul higher education.
 Harris will either defend or finalize Biden's draft rules to provide debt relief for groups of student borrowers, depending on whether the rules are finalized prior to her taking office. There will be increased oversight of for-profit universities. Proposed rules, such as the Head Start and Public Service Loan Forgiveness rules, would likely be finalized. Harris will continue to defend the Biden administration's final Title IX rule as it faces ongoing litigation and finalize the separate sports eligibility rule. Bipartisan oversight of the implementation of the new FAFSA will continue, as will the bipartisan interest in child care tax credits. There will be attempts to reauthorize the Higher Education Act. The Pell Grant could be increased with eligibility expanded. 		 Under a Trump administration, there will be an increased level of oversight of institutions of higher education through mechanisms such as the endowment tax and antisemitism on campus. The severity will depend on the level of Republican power and newly arising incidents. With Rep. Virginia Foxx (R-NC) stepping down as House Education and the Workforce Chair, Reps. Tim Walberg (R-MI) or Burgess Owens (R-UT) are expected to become chair. Biden-era finalized and proposed rules, including the borrower defense, Title IX, gainful employment and debt relief rules, will be retracted or amended. Bipartisan oversight of the implementation of the new FAFSA will continue, as will the bipartisan interest in child care tax credits. 	

Education– VP Positions

TBD	JD Vance 🕔
We will follow up after the Democratic vice-presidential candidate is selected.	 Vance has introduced numerous bills targeting universities. The College Admissions Accountability Act would require universities to comply with the Supreme Court's affirmative action ruling. The Encampments or Endowments Act would prohibit universities from receiving federal financial assistance if they fail to remove encampments on campus. The College Endowment Accountability Act would raise the endowment excise tax from 1.4% to 35%. He has spoken about revoking the tax-exempt status o private universities and punishing universities focused on diversity, equity and inclusion initiatives. Vance has blasted universal child care as a massive subsidy favoring the more affluent class instead of supporting the working class. Vance is against student loan forgiveness, except in extreme cases. In May, Vance helped introduce the Domenic and Ed's Law, which would allow a parent whose child develops a total and permanent disability to qualify for loan forgiveness.

Agriculture Policy

Agriculture – Presidential Positions



Kamala Harris

- While in the Senate, Harris sponsored the Fairness for Farmworkers Act, a bill that would remove the minimum wage and overtime pay exemptions for farmworkers.
- She sponsored the Closing the Meal Gap Act, which would raise the baseline benefit for all SNAP households and allocate additional funds to those with large medical and housing expenses.
- Harris also cosponsored the Agricultural Worker Program Act, a measure that would provide a legal right to work in the United States for certain undocumented farmworkers.
- Harris voted for the 2018 Farm Bill and pushed for water infrastructure projects to be included in the Infrastructure Investment and Jobs Act (IIJA).
- As California's attorney general, Harris appealed a federal ruling that struck down California's ban on foie gras sales.

Donald Trump

- Trump has proposed placing significant tariffs on American purchases from China, repeating a tactic he used as president in 2018. During Trump's first term, China placed retaliatory tariffs on U.S. agricultural and food exports in response to Trump's trade policies surrounding Chinese goods. Because of this, U.S. farmers saw lower commodity prices and reduced income from lost sales. Trump issued an aid package under the Commodity Credit Corporation (CCC) Charter Act to mitigate short-term losses to farmers, but U.S. agricultural markets and exports still suffered.
- Trump would seek to roll back federal regulations that place burdensome restrictions on U.S. farmers, including rules put forward by the Biden administration regarding the Clean Water Act, the Clean Air Act, the Endangered Species Act, Superfund and wetlands that limit land use to advance environmental protections.
- Trump's "2024 GOP Platform to Make America Great Again" notes that Trump and Republicans are committed to protecting American workers, farmers and industries from unfair foreign competition.

Agriculture – Scenario Analysis

Harris-led Divided Government	Democratic Trifecta	Trump-led Divided Government	Republican Trifecta
 The 2025 Farm Bill reauthorization would not see a major change in SNAP funding from current levels. USDA would likely expand the Regional Conservation Partnership Program to streamline farm production. 	 Congressional Democrats would attempt to expand SNAP funding in the 2025 Farm Bill reauthorization. Congress and the USDA would likely push for additional animal welfare regulations. USDA would expand efforts to overhaul competition in the poultry and meatpacking industries. 	 Lawmakers would work to reauthorize the Farm Bill in the late fall or start of 2025 with compromised provisions surrounding nutrition and conservation programs, which have been points of contention during negotiations. 	 Farm Bill reauthorization would likely be pushed to the fall of 2025 to rework the package. Conservation funding for climate change provided by the Inflation Reduction Act would be redirected to Republican- supported initiatives under the Farm Bill.
 The impacts of the fall of <i>Chevron</i> will hinder the USDA's efforts to directly regulate the agricultural industry. Continued focus on "price gouging" in the agricultural industry and promotion of green and climate resilience efforts in agriculture. Democrats will promote efforts to expand farmers' rights to unionize; further investments in food and nutrition security. 		 Republicans have supported bipartisan legislation that would restrict Chinese ownership of U.S. farmland. Republicans would seek to roll back regulations that place restrictions on certain commodities, mandate verification and reporting requirements or otherwise create operational hurdles for U.S. farmers to advance climate goals. 	

Agriculture– VP Positions

TBD	JD Vance 🚺
We will follow up after the Democratic vice-presidential candidate is selected.	 In the Senate, Vance cosponsored legislation that would prohibit the SEC from requiring the disclosure of greenhouse gas emissions related to agricultural products. House Agriculture Chairman G.T. Thompson (R-PA) and Senate Agriculture Committee Ranking Member John Boozman (R-AR) have endorsed Vance, noting that he has been good on agriculture issues in the Senate and making the argument that his upbringing will allow him to connect with voters from rural areas. The Ohio Farm Bureau endorsed Vance when he was a candidate for Senate in 2022.

Energy and Climate Policy

Energy and Climate – Presidential Positions



Kamala Harris

- In the Senate, Harris introduced S.4401, the Environmental Justice for All Act, which would aim to achieve health equity and climate justice throughout underserved communities and was an original cosponsor of Rep. Alexandria Ocasio-Cortez's (D-NY) Green New Deal, a nonbinding plan to address climate change and economic growth.
- As a 2020 presidential candidate, Harris unveiled a \$10 trillion climate plan aimed at achieving a carbon-neutral electric grid by 2030, 100% zero-emissions by 2025 and a clean-energy economy by 2045. Harris' plan would have expanded clean-energy tax credits, invested \$250 billion in drinking water infrastructure, ended new oil and gas leases on public lands and implemented an increasing fee on carbon emissions.
- As vice president, Harris has supported President Biden's overall climate policy and cast the tiebreaking vote in the Senate to pass the 2022 Inflation Reduction Act, which provides hundreds of billions of dollars in government funding and tax credits for clean energy technologies.
- In July 2024, the Harris Campaign pledged Harris would not ban fracking if elected. Harris had previously vowed to ban fracking as a candidate for the 2020 presidential nomination.
- Harris has not outlined her energy platform for the 2024 presidential race.

Donald Trump

- Trump pulled the United States out of the 2015 Paris Agreement during his first term, calling it an unfair deal that forced the United States to pay while allowing other polluting countries like China and India to continue harmful environmental operations without paying their fair share. He has said he would leave the Paris Accord again if reelected.
- Trump often highlighted "American energy dominance" during his first term and has committed to restoring domestic energy production if reelected. A Trump administration would end climate-related restrictions that have hindered domestic operations to allow unleashed energy production from all sources, including oil and gas, coal, nuclear and natural gas.
- Trump has referred to the Inflation Reduction Act as the "Socialist Green New Deal" and has said he will roll back wasteful aspects of the bill. This would require supports from Republicans in Congress, many of whom have seen benefits from the bill in their home states and districts.
- Domestic production would be a priority for Trump, and he has committed to streamlining permitting for U.S. projects, especially those that would create a domestic source for minerals or materials that are currently being imported from foreign adversaries like China.

Energy and Climate – Scenario Analysis

Harris-led Divided Government	Democratic Trifecta	Trump-led Divided Government	Republican Trifecta
 If Republicans win the Senate, Democrats will likely need the support from Republican moderates like Sens. Lisa Murkowski (R-AK) and Susan Collins (R-ME) as negotiators to pass climate or permitting legislation, mainly due to Sen. Joe Manchin (I-WV) and Sen. Kyrsten Sinema's (I-AZ) retirements. 	 Democratic lawmakers would look to significantly increase Inflation Reduction Act (IRA) and Bipartisan Infrastructure Law (BIL) grants and loans to fund renewable energy technologies and expand IRA tax credits. 	 Republican-led policy changes would likely focus on undoing some of the Biden administration's environmental regulations. Targets could include regulations that increased or created new fees for oil and gas operators, limited leasing capacity on federal lands and waters, or otherwise sought to disincentivize fossil fuel production. 	 Republicans would use the reconciliation process at the start of the new term to make as many policy changes as possible under a unified agenda. Lawmakers would look to expand oil and gas leasing opportunities and solidify policies that create certainty for industry and establish a better business environment for companies to produce in the United States.
 Federal agencies will continue implementation of the IRA and BIL and increase funding for clean energy and electrification programs. While Harris, in her current role as vice president, is aligned with President Biden's energy policy, it remains to be seen where a President Harris might differ. 		 Under Trump, Republicans would advance policies that remove government blockades and allow energy companies to operate with more certainty in the U.S. Energy and mineral projects that onshore or enhance domestic production would be a priority for permitting agencies, while clean energy projects may be scaled back. 	

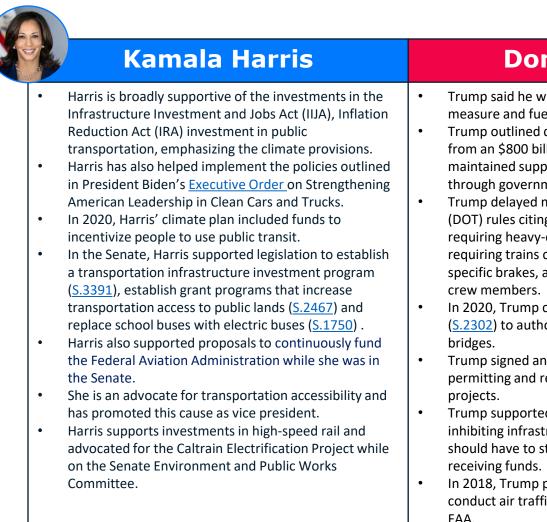
Energy and Climate – VP Positions

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TBD	JD Vance 🕔
We will follow up after the Democratic vice-presidential candidate is selected.	 In the Senate, Vance co-sponsored S.319, the Protecting Our Wealth of Energy Resources (POWER) Act, which would require the president and federal agencies to obtain congressional approval before prohibiting or delaying certain new energy or mineral leases or permits on federal lands. The legislation would also require congressional approval before withdrawing federal lands from mineral entry. Vance has also cosponsored legislation that would prohibit the Securities and Exchange Commission (SEC) from requiring the disclosure of greenhouse gas emissions related to agricultural products. Vance supports expanding oil and gas production in the United States and has criticized Democrats for perusing a "green energy fantasy" on climate policy. In 2023, Vance introduced legislation that would repeal the electric vehicle tax credit provided by the Inflation Reduction Act (IRA) and replace it with a credit for gas- powered vehicles made in the United States.

Transportation Policy

Transportation– Presidential Positions



Donald Trump

- Trump said he would halt the GHG performance measure and fuel efficiency standards if elected.
- Trump outlined different infrastructure plans ranging from an \$800 billion to \$2 trillion investment, but he maintained support of partially funding the plan through government bonds purchased by investors.
- Trump delayed many Department of Transportation (DOT) rules citing negative economic impacts, including requiring heavy-duty trucks to install speed limiters, requiring trains carrying hazardous material to install specific brakes, and requiring all trains to have two crew members.
- In 2020, Trump called for Congress to pass legislation (<u>S.2302</u>) to authorize \$287 billion to repair roads and bridges.
- Trump signed an executive order to expedite permitting and review processes for infrastructure projects.
- Trump supported reducing regulatory barriers inhibiting infrastructure investments and said states should have to start projects within 90 days of receiving funds.
- In 2018, Trump proposed having a nonprofit body conduct air traffic controller operations instead of the FAA.

Transportation – Scenario Analysis

Harris-led Divided Government	Democratic Trifecta	Trump-led Divided Government	Republican Trifecta
 Bipartisan transportation issues, like expanding the availability of truck parking, may advance under a divided government scenario regardless of White House control. Republicans will attempt to defund some DOT rulemakings via the annual appropriations process but will not succeed. 	 Democrats will advance policies that phase out older vehicles and vehicles with internal combustion engines by investing in new technologies, including EVs. Congestion pricing plans are likely to advance. DOT safety rulemakings will be fully funded in the annual appropriations process. 	 Trump will try to deregulate the transportation system and delay many measures the Biden administration sought to implement. The rollout of the National Electric Vehicle Infrastructure (NEVI) program will be revisited and heavily scrutinized. Future funding would be in jeopardy. 	 Key pieces of the IRA will be highly vulnerable and could be repealed. Trump will limit EV and charging development through stricter tariffs on Chinese goods. Appropriations riders in annual funding bills that delay or defund Biden-era rulemakings are likely to succeed.
 Harris will ensure IIJA funds continue to roll out. Harris will push for grants to be awarded for infrastructure and transportation projects in underserved communities. Harris will try to protect DOT's pro-climate rules, including FHWA's GHG performance measure and NHTSA's CAFE standards, from post-Chevron lawsuits. Harris will promote bills and regulations that incentivize and support the use of public transportation. 		 Trump will try to delay the allocation of some IIJA funding and support litigation to prevent rules from taking effect that seek to lower transportation system emissions. States seeking waivers from the Environmental Protection Agency, notably California for its Advanced Clean Fleets rules, will not succeed. DOT will pursue a deregulatory approach and abandon many Biden-era rulemakings. 	

Transportation & Infrastructure – VP Positions

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TBD	JD Vance	
We will follow up after the Democratic vice-presidential candidate is selected.	 Vance was one of the first lawmakers to call for an investigation and hearing into Boeing following the door-plug blowout incident in early 2023. He said the incident highlights issues with the aviation system that Congress needs to address. Vance cosponsored a joint resolution expressing disapproval of FHWA's GHG performance measure (S.J.Res.61), and he has been a critic of the Biden administration's efforts to limit transportation pollution. Vance has been outspoken about the need for rail safety legislation. He cosponsored the Railway Safety Act of 2023 (S.576) shortly after the East Palestine, Ohio train derailment and a resolution to create "Rail Safety Week." (S.Res.356) Vance has cosponsored legislation affecting the truck industry, including the Deregulating Restrictions on Interstate Vehicles and Eighteen-wheelers (DRIVE) Act (S.2671) to prohibit FMCSA from requiring CMVs to install speed limiters and the Truck Parking Safety Improvement Act (S.1034) to direct DOT to fund public parking for CMVs. 	

Tech, Telecom and AI Policy

Tech, Telecom and AI – Presidential Positions



Kamala Harris

- Harris has strong connections to the tech industry due to her ties to California. She has the support from leaders in the tech field, including several venture capitalists and LinkedIn co-founder Reid Hoffman.
- Harris has led the Biden administration's efforts around AI, attending the Global Summit on AI Safety in London and supporting President Biden's executive order (EO) on AI. She would likely expand upon the Biden administration's current regulatory efforts, having previously expressed concerns with the use of certain training data for generative AI (GenAI) systems and the need to not hinder innovation.
- As a senator, Harris introduced several pieces of legislation to prevent the spread of nonconsensual images online.
- Harris has called for Big Tech to be regulated in a way that protects consumer privacy. She would likely continue the Biden administration's current antitrust actions against Big Tech companies.
- Harris has not been actively involved in the Biden administration's broadband-focused efforts, but she is poised to continue the administration's investment in national broadband infrastructure, particularly through initiatives such as the Broadband Equity, Access and Deployment (BEAD) program.

Donald Trump

- Trump has developed a relationship with Elon Musk and several other technology industry leaders that would likely play a role in shaping his future administration's tech policy.
- Trump outlined plans to revoke President Biden's EO on AI in favor of a light-touch regulatory approach that is "rooted in Free Speech and Human Flourishing." He was the first president to sign an EO on AI in 2019 that focused on federal agency R&D in that space. He also signed a second EO on AI in 2020 focused on the use of AI in the federal government.
- The prior Trump administration was friendly to merger activity, particularly given Trump's business background. However, he has expressed concerns with the power of Big Tech companies and therefore may continue the FTC's current antitrust enforcement against them while allowing other tech-focused mergers and acquisitions.
- The prior Trump administration revoked the Obama administration's data privacy and connectivity programs in favor for his own policies around advancing 5G infrastructure for rural communities. He would likely stop the Biden administration's current broadband programs to curb spending and respond to concerns the programs are duplicative and slow to rollout.

Tech, Telecom and AI – Scenario Analysis

Harris-led Divided Government	Democratic Trifecta	Trump-led Divided Government	Republican Trifecta
 "CHIPS 2.0" legislation to boost U.S. competitiveness against China, potentially including tariffs on carbon- intensive goods from China. Short-term spectrum auction authority reauthorization. Continued gridlock on national data privacy legislation. 	 Spectrum auction authority reauthorization to fund the Affordable Connectivity Program (ACP) and rip-and-replace. National data privacy legislation as a baseline, allowing states to enforce more stringent laws. 	 Continued focus on U.S China competition. Short-term spectrum auction authority reauthorization. Continued gridlock on national data privacy legislation. 	 Major restructuring of the Affordable Connectivity Program (ACP) Spectrum Auction Authority reauthorization with a focus on expanding commercial access to mid-band spectrum. Additional legislation targeting telecom manufacturers seen as national security threats, particularly Chinese manufacturers. Passage of national data privacy legislation that would preempt all state legislation
 Continuation of President Biden's <u>Executive Order</u> on the development of AI, with an emphasis on equity and rights. 		 Repeal of President Biden's executive order on AI, and reinstituting Trump's <u>previous order</u>, which focuses on boosting research and development. Increased focused on regulating social media platforms and potentially repealing Section 230 protections. 	

Tech, Telecom and AI– VP Positions

TBD JD Vance We will follow up after the Democratic vice-presidential • Vance has deep ties to the tech industry, with close ٠ personal relationships with Peter Thiel, founder of candidate is selected. Palantir and PayPal, and venture capitalists David Sacks and Marc Andreessen. Vance has expressed concerns with overregulation and has been skeptical of the involvement Big Tech companies have in the Biden administration's regulatory process. He has also advocated for open-source technologies. Vance has supported the Affordable Connectivity Program (ACP), introducing the bipartisan ACP Extension Act that would provide \$7 billion for the program. This goes against the opinions of several Senate Republicans who have said the program is wasteful spending. • Vance has supported reforming Section 230 of the Communications Decency Act, citing free speech concerns with social media platforms' content moderation practices. • Vance has approved of current Federal Trade Commission (FTC) Chair Lina Khan's approach to break up Big Tech companies. He has consistently called for breaking up Google and Meta, calling Google "one of the most dangerous companies in the world."