### PRESIDENTIAL POWER

### Trump plans to strip tens of thousands of career civil servants of their job protections.

During his presidency, Trump complained often about military leaders and government officials acting against his wishes. In a second term, he wants the authority to remove "rogue bureaucrats... and I will wield that power very aggressively," he says. His running mate, J.D. Vance, has advised him to "fire every single midlevel bureaucrat, every civil servant in the administrative state" and "replace them with our people."

Trump has also talked about appointing a special prosecutor to go after "Joe Biden and the entire Biden crime family." Project 2025, the 900-page agenda prepared by a team of Trump associates, would make that possible by putting the Department of Justice and the Federal Bureau of Investigation, which have traditionally enjoyed a degree of independence, under the White House's direct control.

#### COVID-19

# The coronavirus "affects virtually nobody," Trump said in September 2020, shortly before the official death tally passed 200,000.

By the end of his term, 400,000 Americans had died. We could have saved 40% of those lives by following the practices of other rich nations, according to a commission of experts from the U.S., Canada and Britain.

Their report pointed to this country's high inequality and under-investment in public health as long-term factors. But it also criticized the Trump administration and Trump personally – for minimizing the threat, undermining the warnings of his advisors, pushing quack remedies, and holding big rallies that turned into spreader events.

#### INFLATION

When the pandemic struck, inflation soared, reaching a peak of 9.1% in mid-2022. Since then, the Biden/Harris administration has taken steps (including the release of 250 million barrels of oil from the Strategic Petroleum Reserve) that have helped bring the inflation rate down to 2.9%.

Trump vows to lower prices "very quickly" and end "the inflation nightmare." Apart from a sharp increase in oil, gas, and coal production, though, he has not proposed anything specific. And he has called for a 10% tariff on imported goods, which would have the opposite effect, raising prices by at least \$1,500 a year for the average family.

Like his Republican allies in Congress, Trump pins the inflation blame on irresponsible spending by the Biden/Harris administration. One thing he fails to mention: the budget deficit, after declining steadily during Barack Obama's presidency, shot up under Trump, with his tax cuts adding trillions of dollars to the national debt. Another thing: the Biden/Harris spending was part of a pandemic relief effort that has been widely credited with averting an economic disaster. Unemployment has come down. Wages have gone up. By almost every yardstick except inflation, the U.S. has enjoyed what Federal Reserve Board Chair Jerome Powell calls a "worldbeating economic recovery."



Written by James Lardner

## WHAT THEY STAND FOR

A quick look at the policies of Donald Trump, J.D. Vance and their allies

#### **ABORTION**

Trump chose three of the six Supreme Court justices who decided – just as he had promised – to overturn Roe v. Wade.

In October 2016, Trump vowed to put "pro-life justices on the court." He kept his word, and more than 20 states now have laws restricting or banning abortion. Fourteen states have adopted the position of Trump's running mate, J.D. Vance, making no exception for rape or incest. "Two wrongs don't make a right," Vance reasons.

So far, more than 200,000 women have had to make interstate trips to end unwanted pregnancies, while confusing laws and skittish providers have made it hard for millions of women to get help managing miscarriages and other pregnancy-related emergencies.

#### **GUN VIOLENCE**

"Every single Biden attack on gun owners and manufacturers will be terminated my very first week back in office."

Trump made that promise at a campaign event in February. Addressing the annual convention of the National Rifle Association in April, he called himself "the best friend gun owners ever had in the White House. In the face of "great pressure... to do with guns," he said, "We did nothing. We didn't yield."

#### CLIMATE AND ENVIRONMENT

"You... should raise \$1 billion to return me to the White House," Trump told a group of top oil executives after listening to their complaints against the Biden administration. They would get more than their money's worth in the form of lower taxes and looser regulations, he added.

As President, Trump named a coal lobbyist to run the EPA, rolled back limits on carbon dioxide and methane, and pulled the U.S. out of the Paris climate accords.

His energy policy this time around is "DRILL, DRILL, DRILL," — etched into the Republican platform in capital letters. The platform cites "crippling restrictions" on oil, coal, and natural gas as a "core threat... to our very survival as a nation." It makes no mention of wildfires, floods, rising sea levels, or the fact that we have just come through the hottest year in human history.

A second Trump term would add about 4 billion tons of  $\mathrm{CO^2}$  to the atmosphere above what we could expect from a continuation of the Biden/Harris policies, experts say. That equals the combined annual emissions of Europe and Japan.

#### **HEALTH CARE**

Trump calls the Affordable Care Act a "disaster" and promises to "repeal and replace" it with a "much better" program that will cost "far less money."

He has not always been so fuzzy on the details. As President, he proposed reforms that would have left tens of millions more Americans uncovered. He tried to cut Medicaid spending by limiting eligibility and benefits. And while he now speaks of "protecting" Medicare, his MAGA allies favor a premium support system that could make coverage more expensive for many seniors.

#### TAX CUTS

Thanks to Trump's tax cuts, the richest one percent of families will save an average of more than \$60,000 next year, compared to an average of \$500 for the bottom 60 percent.

His tax cuts also explain why billionaires now pay an effective federal tax rate of 8.2 percent. And why the likes of Amazon, Starbucks, Chevron, and Netflix got away with paying no federal corporate taxes at all from 2018 through 2020.

The corporate tax cuts at the heart of Trump's 2017 legislation were supposed to produce a surge of economic growth, boosting the average American family's annual income by \$4000, his spokespeople "very conservatively" predicted.

Corporate America reaped huge rewards, saving more than \$500 billion by 2022. But much of that money went into higher dividends or stock buybacks to boost share prices. While incomes have gone up sharply for the highest-earning ten percent of the population, the remaining ninety percent of Americans have seen, on average, "no change in earnings," according to the Joint Committee on Taxation.

In 2022, Democrats established a minimum corporate tax rate of 15 percent and a one percent tax on stock buybacks to fund their clean energy investments. Biden and Harris have also proposed a permanent version of the tax credit that reduced child poverty by half as part of their Covid relief plan. To pay for that credit as well as expanded access to affordable health care and childcare, they want to raise the corporate tax rate and establish a 25% tax on the income of the ultrawealthy.

Trump, meanwhile, is campaigning on a promise to reduce corporate and individual taxes further – "and it's going to lead to tremendous growth," he says.

#### IMMIGRATION...

The Biden Administration backed a tough bipartisan border security bill last year. Trump put a stop to it, warning Republicans not to undermine his plans to exploit the issue in 2024.

Illegal border crossings began increasing during the Trump years and have risen more sharply since. After the bipartisan effort failed, Biden issued an emergency order blocking most asylum seekers from entering the country. Since then, the rate of illegal crossings of the southern border has fallen by nearly half, back to about where it was when Trump left office.

If Trump wins another term, he promises to use local police, the National Guard, and, where necessary, the military to carry out "the largest domestic deportation operation in American history." He also plans to end the Obama Administration's policy of protecting an estimated half million "dreamers" who came here as children.

#### ...AND CRIME

These drastic measures are needed, Trump says, to deal with a "migrant crime wave." But crime has gone down, not up, in most of the places with large numbers of recent immigrants.

And the crime rate has been falling for decades, nationwide, except for a brief increase during the worst period of the pandemic. Based on Texas data, a conservative think tank estimates that undocumented immigrants are 37 percent less likely than U.S. citizens to be convicted of a crime.

Native-born Americans are also responsible for much of the flow of illegal drugs from Mexico. Nearly ninety percent of the fentanyl seized by U.S. authorities is smuggled in by people with a legal right to cross the border, and more than half by U.S. citizens.