

## PODCASTS

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**Épisode 4 : Entre Donald Trump et Kamala Harris, la bataille du « wokisme »**

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**Épisode 5 : Trump et Harris, deux visions « populistes » de l'économie**

<https://www.la-croix.com/international/presidentielle-americaine-2024-trump-et-harris-deux-visions-populistes-de-l-economie-20241009>

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<https://www.la-croix.com/international/presidentielle-americaine-2024-trump-et-harris-passent-le-test-du-commandant-en-chef-20241016>

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<https://www.radiofrance.fr/franceculture/podcasts/serie-la-presidentielle-americaine-vue-de>

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**Épisode 2 :** Géorgie : le « vote noir » courtoisé

**Épisode 3 :** Texas : frontière sensible

**Épisode 4 :** Ohio : les nouvelles batailles sur le droit à l'avortement

**Épisode 7 :** Bruxelles : le trauma des années Trump

**● From *France Culture*, Le Cours de l'histoire****Etats-Unis : Thème de campagne au regard de l'histoire**

<https://www.radiofrance.fr/radiofrance/podcasts/serie-etats-unis-themes-de-campagne-au-regard-de-l-histoire>

Épisode 1: « I like to be in America ». Du Mexique à Haïti, histoires d'immigration

Épisode 2 : Droit à l'avortement aux États-Unis, luttes du passé au présent

Épisode 3: Make America work again? Quand la révolution conservatrice s'en prend aux aides sociales

Épisode 4 : les États-Unis dans le monde : doctrine Monroe, car certains l'aiment isolationniste !

# Issues and the 2024 election

Pew Research Center, September 9, 2024

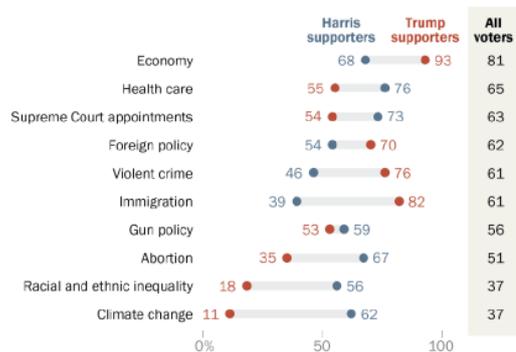
<https://www.pewresearch.org/politics/2024/09/09/issues-and-the-2024-election/>

As concerns around the state of the economy and inflation continue, about eight-in-ten registered voters (81%) say the economy will be very important to their vote in the 2024 presidential election.

While the economy is the top issue among voters, a large majority (69%) cite at least five of the 10 issues asked about in the survey as very important to their vote.

## The economy is the top issue for voters in the 2024 election

% of registered voters who say each is **very important** to their vote in the 2024 presidential election



Note: Based on registered voters.  
Source: Survey of U.S. adults conducted Aug. 26-Sept. 2, 2024.

PEW RESEARCH CENTER

There are wide differences between voters who support Harris and Trump when it comes to the issues.

Among Trump supporters, the economy (93%), immigration (82%) and violent crime (76%) are the leading issues. Just 18% of Trump supporters say racial and ethnic inequality is very important. And even fewer say climate change is very important (11%).

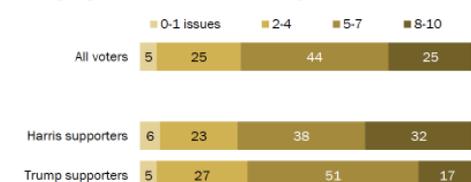
For Harris supporters, issues such as health care (76%) and Supreme Court appointments (73%) are of top importance. Large majorities also cite the economy (68%) and abortion (67%) as very important to their vote in the election.

## Most voters cite several issues as very important to their vote

Most voters cite several issues as very important to their vote this November. Very few – just 5% – say only one issue or no issues are highly important.

## About 7 in 10 voters say 5 or more issues are very important to their presidential vote

% of registered voters who say, of the 10 issues the survey asked about, \_\_\_\_\_ are **very important** to their vote in the 2024 presidential election



Note: Based on registered voters.  
Source: Survey of U.S. adults conducted Aug. 26-Sept. 2, 2024.

PEW RESEARCH CENTER

Majorities of both Harris supporters (71%) and Trump supporters (69%) say at least five of 10 issues included in the survey are very important to their vote.

Harris supporters are more likely than Trump supporters to say most of the issues included are very important. About a third of Harris supporters (32%) say at least eight of 10 issues are very important, compared with 17% of Trump supporters.

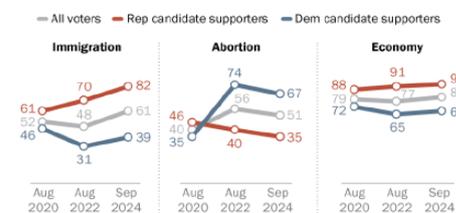
## Top voting issues: 2020 versus 2024

While the economy has long been a top issue for voters – and continues to be one today – other issues have become increasingly important for voters over the past four years.

## Immigration

### Immigration has increased in importance among Republican voters; abortion surged in importance for Democrats in 2022, remains high today

% of registered voters who say each issue is **very important** to their vote in that year's election



Note: Based on registered voters. In 2020 and 2024, candidate supporters are for the presidential election. In 2022, candidate supporters are for the congressional election.

Source: Survey of U.S. adults conducted Aug. 26-Sept. 2, 2024.

PEW RESEARCH CENTER

About six-in-ten voters (61%) today say immigration is very important to their vote – a 9 percentage point increase from the 2020 presidential election and 13 points higher than during the 2022 congressional elections.

Immigration is now a much more important issue for Republican voters in particular: 82% of Trump supporters say it is very important to their vote in the 2024 election, up 21 points from 2020.

About four-in-ten Harris supporters (39%) say immigration is very important to their vote. This is 8 points higher than the share of Democratic congressional supporters who said this in 2022, but lower than the 46% of Biden supporters who cited immigration as very important four years ago.

## Abortion

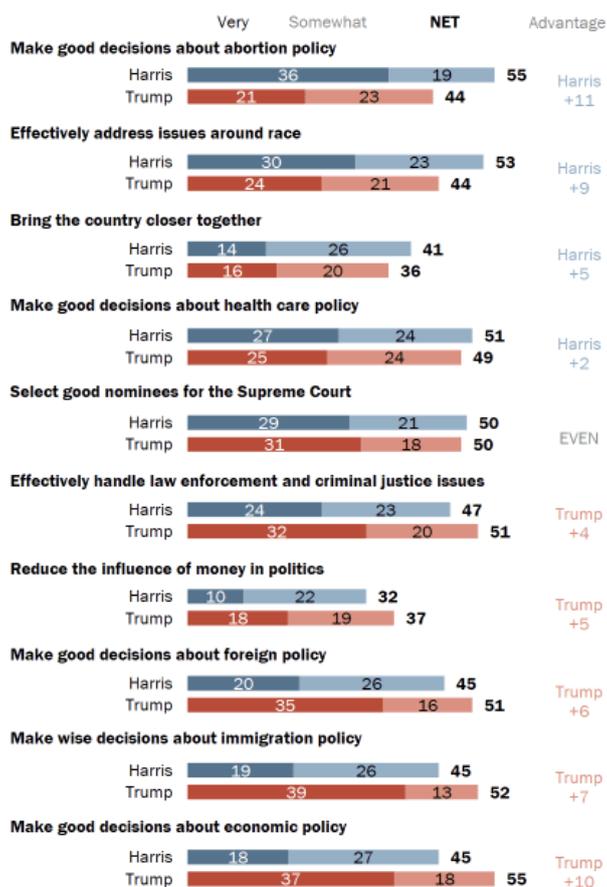
In August 2020, fewer than half of voters (40%) said abortion was a very important issue to their vote. At the time, Trump voters (46%) were more likely than Biden voters (35%) to say it mattered a great deal.

Following the Supreme Court's decision to overturn *Roe v. Wade*, opinions about abortion's importance as a voting issue shifted. Today, 67% of Harris supporters call the issue very important – nearly double the share of Biden voters who said this four years ago, though somewhat lower than the share of midterm Democratic voters who said this in 2022 (74%). And about a third of Trump supporters (35%) now say abortion is very important to their vote – 11 points lower than in 2020.

## Confidence in Harris and Trump on top issues

### Voters are more confident in Trump on economy, immigration; Harris leads on abortion, race

% of registered voters who say they are very/somewhat confident that \_\_\_ can do each of the following



Note: Based on registered voters.  
Source: Survey of U.S. adults conducted Aug. 26-Sept. 2, 2024.

PEW RESEARCH CENTER

Voters have more confidence in Trump than Harris on economic, immigration and foreign policies. Half or more voters say they are at least somewhat confident in Trump to make good decisions in these areas, while smaller shares (45% each) say this about Harris.

In contrast, voters have more confidence in Harris than Trump to make good decisions about abortion policy and to effectively address issues around race. Just over half of voters have confidence in Harris on these issues, while 44% have confidence in Trump on these issues.

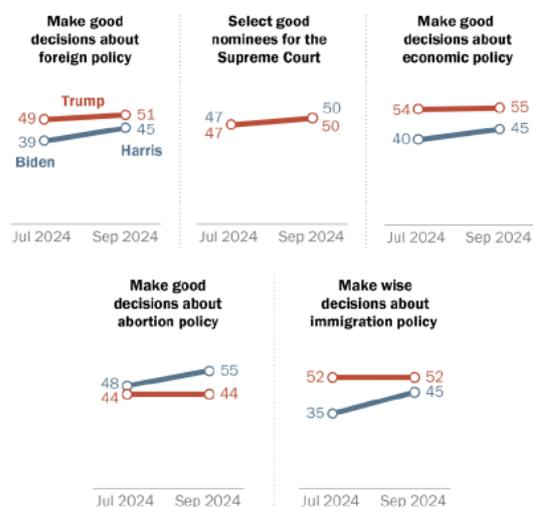
Trump holds a slight edge over Harris for handling law enforcement and criminal justice issues (51% Trump, 47% Harris). Voters are equally confident in Harris and Trump to select good nominees for the Supreme Court (50% each).

Fewer than half of voters say they are very or somewhat confident in either candidate to bring the country closer together (41% are confident in Harris, 36% in Trump). And voters express relatively little confidence in Trump (37%) or Harris (32%) to reduce the influence of money in politics.

## Changes in confidence in candidates on issues, following Biden's departure from race

### Voters are more confident in Harris than they were in Biden on several issues

% of registered voters who say they are very/somewhat confident that \_\_\_ can do each of the following



Note: Based on registered voters.  
Source: Survey of U.S. adults conducted Aug. 26-Sept. 2, 2024.

PEW RESEARCH CENTER

Since Biden dropped out of the presidential race in July, there has been movement on how confident voters are in the candidates to address issues facing the country.

#### Abortion policy

In July, 48% of voters were confident in Biden to make good decisions about abortion policy. Today, 55% of voters are confident in Harris to do the same.

Harris currently has an 11-point advantage over Trump on voters' confidence to handle abortion policy decisions.

#### Immigration policy

Voters also express more confidence in Harris to make wise decisions about immigration policy than they did for Biden before he withdrew from the race. Today, 45% are confident in Harris on this issue; in July, 35% said this about Biden.

While Trump's advantage over Harris on immigration policy is less pronounced than it was over Biden, he continues to hold a 7-point edge. Voters are as confident in his ability to make wise decisions about immigration policy as they were in July (52%).

#### Foreign and economic policies

Harris has also improved over Biden in voters' confidence to make good decisions about foreign and economic policies. Currently, 45% of voters are confident in Harris on each of these issues.

In July, 39% had confidence in Biden to make good foreign policy decisions, while a similar share (40%) had confidence in him on economic policy.

Trump holds an edge over Harris on both of these issues, though both are somewhat narrower than the advantage he had over Biden on these issues in July.

## See also: The Political Values of Harris and Trump Supporters

Wide differences over cultural issues, role of government and foreign policy

<https://www.pewresearch.org/politics/2024/08/26/the-political-values-of-harris-and-trump-supporters/>

## Comparing where Kamala Harris and Donald Trump stand on key policy positions

● **The Washington Post** collected the positions of the [2024 presidential candidates](#) on abortion, climate, crime and guns, the economy, education, elections, foreign policy and immigration. They used a variety of sources for our reporting, including publicly available information, campaign websites, voting records, news articles and the campaigns themselves.

<https://wapo.st/4h8ctxd>

● **HERE is the equivalent interactive from *The New York Times***

The NYT examined where the candidates stand on Abortion, Climate, Crime, Democracy, the Economy, Foreign Policy, Health Care, Immigration, Israel and Gaza

## What is at stake... on Presidential Power

### The Stakes on Presidential Power

We explain the contrasting approaches Donald Trump and Kamala Harris take to the executive office.

By Charlie Savage, *The New York Times*, *The Morning Newsletter*, Sept. 12, 2024

Nearly every president has pushed the limits of the office's power by taking actions that some legal scholars consider an overreach — in directing a military strike, issuing an executive order or filling a job without Congress's approval. Checks and balances can frustrate a leader who wants to get stuff done. And in an era of polarized politics that can paralyze Congress, presidents often believe that their success hinges on unilateral action.

These pressures apply to both Republicans and Democrats. But that does not mean Donald Trump and Kamala Harris are equivalent. Harris hasn't said anything to suggest she would expand presidential power as an end in itself.

Trump, by contrast, wants to concentrate more power in the White House and advertises his authoritarian impulses. ([Read about his plans.](#)) At Tuesday's debate, he praised Hungary's prime minister, Viktor Orbán, who has eroded democracy in his country, describing him as "one of the most respected men — they call him a strong man. He's a tough person. Smart."

The Morning is running [a series](#) in which journalists explain how the government might work under Harris or under Trump. In this installment, I'll discuss each candidate's approach to the separation of powers and the rule of law. I've been writing about executive power for two decades, and this cycle I've been [tracking](#) such issues closely again.

### Trump's radical vision

Trump busted many norms while in office, like when he invoked emergency power to spend more taxpayer funds than Congress approved for a border wall. If he wins again, as my colleagues and I have reported in [a series about the policy stakes of his campaign](#), he has vowed to go farther.

Trump says he'd make it easier to fire tens of thousands of civil servants and replace them with loyalists. (He issued an executive order laying the groundwork late in his term, but President Biden rescinded it; Trump has said he would reissue it.) He also says he'd bring independent agencies under White House authority and revive the tactic, outlawed in the 1970s, of refusing to spend money Congress has appropriated for programs he dislikes.

Building on how Trump pressured prosecutors to scrutinize his foes during his first term, the former president and his allies signal that they'd end a post-Watergate notion: that the Justice Department has investigative independence from

the White House. He has threatened to order the prosecution of perceived adversaries, including Biden, election workers, a tech giant, political operatives and lawyers and donors supporting Harris.

Trump also wants to use American troops on domestic soil to enforce the law. And he is planning a crackdown on illegal immigration with millions of deportations a year — far higher than the several hundred thousand per year that recent administrations, including his own, managed. To do it, his chief immigration adviser has said, the government would carry out sweeping raids and construct giant detention camps near the border in Texas.

Trump is full of bluster. But there are reasons to believe that a second Trump term would carry out more of his ideas than the first. While he was sometimes constrained last time by judges or his own political appointees, he pushed courts rightward by the end of his term. And his advisers plan to hire only true believers in a second term.

### Ordinary boundary-pushing

Unlike Trump, Harris is signaling that she would be a normal president. That would mean *usually* adhering to a consensus understanding of executive power. But I wouldn't be surprised if she occasionally pushed the boundaries of presidential authority — albeit within ordinary parameters.

Presidents of both parties have stretched executive powers when they haven't been able to get new bills through Congress — think of Barack Obama's attempts to shield certain undocumented immigrants from deportation or Biden's attempts to forgive student debt. They have also claimed sweeping and disputed power to use military force without congressional authorization — like when Obama ordered airstrikes on Libya and when Trump directed the military to attack Syrian forces.

Notably, when Harris sought the Democratic nomination in 2019, she wrote for [an executive power survey I conduct every four years](#) that “the president's top priority is to keep America secure, and I won't hesitate to do what it takes to protect our country.” Still, she also said presidents must obey surveillance and anti-torture laws that George W. Bush claimed the power to override — as well as a detainee transfer statute that Obama claimed he could bypass.

If Republicans in Congress blocked Harris's nominees and legislative agenda, it is likely she would take more aggressive unilateral actions. Those typically lead to accusations of overreach and legal challenges. The growth of executive power has been a story of bipartisan aggrandizement: Presidents take a disputed action, pushing the limits of their legitimate authority; their successors build on that precedent. But based on what Trump has said he is planning to do, I would expect Harris to accelerate that trend much less than Trump.

## What is at stake... on Immigration



## The Stakes on Immigration

By German Lopez, *The New York Times*, *The Morning Newsletter*, Sept. 19, 2024

Nine years after Donald Trump's rise in American politics, the stakes on immigration may seem clear enough. Trump wants a harsh crackdown on illegal immigration, with a border wall and mass deportations. Kamala Harris wants an approach that balances border security with human rights considerations.

That broad framing gets many things right, but it also masks some nuance and overlap between the two candidates. Consider: Trump says he wants to increase at least some forms of legal immigration. And Harris supports a bill that would help build the wall at the U.S.-Mexico border. Those are not the positions voters typically hear from either candidate.

### Their records

**Trump:** Since he entered politics in 2015, no issue has animated Trump like immigration.

When he was in the White House, he built parts of the wall. He enacted a travel ban focused on Muslim countries. He separated families who crossed the border, in an attempt to deter future migrants. He worked with Mexico to stop people from entering the U.S. He closed the border to nonessential travel during the Covid pandemic.

But he has also fought immigration restrictions for his own political benefit. Earlier this year, a bipartisan group of senators proposed a bill that would have limited asylum — a major source of undocumented immigration — and hired more border guards, among other changes. Trump called on Republican lawmakers to oppose the bill because he worried it would prevent him from running on immigration if President Biden fixed the problem.

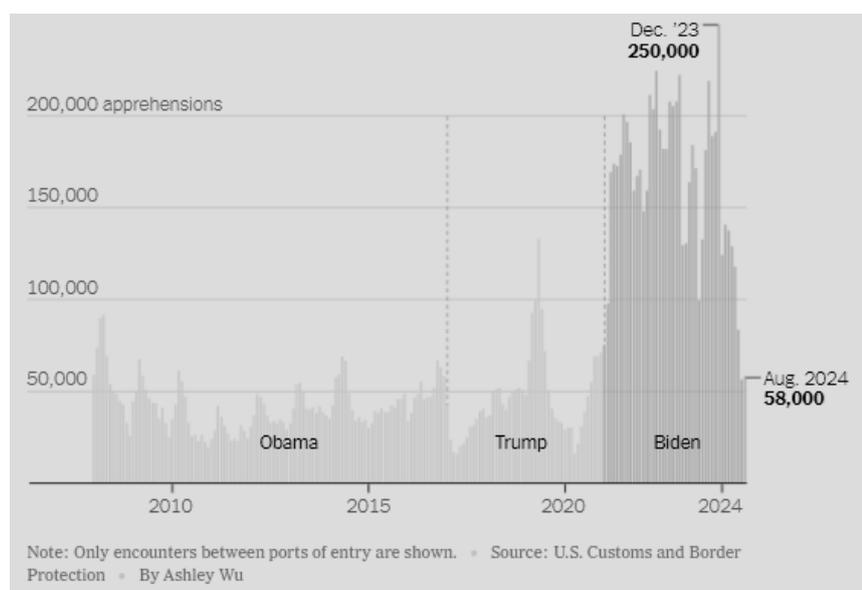
**Harris:** Vice President Harris comes from an administration with a shifting record on immigration.

At first, Biden relaxed rules. He undid many of Trump's policies and spoke warmly about migrants. The number of illegal border crossings soared.

When it became clear the surge was hurting Democrats in the polls, the administration started to crack down. After the border security bill failed to pass Congress, Biden signed an executive order in June that has largely blocked asylum seekers. Illegal entries plummeted.

### Monthly apprehensions at the southwestern border by U.S. Border Patrol

A chart shows monthly apprehensions by U.S. Border Patrol at the southwestern border from January 2009 to August 2024. In December 2023, the peak of this time period, there were nearly 250,000 apprehensions. The average number of apprehensions have decreased to about 113,000 per month from January through August 2024.



Biden also put Harris in charge of helping address the root causes of illegal immigration. This position was not really “border czar,” as Harris's critics claim. She worked with Latin American countries to boost their economies and bring down crime, making it less likely that people would want to come to the United States.

Harris has changed her position on some immigration issues. She no longer supports decriminalizing illegal border crossings, as she did in her 2020 presidential campaign. That move reflects her tougher shift on immigration overall.

### Their plans

**Trump:** If he wins, Trump has promised a tougher crackdown on immigration than he carried out in his first term. Besides finishing the wall, he has said he will mount the “largest deportation effort in American history.” He said last week that his crackdown will begin in Springfield, Ohio, and Aurora, Colo., which have recently been at the center of false and hyperbolic claims about immigration. He would push the military and law enforcement to deport millions of undocumented immigrants across the country.

But he has not answered questions about the specifics: Would law enforcement go door to door? How would officials identify migrants? Would there be protections to ensure that legal immigrants and citizens aren’t deported, as happened in a previous mass deportation campaign in the 1950s?

Trump has taken a few immigration-friendly positions, such as promising a green card to college graduates who are not citizens. He made similar remarks in 2016 and, while in office, actually reduced legal immigration. But many economists worry that mass deportations would shrink the work force, hurting the economy. Trump could address those concerns with a plan to bring more workers to the U.S. legally.

**Harris:** Harris has cast herself as tough on the border, embracing the bipartisan bill that Trump helped defeat this year. That measure would fund the wall, give the president new powers to restrict border crossings and modestly expand legal immigration.

For Harris, this is a balancing act. Democrats have battled Trump’s agenda and taken a friendlier stance on immigration. But polls show that Americans see the border as out of control, and many now support the wall and mass deportations. Harris is trying to get her party to face that political reality.

That still involves *some* immigration-friendly positions. Harris, for example, supports a pathway to citizenship for undocumented immigrants. But Democrats would likely need to control the House and the Senate to make it happen. If Republicans control any part of Congress, Harris could end up with only the more restrictive parts of her agenda.

#### **Different visions**

What would all these policies add up to? Trump would likely leave the country with far fewer immigrants, with big effects across American life and the economy. Harris would enact more modest changes, taking steps to stop illegal immigration without mass deportations. That situation likely wouldn’t be too different from the one today, now that border crossings have fallen under Biden.

### **See also**

- **6 facts about false noncitizen voting claims and the election – NPR, October 12, 2024**

<https://www.npr.org/2024/10/12/nx-s1-5147789/voting-election-2024-noncitizen-fact-check-trump>

- **A Podcast from NPR, The Myth about noncitizen voting – October 16, 2024**

*Former President Donald Trump and his allies have been ramping up a baseless claim that Democrats are encouraging newly-arrived migrants to vote for them in this year's federal elections. There is no evidence to support this claim of noncitizens voting and yet the narrative has taken hold among Republican voters.*

<https://www.npr.org/2025/10/11/1260328514/trumps-trials-election-2024-noncitizen-voting>

## **What is at stake... on Abortion**

**By Lisa Lerer, *The New York Times*, *The Morning Newsletter*, Sept. 30, 2024**

The question of whether women should be allowed to end a pregnancy has roiled American politics for more than half a century. But this year’s presidential race is the first since the Supreme Court overturned *Roe v. Wade*, and abortion politics and policy are changing rapidly.

Kamala Harris has made abortion rights a central promise of her candidacy. But she would likely face legislative hurdles to restore them nationwide.

Donald Trump takes a murkier approach. He argues that abortion law should be left to the states. But some of his allies want to criminalize the procedure across the country, and he refuses to say whether he would oppose a national ban if Congress passed one.

The Morning is running a series explaining the policy stakes of the election and the impact a Harris or Trump victory could have on key issues in American life. In this installment, I'll focus on abortion. I've covered abortion politics for more than a decade and am co-author of a recent book, "[The Fall of Roe: The Rise of a New America.](#)"

### **Trump's murky view**

Trump has a long history of reversing course on abortion.

In 1999, as he flirted with a presidential run, he declared himself "very pro-choice." A dozen years later, he publicly changed his position. "Just very briefly, I'm pro-life," he told attendees at the Conservative Political Action Conference in 2011. During his 2016 campaign, he built a close alliance with social conservatives by promising to nominate "pro-life justices" to the Supreme Court.

But as the politics shifted after the fall of Roe, Trump struggled to find his footing. In March, he expressed openness to a 15-week national ban. Anti-abortion activists want such legislation because it would curtail abortion in liberal states where the procedure is legal later in pregnancy. (This tracker by my colleagues shows where abortion is on the ballot in November.)

A few weeks later, Trump reversed his stance and said that abortion law should be left to the states — and that any bans should include exceptions for rape, incest and the life of the mother. At a rally this week, he expressed a desire for female voters to move beyond the issue, promising that if he was elected they would "no longer be thinking about abortion."

In fact, there are reasons to believe that Trump could go beyond even a national ban. Some of his allies have suggested using laws like the Comstock Act, a measure from 1873, to prosecute people who ship any materials used in an abortion — including abortion pills, which now account for most U.S. abortions.

Others have suggested revoking F.D.A. approval for abortion medication and using the Health and Human Services Department to track personal details about women receiving abortions. They've also said the government shouldn't enforce a law requiring hospitals to provide emergency care to pregnant women who need an abortion. A few want to stop mandating that insurance cover certain emergency contraceptives.

### **Harris's vocal support**

Harris's position has been clearer. She views restricting access to the procedure as not only bad policy but, as she said in the presidential debate this month, "immoral."

Harris has championed the issue like no previous presidential candidate, using direct terms like "uterus" and holding an event at an abortion clinic. She promises to sign a bill re-establishing Roe's protection of abortion in roughly the first 23 weeks of pregnancy. She also favors access to fertility treatments, which some anti-abortion activists want to limit.

### **Image**

For all her promises, her efforts would likely be hampered by legislative realities. Thanks to Senate filibuster rules, 60 votes are required to pass most legislation. Even if Democrats maintain their slim majority in the chamber, they're unlikely to clear that hurdle. A simple majority can vote to end the filibuster, and a central question for a Harris presidency would be whether Senate Democrats would do so.

There is also uncertainty about what a bill would include. Many abortion rights activists think abortion should be legal beyond 23 weeks. Harris has declined to answer questions about whether she favors abortion rights in the final three months of pregnancy.

But on one point there is no confusion: A Harris administration would try to open up more avenues for abortion, and a Trump administration would restrict them.

## **See also**

[HERE](#) Where Voters Will Decide on Abortion in November.

**An interactive report from The New York Times, analysing in what states abortion will be on the ballot**

## The Stakes on Climate

We cover each presidential candidate's climate policies.



In Michigan. Credit... Todd Heisler/The New York Times

**By Lisa Friedman, *The New York Times*, The Morning Newsletter, Oct. 11, 2024**

Will governments slash greenhouse gases enough to prevent the most dangerous impacts of global warming? Scientists say the next few years will provide the answer. The United States has pumped the most carbon dioxide into the atmosphere of any country since the Industrial Revolution, and that makes the next president's energy choices enormously consequential.

Vice President Kamala Harris calls climate change an “existential threat” that the United States must combat. She's pledged to build on the billions of dollars the Biden administration invested in clean energy (such as solar, wind and other renewables). Although congressional Republicans may block new laws, she is likely to use regulatory power to reduce emissions.

Former President Donald Trump dismisses climate change as a “hoax.” As Hurricane Helene ripped through the Southeast, he called global warming “one of the great scams.” He wants to extract more fossil fuels — the burning of which drives climate change — and end renewable energy subsidies.

The Morning is running a series explaining the policy stakes of the election. In this installment, I'll focus on climate change, which I've covered for 16 years.

### **Trump's 'liquid gold' agenda**

Trump does not consider climate change a problem that requires a solution. Curtailing fossil fuels, he argues, hurts the economy and drives up energy prices.

During his first term, Trump appointed people who deny climate science to key positions. He withdrew the United States from the Paris agreement on climate change, a 2015 accord in which nearly all nations pledged to limit warming. He rolled back more than 100 environmental regulations, including limits to emissions from power plants and automobiles.

There are three ways analysts believe he could go further if he wins: by weakening government agencies; expanding fossil fuel production; and impeding clean energy.

Trump's allies have pledged not just to reverse the climate regulations that President Biden restored, but also to dismantle parts of the Environmental Protection Agency and the Department of Energy by shuttering offices, relocating staff members and embedding loyalists in key positions.

He has promised to grant virtually all permits to drill oil — which he calls “liquid gold under our feet” — on public lands and waters, keep coal plants burning and make it easier to build gas pipelines. Those policies could create new jobs, but they would emit greenhouse gas emissions equivalent to another billion cars on the road, according to a study by Carbon Brief, a climate analysis site.

The final area is clawing back clean-energy subsidies that the Biden administration is doling out under the Inflation Reduction Act of 2022. Yet while Trump rails against electric vehicles as “green scams” and claims windmills cause cancer (they don’t), he might find resistance to slashing those programs in Republican congressional districts that are receiving money. This summer, 18 House Republicans wrote to Speaker Mike Johnson asking him not to eliminate clean-energy tax credits next year.

### Harris’s plan

Harris wants to boost clean energy, but she doesn’t have a ton of options. She has two main ideas: She’d continue Biden’s subsidies and improve electrical transmission from remote wind and solar power generators to population centers that can consume it.

Fixing the nation’s electricity grid might seem like a wonky presidential platform, but it could determine whether the United States meets its climate targets. The Biden administration has pledged to cut emissions roughly in half by the end of this decade, which would mean massive deployment of clean energy. But the nation’s fractured transmission system can’t handle that growth right now.

It will be up to Congress to fix that problem. But Republicans insist that any bipartisan deal also fast-track pipelines and other fossil fuel infrastructure. That’s a poison pill for many environmental groups. The Harris campaign hasn’t weighed in on such a compromise.

Without legislation, a Harris administration would have limited tools. The E.P.A. could set new controls on big industrial polluters — steel and cement plants, factories, oil refineries and others. She could also lobby Congress for a “carbon tariff” against China and other global competitors — a fee added to imported goods like steel and cement based on their carbon emissions. She also might use executive authority to limit new gas exports or drilling on federal lands. All of those possibilities come with challenges, either from the courts or political opponents.

## The Climate Stakes of the US Election

*Project Syndicate*, Sep 9, 2024 Joseph E. Stiglitz

*Just as Donald Trump’s overall economic strategy is based on nostalgia for a bygone era, his fossil-fuel-centered energy policies would represent a quixotic attempt to reverse history. He would ultimately fail, but not before doing a great deal of damage to US competitiveness and security.*

NEW YORK – The outcome of the US presidential election in November will have an enormous impact on both the country and the world, and not least on efforts to combat climate change. While Donald Trump lacks a coherent platform, he clearly stands far apart from Vice President Kamala Harris on the issue.

Earlier this year, Trump reportedly “requested \$1 billion in campaign contributions from fossil-fuel industry executives, promising in turn to roll back environmental regulations, hasten permitting and leasing approvals, and preserve or enhance tax benefits that the oil and gas industry enjoys.” Even if Trump is not an outright climate-change denier, he belongs to a broader school of politicians and commentators who do not think that we need to worry about it. His vision for “Making America Great Again” is to make the United States an even larger polluter, an even larger producer of fossil fuels, and an even bigger laggard behind Europe and much of the rest of the world.

Both science and technology are working against the fossil-fuel industry. The cost of renewables has plummeted, and under normal circumstances, this would

have driven down the price of fossil fuels. But because Russia is such a large supplier of petrochemicals, the war in Ukraine has distorted the market.

If elected, Trump would probably sell out Ukraine, or at least arrange a temporary ceasefire, thus facilitating a greater flow of oil and gas. He also wants to reverse the US Inflation Reduction Act and increase hostilities with China, which produces many of the world’s solar panels and other critical inputs for decarbonization. A major slowdown of the green transition in the US is thus a real risk, even before considering the possibility that Trump would further increase the already massive US subsidies for fossil fuels.

Just as Trump’s overall economic strategy is based on nostalgia for a bygone era, his energy policies would represent a quixotic attempt to reverse time. He would ultimately fail, but not before doing a great deal of damage to US competitiveness and security.

Trump’s first term already offered a preview of what an overtly fossil fuel-friendly America would mean for the rest of the world. He endorsed climate-change deniers in Brazil and a host of other countries, and the US withdrew from the Paris climate agreement. In the years thereafter, progress on global climate cooperation clearly slowed.

Watch our Climate Week NYC 2024 event now to hear speakers from across the globe – including Mia Amor Mottley, Prime Minister of Barbados; Gabriel Boric,

55 President of Chile; Jiwoh Abdulai, Minister of Environment and Climate Change of Sierra Leone; and Maisa Rojas Corradi, Minister of the Environment of Chile – discuss climate leadership, development finance, and more.

60 But eight years after he first assumed office, the economic and security implications of climate change have become even clearer. Europe and Japan seem resolute in their commitments to tax imports from major carbon polluters, and though Trump would probably retaliate for these  
65 policies, US allies can take some comfort in the fact that he would have imposed tariffs on them in any case.

Ironically, often-vilified multinationals might play a crucial role in sustaining the green transition. The leaders of these companies recognize the realities of climate  
70 change, and they know that they must operate in multiple jurisdictions. If they do not join in the broader green transition, they will lose out now, and even more so in the future.

Even within America, the largest and most important states  
75 have already passed legislation pushing firms to decarbonize their operations and reduce their carbon footprints. That means large companies operating in multiple states are already pursuing and adopting green technologies and business practices – and for the same  
80 reasons that multinationals will.

Yes, there will be aggressive attempts by some fossil-fuel companies to roll back these regulations. But there will also be stronger civil-society efforts, including through the courts, to hold companies accountable for the damage they  
85 have wrought. Smart business leaders will recognize the folly of resisting the inevitable. Even in the oil and gas industry, some companies are already changing their business model to phase down fossil fuels and invest in renewable energy.

90 Thus, global politics, science, technology, sound corporate management, and the climate itself all weigh against

Trump's love of fossil fuels. Four decades ago, many assumed that tropical countries would bear the brunt of the costs, owing to their already high temperatures. They  
95 indeed are affected, with some facing desertification and others poised to become uninhabitable. But they are hardly alone. The US has already suffered enormous damage, and by the end of the century those losses are estimated to be between 1-4% of GDP annually.

100 It makes far more sense to do what we can now to limit this damage than to make the same kinds of repairs year after year. Four decades ago, we thought the cost of combating climate change would be very high. But low-cost renewables and the emergence of other new  
105 technologies have changed everything. The cost of renewable energy is low and falling, and it would be even lower and falling faster with a greater public commitment to the green transition and the investments it requires.

Make no mistake: there *will* be a green transition. The only  
110 questions are how fast it will proceed, and how much damage we will incur if it is delayed. Trump will attempt to throw a wrench in the process. He wants the fossil-fuel industry's support, and the industry will view its campaign contributions as a high-return investment. A Republican-  
115 controlled Congress would, of course, do whatever Trump says.

The resulting pro-fossil-fuel environment would facilitate fossil-fuel investments, but since these have long time horizons, many would become stranded assets. American  
120 taxpayers thus may wind up paying thrice for the blunder. In addition to the direct and hidden subsidies during the Trump administration and the direct and hidden compensation for stranded assets sometime in the future, they also will have to deal with the resulting lack of energy  
125 and climate security.

Elections always matter, but this one matters more than most.