

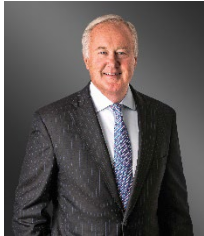
2024 Election

*Prepared by the Greenberg Traurig
Government Law & Policy Team*





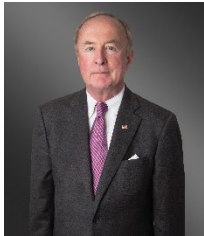
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47th President

Second Trump Administration Overview

With Republican control of the White House, the Senate, and likely control of the House of Representatives, President-elect Donald J. Trump is expected to support policies that reduce illegal immigration,¹ increase carbon-based energy production,² dramatically raise tariffs,³ lower taxes,⁴ limit environmental regulations,⁵ support law enforcement,⁶ centralize executive power,⁷ expand U.S. missile defenses,⁸ and reduce U.S. foreign and military assistance to allies and partners.⁹ Over the next several months until 60 days after Inauguration Day on January 20th, 2025, the Government Services Administration (GSA) will provide office space and support services to President Trump and Vice President Vance.¹⁰ Trump is currently using his Mar-a-Lago property in Florida as a presidential transition headquarters.¹¹

Trump, dissatisfied with perceived institutional backstops to his 2017-2021 agenda, may operate outside of traditional institutional structures to pursue his policy agenda.¹² This strategy aims to defang the perceived “deep state” staffing of numerous federal agencies.¹³ His efforts are expected to include repealing part of the Impoundment Control Act of 1974, allowing him to refuse to spend money appropriated by Congress for specialized programs.¹⁴ He is also expected to attempt to bring independent regulatory agencies, including the FTC and FCC, under presidential authority,¹⁵ and reinstate his executive order stripping federal employee protections.¹⁶

Trump plans to reinstate Schedule F, an executive order that streamlines the firing of career civil servants, which, combined with extensive preparatory activity by Trump allies, may allow a second term Trump greater latitude to reinforce carefully selected political appointees with ideologically aligned agency staff.¹⁷ Much of Trump’s agenda will require significant Congressional support to be effective.

¹ ICYMI: RNC Platform Committee Adopts 2024 Republican Party Platform, “ICYMI: RNC Platform Committee Adopts 2024 Republican Party Platform,” GOP, 2024, <https://www.gop.com/press-release/icymi-rnc-platform-committee-adopts-2024-republican-party-platform/>.

² “A Deep Dive into Energy Plans for Trump 2.0,” POLITICO, April 15, 2024, <https://www.politico.com/newsletters/power-switch/2024/04/15/a-deep-dive-into-energy-plans-for-trump-2-0-00152281>.

³ 2024. Accessed August 1. <https://www.barrons.com/articles/biden-trump-presidential-election-tax-plans-192595de>.

⁴ The Economist, “America’s Fiscal Outlook Is Disastrous, but Forgotten,” The Economist (The Economist, May 2, 2024), <https://www.economist.com/briefing/2024/05/02/americas-fiscal-outlook-is-disastrous-but-forgotten>.

⁵ Dana, “A Comparison of Biden and Trump Energy Policies: Priorities and Impacts,” Modern Diplomacy, April 27, 2023, <https://modern diplomacy.eu/2023/04/27/a-comparison-of-biden-and-trump-energy-policies-priorities-and-impacts/>.

⁶ Billy Binion, “Trump Promises to Give Police ‘Immunity from Prosecution,’” Reason.com, May 3, 2024, <https://reason.com/2024/05/03/trump-promises-to-give-police-immunity-from-prosecution/>.

⁷ “Beyond Shock and Awe: Inside Trump’s Potential Second-Term Agenda,” POLITICO, February 25, 2024, <https://www.politico.com/news/2024/02/25/second-trump-term-00140488>.

⁸ ICYMI: RNC Platform Committee Adopts 2024 Republican Party Platform, “ICYMI: RNC Platform Committee Adopts 2024 Republican Party Platform,” GOP, 2024, <https://www.gop.com/press-release/icymi-rnc-platform-committee-adopts-2024-republican-party-platform/>.

⁹ The Economist, “Beware a World without American Power,” The Economist (The Economist, April 4, 2024), <https://www.economist.com/leaders/2024/04/04/beware-a-world-without-american-power>.

¹⁰ “2024 Transition Timeline,” Center for Presidential Transition, November 28, 2023, <https://presidentialtransition.org/transition-resources/transition-timeline/>.

¹¹ Kristen Holmes, “Inside Mar-a-Lago, the Chaotic Trump Epicenter: Patio Pitches, Transition Meetings and Rogue Guests,” CNN, November 11, 2024, <https://www.cnn.com/2024/11/10/politics/mar-a-lago-trump-transition-epicenter/index.html>.

¹² “If Trump Wins,” *The New York Times*, 2024, <https://www.nytimes.com/interactive/2024/06/16/us/politics/trump-policy-list-2025.html>.

¹³ Tess Owen, “Trump Loyalists Plan to Name and Shame ‘Blacklist’ of Federal Workers,” the Guardian (The Guardian, June 30, 2024), <https://www.theguardian.com/us-news/article/2024/jun/30/trump-loyalists-deep-state-blacklist-american-accountability-foundation>.

¹⁴ Jeff Stein and Jacob Bogage, “Trump Plans to Claim Sweeping Powers to Cancel Federal Spending,” Washington Post (The Washington Post, June 7, 2024), <https://www.washingtonpost.com/business/2024/06/07/trump-budget-impoundment-congress/>.

¹⁵ “Beyond Shock and Awe: Inside Trump’s Potential Second-Term Agenda,” POLITICO, February 25, 2024, <https://www.politico.com/news/2024/02/25/second-trump-term-00140488>.

¹⁶ “Beyond Shock and Awe: Inside Trump’s Potential Second-Term Agenda,” POLITICO, February 25, 2024, <https://www.politico.com/news/2024/02/25/second-trump-term-00140488>.

¹⁷ Simon J. Levien, “What Is Project 2025, and Why Is Trump Disavowing It?,” *The New York Times*, July 12, 2024, sec. U.S., <https://www.nytimes.com/article/project-2025.html>.

The Republican-controlled Senate is expected to utilize the Congressional Review Act (CRA) to pull back targeted Biden executive agency rules that fall within the CRA's 60-day window.¹⁸ Even with Republican control of both chambers, the lack of a 60-vote majority in the Senate could mean that the filibuster remains a significant barrier to legislation. In response to Senate Democratic filibusters, Trump is likely to re-embrace executive orders to enact his favored policies. From 2017 to 2021, Trump issued more executive orders, 220 total, than any president had during a four-year term since President Jimmy Carter.¹⁹

Projected policy stances of selected Trump Cabinet positions:

- **Secretary of State:**

- Expected to counter China's territorial and economic ambitions in the Indo-Pacific.²⁰
- Expected to pressure NATO members to spend more on defense.²¹
- Expected to work with Israel and Arab countries to expand the Abraham Accords.²²

- **Secretary of Defense:**

- Expected to reform the Pentagon's bureaucracy.²³
- Expected to eliminate progressive Department of Defense policies.²⁴
- Expected to oversee an expanded U.S. nuclear arsenal and missile defense infrastructure.²⁵

- **Secretary of the Treasury:**

- Expected to encourage financial de-regulation and free-market policies.²⁶
- Expected to support a 20% corporate tax rate.²⁷
- Expected to increase economic sanctions on Iran, Cuba, and Venezuela.²⁸

¹⁸ Caitlin Mullen and Dan Ennis, "Banking Rules, and Regulators, That Face Change under Trump," Legal Dive, November 6, 2024, <https://www.legaldive.com/news/trump-banking-capital-requirements-fed-fdic-sec-cfbp/732197/>.

¹⁹ Mullins, Brody and Luke, Mullins. 2024. *The Wolves of K Street: The Secret History of How Big Money Took Over Big Government*, pg 453. New York, N.Y., Simon & Schuster.

²⁰ Matt Pottinger and Mike Gallagher, "No Substitute for Victory," Foreign Affairs, April 10, 2024, <https://www.foreignaffairs.com/united-states/no-substitute-victory-pottinger-gallagher>.

²¹ The Economist, "Beware a World without American Power," The Economist (The Economist, April 4, 2024), <https://www.economist.com/leaders/2024/04/04/beware-a-world-without-american-power>.

²² Dan Negrea, "Teaching a Man to Fish: Donald Trump's Second-Term Alliance Policy," The National Interest, April 24, 2024, <https://nationalinterest.org/feature/teaching-man-fish-donald-trump%E2%80%99s-second-term-alliance-policy-210717>.

²³ Alexander Bolton, "Trump Expected to Draw Heavily from Senate to Fill Cabinet," The Hill (The Hill, July 25, 2024), <https://thehill.com/homenews/senate/4791146-republican-senators-trump-cabinet/>.

²⁴ Scott Waldman, "Trump Allies Plan to Root out Climate Science at 'Woke' Pentagon," E&E News by POLITICO, March 15, 2024, <https://www.eenews.net/articles/trump-allies-plan-to-root-out-climate-science-at-woke-pentagon/>.

²⁵ The Economist, "America and Its Allies Are Entering a Period of Nuclear Uncertainty," The Economist (The Economist, April 4, 2024), <https://www.economist.com/briefing/2024/04/04/america-and-its-allies-are-entering-a-period-of-nuclear-uncertainty>.

²⁶ Alexander Bolton, "Trump Expected to Draw Heavily from Senate to Fill Cabinet," The Hill (The Hill, July 25, 2024), <https://thehill.com/homenews/senate/4791146-republican-senators-trump-cabinet/>.

²⁷ Rubin, Richard. "Corporate Tax Rate Spurs Political Fight With More Than \$1 Trillion at Stake." The Wall Street Journal. June 17, 2024. https://www.wsj.com/politics/policy/corporate-tax-rate-election-53de5180?mod=hp_lead_pos1.

²⁸ Robert C O'Brien, "The Return of Peace through Strength," Foreign Affairs, June 18, 2024, <https://www.foreignaffairs.com/united-states/return-peace-strength-trump-obrien>.

- **Attorney General:**

- Expected to investigate social-media censorship.²⁹
- Expected to implement the mass deportation of undocumented immigrants.³⁰
- Expected to mobilize the Department of Justice (DOJ) Antitrust Division to scrutinize big tech and other sectors accused of being monopolistic.³¹

- **Secretary of Homeland Security:**

- Expected to implement a zero-tolerance illegal immigration policy.³²
- Expected to oversee the mass-deportation of undocumented immigrants.³³
- Expected to limit student and spousal work authorization.³⁴
- Expected to limit refugee admission levels.³⁵
- Expected to end the Humanitarian Parole Program for nationals of Cuba, Haiti, Nicaragua, and Venezuela.³⁶
- Expected to end Temporary Protected Status.³⁷

- **Secretary of Commerce:**

- Expected to enforce high tariffs on imported goods, with a particular focus on goods from China.³⁸
- Expected to prohibit critical technology exports to rival countries.³⁹
- Expected to investigate U.S. corporations suspected of violating tariff policies.⁴⁰

²⁹ Timothy Nerozzi, “Trump Blasts Meta and Google after Users Claim Companies Censored Assassination Attempt Searches,” Fox Business (Fox Business, July 30, 2024), <https://www.foxbusiness.com/politics/trump-blasts-meta-google-after-users-claim-companies-censored-assassination-attempt-searches>.

³⁰ Bart Jansen, “Trump Justice: Who Will Donald Trump Name as U.S. Attorney General?,” *USA TODAY*, November 8, 2024, https://doi.org/10.85301/480p_30fps,720p_30fps,1080p_30fps.

³¹ Josh Gerstein, “Many in Government Are Worried about Trump’s Return. At DOJ, They’re Terrified. - POLITICO,” POLITICO (Politico, November 10, 2024), <https://www.politico.com/news/2024/11/10/trump-return-justice-department-00188623>.

³² Gabe Gutierrez et al., “Trump to Attend a Gala with Proponents of His Family Separation Border Policies,” NBC News (NBC News, April 4, 2024), <https://www.nbcnews.com/politics/donald-trump/trump-family-separation-policies-second-term-zero-tolerance-border911-rcna146270>.

³³ ICYMI: RNC Platform Committee Adopts 2024 Republican Party Platform, “ICYMI: RNC Platform Committee Adopts 2024 Republican Party Platform,” GOP, 2024, <https://www.gop.com/press-release/icymi-rnc-platform-committee-adopts-2024-republican-party-platform/>.

³⁴ Stuart Anderson, “Trump Immigration Policy Could Mean Misery for H-1B Spouses,” Forbes, September 17, 2024, <https://www.forbes.com/sites/stuartanderson/2024/09/17/trump-immigration-policy-could-mean-misery-for-h-1b-spouses/>.

³⁵ Suzanne Gamboa, “Trump Restricted Legal Immigration in His First Term. Will It Happen Again?,” NBC News, May 13, 2024, <https://www.nbcnews.com/news/latino/trump-restrictions-legal-immigration-second-term-rcna151994>.

³⁶ Stuart Anderson, “Trump Immigration Plan May End Deportation Safeguards for 2.7 Million,” Forbes, October 3, 2024, <https://www.forbes.com/sites/stuartanderson/2024/10/03/trump-immigration-plan-may-end-deportation-safeguards-for-27-million/>.

³⁷ Stuart Anderson, “Trump Immigration Plan May End Deportation Safeguards for 2.7 Million,” Forbes, October 3, 2024, <https://www.forbes.com/sites/stuartanderson/2024/10/03/trump-immigration-plan-may-end-deportation-safeguards-for-27-million/>.

³⁸ The Economist, “America’s Fiscal Outlook Is Disastrous, but Forgotten,” *The Economist* (The Economist, May 2, 2024), <https://www.economist.com/briefing/2024/05/02/americas-fiscal-outlook-is-disastrous-but-forgotten>.

³⁹ Matt Pottinger and Mike Gallagher, “No Substitute for Victory,” *Foreign Affairs*, April 10, 2024, <https://www.foreignaffairs.com/united-states/no-substitute-victory-pottinger-gallagher>.

⁴⁰ Nancy Cook, “Trump’s Promised Tariffs Would Push up Costs for American Households,” Bloomberg.com (Bloomberg, June 17, 2024), <https://www.bloomberg.com/news/articles/2024-06-17/trump-s-promised-tariffs-will-push-up-costs-for-american-households?embedded-checkout=true>.

- **Secretary of Energy:**
 - Expected to maintain U.S. energy independence.⁴¹
 - Expected to expand carbon-based energy production.⁴²
 - Expected to reduce regulations on energy companies.⁴³
- **United States Trade Representative (USTR):**
 - Expected to oversee the expansion of import tariffs to secure trade concessions.⁴⁴
 - Expected to shift U.S. focus from multilateral to bilateral trade agreements.⁴⁵
 - Expected to strengthen the enforcement of U.S. trade laws related to IP theft and foreign subsidies.⁴⁶
- **Environmental Protection Agency (EPA) Administrator:**
 - Expected to reconsider the EPA's 2009 conclusion that greenhouse gases endanger public health to roll back environmental protections.⁴⁷
 - Expected to eliminate EPA staff perceived as disloyal to the administration.⁴⁸
 - Expected to refrain from developing new environmental regulations.⁴⁹

⁴¹ ICYMI: RNC Platform Committee Adopts 2024 Republican Party Platform, "ICYMI: RNC Platform Committee Adopts 2024 Republican Party Platform," GOP, 2024, <https://www.gop.com/press-release/icymi-rnc-platform-committee-adopts-2024-republican-party-platform/>.

⁴² Max Zahn, "What Are Trump's Plans for the Economy in a Potential 2nd Term?," ABC News (ABC News, January 6, 2024), <https://abcnews.go.com/Business/trumps-plans-economy-potential-2nd-term/story?id=106097659>.

⁴³ "A Deep Dive into Energy Plans for Trump 2.0," POLITICO, April 15, 2024, <https://www.politico.com/newsletters/power-switch/2024/04/15/a-deep-dive-into-energy-plans-for-trump-2-0-00152281>.

⁴⁴ Warren Maruyama, Lyric Galvin, and William Alan Reinsch, "Making Tariffs Great Again: Does Trump Have Legal Authority to Implement New Tariffs on U.S. Trading Partners and China?," Csis.org, 2024, <https://www.csis.org/analysis/making-tariffs-great-again-does-president-trump-have-legal-authority-implement-new-tariffs>.

⁴⁵ Warren Maruyama, Lyric Galvin, and William Alan Reinsch, "Making Tariffs Great Again: Does Trump Have Legal Authority to Implement New Tariffs on U.S. Trading Partners and China?," Csis.org, 2024, <https://www.csis.org/analysis/making-tariffs-great-again-does-president-trump-have-legal-authority-implement-new-tariffs>.

⁴⁶ Warren Maruyama, Lyric Galvin, and William Alan Reinsch, "Making Tariffs Great Again: Does Trump Have Legal Authority to Implement New Tariffs on U.S. Trading Partners and China?," Csis.org, 2024, <https://www.csis.org/analysis/making-tariffs-great-again-does-president-trump-have-legal-authority-implement-new-tariffs>.

⁴⁷ "How Trump Could Reshape EPA on 'Day 1,'" POLITICO, July 18, 2024, <https://www.politico.com/newsletters/power-switch/2024/07/18/how-trump-could-reshape-epa-on-day-one-00169484>.

⁴⁸ Brad Plumer and Lisa Friedman, "What Trump 2.0 Could Mean for the Environment," *The New York Times*, July 16, 2024, <https://www.nytimes.com/2024/07/16/climate/trump-epa-regulation.html>.

⁴⁹ Justine Calma, "Project 2025 Would 'Essentially Eviscerate EPA,' Former Staff Warn," *The Verge*, September 19, 2024, <https://www.theverge.com/2024/9/19/24248267/epa-air-pollution-report-biden-trump-project-2025>.

Presidential Transition Overview

The U.S. federal government is one of the largest institutions on Earth, and transferring control of the government from an outgoing president to an incoming president is an incredibly complex process.⁵⁰ An incoming president-elect must begin making over 4,000 political appointments, including over 1,200 positions requiring Senate confirmation.⁵¹ Since 1963, the Government Services Administration (GSA) has been authorized funding to assist the president-elect with the transition. Since 2010, the GSA has been required by law to help eligible party candidates with administrative preparation following the major party conventions.⁵² However, these GSA services require a presidential candidate transition team to coordinate with to have an impact.

During the 2024 presidential election, both the Trump and Harris campaigns were historically late in selecting the leaders of their respective transition teams.⁵³ Recent history indicates significant uncertainty when the departing incumbent president and the incoming president-elect are from different political parties. In 2020, Trump administration GSA Administrator Emily Murphy waited 16 days before offering the incoming Biden administration the administrative support required by the 1963 Transition Law.⁵⁴ As a result of this delay, a bipartisan reform to the Electoral Count Act was signed into law in 2022, which clarifies the GSA administrator's role following a presidential election.⁵⁵

On the day after the election, the GSA must provide office space and support services to the president-elect and vice president-elect, with support continuing up to 60 days after the inauguration. Additionally, the president-elect receives a classified national security summary as soon as possible after the election.⁵⁶

⁵⁰ 221 and 179, "Why the Presidential Transition Process Matters," Brennan Center for Justice, 2024, <https://www.brennancenter.org/our-work/research-reports/why-presidential-transition-process-matters>.

⁵¹ Olivia B Waxman, "Barack Obama, Donald Trump and the Difficult History of Presidential Transition," TIME (Time, November 11, 2016), <https://time.com/4566735/obama-trump-presidential-transition-history-origins/>.

⁵² Drew Friedman, "Both Parties Already behind on Presidential Transition Planning," Federal News Network - Helping feds meet their mission. (Federal News Network, July 25, 2024), <https://federalnewsnetwork.com/management/2024/07/both-parties-already-behind-on-presidential-transition-planning/>.

⁵³ Sean Michael Newhouse, "Both Harris and Trump Are Historically behind on Presidential Transition Planning," Government Executive, August 27, 2024, <https://www.govexec.com/management/2024/08/both-harris-and-trump-are-historically-behind-presidential-transition-planning/399106/>.

⁵⁴ Lisa Rein, "Under Pressure, Trump Appointee Emily Murphy Approves Transition in Unusually Personal Letter to Biden," Washington Post (The Washington Post, November 24, 2020), https://www.washingtonpost.com/politics/gsa-emily-murphy-transition-biden/2020/11/23/cof43e84-2deo-11eb-96c2-aac3f162215d_story.html.

⁵⁵ Niels Lesniewski, "Presidential Transition Process Changes Head to Biden's Desk - Roll Call," Roll Call, December 23, 2022, <https://rollcall.com/2022/12/23/presidential-transition-process-changes-head-to-bidens-desk/>.

⁵⁶ "2024 Transition Timeline," Center for Presidential Transition, November 28, 2023, <https://presidentialtransition.org/transition-resources/transition-timeline/>.

Trump Transition Team

In August, Trump named Howard Lutnick and former Small Business Administration Administrator Linda McMahon as co-chairs,⁵⁷ and Vice President-elect J.D. Vance (R-OH), Donald Trump Jr., and Eric Trump as honorary transition team co-chairs.⁵⁸ Additionally, former Rep. Tulsi Gabbard (D-HI) and Robert F. Kennedy Jr. are involved with the Trump transition team.⁵⁹ Also, Trump announced plans to place Elon Musk in charge of a government efficiency commission in a second Trump administration.⁶⁰

Presidential Transition Timeline

- **April 2024:** The Office of Management and Budget (OMB) published a Memorandum for Heads of Executive Departments and Agencies.⁶¹
 - This memorandum provides guidance to all executive departments and agencies on assisting the presidential transition activities required by the Presidential Transition Act of 1963.
- **October 1, 2024:** The GSA negotiated memorandums of understanding with transition teams, including agreement by transition teams to implement and make public their ethics plans.⁶²
- **November 1, 2024:** The Agency Transition Directors Council ensured that transition briefing materials are prepared.⁶³
- November 5, 2024: Election Day
- **Post-election (once there is clarity on the outcome):** On the day following a concession of all but one eligible candidate, or the determination of a sole apparent successful candidate, GSA continues to provide office space and support services to the president-elect and the Vice president-elect, with support continuing up to 60 days after inauguration.⁶⁴
- **Post-election (once there is clarity on the outcome):** A classified summary regarding national security is given to the president-elect as soon as possible after the election.⁶⁵
- **Post-election (once there is clarity on the outcome):** Training and orientation activities commence for prospective presidential appointees.⁶⁶

⁵⁷ Jonathan Swan, Maggie Haberman, and Charlie Savage, “Trump Transition Team to Include Howard Lutnick and Linda McMahon,” *Nytimes.com* (The New York Times, August 16, 2024), <https://www.nytimes.com/2024/08/16/us/politics/trump-transition-team-2024-mcmahon-lutnick.html>.

⁵⁸ Partnership for, “Partnership for Public Service Statement on Trump Transition Chair Announcement,” Partnership for Public Service, August 16, 2024, <https://ourpublicservice.org/press-release/partnership-for-public-service-statement-on-trump-transition-chair-announcement/>.

⁵⁹ ZEKE MILLER, “Presidential Transition Planning Has Begun in Earnest, but Trump and Harris Are Already Behind,” *AP News*, August 27, 2024, <https://apnews.com/article/harris-trump-transition-biden-election-944aa257180e7cbc5e50601a1a7119a9>.

⁶⁰ Robin Bravender, “Trump Pledges to Put Elon Musk in Charge of Reg-Slashing Bid,” *E&E News by POLITICO*, September 5, 2024, <https://www.eenews.net/articles/trump-pledges-to-put-elon-musk-in-charge-of-reg-slashing-bid/>.

⁶¹ “2024 Transition Timeline,” Center for Presidential Transition, October 25, 2024, <https://presidentialtransition.org/transition-resources/transition-timeline/>.

⁶² “2024 Transition Timeline,” Center for Presidential Transition, October 25, 2024, <https://presidentialtransition.org/transition-resources/transition-timeline/>.

⁶³ “2024 Transition Timeline,” Center for Presidential Transition, October 25, 2024, <https://presidentialtransition.org/transition-resources/transition-timeline/>.

⁶⁴ “2024 Transition Timeline,” Center for Presidential Transition, October 25, 2024, <https://presidentialtransition.org/transition-resources/transition-timeline/>.

⁶⁵ “2024 Transition Timeline,” Center for Presidential Transition, October 25, 2024, <https://presidentialtransition.org/transition-resources/transition-timeline/>.

⁶⁶ “2024 Transition Timeline,” Center for Presidential Transition, October 25, 2024, <https://presidentialtransition.org/transition-resources/transition-timeline/>.

- **December 11, 2024**: State officials must issue “Certificates of Ascertainment” on the popular vote in each state.⁶⁷
- **December 17, 2024**: Electors meet in each of the 50 state capitals to vote the electoral votes for their states. ⁶⁸
- **December 21, 2024**: GSA begins support to outgoing president and vice president, with support continuing for seven months total.⁶⁹
- **December 25, 2024**: Electoral votes must be received by the President of the Senate (Vice President Kamala Harris) and the Archivist of the United States.⁷⁰
- **January 3, 2025**: The Archivist of the United States transfers the certificates to Congress.⁷¹
- **January 6, 2025**: Congress convenes to count the electoral votes.⁷²
 - If objections are filed by at least one-fifth of the members in both chambers, the bodies retire to their chambers to consider.
 - If no candidate has 270 electoral votes, the House of Representatives decides the presidential election, and the Senate elects the vice president.
- **January 20, 2025**: Inauguration Day.

⁶⁷ “Key Dates and Events for State Officials and Points of Contact,” n.d., <https://www.archives.gov/files/electoral-college/state-officials/state-officials-key-dates.pdf>.

⁶⁸ “Key Dates and Events for State Officials and Points of Contact,” n.d., <https://www.archives.gov/files/electoral-college/state-officials/state-officials-key-dates.pdf>.

⁶⁹ “Key Dates and Events for State Officials and Points of Contact,” n.d., <https://www.archives.gov/files/electoral-college/state-officials/state-officials-key-dates.pdf>.

⁷⁰ “Key Dates and Events for State Officials and Points of Contact,” n.d., <https://www.archives.gov/files/electoral-college/state-officials/state-officials-key-dates.pdf>.

⁷¹ “Key Dates and Events for State Officials and Points of Contact,” n.d., <https://www.archives.gov/files/electoral-college/state-officials/state-officials-key-dates.pdf>.

⁷² “Key Dates and Events for State Officials and Points of Contact,” n.d., <https://www.archives.gov/files/electoral-college/state-officials/state-officials-key-dates.pdf>.

New Government Outlook

Trump WH, GOP Senate, GOP House (GOP Trifecta)

Overview

- With Republicans controlling both chambers of Congress, Trump will be (with the exception of the Senate filibuster) largely unconstrained in implementing his agenda, even with small majorities in the House and Senate. Trump and his loyalists might pressure Senate Republican institutionalists, like Sen. Mitch McConnell (R-KY), to scrap the filibuster to pass Trump priorities via a simple Senate majority.⁷³ Trump and a unified Republican Congress may seek to enact numerous Trump agenda items, including ending birthright citizenship for the children of undocumented immigrants,⁷⁴ deporting over one million undocumented immigrants each year,⁷⁵ using DoD funds to build holding facilities to detain undocumented immigrants,⁷⁶ repealing the Impoundment Control Act of 1974,⁷⁷ authorizing military force against Mexican drug cartels,⁷⁸ limiting U.S. foreign assistance,⁷⁹ and ending U.S. military aid to Ukraine,⁸⁰ among other priorities. It is unclear if the congressional Republican plans to focus on the *Loper Bright* SCOTUS decision, which undid the longstanding *Chevron* doctrine, will receive significant attention with Trump back in the White House.⁸¹ Republican lawmakers could be restrained in their efforts to weaken federal agencies if those agencies are staffed with Trump loyalists and led by Trump nominees.

Senate

- Senate Republicans will proceed with a coordinated attempt to extend the TCJA tax cuts and boost other Republican priorities, like expanding carbon-based energy production and increasing DoD funding, via budget reconciliation.⁸² Budget reconciliation is a congressional procedure to expedite the passage of Senate legislation dealing with spending, revenue, and the debt limit, with a simple majority of 51 Senate votes (or 50 Senate votes with the vice president serving as tie-breaker) for passage.⁸³

⁷³ punchbowlnews, “Senate GOP Promises to Preserve the Filibuster — Even under Trump,” Punchbowl News, May 28, 2024, <https://punchbowl.news/article/senate/senate-republicans-say-they-will-preserve-filibuster/>.

⁷⁴ Galston, William A. “Trump’s Plan to Expand Executive Power.” The Wall Street Journal, June 11, 2024. <https://www.wsj.com/articles/trumps-plan-to-expand-executive-power-a44fb34e>.

⁷⁵ “If Trump Wins,” *The New York Times*, 2024, <https://www.nytimes.com/interactive/2024/06/16/us/politics/trump-policy-list-2025.html>.

⁷⁶ “If Trump Wins,” *The New York Times*, 2024, <https://www.nytimes.com/interactive/2024/06/16/us/politics/trump-policy-list-2025.html>.

⁷⁷ Jeff Stein and Jacob Bogage, “Trump Plans to Claim Sweeping Powers to Cancel Federal Spending,” Washington Post (The Washington Post, June 7, 2024), <https://www.washingtonpost.com/business/2024/06/07/trump-budget-impoundment-congress/>.

⁷⁸ Sam Cabral, “US Election 2024: Where Biden and Trump Stand on Key Issues,” Bbc.com (BBC News, April 15, 2024), <https://www.bbc.com/news/world-us-canada-68790777>.

⁷⁹ Laura Thornton, “Trump’s Second Term Will Redefine Foreign Aid,” Foreign Policy (Foreign Policy, February 2024), <https://foreignpolicy.com/2024/02/01/usaid-trump-second-term-foreign-aid/>.

⁸⁰ 2024. Accessed August 13. <https://www.reuters.com/world/us/trump-reviews-plan-halt-us-military-aid-ukraine-unless-it-negotiates-peace-with-2024-06-25/>.

⁸¹ Pamela King, “What Chevron’s Demise Would Mean for a Second Trump Term,” E&E News by POLITICO, June 28, 2024, <https://www.eenews.net/articles/what-chevrons-demise-would-mean-for-a-second-trump-term/>.

⁸² The Economist, “Republicans Are Favoured to Win the Senate. What Would They Do?,” The Economist (The Economist, June 17, 2024), <https://www.economist.com/united-states/2024/06/17/republicans-are-favoured-to-win-the-senate-what-would-they-do>.

⁸³ Richard Kogan, “Introduction to Budget ‘Reconciliation’ | Center on Budget and Policy Priorities,” Center on Budget and Policy Priorities, January 22, 2015, <https://www.cbpp.org/research/introduction-to-budget-reconciliation>.

However, new Trump tax cut proposals, including expanding the SALT cap and eliminating tip taxes, may face resistance from Republican fiscal hawks.⁸⁴ Also, it is possible that Trump's pressure on Senate Republicans to nuke the filibuster will not emerge until after the budget reconciliation process.⁸⁵ Additionally, Senate Republicans are unlikely to reject Trump's nominees for cabinet positions.⁸⁶ However, moderate senators and institutionalists may scrutinize nominees for critical roles, such as the Attorney General, Secretary of Defense, Secretary of State, and Secretary of the Treasury. Sen. John Thune (R-SD) will replace Sen. Mitch McConnell (R-KY) as Senate majority leader, which increases the likelihood of a degree of institutional Senate Republican continuity at the leadership level.⁸⁷

- Senate Republicans may use their majority to empower the *Chevron*-decision working group, led by Sens. Eric Schmitt (R-OK), Kevin Cramer (R-ND), Cynthia Lummis (R-WY), Rick Scott (R-FL), John Cornyn (R-TX), and John Thune (R-SD).⁸⁸ This group intends to limit the administrative state's exercise of power following the Supreme Court's (SCOTUS) *Chevron* decision in 2024. The now defunct *Chevron* doctrine required federal courts to defer to federal agencies' reasonable interpretations of ambiguous laws, and the Supreme Court's ruling means that courts must now interpret federal statutes without being required to accept an agency's interpretation of an ambiguous statute.⁸⁹ This effort is expected to initially target 101 federal agencies that have published over 50 final rules since 2000.⁹⁰
- With control of the White House and both congressional chambers, Republicans will likely use the Congressional Review Act (CRA) to strip federal agency regulations enacted under the Biden administration. CRA will mainly be used to target environmental rules.⁹¹ Partisan committee hearings into past Biden administration policies will continue with Republican control of the House as a tool to project the effectiveness of Trump's actions and policies. Additionally, should House Republicans succeed in pushing a national abortion ban⁹² through both chambers, Trump may veto the bill.⁹³

⁸⁴ Joseph Zeballos-Roig and Burgess Everett, "Trump's Growing Tax Cut Promises Will Give GOP a Huge Headache | Semafor," Semafor.com, September 18, 2024, <https://www.semafor.com/article/09/18/2024/donald-trumps-tax-cut-plans-may-have-a-hard-time-getting-passed>.

⁸⁵ punchbowlnews, "Senate GOP Promises to Preserve the Filibuster — Even under Trump," Punchbowl News, May 28, 2024, <https://punchbowl.news/article/senate/senate-republicans-say-they-will-preserve-filibuster/>.

⁸⁶ "U.S. Senate: Donald J. Trump Cabinet Nominations," Senate.gov, March 14, 2024, https://www.senate.gov/legislative/nominations/Trump_cabinet.htm.

⁸⁷ Stu Whitney, "South Dakota's Thune Voted Senate Majority Leader," South Dakota News Watch, November 13, 2024, <https://www.sdnewswatch.org/south-dakotas-thune-voted-senate-majority-leader-2/>.

⁸⁸ "POLITICO Pro: Republicans Lay Groundwork for Post-Chevron Senate," @POLITICOPro, 2024, <https://subscriber.politicopro.com/article/2024/07/republicans-lay-groundwork-for-post-chevron-senate-00168642>.

⁸⁹ Adam Liptak, "Supreme Court's Chevron Ruling Limits Power of Federal Agencies," *The New York Times*, June 28, 2024, <https://www.nytimes.com/2024/06/28/us/supreme-court-chevron-ruling.html>.

⁹⁰ "POLITICO Pro: Republicans Lay Groundwork for Post-Chevron Senate," @POLITICOPro, 2024, <https://subscriber.politicopro.com/article/2024/07/republicans-lay-groundwork-for-post-chevron-senate-00168642>.

⁹¹ The Economist, "Why the Biden Administration Is Rushing to Produce Regulations," *The Economist* (The Economist, May 2, 2024),

⁹² "RSC Releases FY25 Budget Proposal: 'Fiscal Sanity to Save America,'" Republican Study Committee, March 20, 2024, <https://rsc-hern.house.gov/media/press-releases/rsc-releases-fy25-budget-proposal-fiscal-sanity-save-america>.

⁹³ Erin Doherty and Sareen Habeshian, "After Waffling, Trump Says He'd Veto National Abortion Ban," *Axios*, October 2, 2024, <https://www.axios.com/2024/10/02/trump-abortion-2024-harris-vance>.

The following members of the Senate are likely to be contenders for committee chairs, and the following policy priorities are likely to receive focus:

- **Senate Agriculture**

- A GOP-led Senate Agriculture Committee will focus on supporting a 2025 Farm Bill (2018 Farm Bill has been extended twice) that uses IRA funds to support USDA conservation programs, limiting the president's ability to increase SNAP payments, and supporting private crop insurance companies, increasing logging in private and public forests to reduce wildfires.⁹⁴
- Current Ranking Member Sen. John Boozman (R-AR) is expected to chair the committee.⁹⁵

- **Senate Armed Services**

- A GOP-led Senate Armed Services Committee will focus on supporting authorizing \$900 billion+ in defense appropriations, growing military spending to 5% of U.S. GDP, growing the Navy to 357 ships, adding 340 Air Force fighters, supporting investments in U.S. shipbuilding and military industrial base, supporting asymmetric and unmanned weapon systems, and increasing support and attention for U.S. European and Indo-Pacific Combatant Commands.⁹⁶
- Sen. Roger Wicker (R-MS),⁹⁷ current committee ranking member, will chair the committee.

- **Senate Banking**

- A GOP-led Senate Banking Committee will be focused on opposing the SEC's climate disclosure rule, limiting the power of the CFPB, supporting Treasury Department sanctions on foreign adversaries like Iran, increasing the housing supply, expanding investigation into Chinese shell companies, and streamlining access to funding through capital markets.⁹⁸
- Current Ranking Member Sen. Tim Scott (R-SC) is expected to chair the committee.⁹⁹

⁹⁴ "Minority News | the United States Senate Committee on Agriculture, Nutrition & Forestry," Senate.gov (Senate Committee On Agriculture, Nutrition & Forestry, 2024), <https://www.agriculture.senate.gov/newsroom/minority-news>.

⁹⁵ Olivia M Bridges, "Boozman, Klobuchar Lined up to Follow Stabenow on Agriculture - Roll Call," Roll Call, November 2024, <https://rollcall.com/2024/11/01/boozman-klobuchar-lined-up-to-follow-stabenow-on-agriculture/>.

⁹⁶ "Senator Wicker Unveils Major Defense Investment Plan," U.S. Senator Roger Wicker, May 29, 2024, <https://www.wicker.senate.gov/2024/5/senator-wicker-unveils-major-defense-investment-plan>.

⁹⁷ In Anticipation, "Plurus Strategies," Plurus Strategies, February 6, 2024, <https://www.plurusstrategies.com/insights/2024/2/6/house-committee-musical-chairs-in-anticipation-of-the-119th-congress>.

⁹⁸ "Minority Press Releases | United States Committee on Banking, Housing, and Urban Affairs," Senate.gov, August 2024, <https://www.banking.senate.gov/newsroom/minority-press-releases>.

⁹⁹ Mark Schoeff Jr, "Scott Eyes Banking Gavel, NRSC If Republicans Take Senate - Roll Call," Roll Call, October 31, 2024, <https://rollcall.com/2024/10/31/scott-eyes-banking-gavel-nrsc-if-republicans-take-senate/>.

- **Senate Commerce, Science, and Transportation**

- A GOP-led Senate Commerce Committee will be focused on actively overseeing big tech firms perceived to be anti-conservative, supporting regulation of disinformation technology like deepfakes, supporting oversight of Boeing, opposing Biden administration electric vehicle (EV) subsidies, and supporting carbon-based energy company mergers.¹⁰⁰
- Current Ranking Member Sen. Ted Cruz (R-TX)¹⁰¹ is expected to chair the committee.¹⁰²

- **Senate Energy and Natural Resources**

- A GOP-led Senate Energy and Natural Resources Committee will be focused on supporting efforts to oversee and limit the Bureau of Land Management (BLM), supporting Federal Energy Regulatory Commission (FERC) reform, opposing Department of Energy efforts to support EV-use, and supporting nuclear power expansion.¹⁰³
- Sen. Mike Lee (R-UT) is expected to chair the committee.¹⁰⁴

- **Senate Environment and Public Works**

- A GOP-led Senate Environment and Public Works Committee will be focused on supporting gas, coal, and nuclear power plants, oversight and criticism of IRA implementation, actively seeking to expedite the federal permitting process, and opposing the Federal Highway Administration's emissions mandate.¹⁰⁵
- Current Ranking Member Sen. Shelley Moore Capito (R-WV) is expected to chair the committee.¹⁰⁶

- **Senate Finance**

- A GOP-led Senate Finance Committee will be primarily focused on extending the TCJA,¹⁰⁷ as well as opposing the OECD PillarOne global taxing rights initiative, supporting lower corporate taxes, decreasing prescription drug shortages, attempting to regulate and eliminate the fentanyl supply chain, rhetorical support for limited free trade, and oversight of social security disability insurance rules.¹⁰⁸

Sen. Mike Crapo (R-ID), current committee ranking member, will chair the committee.

¹⁰⁰ "Republican News," U.S. Senate Committee on Commerce, Science, & Transportation, 2014, <https://www.commerce.senate.gov/republican-news>.

¹⁰¹ In Anticipation, "Plurus Strategies," Plurus Strategies, February 6, 2024, <https://www.plurusstrategies.com/insights/2024/2/6/house-committee-musical-chairs-in-anticipation-of-the-119th-congress>.

¹⁰² Jake Neenan, "Cruz Wins Texas: Likely Senate Commerce Chair Supports Appropriations for USF," Broadband Breakfast, November 6, 2024, <https://broadbandbreakfast.com/cruz-wins-texas-likely-senate-commerce-chair-supports-appropriations-for-usf/>.

¹⁰³ "Republican News," U.S. Senate Committee on Energy and Natural Resources, 2024, <https://www.energy.senate.gov/republican-news>.

¹⁰⁴ Ted Barrett, "Conservative Firebrands Set to Chair Key Senate Committees in New Congress," CNN, November 8, 2024, <https://www.cnn.com/2024/11/08/politics/gop-senate-committees-new-congress/index.html>.

¹⁰⁵ "Minority News - U.S. Senate Committee on Environment and Public Works," Senate.gov, 2024, <https://www.epw.senate.gov/public/index.cfm/press-releases-republican>.

¹⁰⁶ Ted Barrett, "Conservative Firebrands Set to Chair Key Senate Committees in New Congress," CNN, November 8, 2024, <https://www.cnn.com/2024/11/08/politics/gop-senate-committees-new-congress/index.html>.

¹⁰⁷ "Crapo: Congress Must Extend 2017 Tax Law | the United States Senate Committee on Finance," Senate.gov, September 13, 2024, <https://www.finance.senate.gov/ranking-members-news/crapo-congress-must-extend-2017-tax-law>.

¹⁰⁸ "Ranking Member's News | the United States Senate Committee on Finance," Senate.gov, August 2024, <https://www.finance.senate.gov/ranking-members-news>.

- **Senate Foreign Relations**

- A GOP-led Senate Foreign Relations Committee will be focused on supporting consistent monitoring and condemnation of aggressive acts by Russia, China, North Korea, and Iran, maintaining robust support for NATO and AUKUS, strong support for Israel, criticism of Russia's ties to Cuba and Venezuela, and supporting efforts to highlight human rights abuses.¹⁰⁹
- Current Ranking Member Sen. Jim Risch (R-ID) is expected to chair the committee.¹¹⁰

- **Senate Health, Education, Labor and Pensions (HELP)**

- A GOP-led Senate HELP Committee will be focused on criticizing National Labor Relations Board (NLRB) ties to labor unions, supporting expedited Free Application for Federal Student Aid (FAFSA) implementation, supporting efforts to fight the human trafficking of migrant children, efforts to oversee federal agencies' compliance with SCOTUS *Loper Bright* ruling, maintaining support for IVF, and opposing pro-trans Title IX rules.¹¹¹
- Current Ranking Member Sen. Bill Cassidy (R-LA) is expected to chair the committee.¹¹²

- **Senate Homeland Security**

- A GOP-led Senate Committee on Homeland Security will be focused on supporting oversight and investigations into COVID-19 origins and Biden admin COVID-19 policies, robust support for border security and limiting immigration, criticism and oversight of the FBI, and supporting efforts to simplify federal disaster assistance.¹¹³
- Current Ranking Member Sen. Rand Paul (R-KY) is expected to chair the committee.¹¹⁴

- **Senate Judiciary**

- A GOP-led Senate Judiciary Committee will be focused on opposing Democratic efforts to regulate SCOTUS, supporting aggressive border security measures, potentially fighting FISA Sec. 702 reauthorization in 2026, supporting investigations into campus antisemitism, and robust support for law enforcement.¹¹⁵
- Former Chair Sen. Chuck Grassley (R-IA) is expected to chair the committee.¹¹⁶

¹⁰⁹ "Ranking Member's Press | United States Senate Committee on Foreign Relations," Senate.gov (United States Senate Committee on Foreign Relations, 2024), <https://www.foreign.senate.gov/press/ranking>.

¹¹⁰ In Anticipation, "Plurus Strategies," Plurus Strategies, February 6, 2024, <https://www.plurusstrategies.com/insights/2024/2/6/house-committee-musical-chairs-in-anticipation-of-the-119th-congress>.

¹¹¹ "Ranking Member's Press | the U.S. Senate Committee on Health, Education, Labor & Pensions," Senate.gov (Senate Committee on Health, Education, Labor and Pensions, 2024), <https://www.help.senate.gov/ranking/newsroom>.

¹¹² Sean Richardson, "U.S. Senator Bill Cassidy Set to Chair HELP Committee," louisianaradionetwork.com, November 7, 2024, <https://louisianaradionetwork.com/2024/11/07/u-s-senator-bill-cassidy-set-to-chair-help-committee/>.

¹¹³ "Minority News - Committee on Homeland Security & Governmental Affairs," Committee on Homeland Security & Governmental Affairs, February 28, 2023, <https://www.hsgac.senate.gov/media/minority-news/?jsf=jet-engine:press-list&meta=congress:118>.

¹¹⁴ In Anticipation, "Plurus Strategies," Plurus Strategies, February 6, 2024, <https://www.plurusstrategies.com/insights/2024/2/6/house-committee-musical-chairs-in-anticipation-of-the-119th-congress>.

¹¹⁵ "Minority Press | United States Senate Committee on the Judiciary," Senate.gov (United States Senate Committee on the Judiciary, 2024), <https://www.judiciary.senate.gov/press/minority>.

¹¹⁶ Ryan Tarinelli, "Trump, GOP Poised to Add More Conservatives to Federal Courts - Roll Call," Roll Call, November 6, 2024, <https://rollcall.com/2024/11/06/trump-gop-poised-to-add-more-conservatives-to-federal-courts/>.

House of Representatives

- House Republicans are likely to be more proactive in advancing Trump’s agenda than the Senate, and the lower chamber will attempt to pressure their upper chamber Republican colleagues to tack to the right on policy changes as they undergo budget reconciliation.¹¹⁷ House Republicans appear eager to include non-TCJA related provisions during budget reconciliation, including restoring the “Remain in Mexico” policy, decreasing mandatory federal spending, opening the Alaska National Wildlife Refuge for carbon-based energy exploration, and other energy funding initiatives alongside tax cut extensions.¹¹⁸ The House must elect a new Speaker at the onset of the 119th Congress in January 2024. It is likely that Rep. Mike Johnson (R-LA) will be elected Speaker of the House by Republicans due to his strong relationship with Donald Trump.¹¹⁹ However, there is some uncertainty as to whether the most conservative members of the conference will be less disruptive than they were over the past two years. The result of the divisions within the House Republican Conference led to the ouster of former-Speaker Kevin McCarthy (R-CA). It is possible that Democrats could leverage potential House Republican divides to disrupt the selection of a Speaker. Additionally, President Trump’s nomination of Rep. Elise Stefanik (R-NY), creates a new open position with the conference, the House Republican Conference Chair role, as well as further narrowing the GOP majority.¹²⁰

The following members of the House are likely to be contenders for committee chairs, and the following policy priorities are likely to receive focus:

- **House Agriculture:**
 - A GOP-led House Agriculture Committee will be focused on supporting a 2025 Farm Bill (2018 Farm Bill has been extended twice) that uses IRA funds to support USDA conservation programs, attempting to decrease SNAP payments, and supporting private crop insurance companies, increasing logging in private and public forests to reduce wildfires.¹²¹
 - Current Chair Rep. Glenn Thompson (R-PA)¹²² is expected to continue to chair the committee.

¹¹⁷ “Republicans Reckon Early with Their Reconciliation Limits,” POLITICO, June 12, 2024, <https://www.politico.com/newsletters/inside-congress/2024/06/12/republicans-reckon-early-with-their-reconciliation-limits-00163047?nname=inside-congress&nid=0000014f-1646-d88f-a1cf-5f46b4be0000&nrid=2b6d5e9a-41bc-4151-a785-18b0356911ed&nlid=630309>.

¹¹⁸ Kadia Goba, “Building the Wall, Opening ANWR: The GOP Starts Mapping Its Reconciliation Game Plan | Semafor,” Semafor.com, May 28, 2024, <https://www.semafor.com/article/05/28/2024/house-republicans-reconciliation>.

¹¹⁹ Juliegrace Brufke, “Mike Johnson in Stronger-Than-Expected Spot to Keep His Job in 2025,” Axios (Axios, July 25, 2024), <https://www.axios.com/2024/07/25/mike-johnson-house-speaker-2025-trump>.

¹²⁰ JILL COLVIN, FARNOUSH AMIRI, and EDITH M LEDERER, “Trump Chooses New York Rep. Elise Stefanik as Ambassador to UN,” AP News, November 11, 2024, <https://apnews.com/article/trump-untied-nations-elise-stefanik-ambassador-2b482fb39a8d6f03d389d27cc8820056>.

¹²¹ “News List | House Agriculture Committee,” House.gov, August 2, 2024, <https://agriculture.house.gov/news/documentquery.aspx?DocumentTypeID=27>.

¹²² punchbowlnews, “The House GOP’s Committee Scramble,” Punchbowl News, June 20, 2024, <https://punchbowl.news/article/house/house-gop-committee-gavel-leadership-scramble/>.

- **House Armed Services:**

- A GOP-led House Armed Services Committee will be focused on supporting additional pay raises for junior enlisted servicemembers, supporting efforts to remove perceived progressive initiatives, such as DEI-training, from the Department of Defense, measured support for sending U.S. arms to Ukraine, robust support for sending U.S. arms to Israel and Taiwan, supporting the expansion of the U.S. shipbuilding and military industrial base, and active support for U.S. military build-up in the Indo-Pacific.¹²³
- Current Chair Rep. Mike Rogers (R-AL) is expected to continue to chair the committee.¹²⁴

- **House Education and Workforce:**

- A GOP-led House Education and Workforce Committee will be focused on supporting efforts to limit OSHA's authority, attempting to limit pro-trans related interpretations of Title IX, opposing perceived abuses of large labor unions, investigating antisemitism at universities, robust oversight of the Employee Benefits Security Administration, and opposing activities of the National Labor Relations Board (NLRB).¹²⁵
- Either Rep. Tim Walberg (R-MI), Rep. Joe Wilson (R-SC), or Rep. Burgess Owens (R-UT) is expected to chair the committee.¹²⁶

- **House Energy and Commerce:**

- A GOP-led House Energy and Commerce Committee will be focused on opposing Biden administration electric vehicle (EV) subsidies, supporting carbon-based energy company mergers, supporting Federal Energy Regulatory Commission (FERC) reform, opposing Department of Energy efforts to support EV-use, and supporting nuclear power expansion.¹²⁷

- **House Financial Services:**

- A GOP-led House Financial Services Committee will be focused on supporting the activities of the Bipartisan AI Working Group, opposing perceived progressive influence at the Federal Reserve, opposing the SEC's equity market structure reforms, attempting to narrow the scope of White House restrictions on outbound investment to China, robust oversight and criticism of the CFPB, and opposing a central bank digital currency (CBDC).¹²⁸

¹²³ "Media | Representative Republicans-Armedservices," Representative Republicans-armedservices, 2024, <https://armedservices.house.gov/news>.

¹²⁴ punchbowlnews, "The House GOP's Committee Scramble," Punchbowl News, June 20, 2024, <https://punchbowl.news/article/house/house-gop-committee-gavel-leadership-scramble/>.

¹²⁵ "News List | Committee on Education & the Workforce," House.gov, November 13, 2017, <https://edworkforce.house.gov/news/documentquery.aspx?DocumentTypeID=1823>.

¹²⁶ punchbowlnews, "The House GOP's Committee Scramble," Punchbowl News, June 20, 2024, <https://punchbowl.news/article/house/house-gop-committee-gavel-leadership-scramble/>.

¹²⁷ "House Committee on Energy and Commerce," House Committee on Energy and Commerce, 2024, <https://energycommerce.house.gov/news/press-release>.

¹²⁸ "Press Releases | Financial Services Committee," House.gov, 2024, <https://financialservices.house.gov/news/documentquery.aspx?DocumentTypeID=2092>.

- **House Foreign Affairs**

- A GOP-led House Foreign Affairs Committee will be focused on supporting consistent monitoring and condemnation of aggressive acts by Russia, China, North Korea, and Iran, maintaining robust support for NATO and AUKUS, strong support for Israel, active oversight of the State Department, criticism of Russia's ties to Cuba and Venezuela, and supporting efforts to highlight human rights abuses.¹²⁹
- Either current committee Chair Rep. Michael McCaul (R-TX), Rep. Ann Wagner (R-MO), Rep. Chris Smith (R-NJ), Rep. Joe Wilson (R-SC), Rep. Scott Perry (R-PA) is expected to chair the committee.¹³⁰

- **House Homeland**

- A GOP-led House Homeland Committee will be focused on supporting increased border security, investigating perceived terrorist threats at the U.S.-Mexico border, supporting efforts to secure U.S. critical infrastructure, supporting efforts to increase cybersecurity, supporting oversight and investigations into FBI activity, and opposing U.S. federal agency use of Chinese-linked technology.¹³¹
- Current Chair Rep. Mark Green (R-TN) is expected to chair the committee.¹³²

- **House Judiciary**

- A GOP-led House Judiciary Committee will be focused on overseeing the CBP and supporting increased border security, supporting oversight of federal agencies to ensure compliance with SCOTUS' Chevron ruling, continued opposition to ESG policies at financial institutions, opposing DEI-hiring practices at federal agencies, likely opposing FISA Sec. 702 reauthorization in 2026, and supporting enforcement of antitrust laws and regulations.¹³³
- Current Chair Rep. Jim Jordan (R-OH)¹³⁴ is expected to chair the committee.

- **House Natural Resources:**

- A GOP-led House Natural Resources Committee will be focused on supporting attempts to limit perceived federal overreach via interpretation of the Endangered Species Act, supporting investigations into issues on Tribal Lands, investigating the influence of progressive environmental groups on corporations and federal agencies, supporting increased mining of critical minerals, and supporting efforts to expedite National Environmental Policy Act (NEPA) permitting.¹³⁵
- Current Chair Rep. Bruce Westerman (R-AR) is expected to remain chair.¹³⁶

¹²⁹ "Press Releases Archive - Committee on Foreign Affairs," Committee on Foreign Affairs, 2016, <https://foreignaffairs.house.gov/press-release/>.

¹³⁰ punchbowlnews, "The House GOP's Committee Scramble," Punchbowl News, June 20, 2024, <https://punchbowl.news/article/house/house-gop-committee-gavel-leadership-scramble/>.

¹³¹ "Press – Committee on Homeland Security," House.gov, 2024, <https://homeland.house.gov/press/>.

¹³² punchbowlnews, "The House GOP's Committee Scramble," Punchbowl News, June 20, 2024, <https://punchbowl.news/article/house/house-gop-committee-gavel-leadership-scramble/>.

¹³³ "Press Releases | House Judiciary Committee Republicans," House Judiciary Committee Republicans, 2024, <https://judiciary.house.gov/media/press-releases>.

¹³⁴ punchbowlnews, "The House GOP's Committee Scramble," Punchbowl News, June 20, 2024, <https://punchbowl.news/article/house/house-gop-committee-gavel-leadership-scramble/>.

¹³⁵ "Latest News | House Committee on Natural Resources," House.gov, August 9, 2024, <https://naturalresources.house.gov/news/>.

¹³⁶ punchbowlnews, "The House GOP's Committee Scramble," Punchbowl News, June 20, 2024, <https://punchbowl.news/article/house/house-gop-committee-gavel-leadership-scramble/>.

- **House Science, Space, and Technology**

- A GOP-led House Science, Space, and Technology Committee will be focused on opposing U.S. corporation use of Chinese technology, supporting robust LNG exports, opposing emissions regulations for the Defense Department, active oversight of EPA, supporting next-generation pipelines, supporting commercial space policy, and increasing quantum computing research.¹³⁷
- Rep. Brian Babin (R-TX) is expected to chair the committee.¹³⁸

- **House Transportation and Infrastructure:**

- A GOP-led House Transportation and Infrastructure Committee will be focused on supporting efforts to revitalize U.S. shipbuilding, supporting the expansion of the aviation workforce, supporting oversight of Boeing, opposing Chinese corporate involvement in U.S. transit development, supporting Clean Water Act permitting reforms, increasing oversight of FEMA, and robust support for the Coast Guard.¹³⁹
- Either current Chair Rep. Sam Graves (R-MO) or Rep. Rick Crawford (R-AR) is expected to chair the committee.¹⁴⁰

- **House Ways and Means:**

- A GOP-led House Ways and Means Committee will be focused on opposing a Digital Services Tax, investigating ties between U.S. universities and China, investigating fraud in Affordable Care Act plans, modernizing the Child Welfare Program, supporting the expansion and extension of TCJA tax reductions, active oversight and criticism of the IRS, and continued efforts to investigate foreign money in U.S. elections.¹⁴¹
- Current Chair Rep. Jason Smith (R-MO) is expected to chair the committee.¹⁴²

- **House Select Committee on Strategic Competition between the U.S. and the CCP Committee:**

- A GOP-led House CCP Select Committee will focus on maintaining robust support for Taiwanese sovereignty, vocal opposition to China's use of forced labor, oversight of critical technology companies with China ties, supporting strong U.S. military position in the Indo-Pacific, broadcasting perceived flaws in CCP governance.¹⁴³
- Current Chair Rep. John Moolenaar (R-MI) is expected to chair the committee.¹⁴⁴

¹³⁷ "Press Releases - House Committee on Science Space & Tech - Republicans," House Committee on Science Space & Tech - Republicans, 2024, <https://science.house.gov/press-releases>.

¹³⁸ punchbowlnews, "The House GOP's Committee Scramble," Punchbowl News, June 20, 2024, <https://punchbowl.news/article/house/house-gop-committee-gavel-leadership-scramble/>.

¹³⁹ "Press Releases | Transportation and Infrastructure Committee," House.gov, 2024, <https://transportation.house.gov/news/documentquery.aspx?DocumentTypeID=2545>.

¹⁴⁰ punchbowlnews, "The House GOP's Committee Scramble," Punchbowl News, June 20, 2024, <https://punchbowl.news/article/house/house-gop-committee-gavel-leadership-scramble/>.

¹⁴¹ "News – Ways and Means," House.gov, 2024, <https://waysandmeans.house.gov/news/>.

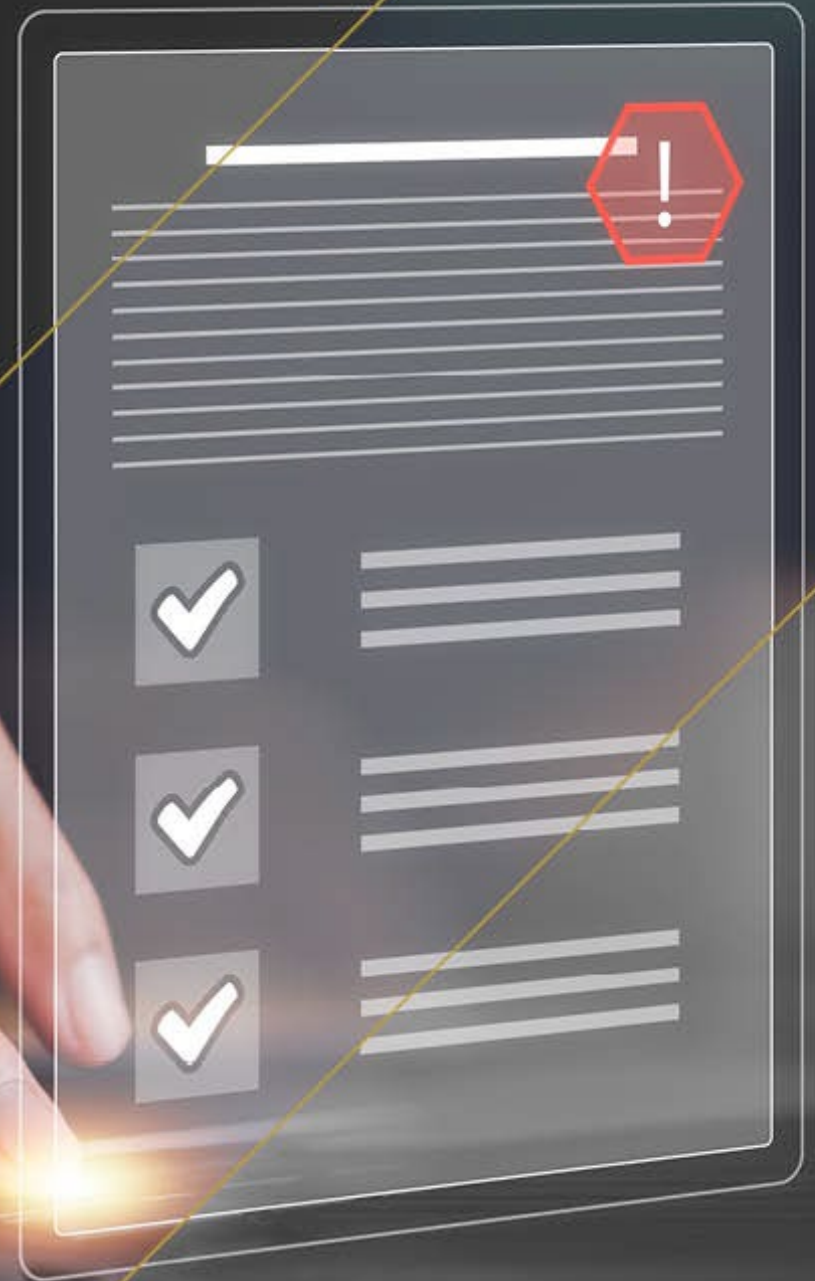
¹⁴² punchbowlnews, "The House GOP's Committee Scramble," Punchbowl News, June 20, 2024, <https://punchbowl.news/article/house/house-gop-committee-gavel-leadership-scramble/>.

¹⁴³ "Press Releases | Select Committee on the CCP," Select Committee on the CCP, 2024, <https://selectcommitteeontheccp.house.gov/media/press-releases>.

¹⁴⁴ punchbowlnews, "The House GOP's Committee Scramble," Punchbowl News, June 20, 2024, <https://punchbowl.news/article/house/house-gop-committee-gavel-leadership-scramble/>.

Policies

Greenberg Traurig has compiled the stated and projected policy proposals of President-elect Donald Trump based on his public statements, positions, and insights from policy experts and allies. This summary aims to provide a clear overview of the policy directions Trump may pursue.





Finance

- May favor expanding Presidential influence over the Federal Reserve’s interest rate rulemaking.¹⁴⁵
- Promised to fire SEC Chair Gary Gensler.¹⁴⁶
- Is expected to support restrict U.S. business investments in China.¹⁴⁷
- May favor weakening the U.S. dollar to reduce the trade deficit.¹⁴⁸
- Is expected to support decreasing federal oversight of the cryptocurrency sector.¹⁴⁹
- Supports lowering corporate taxes.¹⁵⁰

¹⁴⁵ Jeanna Smialek, “What Trump 2.0 Could Mean for the Federal Reserve,” *The New York Times*, May 23, 2024, sec. Business, <https://www.nytimes.com/2024/05/23/business/economy/trump-federal-reserve.html>.

¹⁴⁶ Brady Dale, “Trump’s Promises to Bitcoin Conference: ‘Fire’ SEC Chair, Build ‘Strategic Bitcoin Stockpile,’” *Axios* (Axios, July 27, 2024), <https://www.axios.com/2024/07/27/trump-bitcoin-strategic-reserve-fire-gary-gensler-nashville>.

¹⁴⁷ Morgan Chalfant, “Why Trump Is Ready to Go Harder on China | Semafor,” *Semafor.com*, June 18, 2024, <https://www.semafor.com/article/06/17/2024/why-trump-is-ready-to-go-harder-on-china>.

¹⁴⁸ Nicholas Sargen, “A Second Trump Term Could Actually Make Inflation Worse,” *The Hill* (The Hill, May 24, 2024), <https://thehill.com/opinion/finance/4681945-the-potential-inflationary-impact-of-a-second-trump-term/>.

¹⁴⁹ Ben Foldy, Vicky Ge Huang, and Caitlin Ostroff, “Trump Hitches His 2024 Election Campaign to the Crypto Crowd,” *WSJ* (The Wall Street Journal, September 20, 2024), https://www.wsj.com/politics/elections/donald-trump-campaign-crypto-bitcoin-7a2e2e4f?mod=politics_lead_story.

¹⁵⁰ Richard Rubin, “Corporate Tax Rate Spurs Political Fight with More than \$1 Trillion at Stake,” *WSJ* (The Wall Street Journal, June 17, 2024), https://www.wsj.com/politics/policy/corporate-tax-rate-election-53de5180?mod=hp_lead_posi.



Defense/Foreign Policy

- May favor declaring that the United States will not honor NATO's Article 5 mutual defense clause unless all NATO countries spend at least 2% of their GDP on defense.¹⁵¹
- May support decreasing U.S. funding for NATO.¹⁵²
- Suggested plans to decrease or end U.S. economic and military assistance to Ukraine.¹⁵³
- May support expanding U.S. nuclear arsenal through increasing plutonium pits, modifying nuclear missiles to carry more warheads, mobilizing highway-mobile nuclear launch vehicles, uploading reserve nuclear warheads that are currently dormant, and reviving explosive nuclear testing.¹⁵⁴
- Supports increasing U.S. missile defense infrastructure.¹⁵⁵
- May favor increasing tensions with China to establish boundaries.¹⁵⁶
- May support imposing costs such as sanctions on China for fostering global chaos.¹⁵⁷
- Is expected to support increasing U.S. military capabilities under the U.S. Indo-Pacific Command (INDOPACOM).¹⁵⁸
- Trump's 2024 Republican Party Platform supports a 5% increase¹⁵⁹ in DoD appropriations.¹⁶⁰
- Expected to favor limiting U.S. government criticism of nationalist and authoritarian regimes.¹⁶¹

¹⁵¹ Max Bergmann, "How European Transatlanticists Might Approach an Isolationist U.S. Administration," Csis.org, 2024, <https://www.csis.org/analysis/how-european-transatlanticists-ht-approach--migisolationist-us-administration>.

¹⁵² Max Bergmann, "How European Transatlanticists Might Approach an Isolationist U.S. Administration," Csis.org, 2024, <https://www.csis.org/analysis/how-european-transatlanticists-might-approach-isolationist-us-administration>.

¹⁵³ Angela Stent, "How Would Trump and Harris Handle the Russia-Ukraine War?," Brookings, October 2024, <https://www.brookings.edu/articles/how-would-trump-and-harris-handle-the-russia-ukraine-war/>.

¹⁵⁴ The Economist, "America and Its Allies Are Entering a Period of Nuclear Uncertainty," The Economist (The Economist, April 4, 2024), <https://www.economist.com/briefing/2024/04/04/america-and-its-allies-are-entering-a-period-of-nuclear-uncertainty>.

¹⁵⁵ The Economist, "America and Its Allies Are Entering a Period of Nuclear Uncertainty," The Economist (The Economist, April 4, 2024), <https://www.economist.com/briefing/2024/04/04/america-and-its-allies-are-entering-a-period-of-nuclear-uncertainty>.

¹⁵⁶ Matt Pottinger and Mike Gallagher, "No Substitute for Victory," Foreign Affairs, April 10, 2024, <https://www.foreignaffairs.com/united-states/no-substitute-victory-pottinger-gallagher>.

¹⁵⁷ <https://www.economist.com/briefing/2024/04/04/america-and-its-allies-are-entering-a-period-of-nuclear-uncertainty>.

¹⁵⁸ Matt Pottinger and Mike Gallagher, "No Substitute for Victory," Foreign Affairs, April 10, 2024, <https://www.foreignaffairs.com/united-states/no-substitute-victory-pottinger-gallagher>.

¹⁵⁹ Matt Pottinger and Mike Gallagher, "No Substitute for Victory," Foreign Affairs, April 10, 2024, <https://www.foreignaffairs.com/united-states/no-substitute-victory-pottinger-gallagher>.

¹⁵⁹ Zachary Halaschak and Mike Brest, "Wicker Plan to Spend 5% of GDP on Defense Runs up against Tough Budget Realities - Washington Examiner," Washington Examiner - Political News and Conservative Analysis About Congress, the President, and the Federal Government, June 6, 2024, <https://www.washingtonexaminer.com/policy/finance-and-economy/3029148/wicker-plan-5-percent-gdp-defense/>.

¹⁶⁰ ICYMI: RNC Platform Committee Adopts 2024 Republican Party Platform, "ICYMI: RNC Platform Committee Adopts 2024 Republican Party Platform," GOP, 2024, <https://www.gop.com/press-release/icymi-rnc-platform-committee-adopts-2024-republican-party-platform/>.

¹⁶¹ "The World Is Contemplating a Second Trump Administration," *Wall Street Journal*, August 28, 2023, <https://www.wsj.com/world/the-world-is-contemplating-a-second-trump-administration-f6e970c4>.

- May support exchanging security guarantees to Taiwan in exchange for trade concessions from China.¹⁶²
- Expected to support resuming a campaign of maximum pressure towards Iran.¹⁶³
- Expected to favor significantly boosting U.S. military assistance to Israel.¹⁶⁴
- Supports engaging in diplomacy with Russia to end the Russo-Ukrainian War.¹⁶⁵
- May support pressuring Ukraine to cede territory to Russia.¹⁶⁶

¹⁶² “The World Is Contemplating a Second Trump Administration,” *Wall Street Journal*, August 28, 2023, <https://www.wsj.com/world/the-world-is-contemplating-a-second-trump-administration-f6e970c4>.

¹⁶³ Robert C O’Brien, “The Return of Peace through Strength,” *Foreign Affairs*, June 18, 2024, <https://www.foreignaffairs.com/united-states/return-peace-strength-trump-obrien>.

¹⁶⁴ Robert C O’Brien, “The Return of Peace through Strength,” *Foreign Affairs*, June 18, 2024, <https://www.foreignaffairs.com/united-states/return-peace-strength-trump-obrien>.

¹⁶⁵ Robert C O’Brien, “The Return of Peace through Strength,” *Foreign Affairs*, June 18, 2024, <https://www.foreignaffairs.com/united-states/return-peace-strength-trump-obrien>.

¹⁶⁶ Seb Starcevic and Csongor Körömi, “Trump Gives Strongest Signal yet He Won’t Back Ukraine and Zelenskyy against Putin,” *POLITICO*, September 26, 2024, <https://www.politico.eu/article/donald-trump-signal-us-stop-ukraine-election-russia-volodymyr-zelenskyy-vladimir-putin/>.



Energy

- Supports boosting domestic production of carbon-based energy by expanding tax incentives for producers of carbon-based energy.¹⁶⁷
- Likely supports repealing specific Inflation Reduction Act (IRA) policies, specifically sections 30D and 45X¹⁶⁸
 - Section 30D: Bars companies EVs from qualifying for the \$7,500 consumer tax credit if the EV's battery components were sourced from Russia, Iran, North Korea, and/or China.
 - Section 45X: Provides tax credits to companies that establish certain clean energy factories in the United States.
- Supports increasing carbon-based energy exports.¹⁶⁹
 - Trump promised to approve new liquified natural gas (LNG) terminals.¹⁷⁰
- Expected to reduce regulations on carbon-based energy companies by scrapping the new EPA rules on methane leaks and other similar efforts.¹⁷¹
- May attempt to expedite permitting for carbon-based energy development.¹⁷²
- Will likely allow expanded carbon-based energy operations on federal lands.¹⁷³
 - Trump has specifically said he supports allowing increased carbon-based energy development in the Arctic National Wildlife Refuge (ANWR) in Alaska.¹⁷⁴

¹⁶⁷ Max Zahn, "What Are Trump's Plans for the Economy in a Potential 2nd Term?," ABC News (ABC News, January 6, 2024), <https://abcnews.go.com/Business/trumps-plans-economy-potential-2nd-term/story?id=106097659>.

¹⁶⁸ Kate Magill, "Trump Could Roll Back Inflation Reduction Act Tax Credits in a Second Term," Utility Dive, June 17, 2024, <https://www.utilitydive.com/news/trump-biden-2024-election-inflation-reduction-act-rollback/719107/>.

¹⁶⁹ ICYMI: RNC Platform Committee Adopts 2024 Republican Party Platform, "ICYMI: RNC Platform Committee Adopts 2024 Republican Party Platform," GOP, 2024, <https://www.gop.com/press-release/icymi-rnc-platform-committee-adopts-2024-republican-party-platform/>.

¹⁷⁰ "What Could the US Election Mean for Climate Policy?," euronews (Euronews.com, September 2, 2024), <https://www.euronews.com/green/2024/09/02/electric-cars-fracking-lng-where-do-kamala-harris-and-donald-trump-stand-on-key-climate-is>.

¹⁷¹ Ed Crooks, "Wood Mackenzie," Woodmac.com, January 12, 2024, <https://www.woodmac.com/blogs/energy-pulse/what-second-trump-term-could-mean-for-us-oil-and-gas/>.

¹⁷² "A Deep Dive into Energy Plans for Trump 2.0," POLITICO, April 15, 2024, <https://www.politico.com/newsletters/power-switch/2024/04/15/a-deep-dive-into-energy-plans-for-trump-2-0-00152281>.

¹⁷³ Ed Crooks, "Wood Mackenzie," Woodmac.com, January 12, 2024, <https://www.woodmac.com/blogs/energy-pulse/what-second-trump-term-could-mean-for-us-oil-and-gas/>.

¹⁷⁴ Michael Gold, "Trump Makes Big Promises, with Little Detail, for Michigan's Auto Industry," Nytimes.com (The New York Times, September 18, 2024), <https://www.nytimes.com/2024/09/17/us/politics/trump-michigan-town-hall-tariffs.html>.

- Supports the construction of new nuclear power plants.¹⁷⁵
- Supports reviving the Keystone XL pipeline.¹⁷⁶
- Vows to divert IRA money from renewable energy projects to traditional infrastructure projects like roads and bridges.¹⁷⁷
- Promised to cut unspent IRA funds.¹⁷⁸

Climate

- Expected to support ending U.S. participation in the Paris Climate Agreement.¹⁷⁹
- Likely favors loosening environmental regulations on energy and manufacturing processes.¹⁸⁰
- Supports expanding the production and exports of U.S. carbon-based energy.¹⁸¹
- Expected to support reducing environmental compliance costs.¹⁸²
- Supports increasing transparency in environmental rulemaking.¹⁸³
- Supports appointing Elon Musk to oversee cutting regulations, with particular focus on reducing Environmental Protection Agency (EPA) regulations.¹⁸⁴

¹⁷⁵ “Trump Would Torch Biden’s New Green Wish List,” POLITICO, July 10, 2024, <https://www.politico.com/newsletters/power-switch/2024/07/10/trump-would-torch-bidens-new-green-wish-list-00167369>.

¹⁷⁶ Josh Dawsey and Maxine Joselow, “Trump Just Made More Promises to Oil Industry Campaign Donors,” Washington Post (The Washington Post, May 23, 2024), <https://www.washingtonpost.com/climate-environment/2024/05/23/trump-oil-industry-pipelines-campaign-money/>.

¹⁷⁷ “Trump vs. Biden’s Historic Climate Agenda,” POLITICO, July 29, 2024, <https://www.politico.com/news/2024/07/29/biden-climate-spending-trump-2024-00171593#:~:text=%E2%80%99Call%20of%20the%20trillions%20of,Republican%20National%20Convention%2C%20vastly%20overstating>.

¹⁷⁸ Collin Eaton and Benoit Morenne, “Exclusive | Big Oil Urges Trump Not to Gut Biden’s Climate Law,” WSJ (The Wall Street Journal, October 6, 2024), https://www.wsj.com/business/energy-oil/big-oil-urges-trump-not-to-gut-bidens-climate-law-795dc597?mod=politics_lead_pos2.

¹⁷⁹ Barbara Grady, “What Is Project 2025? How Trump and Biden Compare on Climate Change,” Yale Climate Connections (Yale Climate Connections, May 28, 2024), <https://yaleclimateconnections.org/2024/05/the-choice-could-not-be-more-stark-how-trump-and-biden-compare-on-climate-change/>.

¹⁸⁰ Dana, “A Comparison of Biden and Trump Energy Policies: Priorities and Impacts,” Modern Diplomacy, April 27, 2023, <https://moderndiplomacy.eu/2023/04/27/a-comparison-of-biden-and-trump-energy-policies-priorities-and-impacts/>.

¹⁸¹ Ed Crooks, “Wood Mackenzie,” Woodmac.com, January 12, 2024, <https://www.woodmac.com/blogs/energy-pulse/what-second-trump-term-could-mean-for-us-oil-and-gas/>.

¹⁸² Dana, “A Comparison of Biden and Trump Energy Policies: Priorities and Impacts,” Modern Diplomacy, April 27, 2023, <https://moderndiplomacy.eu/2023/04/27/a-comparison-of-biden-and-trump-energy-policies-priorities-and-impacts/>.

¹⁸³ Timothy Cama, “Republican Platform Heavy on Energy, Silent on Climate,” E&E News by POLITICO, July 8, 2024, <https://www.eenews.net/articles/republican-platform-heavy-on-energy-silent-on-climate/>.

¹⁸⁴ 2024. Accessed September 23. https://www.wsj.com/politics/policy/elon-musk-trump-administration-regulations-faa-epa-7ee36ee5?mod=politics_feat3_policy_pos1.



Immigration

- Supports carrying out the largest deportation operation in American history.¹⁸⁵
- May support blocking federal financial aid for two thirds of all American college students if their state permits certain immigrant groups, including DACA/Dreamers to access in-state tuition.¹⁸⁶
- May favor terminating the legal status of 500,000 DACA/Dreamers.¹⁸⁷
- May support triggering an automatic suspension of application intake for large categories of legal immigration.¹⁸⁸
- May support suspending updates to the annual eligible country lists for H-2A and H-2B visas.¹⁸⁹
- May favor barring U.S. citizens from eligibility for federal housing subsidies if they live with a non-citizen or non-legal permanent resident.¹⁹⁰
- May support forcing states to share driver's license and taxpayer information with federal authorities on penalty of losing federal funding to identify undocumented immigrants.¹⁹¹
- Supports ending birthright citizenship for children of undocumented immigrants.¹⁹²
- Supports reassigning federal agents and the National Guard for enhanced immigration control.¹⁹³
- Supports implementing Buy American Hire American Policies of the previous administration and will scrutinize employer recruitment policies.

¹⁸⁵ ICYMI: RNC Platform Committee Adopts 2024 Republican Party Platform, "ICYMI: RNC Platform Committee Adopts 2024 Republican Party Platform," GOP, 2024, <https://www.gop.com/press-release/icymi-rnc-platform-committee-adopts-2024-republican-party-platform/>.

¹⁸⁶ Cecilia Esterline, "Project 2025: Unveiling the Far Right's Plan to Demolish Immigration in a Second Trump Term - Niskanen Center," Niskanen Center - Improving Policy, Advancing Moderation, February 20, 2024, <https://www.niskanencenter.org/project-2025-unveiling-the-far-rights-plan-to-demolish-immigration-in-a-second-trump-term/>.

¹⁸⁷ Cecilia Esterline, "Project 2025: Unveiling the Far Right's Plan to Demolish Immigration in a Second Trump Term - Niskanen Center," Niskanen Center - Improving Policy, Advancing Moderation, February 20, 2024, <https://www.niskanencenter.org/project-2025-unveiling-the-far-rights-plan-to-demolish-immigration-in-a-second-trump-term/>.

¹⁸⁸ Cecilia Esterline, "Project 2025: Unveiling the Far Right's Plan to Demolish Immigration in a Second Trump Term - Niskanen Center," Niskanen Center - Improving Policy, Advancing Moderation, February 20, 2024, <https://www.niskanencenter.org/project-2025-unveiling-the-far-rights-plan-to-demolish-immigration-in-a-second-trump-term/>.

¹⁸⁹ Cecilia Esterline, "Project 2025: Unveiling the Far Right's Plan to Demolish Immigration in a Second Trump Term - Niskanen Center," Niskanen Center - Improving Policy, Advancing Moderation, February 20, 2024, <https://www.niskanencenter.org/project-2025-unveiling-the-far-rights-plan-to-demolish-immigration-in-a-second-trump-term/>.

¹⁹⁰ Cecilia Esterline, "Project 2025: Unveiling the Far Right's Plan to Demolish Immigration in a Second Trump Term - Niskanen Center," Niskanen Center - Improving Policy, Advancing Moderation, February 20, 2024, <https://www.niskanencenter.org/project-2025-unveiling-the-far-rights-plan-to-demolish-immigration-in-a-second-trump-term/>.

¹⁹¹ Cecilia Esterline, "Project 2025: Unveiling the Far Right's Plan to Demolish Immigration in a Second Trump Term - Niskanen Center," Niskanen Center - Improving Policy, Advancing Moderation, February 20, 2024, <https://www.niskanencenter.org/project-2025-unveiling-the-far-rights-plan-to-demolish-immigration-in-a-second-trump-term/>.

¹⁹² Sam Cabral, "US Election 2024: Where Biden and Trump Stand on Key Issues," Bbc.com (BBC News, April 15, 2024), <https://www.bbc.com/news/world-us-canada-68790777>.

¹⁹³ Charlie Savage, Jonathan Swan, and Maggie Haberman, "If Trump Wins," Nytimes.com (The New York Times, June 7, 2024), <https://www.nytimes.com/interactive/2024/06/16/us/politics/trump-policy-list-2025.html>.

- Will likely reimpose travel bans for certain countries.
- Likely to support eliminating Pending Asylum Work Authorization and will reinstate the Remain in Mexico policy.
- Supports authorizing Immigration and Customs Enforcement (ICE) raids of workplaces.¹⁹⁴
- Likely supports using DoD funds to build vast holding facilities for undocumented immigrants awaiting deportation.¹⁹⁵
- Supports reviving the safe third country agreement with Central American countries.¹⁹⁶
- Likely favors suspending refugee programs.¹⁹⁷
- Supports establishing automatic green cards for noncitizen graduates of U.S. colleges and universities.¹⁹⁸
- Supports deporting foreign pro-Palestine student protestors.¹⁹⁹

¹⁹⁴ Megan Hogan, “Trump vs. Harris on Immigration: Future Policy Proposals,” PIIE, September 9, 2024, <https://www.piiie.com/blogs/realtime-economics/2024/trump-vs-harris-immigration-future-policy-proposals>.

¹⁹⁵ Charlie Savage, Jonathan Swan, and Maggie Haberman, “If Trump Wins,” Nytimes.com (The New York Times, June 7, 2024), <https://www.nytimes.com/interactive/2024/06/16/us/politics/trump-policy-list-2025.html>.

¹⁹⁶ Charlie Savage, Jonathan Swan, and Maggie Haberman, “If Trump Wins,” Nytimes.com (The New York Times, June 7, 2024), <https://www.nytimes.com/interactive/2024/06/16/us/politics/trump-policy-list-2025.html>.

¹⁹⁷ Charlie Savage, Jonathan Swan, and Maggie Haberman, “If Trump Wins,” Nytimes.com (The New York Times, June 7, 2024), <https://www.nytimes.com/interactive/2024/06/16/us/politics/trump-policy-list-2025.html>.

¹⁹⁸ Megan Hogan, “Trump vs. Harris on Immigration: Future Policy Proposals,” PIIE, September 9, 2024, <https://www.piiie.com/blogs/realtime-economics/2024/trump-vs-harris-immigration-future-policy-proposals>.

¹⁹⁹ Megan Hogan, “Trump vs. Harris on Immigration: Future Policy Proposals,” PIIE, September 9, 2024, <https://www.piiie.com/blogs/realtime-economics/2024/trump-vs-harris-immigration-future-policy-proposals>.



Economy

- Expected to oversee deficits of \$1.7 trillion through 2035 due to eliminating taxes on Social Security benefits.²⁰⁰
- Expected to oversee investor uncertainty stemming from China and other tariff increases and the potential for a global trade war.²⁰¹
- Supports imposing an immediate moratorium on all new federal spending.²⁰²
- May favor pressuring the Federal Reserve by appointing a pliant chairman when Chair Jerome Powell steps down in 2026.²⁰³
- May support giving a Republican-controlled Congress oversight of interest rates.²⁰⁴
- Supports barring the Federal Reserve from punishing companies for violating rules that the Federal Reserve established through informal guidance.²⁰⁵
- Supports deporting²⁰⁶ a significant number of undocumented immigrants, regardless of the effect on the labor market.²⁰⁷
- Expected to oversee increased gasoline prices stemming from a 10% tariff on imports, which would apply to imported crude oil grades not readily available in the United States.²⁰⁸
- Expected to oversee a .8% decrease in economic growth due to increased tariffs.²⁰⁹

²⁰⁰ “Donald Trump’s Suggestion to End Taxation of Social Security Benefits | Committee for a Responsible Federal Budget,” Committee for a Responsible Federal Budget, July 31, 2024, <https://www.crfb.org/blogs/donald-trumps-suggestion-end-taxation-social-security-benefits>.

²⁰¹ Krystal Hur and Matt Egan, “How Kamala Harris Is Winning over Wall Street,” CNN (CNN, August 21, 2024), <https://www.cnn.com/2024/08/21/investing/kamala-harris-wall-street-relationship/index.html>.

²⁰² “Trump vs. Biden’s Historic Climate Agenda,” POLITICO, July 29, 2024, <https://www.politico.com/news/2024/07/29/biden-climate-spending-trump-2024-00171593>.

²⁰³ The Economist, “America’s Reckless Borrowing Is a Danger to Its Economy—and the World’s,” The Economist (The Economist, May 2, 2024), <https://www.economist.com/leaders/2024/05/02/americas-reckless-borrowing-is-a-danger-to-its-economy-and-the-worlds>.

²⁰⁴ The Economist, “America’s Reckless Borrowing Is a Danger to Its Economy—and the World’s,” The Economist (The Economist, May 2, 2024), <https://www.economist.com/leaders/2024/05/02/americas-reckless-borrowing-is-a-danger-to-its-economy-and-the-worlds>.

²⁰⁵ Jeanna Smialek, “What Trump 2.0 Could Mean for the Federal Reserve,” *The New York Times*, May 23, 2024, sec. Business, <https://www.nytimes.com/2024/05/23/business/economy/trump-federal-reserve.html>.

²⁰⁶ ICYMI: RNC Platform Committee Adopts 2024 Republican Party Platform, “ICYMI: RNC Platform Committee Adopts 2024 Republican Party Platform,” GOP, 2024, <https://www.gop.com/press-release/icymi-rnc-platform-committee-adopts-2024-republican-party-platform/>.

²⁰⁷ Michael A Clemens, “Trump’s Proposed Mass Deportations Would Backfire on US Workers,” PIIE, March 6, 2024, <https://www.piiie.com/blogs/realtime-economics/2024/trumps-proposed-mass-deportations-would-backfire-us-workers>.

²⁰⁸ “POLITICO Pro: ‘Political Poison’: How Trump’s Tariffs Could Raise Gasoline Prices,” @POLITICOPro, 2024, <https://subscriber.politicopro.com/article/2024/08/political-poison-how-trumps-tariffs-could-raise-gasoline-prices-00176421>.

²⁰⁹ “POLITICO Pro: ‘Political Poison’: How Trump’s Tariffs Could Raise Gasoline Prices,” @POLITICOPro, 2024, <https://subscriber.politicopro.com/article/2024/08/political-poison-how-trumps-tariffs-could-raise-gasoline-prices-00176421>.



Tax

- Offering, in total, \$2 trillion in tax cuts in addition to \$4 trillion in cuts derived from TCJA (Tax Cuts and Jobs Act) extensions.²¹⁰
- Reportedly interested in extending the TCJA tax cuts and cutting corporate taxes.²¹¹
- Supports cutting taxes for working-class Americans.²¹²
- Expected to enact TCJA corporate tax deductions for research, development, and capital expenses.²¹³
- Supports enacting a 100% bonus depreciation through TCJA extension.²¹⁴
- Proposed eliminating federal income taxes entirely and using high tariffs on imports to replace lost revenue.²¹⁵
- Supports eliminating federal taxes on income from tips.²¹⁶
- Supports enacting a 20% corporate tax rate.²¹⁷
- Pledged to enact a 15% corporate tax rate for companies that make their products in the United States.²¹⁸
- Plans to repeal income taxes on Social Security benefits.²¹⁹
- Vows to lift the State and Local Tax (SALT) deduction cap.²²⁰
- Expressed interest in instituting a general tax exemption for overtime pay.²²¹

²¹⁰ Richard Rubin, “Federal Debt Is Soaring. Here’s Why Trump and Harris Aren’t Talking about It,” WSJ (The Wall Street Journal, September 17, 2024), https://www.wsj.com/politics/policy/federal-debt-deficit-trump-harris-5a0d30d2?mod=politics_trendingnow_article_pos2.

²¹¹ The Economist, “America’s Fiscal Outlook Is Disastrous, but Forgotten,” The Economist (The Economist, May 2, 2024), <https://www.economist.com/briefing/2024/05/02/americas-fiscal-outlook-is-disastrous-but-forgotten>.

²¹² ICYMI: RNC Platform Committee Adopts 2024 Republican Party Platform, “ICYMI: RNC Platform Committee Adopts 2024 Republican Party Platform,” GOP, 2024, <https://www.gop.com/press-release/icymi-rnc-platform-committee-adopts-2024-republican-party-platform/>.

²¹³ Joe Light, “What a Biden-Trump Rematch Means for Your Taxes,” Barrons (Barrons, February 25, 2024), <https://www.barrons.com/articles/biden-trump-presidential-election-tax-plans-192595de>.

²¹⁴ “Trump Pitches Low Taxes, High Tariffs to Wall Street’s Elite,” POLITICO, September 5, 2024, <https://www.politico.com/news/2024/09/05/trump-economy-00177543>.

²¹⁵ “Yellen on Trump’s Tariffs-Taxes Idea: It Would ‘Make Life Unaffordable,’” POLITICO, June 16, 2024, <https://www.politico.com/news/2024/06/16/janet-yellen-donald-trump-tariffs-taxes-00163605>.

²¹⁶ William Welch, “Trump Plan to Eliminate Tip Tax Garners Capitol Hill Interest - Roll Call,” Roll Call, June 13, 2024, <https://rollcall.com/2024/06/13/trump-plan-to-eliminate-tip-tax-garners-capitol-hill-interest/>.

²¹⁷ Rubin, Richard. “Corporate Tax Rate Spurs Political Fight With More Than \$1 Trillion at Stake.” The Wall Street Journal. June 17, 2024. https://www.wsj.com/politics/policy/corporate-tax-rate-election-53de5180?mod=hp_lead_pos1.

²¹⁸ Jeanne Whalen et al., “Trump Proposal to Cut Tax Rate for U.S. Manufacturers Spurs Flurry of Questions,” WSJ (The Wall Street Journal, September 6, 2024), <https://www.wsj.com/economy/trump-proposal-to-cut-tax-rate-for-u-s-manufacturers-spurs-flurry-of-questions-24ac5cee>.

²¹⁹ Richard Rubin and Anne Tergesen, “Trump’s Tax-Cut Proposal Shakes up Social Security Debate,” WSJ (The Wall Street Journal, September 13, 2024), https://www.wsj.com/politics/policy/social-security-tax-trump-election-2024-9f911216?mod=politics_trendingnow_article_pos1.

²²⁰ “The Trump Tax Flip-Flop That Could Help Republicans Win the House,” POLITICO, September 20, 2024, <https://www.politico.com/news/2024/09/20/trump-salt-cap-house-gop-tax-00180245>.

²²¹ The Editorial Board, “Trump Repeals His Own Tax Reform,” WSJ (The Wall Street Journal, September 19, 2024), https://www.wsj.com/opinion/donald-trump-tax-giveaways-tips-overtime-tax-reform-f745370e?mod=politics_trendingnow_opn_pos2.

- Supports imposing a temporary 10% cap on credit-card interest rates.²²²
- May encourage the Treasury Department to rewrite or reinterpret IRA (Inflation Reduction Act) implementation rules to change the regulations under which IRA tax credits are issued.²²³
 - Many IRA provisions granted the Treasury Department the authority to outline the criteria surrounding tax credit eligibility.

The highest legislative priority of the new Trump Administration and the Republican Congress will be to extend the 2017 Tax Cuts and Jobs Act and enact several additional proposals made by President-elect Trump during the campaign. The tax package may include the following:

- Extending lower individual tax rates
- Extending limits on individual Alternative Minimum Tax
- Extending doubling of the standard deduction
- Keeping Child Tax Credit at \$2,000
- Allowing the state and local tax deduction cap to expire
- Eliminating taxes on Social Security benefits
- Eliminating taxes on overtime pay
- Eliminating taxes on tips
- Potentially exempting all military and first responders from federal income taxes
- Reducing the corporate tax from 21 to 15 percent for domestic manufacturers
- Extending the research and experimentation deduction and other TCJA business provisions
- Repeal of certain Inflation Reduction Act tax credits

²²² Angel Au-Yeung, “Trump Floats Long-Shot Proposal for 10% Cap on Credit-Card Rates,” WSJ (The Wall Street Journal, September 19, 2024), https://www.wsj.com/politics/policy/trump-floats-longshot-proposal-for-10-cap-on-credit-card-rates-087a3817?mod=politics_lead_pos5.

²²³ “Trump vs. Biden’s Historic Climate Agenda,” POLITICO, July 29, 2024, <https://www.politico.com/news/2024/07/29/biden-climate-spending-trump-2024-00171593>.



Technology/AI

- Pledges to repeal the Biden administration’s 2023 AI Executive Order²²⁴ and replace it with a policy supporting “AI Development rooted in Free Speech and Human Flourishing.”²²⁵
- Likely supports limiting the regulation of AI technology.²²⁶
- Expected to ensure the United States remains a leader in AI technology through export controls.²²⁷
- Opposes the use of AI for censorship by American companies.²²⁸
- Supports refraining from selling U.S. government bitcoin holdings and establishing a strategic national bitcoin stockpile.²²⁹
- Supports promoting the use of trustworthy AI in the federal government.²³⁰
- May support rolling back the FCC’s net neutrality rules.²³¹

²²⁴ The White House, “FACT SHEET: President Biden Issues Executive Order on Safe, Secure, and Trustworthy Artificial Intelligence | the White House,” The White House, October 30, 2023, <https://www.whitehouse.gov/briefing-room/statements-releases/2023/10/30/fact-sheet-president-biden-issues-executive-order-on-safe-secure-and-trustworthy-artificial-intelligence/>.

²²⁵ Derek Belle and Valerie Wirtschafter, “What Does the 2024 Election Mean for the Future of AI Governance?,” Brookings, July 25, 2024, <https://www.brookings.edu/articles/what-does-the-2024-election-mean-for-the-future-of-ai-governance/>.

²²⁶ “Biden’s Big New Push against AI Companies Faces a Trump-Shaped Obstacle,” POLITICO, June 6, 2024, <https://www.politico.com/news/2024/06/06/biden-trump-ai-antitrust-00162200>.

²²⁷ Derek Belle and Valerie Wirtschafter, “What Does the 2024 Election Mean for the Future of AI Governance?,” Brookings, July 25, 2024, <https://www.brookings.edu/articles/what-does-the-2024-election-mean-for-the-future-of-ai-governance/>.

²²⁸ Eric Geller, “A Trump Win Could Unleash Dangerous AI,” WIRED, October 21, 2024, <https://www.wired.com/story/donald-trump-ai-safety-regulation/>.

²²⁹ MacKenzie Sigalos, “Trump Proposes Strategic National Crypto Stockpile: ‘Never Sell Your Bitcoin,’” CNBC (CNBC, July 27, 2024), <https://www.cnbc.com/2024/07/27/trump-bitcoin-conference-harris.html>.

²³⁰ MATT O’BRIEN and SARAH PARVINI, “How Harris and Trump Differ on Artificial Intelligence Policy,” AP News, July 30, 2024, <https://apnews.com/article/ai-artificial-intelligence-kamala-harris-trump-vance-1c94ba2ee6a1410e61d980faa51b19e4>.

²³¹ David Shepardson, “FCC to Vote to Restore Net Neutrality Rules, Reversing Trump,” Reuters, April 2, 2024, <https://www.reuters.com/technology/fcc-vote-restore-net-neutrality-rules-reversing-trump-2024-04-02/>.



Trade Policy

- Supports enacting a 10% to 20% across-the-board tariff on all imports.²³² ²³³
 - Trump may favor declaring the U.S. trade deficit to be a national emergency, allowing the president to invoke the International Emergency Economic Powers Act and institute universal tariffs.²³⁴
- Trump has mentioned enacting a 60% or greater tariff on all Chinese goods.²³⁵
- Promises to enact 100% tariffs on nations that cease using the U.S. dollar for trade.²³⁶
- May support repealing China’s permanent normal trade relations (most-favored nation) status.²³⁷
- Favors phasing out all U.S. imports of essential goods from China over four years.²³⁸
- Supports enacting 200% tariffs on cars made by Chinese-owned plants in Mexico.²³⁹
- Wants to pass a “Trump Reciprocal Trade Act,” forcing U.S. trading partners to pay reciprocal identical tariffs to the United States for tariffs they impose on U.S. exports.²⁴⁰
- Vows to end U.S. participation in the Indo-Pacific Economic Framework for Prosperity (IPEF) by boycotting meetings.²⁴¹
- Likely supports removing some sanctions on Russia in an attempt to induce a negotiated end to the Russo-Ukrainian War.²⁴²
- Increasing sanctions on Cuba.²⁴³

²³² “If Trump Wins,” *The New York Times*, 2024, <https://www.nytimes.com/interactive/2024/06/16/us/politics/trump-policy-list-2025.html>.

²³³ “Harris and Trump Embrace Tariffs, Though Their Approaches Differ,” *The New York Times*, 2024, <https://www.nytimes.com/2024/08/27/us/politics/trump-harris-tariffs.html>.

²³⁴ The Economist, “What America’s Presidential Election Means for World Trade,” *The Economist*, October 6, 2024, <https://www.economist.com/united-states/2024/10/06/what-americas-presidential-election-means-for-world-trade>.

²³⁵ Katie Lobosco and Annette Choi, “3 Charts That Help Explain How Trump’s Tariffs Would Work,” CNN, October 13, 2024, <https://www.cnn.com/2024/10/13/politics/donald-trump-tariffs/index.html>.

²³⁶ Dylan Butts, “Trump’s Vow of 100% Tariffs on Nations That Snub the Dollar Is a Lose-Lose for China and U.S., Economist Says,” CNBC, September 9, 2024, <https://www.cnbc.com/2024/09/09/economist-calls-trumps-threat-to-tariff-countries-that-shun-the-dollar-a-lose-lose.html>.

²³⁷ Matt Pottinger and Mike Gallagher, “No Substitute for Victory,” *Foreign Affairs*, April 10, 2024, <https://www.foreignaffairs.com/united-states/no-substitute-victory-pottinger-gallagher>.

²³⁸ Caitlin Yilek et al., “Trump’s Policy Plans and Platform on Key Issues for the 2024 Election,” *Cbsnews.com* (CBS News, September 11, 2024), <https://www.cbsnews.com/news/donald-trump-platform-policy-positions-2024/>.

²³⁹ The Economist, “America’s 100% Tariffs on Chinese EVs: Bad Policy, Worse Leadership,” *The Economist* (The Economist, May 15, 2024), <https://www.economist.com/leaders/2024/05/15/americas-100-tariffs-on-chinese-evs-bad-policy-worse-leadership>.

²⁴⁰ Brett Samuels, “Trump Pledges Second-Term Tit-For-Tat Tariffs: ‘It’s Called You Screw Us, and We Screw You,’” *The Hill*, February 23, 2024, <https://thehill.com/homenews/campaign/4486048-trump-pledges-second-term-tit-for-tat-tariffs-its-called-you-screw-us-and-we-screw-you/>.

²⁴¹ Staff Writer, “Trump Comeback Threatens to Scuttle IPEF in Its Infancy,” *Nikkei Asia*, February 23, 2024, <https://asia.nikkei.com/Politics/International-relations/Indo-Pacific/Trump-comeback-threatens-to-scuttle-IPEF-in-its-infancy>.

²⁴² Maria Kholina, “‘I Don’t Love Sanctions’: Trump on Easing Restrictions against Putin,” *RBC-Ukraine* (RBC-Ukraine, July 17, 2024), <https://newsukraine.rbc.ua/news/i-don-t-love-sanctions-trump-on-easing-restrictions-1721207480.html>.

²⁴³ Robert C O’Brien, “The Return of Peace through Strength,” *Foreign Affairs*, June 18, 2024, <https://www.foreignaffairs.com/united-states/return-peace-strength-trump-obrien>.

- May consider abandoning the U.S-Mexico-Canada (USMCA) trade agreement when it up for extension in 2026, in a response to the increasing U.S. trade deficit with Mexico.²⁴⁴
- Supports establishing a U.S. sovereign wealth fund paid for by new revenue derived from expanded tariffs on trade.²⁴⁵

²⁴⁴ The Economist, “Which Countries Would Be Most Affected by a Second Trump Term?,” The Economist (The Economist, July 30, 2024), <https://www.economist.com/graphic-detail/2024/07/30/which-countries-would-be-most-affected-by-a-second-trump-term>.

²⁴⁵ Jeff Stein and Marianna Sotomayor, “GOP Looks the Other Way as Trump Pushes Unorthodox Trade Proposals,” Washington Post (The Washington Post, September 20, 2024), <https://www.washingtonpost.com/business/2024/09/20/trump-tariff-trade-gop/>.



Congressional Procedures

Budget Reconciliation

- Budget reconciliation is a Congressional procedure to expedite the passage of specific Senate filibuster legislation.²⁴⁶ Budget reconciliation overrides the Senate’s 60-vote filibuster supermajority rule, allowing a simple majority of 51 votes (or 50 votes with the vice president serving as the tie-breaker) for passage.²⁴⁷ Budget reconciliation bills can deal with spending, revenue, and the federal debt limit.²⁴⁸ In order for budget reconciliation to occur, a budget resolution, which determines how much budget reconciliation can raise the deficit, must be drafted by the congressional authorizing committees.²⁴⁹ Policies unrelated to the budget are limited by the Byrd Rule, which bars budget reconciliation bills from increasing the federal deficit after 10 years or changing Social Security.²⁵⁰ Budget reconciliation was used to pass the Tax Cuts and Jobs Act (TCJA) in 2017²⁵¹ and the American Rescue Plan in 2021.²⁵²
- Speaker Mike Johnson (R-LA) and other GOP congressional leaders believe congressional Republicans fell short in 2017, using budget reconciliation exclusively on TCJA instead of expanding the scope of their efforts.²⁵³ Johnson advocates a whole-of-government approach, tasking nine GOP House committee chairs to produce policy wish lists for a potential 2025 Budget Reconciliation package.²⁵⁴ The package will include efforts to extend and expand the TCJA, and may also include border security and energy production initiatives.²⁵⁵

²⁴⁶ Richard Kogan, “Introduction to Budget ‘Reconciliation’ | Center on Budget and Policy Priorities,” Center on Budget and Policy Priorities, January 22, 2015, <https://www.cbpp.org/research/introduction-to-budget-reconciliation>.

²⁴⁷ Richard Kogan, “Introduction to Budget ‘Reconciliation’ | Center on Budget and Policy Priorities,” Center on Budget and Policy Priorities, January 22, 2015, <https://www.cbpp.org/research/introduction-to-budget-reconciliation>.

²⁴⁸ Richard Kogan, “Introduction to Budget ‘Reconciliation’ | Center on Budget and Policy Priorities,” Center on Budget and Policy Priorities, January 22, 2015, <https://www.cbpp.org/research/introduction-to-budget-reconciliation>.

²⁴⁹ “Policy Basics: Introduction to the Federal Budget Process | Center on Budget and Policy Priorities,” Center on Budget and Policy Priorities, March 7, 2003, <https://www.cbpp.org/research/federal-budget/introduction-to-the-federal-budget-process>.

²⁵⁰ “The Budget Reconciliation Process: The Senate’s ‘Byrd Rule,’” Everycrsreport.com (Congressional Research Service, February 19, 2004), <https://www.everycrsreport.com/reports/RL30862.html>.

²⁵¹ Tara Golshan, “The Republican Tax Reform Bill Will Live and Die by This Obscure Senate Rule,” Vox (Vox, November 14, 2017), <https://www.vox.com/policy-and-politics/2017/11/14/16634200/republican-tax-reform-byrd-rule>.

²⁵² Li Zhou and Ella Nilsen, “Senate Democrats Can Now Officially Pass More Bills with 51 Votes,” Vox (Vox, April 5, 2021), <https://www.vox.com/2021/4/5/22367832/senate-democrats-budget-reconciliation-filibuster>.

²⁵³ Kadia Goba, “Speaker Mike Johnson Promises a Republican Mega-Bill That Would Define Donald Trump’s Second Term | Semafor,” Semafor.com, May 29, 2024, <https://www.semafor.com/article/05/29/2024/speaker-mike-johnson-promises-a-republican-mega-bill-that-would-define-donald-trumps-second-term>.

²⁵⁴ Kadia Goba, “Speaker Mike Johnson Promises a Republican Mega-Bill That Would Define Donald Trump’s Second Term | Semafor,” Semafor.com, May 29, 2024, <https://www.semafor.com/article/05/29/2024/speaker-mike-johnson-promises-a-republican-mega-bill-that-would-define-donald-trumps-second-term>.

²⁵⁵ “Republicans Reckon Early with Their Reconciliation Limits,” POLITICO, June 12, 2024, <https://www.politico.com/newsletters/inside-congress/2024/06/12/republicans-reckon-early-with-their-reconciliation-limits-00163047?name=inside-congress&nid=0000014f-1646-d88f-a1cf-5f46b4be0000&nrid=2b6d5e9a-41bc-4151-a785-18b0356911ed&nlid=630309>.

Republicans may stop short of using budget reconciliation to repeal the Inflation Reduction Act (IRA) entirely, and they are unlikely to attempt another Affordable Care Act (ACA) repeal.²⁵⁶ With a Republican congressional majority, the biggest threat to their budget reconciliation ambitions is intra-party division, which could significantly hinder their legislative goals.

- Senate Minority Leader Mitch McConnell (R-KY) is an important actor in building the groundwork for a budget reconciliation package that extends the TCJA and boosts DoD funding.²⁵⁷ Senate Republicans regret perceived foot-dragging in early 2017, which they claim hampered their budget reconciliation effort. As a result, they are hoping to move fast with a fully formed strategy for budget reconciliation in 2025.²⁵⁸ Among House Republicans, in April 2024, the House Ways and Means Committee established ten Committee Tax Teams to study key provisions from the TCJA and identify legislative solutions to extend them.²⁵⁹ Some Republicans want to use a Republican Senate majority to extend the TCJA individual provisions without changing the corporate tax rate. Other Congressional Republicans think the corporate tax rate is too low and are interested in raising it.²⁶⁰ Another concept gaining traction in the GOP is canceling the employee retention tax credit and using that money to offset business tax credits that were eliminated to pay for the TCJA.²⁶¹

Congressional Review Act

- The Congressional Review Act (CRA) is a tool Congress can use to overturn specific federal agency actions. The CRA requires federal agencies to report the issuance of rules to Congress and provides Congress with unique procedures to consider legislation to overturn rules. If a CRA joint resolution of disapproval is approved by both chambers of Congress and signed by the president, or if Congress successfully overrides a presidential veto, the rule at issue cannot go into effect or continue in effect. A CRA joint resolution of disapproval must be introduced during a 60-days-of-continuous-session period beginning on the day Congress receives the rule.
- The first half of 2024 saw a race among federal agencies to finalize regulations, driven by the need to limit the impact of CRA efforts in the event of a Donald Trump victory and Republican control of Congress in 2025. Biden administration officials set a deadline of late May 2024 to conclude critical regulations.
- In 2017, Trump and congressional Republicans used the CRA to cancel 16 Obama administration rules. A 2025 Congressional Republican majority may be able to cancel the Federal Reserve and FDIC's Basel II endgame capital requirement rules via CRA. Republicans may also attempt to reverse Biden administration labor policies being advanced by the FTC and other agencies. Another potential target: Biden administration environmental rules, including restrictions on mercury from coal power stations and restrictions on carbon emissions from new gas power stations.

²⁵⁶ Kadia Goba, "Speaker Mike Johnson Promises a Republican Mega-Bill That Would Define Donald Trump's Second Term | Semafor," Semafor.com, May 29, 2024, <https://www.semafor.com/article/05/29/2024/speaker-mike-johnson-promises-a-republican-mega-bill-that-would-define-donald-trumps-second-term>.

²⁵⁷ Alexander Bolton, "McConnell Seeks Big Influence over Trump-Era GOP," The Hill (The Hill, June 18, 2024), <https://thehill.com/homenews/senate/4726473-mcconnell-seeks-big-influence-over-trump-era-gop/>.

²⁵⁸ Alexander Bolton, "McConnell Seeks Big Influence over Trump-Era GOP," The Hill (The Hill, June 18, 2024), <https://thehill.com/homenews/senate/4726473-mcconnell-seeks-big-influence-over-trump-era-gop/>.

²⁵⁹ "Ways & Means Chairman Smith and Tax Subcommittee Chairman Kelly Announce Tax Teams to Avert 2025 Tax Cliff – Ways and Means," House.gov, 2024, <https://waysandmeans.house.gov/2024/04/24/ways-means-chairman-smith-and-tax-subcommittee-chairman-kelly-announce-tax-teams-to-avert-2025-tax-cliff/>.

²⁶⁰ Tobias Burns, "Republicans Prepare to Fast-Track Tax Cuts in Reconciliation," The Hill (The Hill, May 29, 2024), <https://thehill.com/business/4684191-republicans-prepare-to-fast-track-tax-cuts-in-reconciliation/>.

²⁶¹ Tobias Burns, "Republicans Prepare to Fast-Track Tax Cuts in Reconciliation," The Hill (The Hill, May 29, 2024), <https://thehill.com/business/4684191-republicans-prepare-to-fast-track-tax-cuts-in-reconciliation/>.