

U.S. Industrial Policies, Left and Right: Convergence, Divergence, and Political Implications*

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ABSTRACT

This report puts President Biden's proposed infrastructure bill in the context of other Democratic proposals for industrial policy coming from Bernie Sanders, Elizabeth Warren, and others and of Republican proposals for industrial policy emanating from Marco Rubio, Josh Hawley, Tom Cotton, and others.

For the left, we defined eight categories of opinion leaders. Four involved political leaders: the Biden campaign and administration; Sen. Bernie Sanders; Sen. Elizabeth Warren; and other Democratic Congress members submitting legislative bills and resolutions that advocated one or another form of industrial policy. These other members included Rep. Alexandria Ocasio-Cortez, Sen. Edward Markey, Sen. Charles Schumer, Sen. Chris Coons, Sen. Jeff Merkley, Rep. Ro Khanna, Rep. Tim Ryan, and others. We also defined four categories of thinktanks or policy organizations that have advanced left-oriented industrial policy: the Brookings Institution; the Century Foundation; labor-oriented thinktanks (Economic Policy Institute and Alliance for American Manufacturing); and the Roosevelt Institute.

For the right, we defined seven categories of opinion leaders. Four involved political leaders: . Sen. Marco Rubio, Sen. Josh Hawley, and Sen. Tom Cotton, and other Republican Congress members leaders (including Sen. Todd Young, Sen. John Cornyn, and others) espousing industrial policy beliefs in the form of legislation and resolutions sponsored. We also had three categories of think tanks and policy organizations that have come out in favor of a conservative version of industrial policy: American Compass; American Affairs; and the Niskanen Center.

The report compares and contrasts the Democratic and Republican proposals on three heads: the problems they say call for industrial policy; the nature of the policy solutions offered; and the main targets they envision for such policy solutions. On all three, we find considerable convergences but also sizable divergences between the Democratic vision for industrial policy on the one hand and the Republican vision on the other.

The report argues that the Democratic vision for industrial policy – with its emphasis on creating good jobs in the process of addressing climate change -- may be crucial to Democratic chances in 2022 and 2024 by allowing Democrats to successfully appeal to two key constituencies: voters concerned with climate change and working-class voters concerned about good jobs both for themselves and their children. However, Democratic chances could be enhanced if their industrial policy proposals can effectively counter and even coopt distinctive and popular elements of the Republican proposals, particularly their attention to the challenge posed by China and to popular concern about loss of community and meaningful work.

President Biden's recent proposal for a massive program for new spending on infrastructure, addressing climate change, and reviving manufacturing has attracted great attention (Biden, 2021i). Predictably, part of this attention has come in the form of sharp criticism from Republicans and business groups (Tankersley, 2021). The war of rhetoric around the Biden proposal raises the question of whether industrial policy will be one of the defining issues in the leadup to the 2022 and 2024 elections. A successful industrial policy may be crucial to Democratic chances in 2022 and 2024 by allowing them to successfully appeal to both to voters concerned about climate change and working class voters concerned about good jobs for themselves and their children. But to stake a successful claim for those voters, Democrats need to compellingly lay out their vision of industrial policy but also to effectively counter and even coopt certain elements of the Republican version.

A curious feature of the current partisan war over Biden's infrastructure plan is that it waves aside the fact that industrial policies have a long history in the United States, going back all the way to Alexander Hamilton's "American System" in the early years of the United States. (Bingham, 2015). Industrial policies are aimed at fostering the development of specific economic sectors through targeted interventions. The policies are distinctively different than generalized macroeconomic fiscal and monetary policy involving setting interest rates, the size of the money supply, and the size of government deficits or surpluses. Instead, industrial policies take such form as tax incentives, subsidies, regulations, trade agreements, infrastructure investments, and workforce training (Bingham, 2015; Dadush, 2016; Doshi, 2020; Tucker, 2019).

In Hamilton's time, the United States pursued such industrial policies as tariffs to protect nascent US industries and incentives for building roads and canals (Bingham, 2015). Later in the

19th Century and in the early 20th Century, the United States encouraged the construction of the transcontinental railroads, the development of scientific farming through the agricultural extension service, and the fostering of vocational and technical training. And in the post-World War II era, the U.S. government encouraged the massive expansion of higher education, civilian use of atomic energy through the Atomic Energy Commission and the rise of Silicon Valley through research funded by the Department of Defense (Bingham, 2015; Brint, 2018; Leslie, 2000; Tucker, 2019).

Industrial policies received a lot of attention in 1970s and early 1980s as the United States encountered slower growth and rising international competition from Japan and other countries. There were many proposals for the United States to emulate the Japanese Ministry of International Trade and Industry (Graham, 1992; Johnson, 1982; Tucker, 2019). Moreover, a host of states developed programs to foster the development of applied science and technology programs involving partnerships between their state universities and local business (Eisinger, 1988; Fosler, 1988; Schultz, 2012).¹

In the late 1980s and 1990s, however, interest in an *explicit* industrial policy faded under the brunt of neoliberal attacks in both the Republican and Democratic Parties and disorganization among advocates of industrial policy. A common claim in those attacks was that industrial policy had the government mistakenly selecting “winners and losers” when this should be left to the decision of the market (Block, 2008; Lavoie, 1983; Graham, 1992; Tucker, 2019).² For example, a report issued by the Heritage Foundation declared:

It is true of course in a sense that every nation has an “industrial policy.” ... The modern economy is undoubtedly quite influenced by government policies.... In light of the inherent deficiencies of central planning, it might be argued that the U.S. should instead try to reduce the current government interference with the competitive process to the absolute minimum consistent with other political goals.... If no agent knows better than the unconscious social process of market

competition how to rationally allocate resources, then it would seem best, not only politically but also economically, to leave that process alone. (Lavoie, 1983, p. 9)

But if industrial policy talk disappeared in the 1990s, the last few years have seen a revival of interest across the political spectrum (Vassallo, 2020; Yu and Lee, 2020). On the left, the interest is most evident in such champions as Bernie Sanders, Elizabeth Warren, Alexandria Ocasio-Cortez, Chris Coons, and even Joe Biden, who was formerly more of a neoliberal. On the right, industrial policy is being espoused by Senators Marco Rubio, Tom Cotton, Josh Hawley, and John Cornyn. Considering the Republican's party's animadversions against industrial policy in recent decades, it is noteworthy that Rubio openly uses the term "industrial policy" to characterize his own proposals (Rubio, 2019b, 2020a, 2020b).

The recent rebirth of industrial policy stems from a cross-party awareness of persistent, deep economic troubles that have badly distorted our society and politics and cannot be solved through conventional economic policies that rely on market forces given little political direction. For example, Senator Elizabeth Warren has argued:

Politicians love to say they care about American jobs. But for decades, those same politicians have cited "free market principles" and refused to intervene in markets on behalf of American workers. And of course, they ignore those same supposed principles and intervene regularly to protect the interests of multinational corporations and international capital. The result? Millions of good jobs lost overseas and a generation of stagnant wages, growing inequality, and sluggish economic growth. (Warren, 2019a)

But these critiques of the market are surprisingly echoed by the conservative partisans of industrial policy (Cass, 2020a; Hawley, 2019a; King, 2020a; Rubio, 2019b). For example, Senator Marco Rubio has forcefully stated:

Free enterprise is the greatest mechanism for achieving prosperity. However, the market is agnostic as to whether America is a high- or low-wage economy. The market is agnostic on whether a certain outcome is in our national interest or the common good.... The market may say short-term profits justify adhering to the

requirements China places on our companies. But policymakers must take into account that long-term surrendering our productive capacity to China is reckless. The market may say Americans—often unwittingly—should invest in Chinese firms. But policymakers must take into account whether American investors should be capitalizing the very firms that steal from our companies, commit human rights violations, and develop the weapons that could one day kill the men and women of our military. This isn't a call to socialism or a rejection of capitalism; it's a call to policymakers to remember that the national interest, not economic growth, is our central obligation. (Rubio, 2019b)

Beyond this shared sense of the need to deal with an imperiled economy common to both the left and right, a major factor in the left's interest in industrial policy is a strong belief that it is crucial to addressing climate change and the economic grievances that helped fuel the rise of the populist right. Hence, industrial policy may be crucial to securing Democratic electoral victory in 2022 and 2024 (see Pollin, 2019b). But on the right, there is a similar sense of electoral benefit. Rubio and especially Hawley and Cotton sense that an industrial policy may be key to consolidating a Trumpist political coalition, centered on the white working class, that can outlive and outdo Donald Trump (see Vassallo, 2020).

This report aims to explore both these convergences and divergences in industrial policy across party lines, with the aim of illuminating the ideological boundaries of what may be a key ideological battleground in the 2022 and 2024 elections. As part of this, we will highlight elements that are missing in both the left and right positions.

THE MAIN PROPONENTS OF INDUSTRIAL POLICY ON THE LEFT AND RIGHT

Before we jump into our analysis, we need to identify the industrial policy proponents that we focus on. On the left, we have examined proposals by the Biden campaign and administration, key Congress members, and thinktanks closely associated with their positions.

The Congress members include not only Bernie Sanders and Elizabeth Warren but also members who have introduced bills and resolutions in 2019-2021 that advanced elements of industrial policy. These included Senators Edward Markey, Charles Schumer, Chris Coons, and Jeff Merkley and Representatives Alexandria Ocasio-Cortez, Tim Ryan, Ro Khanna, and Abby Finkenauer. We also examined the thinktanks they have drawn on, including the Brookings Institution, Century Foundation, Economic Policy Institute, and the Roosevelt Institute.³

On the right, the most notable proponents have been Senators Marco Rubio, Tom Cotton, Josh Hawley, Todd Young, and John Cornyn. We also examined the thinktanks they have drawn on, including American Compass, American Affairs, and the Niskanen Center.⁴

Our analysis of the positions of these policy proponents draws on a thorough review of a host of documents that they produced: candidate platforms, speeches, press releases, reports, legislative bills and resolutions, executive orders, newspaper coverage, and so forth. The detailed methods and results of this content analysis can be found in the Appendices to this report.

MAIN SIMILARITIES AND DIFFERENCES BETWEEN LEFT AND RIGHT INDUSTRIAL POLICY POSITIONS

In our analysis below, we examine three aspects of the industrial policy proposals made by those on the left and right: the problems they say call for industrial policy; the nature of the policy solutions offered; and the main targets they envision for such policy solutions. We first report those positions that are shared across ideological lines and then note those that are held more by one wing than the other. We have credited a position to the right or left when it has

commanded support across at least four of the eight categories of left proponents or four of the seven categories of right proponents. For more details, see the Appendices.

Problems Prompting Industrial Policy

We start by examining positions shared by both the left and right partisans of industrial policy. We then turn to where they diverge.

Shared Positions

Both on the left and right, there is surprising agreement on the problems said to call for industrial policy. These shared analyses are listed in Table 1 below. The numbers for the left and right indicate how many categories of politicians on the one hand and how many categories of thinktanks on the other give that particular rationale for industrial policy. For example, on the left, four out of four categories of politicians and three out of four categories of thinktanks argue that industrial policy is needed to combat the loss of well-paying jobs among Americans. Meanwhile, among the right proponents of industrial policy, three of the four categories of politicians and all three of the categories of industrial policy thinktanks also gave the preceding rationale for industrial policy.

<i>Table 1: Problems Prompting Industrial Policy: Shared Positions</i>	Left		Right	
	Political Leaders (4)	Think Tanks (4)	Political Leaders (4)	Think Tanks (3)
Loss of well-paying jobs by Americans	4	3	3	3
Income decline and inequality	2	3	2	3
Crumbling infrastructure	4	3	2	2
Threatened supply chain	3	4	3	2
Trade deficit	3	2	2	3
China as a challenge or threat to U.S.	3	4	4	2

Several reasons are given on the left and right for industrial policy. Both sides point to the loss of well-paying jobs by Americans and consequent declines in working-class incomes (Biden, 2020b; Cotton, 2016a; Hawley, 2020a; Rubio, 2019b; Sanders, 2019c; Warren, 2019a). For example, on the subject of income decline and inequality, Senator Tom Cotton has stated: “[W]orking-class wages have collapsed. Wages for Americans with only high school diplomas have declined by 2 percent since the late 1970s, and for those who didn’t finish high school, they have declined by nearly 20 percent, according to Economic Policy Institute figures” (Cotton, 2016a).

Industrial policy advocates on both the left and right also state that it is needed not just to counter crumbling jobs but also crumbling infrastructure (Cotton, 2020c; Rubio, 2019c; Sanders, 2019a; Warren, 2019b). Senator Bernie Sanders declared: “As part of the Green New Deal, we need millions of workers to rebuild our crumbling infrastructure—roads, bridges, drinking water systems, wastewater plants, rail, schools, affordable housing—and build our 100% sustainable energy system. This infrastructure is critical to a thriving, green economy” (Sanders, 2019b).

On both the left and right, advocates of industrial policy also note industrial policy is needed to address a huge trade deficit and the dangers posed by the fact that our supply chains are increasingly dependent on foreign suppliers for key manufacturing and consumer goods (Biden, 2020b, 2021a; Hawley, 2020a; Scott, 2020a; Stettner, 2018b; U.S. Senate bill S4130 [Cotton-Hawley-Rubio-Schumer sponsors], p. 19; Warren, 2019a). For example, Andrew Stettner of the Century Foundation, which has influenced left thinking on industrial policy, argued: “Growing manufacturing is the only way to cut the trade deficit, which reduces national income by \$566 billion each year. And our national security is compromised by a reliance on foreign

suppliers at a time when governments have shown a willingness to engage in cyber and economic warfare” (Stettner, 2018b).

Finally, both left and right advocates point to China as both an economic and military threat (Biden, 2020c; Cotton, 2020a; Hawley, 2020a; Rubio, 2019b; Warren, 2019a). However, the left advocates paint the Chinese challenge as primarily economic, while the right advocates paint it as much or more as military. Tom Cotton (R-Ark.) states the conservative case in striking terms:

The Wuhan virus pandemic has laid bare a new dependence on a hostile power, Communist China, for even basic supplies like respirator masks and basic medicine.... China’s ambitions aren’t limited to basic manufactures. Beijing seeks nothing less than “the great rejuvenation of the Chinese nation,” with the technological and economic mastery that term implies. It’s clear from China’s actions and rhetoric that it views the American-built world order as the chief impediment to its dream becoming reality.... Today, China is an industrial behemoth sitting at the center of the world’s supply chains like an octopus. It is the world’s leading producer and consumer of machine tools, and it installs one in every three of the world’s industrial robots each year. Massive Chinese firms like Huawei threaten to dominate the world market for advanced telecommunications, while serving as agents for Chinese intelligence.... The federal government will have to make strategic investments in advanced technology and critical infrastructure, just as we did during the Cold War with breakthrough scientific research at the national and corporate laboratories that laid the groundwork for the digital revolution. We can begin by increasing the federal research and development budgets for agencies like DARPA, so our scientists and engineers can get to work on technology that our military will field decades hence. We must also begin the laborious process of pulling our supply chains out of China for medicine, semiconductors, and other essential goods and making them here at home, using all the tools available to policymakers. (Cotton, 2020c)

Contrasting Positions

Despite their many agreements, the left and right partisans do have their disagreements. The left partisans strongly emphasize climate change as a major prompt for industrial policy (see Gayer, 2020). For example, the proposed joint House and Senate resolution on the Green New Deal sponsored by Rep. Alexandria Ocasio-Cortez and Sen. Edward Markey states:

[I]t is the duty of the Federal Government to create a Green New Deal — (A) to achieve net-zero greenhouse gas emissions through a fair and just transition for all communities and workers; (B) to create millions of good, high-wage jobs and ensure prosperity and economic security for all people of the United States; (C) to invest in the infrastructure and industry of the United States to sustainably meet the challenges of the 21st century... (House Resolution 109, 2019)

This call for an industrial policy that is focused on combatting climate change was echoed by many other Democrats: not only Bernie Sanders and Elizabeth Warren, but also Joe Biden and several key thinktanks (Biden, 2020a, 2020c, 2021b; Gunn-Wright et al., 2020; Paul, Fremstad, & Mason, 2019; Sanders, 2019a; and Warren, 2019a). For example, the Biden Administration has issued a statement that strongly echoes the Green New Deal proposal of Ocasio-Cortez and Markey. The Administration declared:

[W]e face a climate crisis that threatens our people and communities, public health and economy, and, starkly, our ability to live on planet Earth. Despite the peril that is already evident, there is promise in the solutions — opportunities to create well-paying union jobs to build a modern and sustainable infrastructure, deliver an equitable, clean energy future, and put the United States on a path to achieve net-zero emissions, economy-wide, by no later than 2050. (Biden, 2021e, p. 6)

<i>Table 2: Problems Promoting Industrial Policy: Diverging Positions</i>	Left		Right	
	Political Leaders (4)	Think Tanks (4)	Political Leaders (4)	Think Tanks (3)
Climate change as problem	4	2	0	2
Decline of community	1	2	2	1
Too big a financial sector	1	0	2	2

On the other hand, the right partisans bring up the rise of community disorganization and anomie as an argument for industrial policy more forcefully than do the left partisans (Cass, 2020b, 2021a; Hawley, 2019a; King, 2020a; Krein, 2020a; Rubio, 2019c, 2019g). Senator Josh Hawley has been a strong proponent of this argument:

For years the politics of both Left and Right have been informed by a political consensus that reflects the interests not of the American middle, but of a powerful

upper class and their cosmopolitan priorities.... The goal is to build a global consumer economy, one that will provide an endless supply of cheap goods, most of them made with cheap labor overseas, and funded by American dollars.... And where has this left middle America? With flat wages, with lost jobs, with declining investment and declining opportunity. We don't make things here anymore—at least, not the kinds of things a normal person without a fancy degree can build with his hands. And small towns like the one where I grew up in middle Missouri struggle and disappear—and a way of life is lost. And it's not just the small towns that struggle. Just about any American worker without a four-year college degree will have a hard time in the cosmopolitan economy. Maybe that's one reason why marriage rates among working class Americans are falling, why birth rates are falling, why life expectancy is falling. All the while an epidemic of suicide and drug addiction ravages every sector, every age group, every geography of the working class. (Hawley, 2019a)

In contrast, the left advocates of industrial policy make less forceful statements, at least in writing, about problems of community disorganization and anomie as rationales for industrial policy (Paul, 2020b; Sanders, 2019b; Shields, 2018: 7).⁵ For example, Bernie Sanders makes this rather tepid statement: “A job guarantee will lower the crime rate, improve mental health, and create a stronger sense of community. It will create a much healthier and happier America” (Sanders, 2019b). This lack of emphasis on community cohesion is surprising since there is a deep vein of liberal and left thinking and policymaking on community and community building (Bellah, Madsen, Sullivan, Swidler, & Tipton, 1985, 2002; Mansbridge & Parkinson, 2012; Pateman & Mills, 2007; and Putman & Garrett, 2020). We will return in our conclusions to this point about the lack of sufficient reference to community cohesion in left arguments for industrial policy.

Specific Industrial Policy Solutions

When we examine the specific policy solutions that the left and right partisans of industrial policy propose, we again find considerable convergence. But even more than in their assessment of the problems prompting industrial policy, there is considerable divergence.

Shared Positions

The left and right proponents advance several positions for what form industrial policies should take. They range from more research and development spending to encouraging business incubation and development.

<i>Table 3: Specific Industrial Policy Solutions: Shared Positions</i>	Left		Right	
	Political Leaders (4)	Think Tanks (4)	Political Leaders (4)	Think Tanks (3)
More research and development spending that generates jobs	3	2	4	3
Fostering more sub-baccalaureate vocational training e.g. industrial apprenticeships	4	4	4	1
Using government procurement to favor US jobs	4	2	3	2
Negotiating foreign trade agreements that protect US jobs	4	3	2	3
Helping manufacturing firms modernize their technology	3	3	4	2
Encouraging business incubation and development	3	1	4	2

Both the left and right advocates have called for more spending on research and development that will generate applied research that can lead to producing jobs in the United States. Such research is seen as spinning off new jobs and even whole industries, as can be seen in information technology and biotechnology (Biden, 2020c, 2021a; Cotton, 2020a; Hawley, 2019a, Rubio, 2019a; Warren, 2019a). The advocates, left and right, have also recommended preparation of jobs in new industries and firms by fostering more sub-baccalaureate training such as industrial apprenticeships. Modelled on the German apprenticeship system, these would involve cooperative effort between high schools and community colleges and employers (Biden, 2020a; Hawley, 2019a; Rubio, 2018a; Sanders, 2019a; Warren, 2019b). To boost domestic manufacturing firms and domestic jobs, both and left right advocates favor “Made in

the USA” procurement by government (Biden, 2020b, 2021e; Rubio, 2020a; Sanders, 2019c; Senate Bill 846 [sponsored by Senators Cornyn, Cotton, Rubio, and Baldwin]; Warren, 2019c). Approaching trade agreements in a new way is also pushed by both left and right partisans of industrial policy. They are far more skeptical of trade agreements than others in their parties and would weigh domestic job losses more heavily in designing the provisions and evaluating the benefits of those agreements (Biden, 2020c, 2021a; Hawley, 2019a; Sanders, 2019a; U. S. Senate, 2019a; Warren, 2019a). To help manufacturing firms cope with international competition, industrial policy advocates on both the right and left would fund programs to help those firms modernize their products and production processes by providing advice and funding for new technology (Biden, 2020b; Cotton, 2020c; Hawley, 2020l; Rubio, 2019b; Warren, 2019b). Finally, both on the left and right, industrial policy advocates call for more government spending on programs to incubate small businesses in emerging industries and help them grow by such means as providing business advice, financing, and access to research (Biden, 2020a; Cotton, 2020a; Hawley, 2020l; Rubio, 2019b; Senate Bill S3832 [sponsored by Sens. Schumer and Young], pp. 25-26, 50).

Contrasting Positions

Beyond these shared positions, the left and right advocates also disagree on several other policies. The most striking differences involve policies addressing climate change. Given the left’s focus on climate change, it is not surprising that the left proponents of industrial policy are much more likely than their conservative counterparts to tout industrial policy solutions that address climate change. They call for more research and development spending to improve our nation’s capacity to produce and use clean energy (Biden, 2020c, 2021b; Paul et al., 2019;

Sanders, 2019a; Scott, 2020a; Warren, 2019c, h). Another major proposal by left advocates is for more spending on clean energy production e.g. subsidies to firms and consumers to produce solar and wind energy (Sanders, 2019a; Scott, 2020a; Warren, 2019h, 2019i). Left proponents of industrial policy also call for more spending on energy-saving and less carbon emitting transportation, including mass transit and electric vehicles (Biden, 2020c, 2021a; Paul et al., 2019; Sanders, 2019a; Scott, 2020a; Warren, 2019i). Finally, improvements in building and housing energy efficiency – in such forms as weatherization – are also widely supported by the left proponents of industrial policy (Biden, 2020c; Hendricks et al., 2021; Sanders, 2019a; Scott, 2020a; Warren, 2019h, 2019i). In contrast, the almost complete absence of climate-change related proposals among the right-wing proponents of industrial policy is quite striking.

<i>Table 4: Specific Industrial Policy Solutions: Contrasting Positions</i>	Left		Right	
	Political Leaders (4)	Think Tanks (4)	Political Leaders (4)	Think Tanks (3)
Currency management: keeping value of dollar down so that US exports are more competitive	3	1	2	0
Infrastructure investment	4	4	2	2
Expand access to the internet	4	1	0	0
More research and development on clean energy	4	2	1	1
More clean energy production e.g. solar, wind	4	2	0	0
Improved transportation: more public transportation; more electric vehicles	4	4	1	0
Building and housing energy efficiency improvement e.g. weatherization	4	2	0	0

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The Targeting of Industrial Policy: Who Are the Intended Beneficiaries?

Policy scholars have noted that different policies usually target – even if only implicitly – certain categories of recipients that they favor and others that they disfavor (Schneider, Ingram, & Deleon, 2014). Again, the right and left versions of industrial policy overlap in their positions on who should be the beneficiaries, but they also diverge in ways that fit the longstanding policy-target emphases of the left and right.

Shared Positions

The targets shared by the left and right are not surprising. They include economic sectors such as manufacturing and agriculture, small business (though big business also may be an unstated target), low-income people, and residents of small towns and rural areas. The attention to low-income people has long been a focus of the left but it is noteworthy how it has been taken up as well by the populist right. To be sure, most of the entries pertaining to low-income people for conservatives come from bills they have cosponsored with left advocates of industrial policy.

<i>Table 5: Intended Policy Beneficiaries: Shared Positions</i>	Left		Right	
	Political Leaders (4)	Think Tanks (4)	Political Leaders (4)	Think Tanks (3)
Manufacturing sector	4	3	3	3
Agricultural sector	4	0	3	0
Small businesses	4	3	4	2
Small towns and rural areas	4	2	3	2
Low-income people	4	3	4	1

Contrasting Positions

Given the focus of the modern Republican party on mobilizing white men, it is not surprising that people of color and women are not the focus of the right proponents of industrial policy. In

fact, the few instances we coded of attention to women and people of color on the part of conservative proponents of industrial policy largely came in bills in which they joined left proponents as co-sponsors.

<i>Table 6: Intended Policy Beneficiaries: Contrasting Positions</i>	Left		Right	
	Political Leaders (4)	Think Tanks (4)	Political Leaders (4)	Think Tanks (3)
People of color	4	4	1	0
Women	4	4	2	0
Labor unions	4	3	1	2
De-industrialized communities	2	3	1	2
Fossil-fuel workers and their communities	4	2	0	0

While the populist right may now champion low-income people along with the left proponents of industrial policy, the right is still not as strong a proponent of labor unions, unlike the industrial policy left. However, there is intriguing evidence that a major shift in attitude may be underway (American Compass, 2020a; Cass, 2020c, 2020e, 2021a; King, 2020d; Krein, 2019b, 2020a). A statement issued by Oren Cass of American Compass, Yuval Levin of the American Enterprise Institute, Sen. Marco Rubio, and others explicitly endorses labor representation:⁶

American conservatives rightly place economic freedom and limited government among our dearest values. The defense of markets, though, has at times made us overly solicitous of businesses. As we advocate for owners and managers in their pursuit of profit, and celebrate the enormous benefits their efforts can generate for us all, we must accord the same respect to the concerns of workers and ensure that they too have a seat at the table. In a well-functioning and competitive market, participants meet as equals able to advance their interests through mutually beneficial relationships. Institutions of organized labor have traditionally been the mechanism by which workers take collective action and gain representation and bargaining power in the private sector. Strong worker representation can make America stronger. (American Compass, 2020a)

This is a striking position but it is not yet enough to put the conservative supporters of industrial policy firmly in the labor-friendly camp. While Rubio signed this letter, his position still does not seem dominant among the Republican elected officials who support industrial policy. His Senate colleagues Josh Hawley and Tom Cotton have not expressed similar pro-labor sentiments. Moreover, Rubio joined Tom Cotton, Mike Lee, and Ted Cruz in sponsoring Senate bill 2709, which would reduce the power of the National Labor Relations Board to issue findings and make rules regarding unfair labor practices.

WHAT IS MISSING IN THE INDUSTRIAL POLICY DEBATE?

The contrasts between the right and left positions on industrial policy would suggest that they cover the ideological and policy territory quite thoroughly. However, it is worth noting areas of absence or insufficient coverage. We focus on three areas: providing equitable access to and success in jobs; helping families cope with the competing demands of work and family; and recognizing the needs of emerging population groups.

Ensuring Equitable Access to and Success in New Jobs

Unlike the right-wing proponents of industrial policy, the left proponents do frequently address the circumstances of women and people of color in making a case for industrial policy (Biden, 2020c, 2021e; Flynn et al., 2020; Sanders, 2019a; Stettner, Yudken & McCormack, 2017a; Warren, 2019b, 2019c, 2019g). For example, the Biden campaign stated:

Biden will ensure these jobs are filled by diverse, local, well-trained workers – including women and people of color – by requiring federally funded projects to prioritize Project Labor and Community Workforce Agreements and employ workers trained in registered apprenticeship programs. Biden will make investments in pre-apprenticeship programs and in community-based and proven

organizations that help women and people of color access high-quality training and job opportunities. (Biden, 2020c)

However, this leaves a lot of to be spelled out. What will these Project Labor and Community Workforce Agreements and apprenticeship programs specifically do to equitably recruit women and people of color, train them in the skills needed, and provide support on the job as they encounter work challenges, such as white male resistance in the skilled crafts? Moreover, is enough attention being given to such important issues as access to affordable housing near jobs, transportation to jobs, and childcare while working? (Joint Center for Political and Economic Studies, 2019; Kane, 2021; Mason, Flynn, & Sun, 2020; Muro, Kane, & Tomer, 2021)?

Helping Families Cope with the Competing Demands of Work and Family

We have already raised the issue of childcare but this only begins to tap the realm of work/family conflicts that particularly are borne by women, especially if they are single parents. Again, even the left industrial policies do not address such important issues as helping workers not only more easily handle childcare but also care for newborns, elderly parents, and sick relatives. These issues need to be addressed in policies addressing paid family and sick leave, etc. However, simply having such policies is not enough. It is necessary to also make sure that men do not avoid taking paid family leave and as a result saddle women with the majority of care work (see Mason, Flynn, & Sun, 2020).

Recognizing the Needs of Emerging Population Groups

Our society is undergoing rapid pluralization with growing immigration, changing constructions of gender and sexuality, etc. Immigrants, LGBTQ people, etc. may experience

industrial policies in ways quite different than those anticipated by industrial policy advocates. How will these differences be kept in mind as industrial policies are designed? For example, how will industrial policies address the discrimination that immigrants and LGBTQ people are likely to encounter as they try to make use of programs for industrial apprenticeships or business incubation?

POLITICAL IMPLICATIONS

As this report has shown, industrial policy has considerable support on both the left and right. This suggests that it may be a key component of Democratic and Republican party proposals in the 2022 and, even more so, 2024 election. But if industrial policy might be an important locus of common activity across party lines, what directions can we expect this common activity to take?

We have seen that the left and right versions of industrial policy share considerable similarities. This could allow for fruitful legislative cooperation between the parties over the next couple of years. It is noteworthy how many Congressional bills advancing industrial policy have sponsors from both parties. At the same time, there is good reason to believe that there will be sharpened, noncooperative competition. Despite the many points of convergence between Democratic and Republican advocates of industrial policy, they may be loath to cooperate with each other (Scheiber, 2021). Both right and left advocates of industrial policy may feel that bipartisan cooperation will dilute the distinctiveness of their message going into the 2024 election. However, right partisans may particularly feel pressure not to cooperate. The right advocates are clearly envisioning industrial policy as a populist approach that can pull many working-class people -- particularly white males but also Hispanics -- away from Democrats (see

Vassallo, 2020). Moreover, right advocates may shy away from joining forces with left advocates for fear of being called out by other Republicans for undercutting a Republican strategy of massive resistance to Democratic proposals with the intent of denying Democrats victory in 2022 and 2024.

Therefore, if cooperation proves difficult or impossible, what are the implications of one or the other version of industrial policy triumphing? We would like to spotlight the implications for the problems calling for industrial policy, the policies offered in response, and the policy beneficiaries targeted.

Which Problems Calling for Industrial Policy Are Highlighted?

Despite their convergence, the left and right proponents of industrial policy do differ considerably in their analysis of the problems calling for industrial policy. The left puts great emphasis on climate change, while the right is almost entirely silent on this. On the other hand, the right more vigorously highlights the decline of community cohesion in making the case for industrial policy, while the left proposals do this less. Both versions invoke the threat of China but in substantially different ways.

If the left version wins, there will likely be a major emphasis on climate action as a central aspect of industrial policy, with “green jobs” being a leading symbol of this juncture of environmental and economic policies. The left’s emphasis on climate change is not only important substantively but it should be a great advantage politically. By tying industrial policy to climate change, the left industrial policy both addresses the growing realization of the threat of climate change but also undercuts the neoliberal argument that addressing climate change kills the economy (Paul et al., 2019; Pollin, 2019b). Addressing climate change is increasingly

popular with voters. In a May 2020 poll by the Pew Research Center, 65% of US adult respondents stated that the government was not doing enough to reduce the effects of climate change (Tyson & Kennedy, 2020). Similarly, an AP-NORC poll in August 2018 found that 6 in 10 believe the government should do something about climate change (AP-NORC Center for Public Affairs Research, 2018b).

On the other hand, if the conservative vision of industrial policy triumphs, it will carry two premises that are quite different from those of the left vision. The first involves attitudes towards China. The second involves attitudes toward community.

Both the left and right advocates point to a threat from China as a major reason for industrial policy (Biden, 2020c; Cotton, 2020c; Hawley, 2020a; Rubio, 2020a; Warren, 2019a). However, while for the left advocates the threat is primarily economic, for the right-wing advocates of industrial policy the threat from China is as much military as economic. Senator Tom Cotton has even called for a “Second Cold War,” this time against China (Cotton, 2020c).

This bellicose vision of how to respond to the Chinese challenge to the United States may prove attractive to many Americans. In a February 2021 poll by the Pew Research Center, 53% of respondents reported that they thought the United States should get tougher with China on economic issues. Moreover, 53% agreed that the loss of U.S. jobs to China would be a very serious problem to the United States and 52% expressed the same about China’s growing military power (Silver, Devlin, & Huang, 2021). It will be interesting to see if Democrats decide to counter the Republican emphasis on China by forthrightly acknowledging the Chinese economic challenge, but in a way that does not slide into the Republican emphasis on a military threat. If right-wing industrial policy prove ascendant, its emphasis on military uses may have serious repercussions not only for United States foreign policy but also for its economic policy.

While a military oriented industrial policy can carry great economic benefits, as witness the impact of Defense Department spending on the rise of Silicon Valley (Stuart, 2000), there is also evidence that a strong emphasis on military applications can impede civilian uses of government sponsored research and development (see Casagrande, 2001).

The other distinctive policy premise that a triumphant conservative version of industrial policy will bring is that it is a solution to community breakdown and anomie as marked by such things as the spread of opioid addiction (American Compass, 2020a; Hawley, 2019a; Rubio, 2019a, 2019c). Again, this may be a very popular framing. Many Americans are greatly concerned about loss of community cohesion, as marked by such things as the spread of opioid addiction (AP-NORC Center for Public Affairs Research, 2018a).

The conservative framing of community, however, is likely to be quite different from the left of center one. It will pay much less attention to racial and gender diversity and prioritize a vision of the “traditional” family and religion as the center of community (Hawley, 2019a). For example, in his call for industrial policy, Senator Josh Hawley has stated:⁷

We must join together to renew the bonds of family life, to honor the claims of kinship and the covenant of marriage. Marriage should be prized in our national policy, not penalized. And from taxes to healthcare, families should get the support and pride of place they deserve. To rebuild our common purpose, we must protect our communities of faith. Because religious faith has fueled our history and shaped our aspirations and bettered our society. It is not the role of government to promote Christianity or any religion. But let us be clear: our government should not hinder or diminish religious expression. We need strong religious communities, active in civic life, protecting the vulnerable, defending the weak. Because these communities have helped make us who we are as a people. (Hawley, 2019a)

An ascendant conservative framing of community is also likely to involve an appeal to the importance of meaningful work (Rubio, 2019a, 2019c, 2019f, 2019g, 2020b). For example, Oren Cass of American Compass, a think tank with close ties to Marco Rubio, has argued:

I think what we've lost is the recognition that what is ultimately most important to individuals and what provides the basis for our communities, for our families, and for the economy, ultimately, isn't how much you can consume. It's your opportunity to engage as a productive contributor in society.... It's about being able to a lot of times grow up in the community that you grew up in, to stay there, to build a family, to support it, to contribute, to save for your kids, to set them on a path to success as well. (Cass in Rubio, 2019a)

These themes of community and meaningful work -- while voiced more often by conservative proponents of industrial policy – are also part of the left of center values discourse. Hence, it will be interesting to see whether the left-wing advocates of industrial policy respond to the attractiveness of the conservative discourse by elaborating a left discourse of community and meaningful work. This may prove important in appealing to working-class communities, for those values have been crucial anchors of identity and self-regard in working-class communities (Lamont, 2000). The elements of an egalitarian vision of supportive community and meaningful can be drawn from the work of Carol Pateman, Jane Mansbridge, Robert Putman, and Robert Bellah and colleagues (Bellah, Madsen, Sullivan, Swidler, & Tipton, 1985, 1992; Mansbridge & Parkinson, 2012; Pateman & Mills, 2007; and Putman & Garrett, 2020).

Which Policies Are Put Forward?

There is great overlap between the left and right in the specific industrial policies they advocate with one very important exception. Central to the new left vision of industrial policy is a set of policies that address climate change. Such policies are almost entirely absent among the conservative proposals. It will be very interesting to see whether – in the face of mounting evidence of climate change and popular concern about it -- conservatives move in time to fill this yawning gap in their policy proposals. Will conservatives begin to offer proposals for funding

clean energy research, incentivizing clean energy production, and making buildings more energy efficient?

Which Social Sectors Are Targeted?

Both the left and right versions of industrial policy would target manufacturing, agriculture, small business, rural areas, and low-income people as beneficiaries of the policy. However, there still remains a big left-right division on the targeting of industrial policy. If the left version triumphs, there will be considerably greater attention to the situation and concerns of women and people of color than if the right version is ascendant. However, as noted above, that greater left attention to gender and race may fail to grapple deeply enough with the complexities of fostering gender and racial equality of economic opportunity, helping workers balance work and family demands, and address the needs of emerging population groups. The advocates of a left industrial policy have much to learn from those who have critically analyzed past social and economic policymaking from race- and gender-critical perspectives (Bracey, 2015; Katznelson, 2006; Mason, Flynn, & Sun, 2020; McDonagh & Nackenoff, 2016; Michener, 2019).

Does the Neoliberal Empire Strike Back?

The current attractiveness of industrial policy on the left and right should not blind us to the fact that it could suffer the same defeat as occurred in the late 1980s and 1990s. On the right, the Republican party may oppose most any form of industrial policy in the name of massive resistance to the Democratic party. And even if this is not the case, it remains to be seen whether market fundamentalists such as Ted Cruz, Paul Ryan, the Club for Growth, the Koch family network, and the Heritage Foundation will find a way to sideline Rubio, Cotton, and Hawley. It

is notable that Cruz co-sponsored only one of the industrial policy bills that we reviewed. Moreover, Rubio's industrial policy proposals have come under attack in the *Wall Street*

Journal:

[W]hen Mr. Rubio and his allies complain that the high priests of capitalism dismiss his ideas out of hand, it isn't because they believe him stupid or the market status quo incapable of improvements. To the contrary, it's because they don't believe politicians recalibrating the tax code in the name of the common good will bring about the moral economy. It's because they don't believe technicians redirecting capital investment will work, or that it can be had with no costs or unintended consequences. Above all, it's because they believe that trusting Washington to give us a new and improved capitalism by repurposing private companies to serve the priorities of the government rather than those of their owners requires a faith far greater than any ever demanded by the Lord. (McGurn, 2019a)

On the left, one wonders if the current strong interest in industrial policy will be powerfully challenged by a resurgent business friendly Democratic centrism. It is of interest that the Progressive Policy Institute – a key ally of Bill Clinton and the Democratic Leadership Council – is sponsoring a Center for New Liberalism staffed with fresh faces (<https://progressivepolicy.org/project/the-center-for-new-liberalism>).

APPENDIX A: METHODS

We categorized the opinion leaders favoring industrial policy into different groups. For the left, we defined eight categories of opinion leaders. Four involved political leaders: the Biden campaign and administration; Sen. Elizabeth Warren; Sen. Bernie Sanders; and other Democratic leaders espousing industrial policy beliefs by submitting legislative bills and resolutions that advocated one or another form of industrial policy. These other leaders included Rep. Alexandria Ocasio-Cortez, Sen. Edward Markey, Sen. Charles Schumer, Sen. Chris Coons, Sen. Jeff Merkley, Rep. Ro Khanna, Rep. Tim Ryan, and others. We also had defined four categories of thinktanks or policy organizations that have advanced left-oriented industrial policy: the Brookings Institution; the Century Foundation; the labor-oriented thinktanks (Economic Policy Institute and Alliance for American Manufacturing); and the Roosevelt Institute.

Meanwhile, we had seven categories of opinion leaders for the right. Four involve political leaders: Sen. Marco Rubio; Sen. Josh Hawley; Sen. Tom Cotton; and other Republican leaders (including Sen. Todd Young, Sen. John Cornyn, and others) espousing industrial policy beliefs in the form of legislation and resolutions sponsored. We also had three categories of think tanks and policy organizations that have come out in favor of a conservative version of industrial policy: American Compass; American Affairs; and the Niskanen Center.

To find materials produced by the above, we searched in Google and Google Scholar, Lexis-Nexis, the Library of Congress's Congressional bill service (Congress.gov), and the websites of the main proponents of industrial policy. All of these materials were read and their contents analyzed using both preset and emerging categories.

We have credited a position to the right or left when it has commanded support across at least four of the eight left categories or four of the seven right categories.

**APPENDIX B:
CONTENT ANALYSIS OF POSITIONS TAKEN BY RIGHT OF CENTER PROPONENTS OF INDUSTRIAL POLICY**

v25 4-5-2021	Tom Cotton	Josh Hawley	Marco Rubio	Other political leaders in Congress	American Affairs	American Compass :	Niskanen Center
Problems IP Policy Addresses							
Decline of manufacturing	2020a	2019b	2019b	S2131 Coons-Scott-Gardner 2		K 2020d	L&H 2020: 98
Loss of well-paying jobs by Americans	2016a, 2019f	2019a, 2020a, 2020b, 2020k; S2357 Baldwin-Hawley 3; S. Res. 625 Scott-Hawley-libs 2	2019b, 2019c, 2019d: 4, 2020a, 2020d; Amer Compass, 2020a; US Senate 2019a; Lovelace 2015a; Puko 2019a;		2019a, 2019b	C 2019a, C 2020b	L&H 2020: 9, 98-99
Income decline and inequality	2016a, 2019f	2020a			2019a, 2019b	C 2021a: 126	L&H 2020: 9
Crumbling infrastructure	2019a, 2020c		2019c			C 2019b, C 2020a, C 2020b; K 2020b	L&H 2020: 106-107
Climate change						K 2020b	L&H 2020: 77-82
Trade Deficit and other Trade Problems		2019a, 2019b, 2020a, 2020b; S2357 Baldwin-Hawley 1; Nelson 2019a	US Senate 2019a: 19, 69		2019b: 1, 2020a: 5-6	K 2020a, K 2020e: 2	H 2019b

v25 4-5-2021	Tom Cotton	Josh Hawley	Marco Rubio	Other political leaders in Congress	American Affairs	American Compass :	Niskanen Center
Threatened supply chain	2020a, 2002c; S4130 Cotton-Hawley-Rubio-Schumer 19; S4982 Cornyn-Cotton-Schumer 26	2020a, 2020b, 2020d, 2020f, 2020k; S4130 Cotton-Hawley-Rubio-Schumer 19; S. Res. 625 Scott-Hawley-libs 3; S3343 Hawley	Puko 2019a; S4130 Cotton-Hawley-Rubio-Schumer 19; S2093 Rubio 6; S3538 Rubio-Warren 3-4; S2127 Coons-Rubio 3-5, 11; S3993 Cornyn-Rubio-Warner 29;		2020a	C 2020b, C 2021a: 127; K 2020b	
China as economic threat	2020a, 2020b; Drucker 2018a	2019a, 2020a, 2020d, 2020f,	2019b, 2020a, 2020b, 2020c, 2021a; US Senate 2019a; Puko 2019a; S2093 Rubio 2	S3832 Schumer-Young 1-3	2019a, 2019b	C 2019a, C 2021a: 126; K 2020b	
China as a threat to national security	2019b, 2019c, 2019d, 2020a, 2020b, 2020c; S4130 Cotton-Hawley-Rubio-Schumer 6, 12-13, 18- 19; S1625 Wicker-Cotton-Markey 4, 7; S4982 Cornyn-Cotton-Schumer 29	2020a, 2020c, 2020d, 2020e, 2020j, 2020i, 2020g; S4130 Cotton-Hawley-Rubio-Schumer 6, 12-13, 18- 19	2019b, 2019d: 4-5, 2020a, 2021a; Puko 2019a; S4130 Cotton-Hawley-Rubio-Schumer 6, 12-13, 18- 19; S2093 Rubio 2; S3538 Rubio-Warren 5; S3993 Cornyn-Rubio-				

v25 4-5-2021	Tom Cotton	Josh Hawley	Marco Rubio	Other political leaders in Congress	American Affairs	American Compass :	Niskanen Center
			Warner 13, 20-21				
China as a threat to human rights		2020a, 2002i, 2020h, 2020g	2019b, 2020c, 2021b; Amer Compass 2020a,				
Threat to national security (China not mentioned specifically)	S4982 Cornyn-Cotton-Schumer 18, 26-27	2020k	S2826 Young-Rubio-Merkley 2	S3832 Schumer-Young 61-63	2019b		
Too big a role for financial sector		2020k	2019c, 2019d: 5, 2020b		2020a	C 2019b, C 2020b, C 2021a; K 2020b	
Companies buying back shares rather than investing			2019b, 2019c; US Senate 2019a		2019a, 2020a		
Decline of meaningful work		Hawley in Rubio 2019a	2019a, 2019c, 2019f, 2020b			Cass in Rubio 2019a	
Decline of community		2019a, Hawley in Cotton 2020a	2019a, 2019c; Amer Compass 2020a,			C 2020b, C 2021a: 123-124, 126; AC 2020; K 2020a	
Spread of opioid addiction		2019a					
Right support for hyper-globalization and promise that market solves all problems		2019a, 2020a	2019b, 2019d: 5, 2020a, 2019c; Amer Compass 2020a; US Senate 2019a;		2019a, 2019b	C 2019a, C 2020a, C 2021a: 123; K 2020a	L&H 2020: 13-16; H 2019a: 2

v25 4-5-2021	Tom Cotton	Josh Hawley	Marco Rubio	Other political leaders in Congress	American Affairs	American Compass :	Niskanen Center
Left support for multi-culturalism and rejection of place-bound patriotism	2016a	2019a					
Intended Beneficiaries							
Manufacturing	2020a	2019b; S. Res. 625 Scott-Hawley-libs 2		S2131 Coons-Scott-Gardner 2	2020a	C 2019b, C 2020b; K 2020d	L&H 2020: 98-99
Agriculture	2019e	2019b	2020d				
Small business	S1625 Wicker-Cotton-Markey 13; S4982 Cornyn-Cotton-Schumer 11	2020l	2019b; US Senate 2019a; S1427 Coons-Rubio 30; S3734 Gillibrand-Rubio-Gardner 33-35, 39; S2045 Shaheen-Rubio gen.;	S3832 Schumer-Young 52, 64; S4725 Coons-Cassidy 18-19; S2131 Coons-Scott-Gardner 2-3; S2009 Coons-Gardner gen.	2019b	Cass in Rubio 2019a	
Labor unions			Amer Compass 2020a; S124 Rubio (bars non-compete clauses)		2019b, 2020a (crit of Trump anti-union efforts)	AC 2020a; C 2020c, C 2020e, C 2021a: 127; K 2020d	
Low-income people or communities	S4130 Cotton-Hawley-Rubio-Schumer 4	S4130 Cotton-Hawley-Rubio-Schumer 4; S3329 Hassan-Hawley 4, 9	S4130 Cotton-Hawley-Rubio-Schumer 4	S3832 Schumer-Young 52, 54; S983 Coons-Collins 4-5		C 2020b: 8, 11	

v25 4-5-2021	Tom Cotton	Josh Hawley	Marco Rubio	Other political leaders in Congress	American Affairs	American Compass :	Niskanen Center
People of color				S951 Coons-Young 10			
Women		S3329 Hassan-Hawley 4, 9		S2131 Coons-Scott-Gardner 15, 18; S951 Coons-Young 10			
Rural and small town people and areas]	2019a; Olsen, 2019a; S1625 Wicker-Cotton-Markey 13	2019a; 2020l; S3329 Hassan-Hawley 11	S1427 Coons-Rubio 26-27			C 2019a	L&H 2020: 100
De-industrialized communities		2019b					L&H 2020: 93-94
Fossil-fuel workers and communities							
“Traditional” families		2019a					
Specific Policies							
More spending on R & D that produces US jobs	2020a, 2020c; S4130 Cotton-Hawley-Rubio-Schumer 2-3, 5, 15; S4982 Cornyn-Cotton-Schumer 24-25, 43-47	2019a, 2020l; S4130 Cotton-Hawley-Rubio-Schumer 2-3, 5, 15	2019b; US Senate 2019a: 75-76; Am Affairs 2020a; S4130 Cotton-Hawley-Rubio-Schumer 2-3, 5, 15; S2127 Coons-Rubio 3-5, 11; S3993 Cornyn-Rubio-Warner 8-9,	S893 Cornyn 5-6; S3832 Schumer-Young 3, 8, 12-13; S2005 Coons-Graham 4	2019a, 2019b	C 2019a, C 2020a, C 2020b; K 2020b	L&H 2020: 77, 81, 85-92

v25 4-5-2021	Tom Cotton	Josh Hawley	Marco Rubio	Other political leaders in Congress	American Affairs	American Compass :	Niskanen Center
			29-30; S3734 Gillibrand-Rubio-Gardner 30-34, 46-51; S3143 Thune-Rubio-Harris 24-26, 40-42				
Use government procurement to favor US firms and jobs in desired economic sectors	S846 Cornyn-Cotton-Rubio-Baldwin 2	S. Res. 625 Scott-Hawley-libs 3	2020a: 2; US Senate 2019a: 32-33; S846 Cornyn-Cotton-Rubio-Baldwin 2		2019b: 2, 2020a: 7	C 2020a; K 2020c: 7	
More sub-BA vocational training and retraining e.g. apprenticeships, sectoral voc training, retraining of displaced workers	S4130 Cotton-Hawley-Rubio-Schumer 4	2019a; S4130 Cotton-Hawley-Rubio-Schumer 4	2018a; US Senate 2019a: 77; S4130 Cotton-Hawley-Rubio-Schumer 4; S1427 Coons-Rubio 17-18	S3832 Schumer-Young 48, 53		C 2019a, C 2021: 127; Cass in Rubio 2019a; K 2020c, K 2020d	
Trade rules that favor US job protection and generation		2019a: 5, S4976 Hawley	US Senate 2019a: 69; Lovelace 2015a		2020a: 5-6	K 2002c: 5-6; K 2020e: 3	H 2019b
Currency management: keep dollar value low		2019b; Higgins, 2019a; S2357 Baldwin-Hawley 2, 7-12	US Senate 2019a: 67, 68				

v25 4-5-2021	Tom Cotton	Josh Hawley	Marco Rubio	Other political leaders in Congress	American Affairs	American Compass :	Niskanen Center
Disincentivize Chinese investing in assets		2019b	US Senate 2019a: 67			C 2019a	
Tax incentives to encourage investing over repurchasing shares			US Senate 2019a: 74		2020a	C 2020b, C 2021a; K 2020b	
Encourage business incubation and startups	2020a; S4982 Cornyn-Cotton-Schumer 45	2020b, 2020l; S3329 Hassan-Hawley	2019b; S3734 Gillibrand-Rubio-Gardner 34	S3832 Schumer-Young 25-26, 50; S4725 Coons-Cassidy 4-5, 12-13, 20-21; S2005 Coons-Graham 8; S118 Coons-Young	2020a	C 2020b, C 2021a; K 2020b	
Access to financing e.g. for new technology		2020k, 2020l	Puko 2019a	S2131 Coons-Scott-Gardner gen.	2019b		
Support for manufacturing technology modernization (whether products or techniques)	2020a, 2020c; S4130 Cotton-Hawley-Rubio-Schumer 2-3; S4982 Cornyn-Cotton-Schumer 47	2020l; S4130 Cotton-Hawley-Rubio-Schumer 2-3	2019b; S4130 Cotton-Hawley-Rubio-Schumer 2-3; S1427 Coons-Rubio 11-13	S3832 Schumer-Young 41, 55-56; S2009 Coons-Gardner 4		C 2020b	L&H 2020: 77, 98-99
Encourage industry clusters and joint programs							
Clean energy R & D e.g. power generation				S4725 Coons-Cassidy gen.;			L&H 2020: 81-82

v25 4-5-2021	Tom Cotton	Josh Hawley	Marco Rubio	Other political leaders in Congress	American Affairs	American Compass :	Niskanen Center
(wind, etc.), batteries, smart grids				S2005 Coons-Graham 4			
Investment in infrastructure e.g. clean water and waste handling; highways and bridges	2018a, 2019a, 2020c: 3-4		US Senate 2019: 70		2019b: 3, 2020a: 7	C 2019b, C 2020a: 12, C 2002b: 7; K 2020a: 8, K 2020b: 6, K 2020e: 4	
Improved transportation e.g. public transport; fast rail; electric vehicles	2019a						
Support clean energy production e.g. solar, wind, carbon capture							
Public (fed and municipal) clean energy power production							
Building and housing energy efficiency improvement e.g. electric heat; weatherization, solar energy							
Building and housing energy efficiency improvement e.g. electric heat; weatherization, solar energy				S983 Coons-Collins			
Create jobs in cleaning up old							

v25 4-5-2021	Tom Cotton	Josh Hawley	Marco Rubio	Other political leaders in Congress	American Affairs	American Compass :	Niskanen Center
fossil-fuel infrastructure e.g. wells, mines, etc.							
Immigration restriction	2016a; S1103 Cotton 17ff					C 2020d	

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- S.951 (Coons, Young, Moran, Brown): Apprenticeship Hubs Across America Act of 2019
- S.983 (Coons, Collins, Murkowski, et al.): Weatherization Enhancement and Local Energy Efficiency Investment and Accountability Act of 2019
- S.1427 (Coons, Gardner, Rubio, Collins, et al.): Global Leadership in Advanced Manufacturing Act of 2019
- S.2005 (Coons, Graham): Increasing and Mobilizing Partnerships to Achieve Commercialization of Technologies for Energy Act
- S.2009 (Coons, Risch, Gardner, Smith): Small Businesses Partnering with National Labs Act of 2019
- S.2045 (Shaheen, Rubio, Carden): SBIR and STTR Permanency and Improvement Act of 2019
- S.2131 (Coons, Gardner, Scott, Rosen): Strengthening Investment to Grow Manufacturing in America Act
- S.2357 (Baldwin, Hawley): Competitive Dollar for Job and Prosperity Act.
- S.2826 (Young, Merkley, Rubio, Coons): Global Economic Security Strategy of 2019
- S.3143 (Thune, Nelson, Gardner, Harris, Daines, Rubio): National Quantum Initiative Act
- S.3329 (Hassan, Hawley): Incubator Network and Startup Success Act
- S.3734 (Gillibrand, Markey, Rubio, Gardner): Bioeconomy Research and Development Act of 2020
- S.3832 (Schumer, Young): Endless Frontier Act
- S.3933 (Cornyn, Warner, Sinema et al.): Creating Helpful Incentives to Produce Semiconductors for America Act
- S.4359 (Coons, Rubio, Cornyn, Hassan): Resilient Manufacturing Task Force Act of 2020
- S.4725 (Coons, Cassidy): Energizing Technology Transfer Act of 2020
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**APPENDIX C:
CONTENT ANALYSIS OF POSITIONS TAKEN BY LEFT OF CENTER PROPONENTS OF INDUSTRIAL POLICY**

V44 4-3-2021	Joe Biden	Bernie Sanders	Elizabeth Warren	Other political leaders in Congress	Brookings	Century Foundation	Economic Policy Institute, Alliance for Amer Mfg.	Roosevelt Institute
Problems IP Policy Addresses								
Decline of manufacturing	2021a: 1			S2131 Coons-Scott-Gardner 2; HR5978 Lipinski 2	D 2020: 8-9	SYM 2017a: gen; St 2018a: 2; St 2018b: 1; St&Y 2018a: 1; Sh 2018: gen.; Block 2017: 2	S 2020a: gen.; 2020b: 1-4, 8; SMP 2020a: 1; P 2020a: 1	
Loss of well-paying jobs by Americans	2020b: 5-6	2019c: 1	2019a: 1-2, 5; 2019d: 1; 2019f: 6	S2357 Baldwin-Hawley 3; HRes 104 Dingell 2; S. Res. 625 Scott-Hawley-libs 2		SYM 2017a: 4, 20-21; St 2018b: 1-2; St&Y 2018a: 1; M&M 2017a: 1; M&M 2017b: 2-5; Sh 2018: 4-5	S 2020a, b: gen.; P 2020a: 2	T 2019: 43; A&T, 2019: 4; CLS 2016: 13
Income decline and inequality	2021i: 19			H.Res 109: 2; Biden-Sanders TF 2020a: 11		M&M 2017a: 1; M&M 2017b: 6-17; St&Y 2018a: 11	S 2020b: 1; P 2020a: 2	F et al 2020: 34; CLS 2016: 13, 14
Crumbling infrastructure.	2020a: 1-2; 2020c: 1; 2020d: 10	2019a: 2, 11; 2019b: 1;	2019b: 6; 2019h: 6	HRes 104 Dingell 4	K 2019: 1; K 2020: 3, 17	M&M 2017b: 17	S 2020b: 12; P 2020a: 2	

V44 4-3-2021	Joe Biden	Bernie Sanders	Elizabeth Warren	Other political leaders in Congress	Brookings	Century Foundation	Economic Policy Institute, Alliance for Amer Mfg.	Roosevelt Institute
Climate change	2020a: 1, 2, 6; 2020c: 2, 7, 10, 13; 2020e: 2; 2021a: 4; 2021b: 1-3; 2021e: 6; 2021i: 1; 2021j: 4, 7	2019a: 1-3, passim	2019a: 1, 2, 6, 9; 2019c: 1; 2019d: 1	H.Res 109: 1-2, 4; HRes 104 Dingell 2-3	K 2020: 3			G-W et al 2020: gen.; H et al 2021: 6; PFM 2019: gen., 4, 9; R 2021a; R 2021b
Trade deficit and other trade problems	2020b: 1		2019a: 3	S2357 Baldwin-Hawley 1;		St 2018a: 6; St 2018b: 1	S 2020a: gen.; S 2020b: 1, 4, 8-9, 12; SMP 2020a: 1	
Threatened supply chain	2020b: 4, 5; 2020c: 11; 2021a: 3; 2021e: 12; 2021f: 1; 2021i: 2, 14, 16		S3538 Rubio-Warren 3-4	S4629 Menendez 29, 135, 141-142; S. Res. 625 Scott-Hawley-libs 3; S4359 Coons-Rubio 2, 4; S3993 Cornyn-Rubio-Warner 29; S4982 Cornyn-Cotton-Schumer 26; S4130 Cotton-Hawley-Rubio-Schumer 19; HR8785 Finkenauer-Lamb 4-5	D 2020: 7-10	St 2018b: 1; St&Y 2018a: 2	P 20201: 1	T 2019: 38

V44 4-3-2021	Joe Biden	Bernie Sanders	Elizabeth Warren	Other political leaders in Congress	Brookings	Century Foundation	Economic Policy Institute, Alliance for Amer Mfg.	Roosevelt Institute
China as economic threat	2020b: 5; 2020c: 1, 5, 6; 2020d: 10; 2021c: 2; 2021i: 1, 15; 2021j: 3, 6		2019a: 5; 2019d: 1; 2019i: 5	S4629 Menendez 8-11, 36-37, 65, 159-160, 169-172, 574, 602-605; S3832 Schumer-Young 1-3	D 2002	SYM 2017a: 8; St 2018b: 1-2	P 2020a: 1, 2	T 2019: 37
China as national security threat			S3538 Rubio-Warren 5	S1625 Wicker-Cotton-Markey 4, 7; S3993 Cornyn-Rubio-Warner 13, 20-21; S4982 Cornyn-Cotton-Schumer 29; S4130 Cotton-Hawley-Rubio-Schumer 6, 12-13, 18-19				
Threat to national security (China not mentioned specifically)				H.Res 109: 4 clim change; S4629 Menendez 8-11, 28-29, 34; S3832 Schumer-Young 61-63; S3993 Cornyn-Rubio-Warner 1, 13, 18-21; S4982 Cornyn-Cotton-Schumer 18, 26-27; S2826 Young-Rubio-Merkley 2		St&Y 2018a: 2, 9		T 2019: 38

V44 4-3-2021	Joe Biden	Bernie Sanders	Elizabeth Warren	Other political leaders in Congress	Brookings	Century Foundation	Economic Policy Institute, Alliance for Amer Mfg.	Roosevelt Institute
Too big a role of financial sector				Biden-Sanders TF 2020: 19				
Companies buying back shares rather than investing								
Decline of meaningful work								
Decline of community		2019b: 1				Sh 2018: 7	P 2020b: 2	
Spread of opioid addiction			2019f, 2019l (don't connect to industrial policy)	Biden-Sanders Task Force, 2020: 33, 96, 100 (doesn't connect to industrial policy)				
Intended beneficiaries								
Manufacturing	2020a: 2, 9-10; 2020c: 2; 2021a: 1; 2021b: 3; 2021f: 2; 2021i: 1	2019a: 2, etc.	2019a: passim; 2019b: 4, 5, 8-9; 2019c: 2; 2019f: 6	H.Res 109: 7; Biden-Sanders TF 2020a: 70; 2020b: 49, 51-52; S4624 Coons-Durbin 20-22; S4629 Menendez 64-69; S1747 Merkley et al 22; HRes 104 Dingell 6; S. Res. 625 Scott-Hawley-libs 2; S2131 Coons-Scott-		SYM 2017a: passim; St 2018a: 1-2, passim; St&Y 2018a: passim; St et al 2019a: passim; M&M 2017b: 22-23; B 2017	S 2020a: gen.; S 2020b: gen.; SMP 2020a: 1, 12, passim	T 2019: 37-39

V44 4-3-2021	Joe Biden	Bernie Sanders	Elizabeth Warren	Other political leaders in Congress	Brookings	Century Foundation	Economic Policy Institute, Alliance for Amer Mfg.	Roosevelt Institute
				Gardner 2; HR2631 Cicilline-Ryan-Reed gen.; HR8211 Craig-Chabot 12; HR3837 Foster 1-2; HR5978 Lipinski 2; HR2900 Ryan-etc 2-4				
Agriculture	2020c: 12; 2020d: 8; 2021b: 3; 2021e: 14, 16; 2021i: 18	2019a: 2, 23-26; 2019c	2019e: passim; 2019f: 6; 2019h: 9-10	H.Res 109: 8; Biden-Sanders TF 2020a: 16-17, 68-69; HRes 104 Dingell 5, 8, 14				
Small business	2020a: 9-11; 2021a: 4; 2021b: 3; 2021f: 1, 7; 2021i: 3; 2021j: 4	2019a: 2, 5-6	2019f: 7; 2019g	Biden-Sanders TF 2020a: 16; S4624 Coons-Durbin 19-20; S4629 Menendez 135, 144, 153; S1747 Merkley et al 26-27, 30-31; S2185 Merkley et al 26-27, 29-31; S3832 Schumer-Young 52, 64; HRes 104 Dingell 8; S1625 Wicker-Cotton-Markey 13; S1427 Coons-Rubio 30; S4982 Cornyn-	L 2021	St 2018a: 10-11; St&Y 2018a: 8; B 2017: 17		H et al 2021: 39; R 2021a: 1

V44 4-3-2021	Joe Biden	Bernie Sanders	Elizabeth Warren	Other political leaders in Congress	Brookings	Century Foundation	Economic Policy Institute, Alliance for Amer Mfg.	Roosevelt Institute
				Cotton-Schumer 11; S3734 Gillibrand-Rubio-Gardner 33-35, 39; S2045 Shaheen-Rubio gen.; S431 Baldwin 2, 6; S4725 Coons-Cassidy 18-19; S2131 Coons-Scott-Gardner 2-3; S2009 Coons-Gardner gen.; HR8211 Craig-Chabot gen.; HR5348 Crow-Burchett gen.; HR246 Finkenauer-Curtis gen; HR3574 Lujan gen; HR6403 Phillips-Khanna 14				
Labor unions	2020a: 1, 5, 6; 2020c: 1, 2, 3, 6; 2020d: 9, 21; 2020e: 2-3; 2021a: 1; 2021b: 3; 2021e: 14, 16; 2021i: 2, 3, 9, 11, 14, 19-20; 2021j: 2, 7	2019a: 2, 18-19; 2019c; S2876 Schumer-Sanders-Warren 23-27	2019b: 1-3, 6, 9; 2019c: 4; 2019d: 3; 2019h: 1, 5, 7, 8; 2019i: 1, 3, 4; S2876 Schumer-Sanders-Warren 23-27	H.Res 109: 12; S4629 Menendez 74, 137, 183-186, 267, 275; S1747 Merkley et al 6-10; S2185 Merkley et al 1-12, 18, 32; HRes 104 Dingell 4, 6-8;		St 2018a: 9; M&M 2017b: 22-23; Sh 2018: 5, 15, 17;	S 2020a: 4; S 2020b: 8, 13	A&T, 2019: 3, 8; F et al 2020: 26-28; H et al 2021: 38

V44 4-3-2021	Joe Biden	Bernie Sanders	Elizabeth Warren	Other political leaders in Congress	Brookings	Century Foundation	Economic Policy Institute, Alliance for Amer Mfg.	Roosevelt Institute
Low-income people and communities	2020a: 2, 5, 7, 8, 9; 2020c: 2, 9, 10, 13; 2020d: 7, 17, 20; 2021e: 14; 2021i: 6	2019a: 20-21; S2876 Schumer-Sanders-Warren 4, 8, 34, 41-43	2019c: 5; S2876 Schumer-Sanders-Warren 4, 8, 34, 41-43	H.Res 109: ?; S4629 Menendez 273; S3832 Schumer-Young 52, 54; HRes 104 Dingell 8; S3329 Hassan-Hawley 4, 9; S4130 Cotton-Hawley-Rubio-Schumer 4; S983 Coons-Collins 4-5; HR5961 Khanna-Fitzpatrick 7-8; HR2741 Pallone 185; HR2900 Ryan-etc 13	K 2020: 5-6, 14; K&V 2020: 2, 4, 8, 10	M&M 2017: gen.; St et al 2019a: 19;		F et al 2020: 12, 17; G-W&K 2020: 5; H et al 2021: 25; PFM 2019: 10; R 2021a: 1; R 2021b: 2; S 2020: 4
People of color	2020c: 2, 3, 13; 2021a: 4; 2021b: 8; 2021e: 14, 19-25 (environ justice); 2021f: 1, 8; 2020g: 2; 2021i: 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 8, 14, 15-16, 17, 18, 19, 20; 2021j: 4	2019a: 18, 21; 2019c: 2; S2876 Schumer-Sanders-Warren 3	2019b: 3, 7; 2019c: 2, 5; 2019e: 5; 2019f: 7; 2019g: 1, 3-4; 2019h: 2; 2019k: 4; S2876 Schumer-Sanders-Warren 3	H.Res 109: 4, 5; Biden-Sanders TF 2020: 2, 15, 16; S4624 Coons-Durbin 11; S4629 Menendez 19, 273; HRes 104 Dingell 8-13; S3734 Gillibrand-Rubio-Gardner 35 (HBCUs); S951 Coons-Young 10; HR2631 Cicilline-Ryan-Reed 8, 14; HR8211 Craig-	B 2020: 11; K 2020: 5-6, 14; K 2021: 7; K&V 2020: 2, 8, 10; L 2021: 10, 16; M et al 2021: 6	SYM 2017a: 28; St 2018a: 4-5; St&Y 2018a: 4; St et al 2019a: 20-22; Sh 2018: 2, 11, 18	S 2020b: 2, 11-13; P 2020b: 1-2	F et al 2020: 4, 6-7, 12-13, 15, 17-18, 24-25, 32-33; G-W et al. 2020: 29; H et al 2021: 18-19; PFM 2019: 10; R 2021a: 2; R 2021b: 2; S 2020: 4

V44 4-3-2021	Joe Biden	Bernie Sanders	Elizabeth Warren	Other political leaders in Congress	Brookings	Century Foundation	Economic Policy Institute, Alliance for Amer Mfg.	Roosevelt Institute
				Chabot 3; HR5348 Crow-Burchett 4; HR703 Jayapal- Levin 2; HR5961 Khanna-Fitzpatrick 7-8; HR8693 Khanna-Ryan- Jayapal 18-19, 26; HR2741 Pallone 185; HR6403 Phillips-Khanna 11- 12				
Women	2020c: 3, 11; 2020g: 2; 2021e: 14; 2021i: 1, 2, 14, 15-16, 18, 19, 20; 2021j: 5	2019a: 21, 26	2019b: 3, 7; 2019d: 4; 2019e: 1; 2019g: 2, 4	Biden-Sanders TF 2020: 2, 15, 16; S4629 Menendez 19, 178; HRes 104 Dingell 8, 10; S3329 Hassan-Hawley 4, 9; S2131 Coons-Scott-Gardner 15, 18; S951 Coons-Young 10; HR2631 Cicilline-Ryan-Reed 8, 14; HR8211 Craig-Chabot 3; HR5348 Crow-Burchett 4; HR703 Jayapal-Levin 2; HR5961 Khanna-Fitzpatrick	K 2020: 16; K 2021: 7-8; L 2021: 16; M et al 2021: 6	SYM 2017a: 28; St&Y 2018a: 4; St et al 2019a: 20	S 2020b: 2, 11-13	F et al 2020: 15, 23-25, 34; PFM 2019: 11

V44 4-3-2021	Joe Biden	Bernie Sanders	Elizabeth Warren	Other political leaders in Congress	Brookings	Century Foundation	Economic Policy Institute, Alliance for Amer Mfg.	Roosevelt Institute
				7-8; HR6403 Phillips-Khanna 11-12; HR2900 Ryan-etc 13				
Rural and small town people and communities	2020a: 9-10; 2021e: 10, 12, 14; 2021i: 1, 11, 15, 17, 18; 2021j: 4	2019a: 4, 7, 11, 12, 19-25, 27, 28	2019a: 5; 2019f: passim; 2019g: 3	H.Res 109: 4, 5; Biden-Sanders TF 2020a: 16-17, 68-69; 2020b: 45; S4624 Durbin 11; S4629 Menendez 140, 273; HRes 104 Dingell 5; S3329 Hassan-Hawley 11; S1625 Wicker-Cotton-Markey 13; S1427 Coons-Rubio 26-27; HR5348 Crow-Burchett 4; HR8693 Khanna-Ryan-Jayapal 18-19; HR2741 Pallone 192	K&V 2020: 10	SYM 2017a: 18; St 2018a: 5; St&Y 2018a: 4; M&M 2017b: 22		
De-industrialized comms.		2019a: 19		H.Res 109: 11; S4629 Menendez 140; S1747 Merkley et al 23; S2185 Merkley et al 23; HRes 104 Dingell 8		St 2018a: 2; Sh 2018: 7	SMP 2020a: 2, 18	A&T, 2019: 7

V44 4-3-2021	Joe Biden	Bernie Sanders	Elizabeth Warren	Other political leaders in Congress	Brookings	Century Foundation	Economic Policy Institute, Alliance for Amer Mfg.	Roosevelt Institute
Fossil-fuel workers and communities	2020d: 20-21; 2021e: 16, 18	2019a: 2, 18	2019b: 3; 2019c: 6; 2019i: 3; 2019j: 6; 2019k: 4, 5, 6	Biden-Sanders TF 2020b: 45; S1747 Merkley et al 6; HRes 104 Dingell 14-15			SMP 2020a: 15	PFM 2019: 20
“Traditional” families								
Specific Policies								
More spending on R & D that produces US jobs	2020c: 10; 2020d: 6-7; 2021a: 4; 2021i: 15; 2021j: 5-6		2019a: 3; 2019c: 2-3; 2019f: 6, 7; 2019i: 2	Biden-Sanders TF 2020b: 49-50; S4624 Durbin 10-11; S4629 Menendez 18-19, 64-69, 78-79, 82-85, 90-133, 151-153, 226-236; S3832 Schumer-Young 3, 8, 12-13; S2127 Coons-Rubio 3-5, 11; S3993 Cornyn-Rubio-Warner 8-9, 29-30; S4982 Cornyn-Cotton-Schumer 24-25, 43-47; S4130 Cotton-Hawley-Rubio-Schumer 2-3, 5, 15; S3734 Gillibrand-Rubio-Gardner 30-		St et al 2019a: 2; B 2017: 10, 17; Sh 2018: 15	S 2020a: 5; S 2020b: 12	

V44 4-3-2021	Joe Biden	Bernie Sanders	Elizabeth Warren	Other political leaders in Congress	Brookings	Century Foundation	Economic Policy Institute, Alliance for Amer Mfg.	Roosevelt Institute
				34, 46-51; S3143 Thune-Rubio-Harris 24-26, 40-42; S2005 Coons-Graham 4; HR5348 Crow-Burchett 3-4; HR8693 Khanna-Ryan-Jayapal 8, 11; HR3574 Lujan 3-4				
Use government procurement to favor US firms and jobs in desired economic sectors	2020b: 4-5; 2020c: 6; 2021a: 2; 2021b: 4; 2021d: gen.; 2021e: 9-10, 12; 2021i: 17; 2021j: 4	2019c; S1955 Baldwin-Sanders-Merkley	2019a: 4; 2019c: 2-3; 2019e: 5; 2019g: 7-8; 2019h: 3, 7; 2019i: 4, 5, 6-7; 2019k: 4	Biden-Sanders TF 2020a: 20; 2020b: 44; S4629 Menendez 161-168, 215- ; S1747 Merkley et al 36; S. Res. 625 Scott-Hawley-libs 3; S846 Cornyn-Cotton-Rubio-Baldwin 2; S1955 Baldwin-Sanders-Merkley; HR246 Finkenauer-Curtis; HR8693 Khanna-Ryan-Jayapal 18-19		St&Y 2018a: 8; St et al 2019a: 1, 7-8; Sh 2018: 2, 16	S 2020a: 5; S 2020b: 12	
More sub-BA vocational training and retraining e.g. apprenticeships, sectoral voc training,	2020a: 3; 2020c: 3; 2021g: gen.; 2021i:18-19	2019a: 18; S2876 Schumer-Sanders-Warren 10-12	2019a: 4; 2019b: 2-3; 2019f: 6; 2019g: 9; 2019h: 7; S2876	Biden-Sanders TF 2020a: 16, 68; 2020b: 44; S4327 Coons-Durbin 10, 30-31; S4629 Menendez 74, 101,	B 2020: 8-10; K 2019: 5-6; K 2020: 16; K 2021: 9; M et al 2021	SYM 2017a: 27; St 2018a: 7-10; St 2018b: 2-3; St 2018c; St&Y 2018a:	S 2020a: 5; S 2020b: 13	H et al 2021: 11, 14, 28, 39-42; R 2021b: 3;

V44 4-3-2021	Joe Biden	Bernie Sanders	Elizabeth Warren	Other political leaders in Congress	Brookings	Century Foundation	Economic Policy Institute, Alliance for Amer Mfg.	Roosevelt Institute
retraining of displaced workers			Schumer-Sanders-Warren 10-12	144, 231-232, 264-283; S1747 Merkley et al 23; S3832 Schumer-Young 48, 53; HRes 104 Dingell 8; S1427 Coons-Rubio 17-18; S4130 Cotton-Hawley-Rubio-Schumer 4; S431 Baldwin gen.; S951 Coons-Young gen; HR703 Jayapal-Levin gen; HR5961 Khanna-Fitzpatrick gen; HR8693 Khanna-Ryan-Jayapal 11; HR2741 Pallone 194; HR2900 Ryan-etc 13		3-6; St et al 2019a: 2, 13-18; M&M 2017a: 2; M&M 2017b: 22; B 2017: 10, 16-17; Sh 2018: 2, 16		CLS 2016: 58
Trade rules that favor US job protection and generation	2020c: 6; 2021a: 4	2019a: 10; 2019c: 1-2	2019a: 2, 5, 6; 2019d: 1, 2; 2019f: 6	Biden-Sanders TF 2020a: 20, 71		B 2017: 16, 17	S 2020a: 4-6; 2020b: gen.; P 2020a: 2	A&T, 2019: 6-7
Currency management: keep dollar value low		2019c: 1;	2019a: 3; 2019d: 4	S2357 Baldwin-Hawley 2, 7-12			S 2020a: 1-3; S 2020b: 5-6; SMP 2020a: 5	
Disincentivize Chinese investing in assets								

V44 4-3-2021	Joe Biden	Bernie Sanders	Elizabeth Warren	Other political leaders in Congress	Brookings	Century Foundation	Economic Policy Institute, Alliance for Amer Mfg.	Roosevelt Institute
Tax incentives to encourage investing over repurchasing shares								
Encourage business incubation and startups	2020a: 9, 11; 2020d: 9; 2021i: 17		2019g: 4	S4624 Coons-Durbin 42-45; S4629 Menendez 231; S3832 Schumer-Young 25-26, 50; S3329 Hassan-Hawley gen.; S4982 Cornyn-Cotton-Schumer 45; S3734 Gillibrand-Rubio-Gardner 34; S4725 Coons-Cassidy 4-5, 12-13, 20-21; S2005 Coons-Graham 8; S118 Coons-Young; HR6403 Phillips-Khanna; HR 4931 Ryan		B 2017: 14-15		
Access to financing e.g. for new technology	2021i: 17		2019g: 2-4, 7	S2131 Coons-Scott-Gardner; HR2631 Cicilline-Ryan-Reed 14; HR8211 Craig-Chabot; HR8693 Khanna-Ryan-Jayapal 9, 11;	B 2020: 10-11; G et al. 2002a: 4; L 2021	St 2018b: 3; St&Y 2018a: 9; B 2017: 15, 17		F et al 2020: 20-22; T 2020

V44 4-3-2021	Joe Biden	Bernie Sanders	Elizabeth Warren	Other political leaders in Congress	Brookings	Century Foundation	Economic Policy Institute, Alliance for Amer Mfg.	Roosevelt Institute
				HR6403 Phillips-Khanna				
Support for manufacturing technology modernization (whether products or techniques)	2020b:2; 2020d: 9; 2021i: 17		2019b: 5; 2019i: 5	S4629 Menendez 69-70, 143-144; S3832 Schumer-Young 41, 55-56; S1427 Coons-Rubio 11-13; S4982 Cornyn-Cotton-Schumer 47; S4130 Cotton-Hawley-Rubio-Schumer 2-3; S2009 Coons-Gardner 4; HR3837 Foster 3-4; HR5978 Lipinski 10-12; HR3574 Lujan 3-4; HR2900 Ryan-etc 8-11	L 2021: 3-5	St 2018a: 6-7; St 2018b: 2; St&Y 2018a: 6-8; St et al 2019a: 25-26; B 2017: 5-18; Sh 2018: 2, 15	S 2020a: 5-6	
Encourage industry clusters and joint programs	2020a: 9			S4629 Menendez 133ff		St&Y 2018a: 4, 6-8; St et al. 2019a: 24; B 2017: 11		
Improved IT e.g. broadband expansion	2020a: 8; 2020c: 5; 2021i: 1, 8; 2021j: 4	2019a: 2, 12, 19-20	2019f: 4-6	HR2741 Pallone 6-82			SMP 2020a: 6	
Clean energy R & D e.g. power generation (wind, etc.), batteries, smart grids	2020a: 6-7; 2020c: 8, 10-11; 2021b: 4;	2019a: 3, 8, 9	2019b: 4; 2019c: 2-3; 2019f: 6; 2019h: 3, 7;	H.Res 109: 11; Biden-Sanders TF 2020a: 67; S4725 Coons-Cassidy			SMP 2020a: 6; S 2020a: 3-4	PFM 2019: 43-45

V44 4-3-2021	Joe Biden	Bernie Sanders	Elizabeth Warren	Other political leaders in Congress	Brookings	Century Foundation	Economic Policy Institute, Alliance for Amer Mfg.	Roosevelt Institute
	2021h; 2021i: 5, 15		2019i: 2; 2019j: 2	gen.; S2005 Coons-Graham 4				
Investment in infrastructure e.g. clean water and waste handling; highways and bridges, electricity grid	2020a: 2; 2020c: 3-5; 2020d: 5, 10; 2021b: 3, 8; 2021c: gen.; 2021e: 13, 14; 2021i: 1-2, 3-10; 2021j: 3	2019a: 2, 3, 6, 7, 8, 11, 12, 13, 19, 20, 23; 2019b	2019b: 2-8; 2019f: 5-6; 2019h: 5-7, 9	H.Res 109: 5; Biden-Sanders TF 2020a: 16, 67; HRes 104 Dingell 4; HR8693 Khanna-Ryan-Jayapal 11-12; HR2741 Pallone	G et al. 2020a: 9; K 2019; K 2020; K 2021; K&V 2020	B 2017: 14, 17; M&M 2017b: 22	S 2020a: 3; S 2020b: 12-13; SMP 2020a: 6	PFM 2019: 38-40; CLS 2016: 55; S 2020: 11
Improved transportation: public transport, fast rail, electric vehicles, etc.	2020a: 3-5; 2020c: 4, 6-7; 2020d: 8, 10; 2021a: 4; 2021b: 4; 2021e: 10; 2021i:1, 4; 2021j: 4	2019a: 2, 6-8, 12	2019b: 5; 2019h: 2-3; 2019i: 2, 5-6	H.Res 109: 8; HRes 104 Dingell 13; HR2741 Pallone 134-138, 233-243	G et al. 2020a: 8	M&M 2017a: 2	S 2020a: 3-4; SMP 2020a: 6	PFM 2019: 34-38
Support clean energy production e.g. solar, wind, carbon capture	2021b: 4; 2021e: 11	2019a: 4-5	2019b: 4; 2019h: 2-3, 5; 2019i: 2, 4; 2019j: 2	S1747 Merkley et al 13-18, 22; S2185 Merkley et al 13-16; HR2741 Pallone 182- ; 200-215		Sh 2018: 16	S 2020a: 3-4; SMP 2020a: 5-6	
Building and housing energy efficiency improvement e.g. electric heat; weatherization, solar energy	2020c: 8-9; 2020d: 7; 2021i: 2, 11-12; 2021j: 5	2019a: 5, 13, 22; S2876 Schumer-Sanders-	2019b: 7; 2019h: 3, 5; 2019i: 2, 6; 2019k: 7; S2876 Schumer-	H.Res 109: 7; S1747 Merkley et al 20-22; H.Res 104 Dingell 4; S983 Coons-Collins gen.;			S 2020a: 4; SMP 2020a: 6	G-W&K 2020: 7; H et al 2021: gen., 13-30; PFM 2019:

V44 4-3-2021	Joe Biden	Bernie Sanders	Elizabeth Warren	Other political leaders in Congress	Brookings	Century Foundation	Economic Policy Institute, Alliance for Amer Mfg.	Roosevelt Institute
		Warren 2. 13-19	Sanders-Warren 2. 13-19	HR2741 Pallone 117-129, 138-182				31-34; R 2021b: 1-3
Points-based immigration (high skilled)					B 2020: 12; D 2020: 13			

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ENDNOTES

¹ It should be noted, however, that states have long tried to foster the growth of this or that industry. From the very beginning, states have aided their existing industries by keeping down the costs of doing business through financial subsidies, lower taxes, and keeping wages down through low minimum wages and anti-union efforts. Beginning in the early 20th century, many states began to emphasize attracting outside industry by these same means, but they added custom tailored employee training and subsidized electric power, water, and sewage (Eisinger, 1988; Fosler, 1988; Graham, 1992).

² We mention the absence of *explicit* industrial policy because, in actuality, industrial policy continued, but in hidden form (Block, 2008).

³ We also examined the Center for American Progress but found little that pertained to industrial policy.

⁴ We also examined the American Enterprise Institute, Heritage Foundation, and Cato Institute but found little supportive of industrial policy.

⁵ Elizabeth Warren and Bernie Sanders do mention opioid addiction (Biden-Sanders Task Force, 2020, pp. 33, 96, 100; Warren, 2019f, 2019l). However, this mention is not in connection with the need for an industrial policy but rather with the need for revamping health care or meeting the general needs of rural areas or tribal reservations.

⁶ This call for labor representation does not necessarily mean an endorsement of labor unions as they now are. For example, Wells King of American Compass is floating ideas for sectoral, rather than enterprise-based, bargaining, and worker representation on corporate boards and works councils. These are practices more typical in northern Europe (see King, 2020d). This corporatist view of labor also has affinities both with Christian Democratic thinking and Mussolini's corporatism (Vassallo, 2020).

⁷ We should note that Senator Hawley does not represent the whole of the conservative advocates of industrial policy. We have not seen similar statements on the part of Senator Rubio or think tanks such as American Compass, American Affairs, and the Niskanen Center.