

PA PAC Questionnaire for United States Congress – 2020

Please return the completed questionnaire along with your resume or biographical statement describing education, work history, community service, and prior political experience as soon as possible, but by January 5 at the latest.

You may e-mail your responses to Tom Miller at tom-miller1@nc.rr.com or you may send a printed copy of your responses to PA PAC c/o Tom Miller 1110 Virginia Avenue, Durham, NC 27705-3262

Please note that following the January 5 deadline, the People's Alliance PAC may publish your responses to this questionnaire and your resume.

When answering this questionnaire, please repeat the questions in your response document with each question numbered and organized as it appears here. Type your responses in italics, bold, or a different font to distinguish your responses from the questions. Do not use colors or shading.

Please try to confine your responses to no more than 300 words unless another word limit is indicated. Do not feel obliged to exhaust the limit for each question.

If you use words or ideas from another person, please attribute your source.

Thank you for completing this questionnaire and your willingness to serve the people of North Carolina and the nation.

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Why Are You Running?

1. What are the three most important issues facing the nation? What are your top priorities in addressing those issues?

I believe the three most important issues facing the nation are the cost of and access to health care, economic opportunity, and climate change.

- 1. I will work to strengthen and extend coverage under the Affordable Care Act, and will stand up against all attempts to roll back protections for people with pre-existing conditions and other benefits of this law. I will also build on the Affordable Care Act by creating a public health insurance option to increase access to care, and do more to support rural hospitals and address doctor shortages. Moreover, it is long past time that North Carolina expand Medicaid, which would cover more than 600,000 North Carolinians.**
- 2. I will fight for a more equitable economy by supporting efforts to create good-paying full-time jobs with benefits, defend workplace protections, raise the minimum wage, and ensure equal pay for equal work. I will also oppose tax policies that shower benefits on the wealthiest at the expense of everyone else. Because many communities across North Carolina have seen generations of economic inequality due to institutionalized racial discrimination and the resulting disparities of inter-generational wealth, I also believe we need policies that break down historical barriers and encourage capital investment in communities of color and minority-owned businesses to reverse the legacy of economic injustice.**
- 3. North Carolina has seen the effects of climate change firsthand through the historic storms and flooding that have ravaged our state. We need to invest in a clean energy economy that will create good-paying jobs, reduce carbon pollution, and make North Carolina a leader in efforts to address climate change. I will also fight to protect North Carolina's beautiful natural resources including by opposing offshore drilling.**

Concerning the President of the United States

2. Should the President of the United States be removed from office on the articles upon which he has been impeached?

As a former Army prosecutor, I have approached each case by listening to witnesses and following the facts in order to uphold the rule of law. I have said throughout the impeachment process that this fact-finding should be our priority, and that the House and Senate need to operate as co-equal branches of government to fulfill their constitutional duty and hold the executive branch accountable. No one in America, including a President, is above the law. The House has done that, by pursuing its impeachment investigation and taking a vote, and the Senate must now hold a fair trial.

In the last several weeks, I have become more alarmed that both Thom Tillis and Mitch McConnell have admitted their priority is to help cover for the President as the White House blocks members of its administration from testifying and refuses to comply with congressional subpoenas for documents. Instead of ensuring a fair hearing of the facts -- which is what North Carolinians expect, what I was trained to do as an Army prosecutor, and what every President is entitled to -- they are making partisan a serious constitutional matter.

There is no question that bribing a foreign government to investigate a political opponent is the definition of an abuse of power, and I sincerely hope the Senate pursues a fair trial so that all the facts can be uncovered for the American people.

Federal Revenues, Federal Spending, and the Economy

3. Is the current system of federal taxation fair? What changes should be made, if any? Please cite specific examples.

The only economy that truly works is an economy that generates opportunities for everyone, and that must include a fair tax system. Right now, the economy is steeply tilted in favor of the wealthy few and against regular families struggling to keep up with the rising cost of college, housing, and medical care. Growing income and wealth inequality in our country is being fueled by the recent tax law, supported by Senator Tillis, that overwhelmingly benefits the largest corporations and the ultra-wealthy while leaving middle-class and poor families further behind, all while leaving us with a pile of debt for future generations. We need to address tax loopholes and other policies that benefit corporations and the wealthy, and enact policies that benefit working families, like expanding the Earned Income Tax Credit and Child Tax Credit.

4. What is your position concerning tariffs and trade?

Workers in North Carolina and across the country can compete with anyone in the world, but they need a level playing field. It's clear that decades of unfair trade deals have allowed our trading partners to get away with unfair practices that hurt U.S. workers. We need to revisit our trade policies to guard against the outsourcing of U.S. jobs, as well as strengthen labor and environmental protections and make sure they can be enforced. At the same time, I believe we need to defend North Carolina's farms against reckless tariffs that harm their livelihood. We can, and should, address our trade challenges by leveraging existing alliances to bring bad actors, like China to the table to negotiate, instead of pursuing unilateral actions that disregard our international alliances.

5. Are you in favor of reducing government spending in any specific areas? If so, please list your top three specific areas and explain your reasons. Are you in favor of increasing government spending in any specific areas? If so, please list your top three specific areas and explain your reasons.

A federal budget, like any family budget, is a reflection of priorities and it is clear there is significant need to realign our government spending and tax code in order to invest in domestic programs that have been neglected for far too long. One of the best ways our country can start to realign those priorities is by addressing tax loopholes and other breaks that benefits corporations and the wealthy, and use those savings to help North Carolina families, like expanding the Earned Income and Child Tax Credits. I would also oppose moves like President Trump's unfair use of Overseas Contingency Operations (OCO) to propose defense spending in excess of federal budget caps, which even his own OMB Director has called a "gimmick."

In terms of areas for greater investment, I would prioritize:

- **Health care:**
 - **I support building on the success of the Affordable Care Act by adding a public health insurance option.**
 - **I support investments in life-saving research to prevent and treat diseases like cancer and HIV/AIDS.**
 - **I will fight to bring down the cost of prescription drugs, including by allowing Medicare to negotiate directly with pharmaceutical companies, and adding limits on out-of-pocket costs.**

- **Education:**
 - I support a national strategy to invest in public schools including by fully funding Title I and the Individuals with Disabilities Education Act.
 - I voted in the state Senate to start what is now North Carolina Pre-K, and am committed to investment in our children through Head Start and other early childhood programs.
 - I will lead the fight to lower the cost of college, expand access to community college and technical training, and reduce the burden of student loan debt.
 - I will work to ensure the federal government increases investment and support for Historically Black Colleges and Universities and Minority Serving Institutions.
 - I will fight to pay teachers what they deserve.

6. Are you concerned about the affordability of a college education in the U.S.? If so, what role can the federal government play in addressing your concerns?

I am concerned by the cost of higher education in our country, and I believe the federal government has a key role to play in ensuring everyone has the opportunity to pursue higher education. In the Senate, I will lead the fight to lower the cost of college and expand access to community college and technical training. I support efforts to allow students to refinance student loans, expand Pell Grants, and make community college more affordable. As a member of the Army Reserve, I'm also committed to ensuring that veterans can access the educational benefits available to them and their families. North Carolina also has a proud tradition of strong public universities and our Historically Black Colleges and Universities and Minority Serving Institutions are a critical part of our higher education system, so I will work to ensure the federal government increases investment and support for these important institutions.

Secure Elections, Fair Elections, and the Right to Vote

7. What action should the Congress take, if any, to protect the integrity of elections from foreign or domestic mischief?

It is absolutely critical that we protect the integrity of our elections. Congress should pass legislation to secure our elections and fund efforts around the

country to put secure, state-of-the-art voting machines at every single precinct in this country, and voters should receive a paper record of their vote. We should also pass the Stopping Harmful Interference In Elections for a Lasting Democracy (SHIELD) Act, which would require federal campaigns to report attempts by foreign governments or agents to assist in or influence their elections, and prevent foreign interference by requiring all political ads sold online to adhere to the same rules as TV or radio ads.

The House of Representatives should be applauded for its efforts to combat corruption with its passage of H.R. 1, a slate of government reforms that included \$1.5M in funding to improve voting technology, and I was proud to release my own anti-corruption plan that mirrored many of the same proposals. Unfortunately, Senate Majority Leader Mitch McConnell and my opponent, Senator Thom Tillis, have blocked legislation that would help protect our government from foreign interference in our elections.

8. What changes, if any, should be made to federal election laws in the light of the *Citizens United* decision of the United States Supreme Court?

I support a constitutional amendment to overturn *Citizens United* and end the flow of unlimited corporate and dark money into our elections. And because candidates for office must stand by their own ads, I support greater transparency in political spending from dark money groups and super PACs requiring them to disclose their donors. I also believe Facebook should have to disclose who is paying for political advertising on its site.

I support reforming the Federal Elections Commission so it can carry out its watchdog functions, instead of letting the current gridlock create loopholes for those willing to violate campaign finance laws to get away with it.

I'm proud to have earned the endorsement of the reform organization End *Citizens United* for my commitment to getting big money out of politics. I have also taken a pledge not to accept any corporate PAC money during this campaign, and have personally pledged never to become a lobbyist after serving in the Senate.

9. Should Congress readopt all aspects of the body of legislation referred to as the Voting Rights Act? Should it be adjusted or retired?

I believe we must reinstate Section 5 of the Voting Rights Act, so that any state or jurisdiction with a pattern of racial discrimination must have changes to voting practices approved by the Justice Department. It should also be amended to include review of partisanship in districting. We should also have automatic and same-day registration nationwide. And because long lines on Election Day leave some people out of our political process, we should have generous early voting across the United States and make Election Day a federal holiday.

Immigration

10. How would you reform U.S. immigration policy? Since agreement on immigration reform has proved hard to obtain, what measures should be taken in the meantime that would improve the lives of undocumented immigrants? Are government agencies responsible for immigration and our borders performing as they should? *Please limit your answer to 400 words.*

Congress needs to pass comprehensive immigration reform that fixes our broken system and modernizes it for the economy of today, grows North Carolina's economy, protects DREAMers, and provides a fair pathway to citizenship for anyone willing to work for it. Instead of separating families and caging children, we should be investing in the necessary technology and trained staff to secure our borders.

Healthcare

11. Are you satisfied with the healthcare system in the United States? If you are not, how should the system be changed?

One of the most frequent issues I hear about as I travel across the state is the urgent need to improve access and bring down the cost of health care for families, and I am committed to achieving those goals. First and foremost, that means strengthening and extending coverage under the Affordable Care Act, and standing up against all attempts to roll back protections for people with pre-existing conditions and other benefits of this law. We must also build on the Affordable Care Act by creating a public health insurance option to increase access to care, and do more to support rural hospitals and address doctor shortages. We should also allow Medicare to negotiate directly with pharmaceutical companies in order to lower the cost of prescription drugs, and I will oppose efforts in Washington to cut Medicare benefits. I am proud to be

endorsed by the National Committee to Preserve Social Security and Medicare for that commitment.

Housing

12. What, if anything, should the federal government do to promote affordable housing and home ownership?

The federal government has a role to play in ensuring that more Americans have the means to afford safe, reliable housing for their families and ensuring that enough public housing is available to meet demands across the country.

Right now, a lack of access to affordable housing units has driven up rental costs across the country. The U.S. should either use federal grant programs or a major infrastructure package to invest in building more affordable housing units, especially in rural communities and communities of color.

We also know there is a massive gap between white homeowners and black homeowners because of persistent racial discrimination in lending practices. Congress must put an end to redlining and ensure that all families have a fair shot at homeownership, and redouble support to community development financial institutions that extend capital in underserved markets.

Importantly, another way to address affordability of housing is to raise wages -- both a long-overdue increase in the minimum wage, and making sure our economic policies are geared towards creating good-paying jobs and generally ensuring families have the means to afford housing.

Wealth

13. Is the distribution of wealth among the people of the United States a proper concern of the federal government? If your answer is "yes," what should the Congress do to close the wealth gap that separates the richest and poorest Americans?

Yes, it is clear that the distribution of wealth in this country needs addressed and should be a top concern of the federal government.

Unfortunately, growing income inequality, as well as generations of racial inequality, have been further exacerbated by policies like the tax bill supported by Senator Thom Tillis, which cut taxes for corporations and the top one-percent instead of lending a hand up to those who need it most.

Congress can and should take up this growing inequality by:

- **Realigning our tax policy to create a fairer system that lets North Carolina families and American workers keep more of their hard-earned wages, instead of rewarding corporations and top wage earners. We can do so by expanding programs like the Earned Income Tax Credit and Child Tax Credit, critical tools in lifting families out of poverty, so that they reach even the poorest workers who can't currently access them. We should also work to make sure corporations and top earners pay their fair share.**
- **Breaking down historical barriers and encouraging capital investment in communities of color and minority-owned businesses to reverse the legacy of economic injustice. We can also address racial inequality by closing the massive gap in homeownership between white individuals and people of color, by eliminating discriminatory lending practices and redlining.**
- **Ensuring equal pay for equal work -- this will especially help workers of color for whom gender wage gap is even worse.**
- **Bringing down the cost of health care and prescription drugs.**
- **Increasing access to job training, or retraining, and making college more affordable for those who want to pursue it.**
- **Increasing access to affordable housing by creating more and raising wages.**

Guns

14. What, if anything, should be done to reduce the proliferation of firearms and reduce gun violence in the United States?

As an Army veteran who has been trained to use a firearm, I understand the responsibility that comes with carrying a weapon. I also understand, as the father of two, the fear that parents experience when they drop their kids off at school and wonder if they will come home safe. I am also proud of my work on Governor Cooper's Crime Commission creating recommendations to curb the risk of school shootings.

I believe there are commonsense steps we can take to protect our communities from gun violence. I will work to keep our kids safe and to keep guns out of the hands of domestic abusers, criminals, and terrorists by supporting efforts to expand background checks and pass Extreme Risk Protection ("red flag") laws. I also support banning the sale of high-capacity magazines and bump stocks.

I am honored to have been endorsed by the Brady Campaign, a leading gun violence prevention organization, whose president stated I understand “the need to ensure that common-sense gun safety laws respect the rights of responsible gun owners and keep weapons out of the hands of those who cannot or should not have them” and that “we need Cal’s leadership and clarity on these issues in Washington.”

Civil Rights and Race Equity

15. What should the state do to promote racial equity and diversity, such as increasing opportunities for under-represented and under-served people of color? Can you provide an example of your advocacy for race-equity and diversity?

Too many communities across North Carolina have seen generations of inequality due to institutionalized racial discrimination and the resulting disparities. We need policies that break down historical barriers by:

- **Encouraging capital investment in communities of color and minority-owned businesses.**
- **Investing in public schools to close significant funding gaps between districts, including investing in our children through Head Start and other early childhood programs that address the needs of the whole child.**
- **Ensuring that pursuing higher education is an opportunity available to anyone who seeks it by lowering the cost of college, expanding access to community college and technical training, and reducing the burden of student loan debt.**
- **Reinstating protections under the Voting Rights Act, so that any state or jurisdiction with a pattern of discrimination must have changes to voting practices approved by the Justice Department.**
- **Enacting criminal justice reform that includes: revisiting mandatory minimum sentences for non-violent offenders, refocusing efforts on preventing violent crime instead of locking up people who need mental health or addiction treatment, and reducing recidivism by investing in programs that give the formerly incarcerated the opportunity to re-enter society. I also support curbing the abuse of cash bail and eliminating for-profit prisons.**

It is also important to me that the diversity of my campaign staff reflects the diversity of our state. I am proud that more than 70% of my staff represent a diversity in gender, race, or sexual orientation. But what is also important to me

are our hiring practices -- my team has used non-traditional methods to expand beyond traditional political networks and ensure we are looking for folks in communities across the state and in underrepresented groups.

16. Would you support legislation designed to protect gay, lesbian, bisexual, and transgender people from discrimination in housing, employment, public accommodation, and access to government benefits and services?

I stand with the LGBTQI community and communities of color in the fight against regressive policies, passing the Equality Act to protect LGBTQI North Carolinians from discrimination in housing and the workplace.

I have long opposed the discrimination of North Carolinians based on who they love or how they identify. You can see that commitment as far back as 1994, when I advocated for permanent policies to ban discrimination based on sexual orientation within the UNC system. As a military prosecutor, I also opposed "Don't Ask, Don't Tell." And I spoke out against North Carolina's Amendment One to ban same-sex marriage in 2012, and HB 2 in 2016.

The Environment

17. How does climate change inform your policy view with regard to environmental protection, economic development, energy production, and transportation?

North Carolina has seen the effects of climate change firsthand through the historic storms and flooding that have ravaged our state, which is why I believe this is one of the most urgent issues facing us. Our state has also seen coal ash spills, drinking water tainted by GenX, and rapid loss of open space, and I believe we need to do more to protect North Carolina's environment and natural resources.

In order to combat the climate crisis, we need to invest in a clean energy economy that will create good-paying jobs, reduce carbon pollution, and make North Carolina a leader. Solar energy is already spreading across this state, providing good-paying jobs for our workers and economic investment in rural areas. And North Carolina has the research facilities to design the next generation solar panels and the manufacturing base to lead on new energy technologies.

I am proud of my record on these issues. As a State Senator, I helped pass landmark clean air legislation that reduced harmful pollutants from coal-fired power plants by over 80%, and land preservation legislation. I have also spent the last six years helping to lead an award-winning environmental company that works with communities to reduce waste and boost recycling.

Early on in this campaign, I was thrilled to be endorsed by the League of Conservation Voters, who recognized my strong commitment to fighting climate change and building a clean energy economy.

Foreign Policy

18. What issue affecting our relationship with other nations and peoples of the world concerns you most and what should the United States do about it?

As someone who has served with the Army Reserves -- including during three active duty tours in Iraq, Afghanistan, and Fort Bragg -- and who comes from a long line of veterans, I understand the consequences that a reckless and nationalist foreign policy can have on our national security and the military personnel and families who are called to support those prerogatives. I have enforced and taught U.S. and coalition combatants to use force in accordance with international law and our national principles, and I am a firm believer that we are strongest on the world stage when we live out those values: human rights and dignity, proportionality and restraint and remaining focused on narrow military objectives, while protecting civilians and non-combatants. Our way of life and our sovereignty require that we maintain a leadership role in the community of nations and that we always seek to validate our actions by conducting ourselves in accordance with international laws and norms, in concert and coordination with allies. "Going it alone" must always be a last resort, in defense of our most vital national interests. Rather, in pursuing our national security objectives we should use all of the instruments of national power: diplomatic, economic, information and military; and we must recognize that the use of force can detract from security, as easily as it can contribute to our security.

Your Politics

19. For whom did you vote in the 2016 United States Senate and presidential elections?

In 2016 I voted for Hillary Clinton for President and Deborah Ross for Senate, as well as for strong Democrats down the ticket in North Carolina.

Although 2016 was a disappointing year for Democrats, I am optimistic about our opportunities in 2020. I believe there is a real chance to take back the Senate and remove Mitch McConnell as Majority Leader -- but only if we win this Senate race in North Carolina. I am in a strong position to defeat Thom Tillis in the fall, with your help. Here is why:

- I am traveling the state listening to North Carolinians, and working hard to earn every vote.
- I have earned endorsements from more than 140 North Carolina leaders, including the late Sen. Kay Hagan, and have support in all 100 of North Carolina's counties. I have also been endorsed by the League of Conservation Voters, labor organizations like the AFL-CIO and Teamsters, the campaign finance reform organization End Citizens United, VoteVets, the National Committee to Preserve Social Security and Medicare, the Voter Protection Project, and the Brady Campaign to Prevent Gun Violence.
- I am marshalling the resources it will take to stand up to Thom Tillis in what is going to be top race nationally, and I have done so without accepting donations from corporate PACs. We have reported raising more than \$1.5 million so far, and are continuing to see strong fundraising. I'm also proud to have earned support from folks in all 100 North Carolina counties.

Thank you for completing this questionnaire.

Please do not forget to provide us with your resume or biographical statement.