

# The Harvey Milk LGBTQ Democratic Club Questionnaire for November 2020

*Dear Candidates and Ballot Measure Representatives,*

*Congratulations on declaring your candidacy for office or your preferred ballot measure position. The Harvey Milk LGBTQ Democratic Club invites you to get to know us a little better as we plan our endorsements for the November 2020 election. Your participation in our Club's questionnaire will allow our Membership to better understand who you are, what you stand for, and what you plan to accomplish if you are elected to office or your ballot position is successful.*

*There are three parts to our questionnaire, plus additional questions for individual offices: Part 1 is a series of short-answer questions, with a 150-word limit on answers. Part 2 is a series of Yes or No questions covering a broad set of issues. Part 3 covers whom you have endorsed for office currently and in the past.*

*(Representatives of ballot measure positions only need to answer questions pertaining to ballot measures.)*

*Candidates, please email your answers to Edward Wright, our Vice President of Political Affairs, at [pac@milklub.org](mailto:pac@milklub.org) and to [correspondent@milklub.org](mailto:correspondent@milklub.org) no later than July 23rd.*

*In addition to this questionnaire, we invite you to participate in a recorded video interview on Zoom with Club leadership on either July 25th or July 26th. This virtual interview replaces the typical in-person presentation to our Membership, and the recording will be shared with our Members ahead of our endorsement recommendation and final vote. Stay tuned for more details on this later in the month.*

*Representatives of ballot measure positions will be interviewed during our regularly-scheduled July PAC Meeting on Tuesday, July 14th from 7-9pm, so please return your questionnaires prior to that date. Stay tuned for more details.*

***Your questionnaire responses and interview answers will weigh heavily in our overall endorsement process, so please take both seriously. Please contact us at [pac@milklub.org](mailto:pac@milklub.org) to schedule an appointment once your questionnaire is completed.***

*Good Luck!*

*The Harvey Milk LGBTQ Democratic Club*

## Required Information

**Full Name:**

Shahid Buttar

**Office:**

U.S. Representative, California's 12<sup>th</sup> congressional district

**Campaign Address:**

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**Campaign Phone:**

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**Political Party:**

Democrat

**Are you a Member of the Harvey Milk LGBTQ Club?:**

Yes

**If so, since when?:**

2019

**Do you identify as lesbian, gay, bisexual, transgender, and/or queer (LGBTQ)?:**

No

## PART 1:

### Questions for All Candidates

**1. Describe your qualifications for the office you are seeking. Feel free to add anything that you would like our Members to know about you and your candidacy.**

San Francisco needs a voice in Washington aligned with our city's proudly visionary values. My work and my identity each uniquely qualify me to serve in that capacity.

I have actively practiced solidarity with communities on the frontline of patriarchy and U.S. imperialism, both abroad and here in the U.S., for decades. My analysis and praxis are both intersectional and prescient.

Just to offer a few examples of taking positions ahead of their time, I've:

- Taken direct action to protest the corporate invasion of Iraq and the theft by a private contractor of water under Iraq's desert, and spoke out as early as 2002 about the inevitable costs here at home of waging offensive resource wars abroad. Not only has war drained our federal budget, it has also punched a hole in our constitutional commitments by creating a pretext for profiling immigrants, Muslims, and the "Black identity extremists" flagged by the FBI as domestic terror threats for simply demanding accountability for police officers who kill innocent people.
- Helped expand the national movement marriage equality for LGBTQ families—as a heterosexual muslim lawyer—in 2004, long before even most Democrats "evolved" to share my support for our neighbors. I supported my LGBTQ neighbors on marriage equality nearly a decade before the incumbent finally chose to join us (on the eve of a right-wing Supreme Court decision that rendered her support moot and effectively ex post facto). My client was the second Mayor in the country to support the right of consenting adult to marry a partner of their choice, and the only one ever subjected to criminal prosecution for helping pioneer LGBTQ rights.
- Organized coalitions and cultivated networks defending domestic civil liberties at the local level across the country. I pioneered the strategy of fighting the hydra of the surveillance state by plucking off its scales, organizing at the local level to politicize surveillance in City Councils and pass enforceable restrictions on local police departments to build the movement to take those restrictions to state legislatures and, ultimately, Congress.

Most self-described progressives spent the Obama administration in a distracted haze, ignoring social movements—from Occupy to the movement for black lives and the water protectors at Standing Rock—who struggled to gain their solidarity. I spent the Obama administration challenging former allies, many of whom worked in the administration, over the nascent authoritarianism that few others recognized at the time.

I defended civil liberties under the Obama administration, and issued a written warning in 2015 that police body cameras were a ruse that could not deliver police accountability with changes in the law. I've written about effective counter-terror strategies that Congress has never considered, and pioneered local strategies to secure civil liberties that national organizations like the ACLU have followed in the years since.

Particularly as a longtime advocate for civil liberties, I have secured support from unlikely allies who see in my defense of privacy & liberty interests an alignment that will remain elusive to others without my history of transpartisan anti-authoritarian grassroots organizing.

One discrete reason I'm running for office is so that the next Edward Snowden will have a supportive ear in the House. Daniel Ellsberg had Sen. Mike Gravel, who resisted executive smears from the Nixon administration to defend the truth about the Vietnam War and force it into the public sphere.

In sharp contrast, Snowden had few allies on Capitol Hill when he came forward to reveal mass domestic spying under the Bush & Obama administrations. That's why Ellsberg is a national hero, while Snowden lives in exile. While I am a committed leftist, my commitments to transparency, executive accountability, and public process are transpartisan and reflect the breadth of support that our campaign has begun to attract.

While I organized resistance to militarism in the streets, in policy, and across the political spectrum, Pelosi was voting to indefinitely fund Bush's wars. As explained to me by a veteran who survived multiple deployments to Iraq, Speaker "Pelosi refused to let tired troops come home."

CIA torture presents another sharp contrast. I mobilized thousands of teachers, lawyers, and medical professionals to speak out for human rights and executive accountability for torture by challenging in state bar associations the licenses of attorneys who enabled torture under the Bush administration. In contrast, Speaker Pelosi helped sweep CIA torture under the rug in both 2002 and 2006, violating international legal commitments to pursue accountability wherever the evidence might lead. Ironically, Pelosi's legal obligation aligned with her partisan interest—yet still she enabled Cheney's abuses, and continues to do so today.

The same timidity and unwillingness to confront inconvenient responsibilities informed Speaker Pelosi's reticence to impeach our criminal Kleptocrat-in-Chief. I publicly advocated for impeachment as a constitutional imperative six months before she finally showed up, and I explained the case that would have brought down the president had she followed through. Our article explaining how to impeach Trump was virally shared by Laurence Tribe, a nationally renowned scholar of constitutional law who cited it as reflecting the basis for his change in thinking on impeachment. It suggested precisely the strategy—impeaching the president for corruption based on his continuing violations of the Constitution's Emoluments Clause—that Pelosi never embraced.

Over the past 20 years, my work history has been expansive and interdisciplinary. It is reflected in my advocacy, my journalism, and the intersection between them: I may be the only congressional candidate in the history of the Republic to have been both invited by Members of Congress to address their colleagues and aides in congressional briefings (in my case, focused on intelligence and judiciary issues in 2011 and 2015) and also arrested in the Senate (also in 2015) for an act of journalism.

My expertise is also reflected in the breadth of my advocacy for EFF, the world's leading digital civil liberties organization. My writing for EFF spans a vast array of issues from mass surveillance to antitrust enforcement, and from consumer privacy to law enforcement demands to undermine commercial encryption. I've written for the organization about the history of surveillance and its threat to dissent, in particular; restrictions on the president's asserted emergency powers; election security; Supreme Court nominations; police militarization; net neutrality; so-called "smart cities"; how antitrust regulators could better protect consumers from big tech companies; and all manners of local police surveillance technology.

Inspired by my work related to surveillance, I have earned respect from tech workers, and from activists at very different points across the country, and across the political spectrum. Meanwhile, my history with social movements locally, regionally and nationally aligns and connects me with San Francisco's neighborhood voices who are battling local class struggles like gentrification, housing, and the poisoning of Hunters Point.

As an artist with a 17-year history of organizing spoken word poets in the Mission, I represent the heart and soul of San Francisco's creative communities and the rich legacies of the Beat Poets, as well as their successors who mounted resistance to the Vietnam war.

## **2. Do you have any key endorsements that you would like to share? Why are these endorsements meaningful to you?**

**Matt Gonzalez:** I volunteered on Matt's 2003 mayoral campaign, am proud to call him a longstanding mentor, and am grateful for his advice, guidance, and endorsement of our campaign. We've also been endorsed by former SF Supervisor **Eric Mar**.

**People for Bernie:** As the largest grassroots network supporting the election of our first Jewish President, I'm especially honored by this endorsement. The opportunity to offer Bernie supporters an outlet for their outrage towards corporate rule over Congress is a key part of our campaign strategy. We've also been endorsed by **Bay Area for Bernie**, and **Left Flank Vets (previously Veterans for Bernie)**.

**Dr. Cornel West** has been a voice of prophetic wisdom for decades, and I've admired his brilliance & eloquence. I secured his endorsement on a dance floor while listening to an old Prince track, and feel humbled by the chance to represent his views in our race. I've also been endorsed by three other surrogates of Bernie Sanders: **Linda Sarsour**, **Shaun King**, and **Ramesh Srinivasan**.

I've been endorsed by the **California Progressive Alliance**, a statewide organization promoting progressive issues and candidates across the various political parties. The group's founder, former Richmond Mayor **Gayle McLaughlin**, has also endorsed our campaign.

Two global Internet luminaries have endorsed my campaign, with each of whom I have worked in the past: Harvard Law professor **Lawrence Lessig**, and renowned science fiction author and digital policy advocate **Cory Doctorow**.

UC-Hastings labor law professor **Veena Dubal** has endorsed our campaign. I'm proud of her endorsement because of her visionary work defending the rights of workers in the gig economy.

Other movement heroes endorsing our campaign include **Medea Benjamin** (peace & justice), **Gladys Limon** (environmental justice), and **Jason West** (LGBTQ rights).

One of our most recent endorsements is from Former U.S. Senator and 2020 Presidential candidate **Mike Gravel**. He once served as the constitutional conscience of Congress, and helped ensure that the Ellsberg revelations were read into the congressional record. I see his legacy as especially crucial in an era of executive power run amok, and aim to revive it to meet the needs of the future.

We've also been endorsed by a growing community of local organizations including **the SF Tenants Union, the League of Pissed Off Voters, Democratic Socialists of America** chapters in San Francisco, Silicon Valley, and Ventura County, the **SF Berniecrats** and **Bay Area for Bernie**, as well as **Our Revolution** chapters in the East Bay and Contra Costa County, and the **California Youth Climate Strike**.

**3. What do you see as the most important short-term and long-term solutions to SF's homelessness crisis? What can you do in your office to help end homelessness?**

Our local housing crisis has a federal root, and the catastrophic decline in federal spending on affordable housing over the past generation is one of the many reasons I'm running to represent our city in Washington.

The most important thing we can do to address our increasingly untenable local housing crisis is to **restore & expand federal spending on affordable housing subsidies**. In the 1970s, our tax dollars were invested in block grants to HUD that enabled states to provide incentives to property developers to include affordable units in new developments. The budget for those programs dried up under the era of neo-liberal consensus that Speaker Pelosi and other corporate Democrats have established. I want to see those programs revived, and expanded.

The budget for Community Development Block Grants fell from a high in the late 1970s of roughly \$13 billion [adjusted for inflation and stated in 2016 dollars] to barely \$3 billion in 2013. The Trump administration's latest budget proposes to eliminate the program entirely.

You also asked about rent control, which I favor as a state & local policy which may lie beyond the power of Congress to impose at the federal level. Without rent control, most San Franciscans would face eventual eviction. Especially when real estate in a city becomes a target for global capital, residents exposed to the vagaries of the market become targets for displacement & homelessness.

I propose the federalization of the **right to civil representation for people facing eviction**, which was adopted by San Francisco in 2018 through Prop F. Federalizing that successful local innovation may require establishing a federal granting program to provide incentives and resources to states.

**Medicare for All** will offer intersectional benefits, particularly in terms of both preventing homelessness, and ameliorating some of its impacts by enabling access to healthcare for mental illness.

Medical costs are the leading cause of both bankruptcy and homelessness, and mental illness relates to homelessness as both a cause and effect. Socializing medical costs would prevent many from losing their homes in the first place and stem the rising tide of homelessness, while expanding care for mental illness could help ameliorate the impact of homelessness on those who endure it.

Finally, I favor social housing and aspire to expand it across the U.S. **Repealing the Faircloth Amendment** will enable the government to build socially-owned housing again for the first time in decades, and **the Green New Deal for public housing** proposes to invest \$180 billion in upgrading 1.2 million federally owned homes in the meantime.

#### **4. What work have you done to address economic inequality and housing unaffordability in San Francisco? What will you do to address them if elected?**

Most of my work addressing housing in San Francisco has related to trying to find it. Over the course of my time here, I've lived in SoMa (2003), Duboce Triangle (2008-09), Potrero Hill (2009-2010), Duboce Triangle again (2015-16), Glen Park (2016-18), and the Haight (2018-now).

Having experienced what amounted to an Ellis Act eviction, and having lived in communities that fit as many as two dozen artists under a single roof, I know all too well how much San Franciscans struggle with the costs of housing.

I supported Prop F, which established the right to civil representation for people facing eviction in San Francisco in 2018, as well as measures to support homeless services, such as Prop C.

With respect to economic inequality more generally, I have been more active. I have mobilized to support labor since 2003, when I first joined the ILWU (before joining them again in 2011 and again a few weeks ago) to shut down the Port of Oakland. I've also actively supported ILWU unionizing campaigns at the Anchor Brewery & Taps and Tartine, joining mobilizations and phone banks myself, while also mobilizing volunteers to join me.

My earliest scholarship was squarely focused on economic inequality. My first law review article, *Resurrecting "death taxes": inheritance, redistribution, and the science of happiness* (co-authored with philosophy professor J.D. Trout), was published in fall 2000 by the Journal of Law & Politics at the University of Virginia Law School. In it, we propose to radically re-formulate trust & estates law to enable stronger enforcement of taxation on intergenerational inheritance.

In office, I will address economic inequality through a variety of measures, including seeking to establish universal rights to basic needs including housing, healthcare, food, and education. That idea is firmly rooted in the history of the Democratic Party and FDR's proposed second Bill of Rights.

I also support the Green New Deal, including the federal jobs guarantee, and visionary labor law reform represented by the Protecting Right to Organize Act.

#### **5. Describe your work addressing racial injustice, economic inequity, and police brutality in San Francisco.**

**On racial injustice:** My existence is resistance: My campaign also intrinsically challenges racism and white supremacy by seeking to wrest power away from white officeholders, and replace the leader among the corporate Democrats in the House, in particular, with an immigrant replacement from a particularly disfavored national origin. My service as a spokesperson to our intersectional movements for justice necessarily challenges the narratives underlying white nationalism.

Defending civil rights and challenging police abuses: My work challenging police departments also intersects white nationalism, to the (unfortunately substantial) extent that white supremacists have successfully infiltrated law enforcement agencies.

In particular, my work in solidarity with the movement for black lives demonstrates my willingness to take political risks. I've participated in occupying sites from Washington's

Union Station and DuPont Circle (where I was struck by an irate hedge fund lawyer who used his SUV as a battering ram to plow through a crowd), to a shopping malls in St. Louis, to an intersection outside a police precinct here in SF.

I've also demonstrated thought leadership in the movement for black lives, challenging the movement orthodoxy in 2015 with early public warnings about the risks—ultimately, the ruse—of police body cameras, which I foretold would prove largely fruitless in advancing civil rights while presenting yet another vector driving authoritarian state omniscience. My article in Truthout explained the issues succinctly, and drove discussions across the civil rights community from the Dream Defenders in Miami to Saint Louis University Law School. Our early recognition of how the movement was being co-opted is the particular reason cited by Professor Justin Hansford from Howard Law School for his (forthcoming, TBA) endorsement of our campaign.

**On economic inequity:** In the wake of the GOP tax scam passed by Congress, cuts to military spending will be necessary to secure—and expand—vital social services including student debt relief, early childhood education, medical and psychological services for veterans, and funding for affordable housing to address the urban housing crisis.

I also support UBI, which could be a step towards socialism if it builds on a robust social safety net. If it erodes them, or either creates the functional pathway to limit social services, or builds the political will to rescind them, UBI would instead be regressive. This is a policy in which the devil is very much in the details.

A federal jobs guarantee would go a long way towards ensuring opportunities for employment despite expanding automation. Regenerative agriculture and climate resiliency projects can both be labor-intensive, and a jobs guarantee would help address what could otherwise be a human resource challenge for which corporate capitalism offers no solution.

**On police brutality:** I support disarming some or most police officers. Equipping officers with military equipment and training them in paramilitary tactics are two ways in which our military industrial complex has co-opted domestic policing.

If police are allowed tasers, they should generally replace (not supplement) firearms. Departments should not be allowed access to equipment, weapons or other infrastructure developed for military use. Having written many years ago about how police body cameras could threaten civil rights, I also favor the expansive protections of our campaign's criminal justice reform platform to ensure police accountability through law, rather than a co-opted corporate technology.

Forgotten in the debate surrounding police militarization is the crucial role played by the CIA in arming the criminal syndicates whose violence in the 90s played such a crucial role in public calls for police militarization. The struggles to reverse mass incarceration and disarm police both require long overdue investigations and accountability at the CIA, which ultimately bears responsibility for much of the violence that continues to surround the war on drugs and drug trafficking.

## **6. How have you supported LGBTQ San Franciscans, and how will you continue to do so if elected?**

In 2004, I organized and filed the first lawsuit in the State of New York since the 1970s seeking marriage equality for consenting adults. My client was Jason West, the then-mayor

of New Paltz, New York who won office as part of a Green Party slate that swept the town government after Democrats and Republicans split the establishment vote.

My work representing Mayor West helped catapult the movement for marriage equality from a local story isolated to San Francisco into a national debate. While we lost that case (as we expected to), it paved the way to organizing opportunities, a legislative victory in New York State five years after our case was decided, and a federal victory in the U.S. Supreme Court in 2015. Having spearheaded LGBTQ rights as a young cis, hertero, Muslim lawyer, I'm eager to continue fighting the right wing in Congress.

I remain concerned about all dimensions of LGBTQ rights, though I am especially concerned about police profiling targeting trans and gender non-conforming folks. That's one reason I have long supported the End Racial Profiling Act.

Beyond police profiling, LGBTQ individuals remain vulnerable to discrimination in the private sector. That's why I supported the Equality Act recently passed by Congress to secure nationwide protections for all LGBTQ people in employment, housing, education, public accommodations, public funding, credit, and jury service.

I also oppose SESTA & FOSTA, raised the alarm before they became law, and continue to oppose their erosion of digital freedom, as well as their escalation of risks confronted by sex workers. I've taken action in solidarity with sex workers speaking out for digital rights, and am eager to challenge the perversity of Congress—and Sen. Kamala Harris, in particular—claiming to protect survivors of human trafficking while ultimately placing sex workers at greater risk and creating opportunities for violence and pimps.

In addition, I will oppose any legislation that would allow religious exemptions to undermine or limit civil rights or access to reproductive health & family planning services. I support the Do No Harm Act as an extension of these principles, as well as the EACH Woman Act, which would reverse the Hyde Amendment and ensure accessible reproductive planning services, including abortions, for low-income women and women relying on public health insurance.

**7. Describe your work addressing the climate crisis, and what specific steps you would take if elected to confront climate change and environmental injustice.**

As a candidate, I've actively participated in climate justice mobilizations, from the action this spring from which a handful of youth visited Sen. Dianne Feinstein (D-CA) and shamed her in a video that went viral, to more recent climate strike actions in all parts of the Bay Area.

As an official, I will aggressively champion the Green New Deal, while also challenging the military-industrial complex that fuels the climate crisis. I'm eager to nationalize fossil fuel industries to eliminate the economic incentive to plunder the commons and exacerbate the climate crisis.

One aspect of climate justice that often goes overlooked is the need to end war for profit and military interventions in the service of corporate resource extraction. This is an area

where I may be uniquely situated to help defend congressional prerogatives and build consensus to contain the executive branch.

The Green New Deal, particularly the federal jobs guarantee to enable labor-intensive climate resiliency projects like removing underbrush from wildfire-prone forests, is at the center of our platform. It is an imperative both from the standpoint of preserving a viable future for humanity on Earth, and in terms of addressing the economic crisis resulting from generations of letting fossil fuel extraction industries dictate our public policy.

I envision a Green New Deal that supports new systems for environmental, economic, racial, social, economic and gender justice that radically shift the way our country extracts, uses, and shares the Earth's natural resources. This is imperative for addressing our mounting global climate crisis, and the associated socio-economic, racial and gender inequities that result from the over consumption and extraction of the fossil fuels and industrial agriculture systems.

To effectuate this vision, I support policies to cut greenhouse gas emissions; transition to fully renewable, non-polluting, and accessible energy and food systems; and ensure that this transition supports good jobs and worker rights. For example, we will support public investments in renewable energy infrastructure, and "polluter pays" initiatives to internalize externalities like costs of fossil fuel extraction to frontline communities and sensitive ecosystems. This includes massive infrastructure investments to create high speed rail networks and phase down air traffic.

**8. Describe a time when you worked against an established power structure or entrenched authority to achieve progressive change. How was this positive change accomplished?**

I've been fighting for LGBTQ rights beyond SF for many years.

Long before I ran for office, I took action to challenge government-sanctioned discrimination that denied recognition of relationships and hindered people's ability to form families. My work pioneering the legal struggle for marriage equality 15 years ago, provided an east coast front to what was, until then, a story without national traction cited to demonstrate the Bay Area's iconoclasm. When my client put New York state in play, marriage equality became an object of national discourse, which put our movement on an inevitable path to victory.

Among the various projects, campaigns, causes, and movements I participate in, my work in the marriage equality movement stands for out for a few reasons. First, the issue is one of the few on which most progressives share a consensus that we have gained ground in the past generation. In addition, my work played a crucial role at a critical juncture, helping expand a previously regional movement into a national one. Finally, it reflects my willingness to initiate, to carve new space and create opportunities for other actors in the political ecosystem.

# Only Congressional Candidates

## 1. Please explain why you are running for Congress.

I love San Francisco too much to see us be represented in Congress by someone who does as much to help Donald Trump as Nancy Pelosi has.

The incumbent has failed to champion our city's visionary values in Congress. Corporate Democrats have repeatedly proven complicit in ongoing abuses of corporate rule, including war for profit, our mounting global climate crisis, and predatory extractive so-called "healthcare" that kills Americans every day by denying them access to preventive care.

In contrast, I've been building the movement to place people before profit and communities before corporations for 20 years. I'm poised to help the left wing of Congress both by adding a vote to the Progressive Caucus and the ranks of its bolder members of color, and also by adding depth in constitutional law, civil liberties, tech regulation, and foreign policy.

My work has long been intersectional, interdisciplinary, and prolific. The consistency of my work, its substantive intersectionality, and its interdisciplinary method—in addition to my results in the 2018 election—each reflect my unique preparation to take on the quest to unseat the leading corporate Democrat in the House.

Ultimately, I am running for office because I can't turn a blind eye to corporate predation marginalizing the future. I've been an advocate for the public interest for 20 years, and for that entire time, I've watched Speaker Pelosi side with Wall Street and Washington against the San Francisco values that she claims to represent.

## 2. Do you support Congresswoman Alexandria Ocasio-Cortez's *Green New Deal*? Why or why not?

Yes. The Green New Deal, particularly the federal jobs guarantee to enable labor-intensive climate resiliency projects like removing underbrush from wildfire-prone forests, is at the center of our platform. It is an imperative both from the standpoint of preserving a viable future for humanity on Earth, and in terms of addressing the economic crisis resulting from generations of letting fossil fuel extraction industries dictate our public policy.

I envision a Green New Deal that supports new systems for environmental, economic, racial, social, economic and gender justice that radically shift the way our country extracts, uses, and shares the Earth's natural resources. This is imperative for addressing our mounting global climate crisis, and the associated socio-economic, racial and gender inequities that result from the over consumption and extraction of the fossil fuels and industrial agriculture systems.

To effectuate this vision, I support policies to cut greenhouse gas emissions; transition to fully renewable, non-polluting, and accessible energy and food systems; and ensure that this

transition supports good jobs and worker rights. For example, we will support public investments in renewable energy infrastructure, and “polluter pays” initiatives to internalize externalities like costs of fossil fuel extraction to frontline communities and sensitive ecosystems. This includes massive infrastructure investments to create high speed rail networks and phase down air traffic.

### **3. Do you support Medicare For All? If so, how would you implement it?**

Yes, I am committed to Medicare for All (M4A), and establishing healthcare as a human right within the U.S.

Our current predatory for-profit system kills people every day. It enriches pharmaceutical and health insurance companies to the detriment of patients, providers, and the care they’re able to provide. It treats sick people as extractive opportunities rather than people with dignity deserving care.

M4A would recognize healthcare as a human right, funded through tax dollars. It would ensure that no American need ever go bankrupt or face homelessness simply because they fell ill. It is the only civilized approach to healthcare.

M4A would also reduce overall costs through several dynamics. It would expand access to preventive care, which is dramatically more cost-effective than expensive and urgent crisis care. It would also reduce administrative waste and leverage what management consultants call “synergies,” or redundancies in the forms of jobs performing overlapping functions across multiple enterprises. Finally, a single-payer system will leverage economies of scale and the government’s purchasing power to drive down costs, especially for otherwise arbitrarily priced pharmaceuticals.

The importance of universal healthcare is poised to grow as the gig economy continues to displace traditional employment opportunities. As more Americans become freelance contractors without access to employer benefit arrangements, locking in baseline protections like universal healthcare will prevent them from being exploited as the economy threatens to increasingly commoditize their labor.

### **4. Do you support reducing military spending, and diverting these funds towards domestic programs? If so, how would you help implement this?**

Congress must take action to restrict its blank check that enriches weapons contractors while impoverishing our nation.

Corporate fraud, waste, and abuse pervade military procurement and scream out for stronger congressional oversight, as well as dramatic reductions in military spending. The

results of a long overdue audit of the Department of Defense indicate that the Pentagon has lost track of a staggering \$21 trillion,

In particular, I will work to rationalize our military spending by seeking the closure of some U.S. military bases in foreign countries, and an end to any further funding for the failed & fraudulent \$1.5 trillion F-35 Joint Strike Fighter program.

Closing overseas bases and ending fraudulent corporate contracts would drive immense reductions in carbon emissions. The Pentagon has already recognized that climate change is among our greatest threats to national security.

In the wake of the GOP tax scam passed by Congress, cuts to military spending will be necessary to secure—and expand—vital social services including student debt relief, early childhood education, medical and psychological services for veterans, and funding for affordable housing to address the urban housing crisis.

## **5. Do you support reducing America’s military presence in other countries?**

In Congress, I will:

- investigate, expose, and oppose any U.S. military intervention abroad, as well as covert operations that inherently undermine U.S. diplomatic strength and inflame international hostility, whatever the perceived tactical objectives.
- work to limit military contracting and expose fraud, waste, and abuse pervading the sector.
- organize support across Congress to restrict spending on expensive, high-tech weapons platforms.
- secure a bipartisan consensus to phase out obsolete weapons platforms by crafting programs for a just transition for workers displaced from weapons manufacturing.
- investigate and expose the role of corporate resource extraction industries, as well as weapons manufacturers, in promoting any proposed conflict or intervention.
- prevent our military and intelligence agencies from contriving preventable future national security crises, as the CIA has sadly done relentlessly since it was created.
- propose long overdue reforms to our “bloated and dysfunctional” national security classification system to enhance transparency and stop security classification (such as “confidential” or “top secret” designations) from being used to evade accountability for human rights violations.
- continue to advocate for the public unredacted release of the CIA torture report whose continuing censorship prompted even Sen. Dianne Feinstein to decry a constitutional crisis.
- support veterans and servicemembers by seeking the expansion of VA services across the entire medical system through a single-payer framework of the sort embodied in H.R. 1384, introduced by Rep. Pramila Jayapal (D-WA).

- relentlessly pursue oversight responsibilities. Even without a seat in Congress, I have posed uncomfortable questions to executive officials that no legislator ever has, and even risked arrest for doing so.

In spring 2019, we were part of a grassroots action at Speaker Pelosi’s office at which the Speaker changed her position on U.S. support for the Saudi genocide in Yemen, announcing her support for the historic 2019 War Powers Resolution spearheaded by Rep. Ro Khanna and Sen. Bernie Sanders. In the wake of President Trump’s veto, Congress has the opportunity to reiterate its assertion of constitutional war powers by denying funding to the White House, as proposed in an amendment by Rep. Adam Smith to the NDAA of 2020. Speaker Pelosi has not supported the amendment, suggesting that her support for constitutional war powers—like so many of her other positions—was more theatrical than sincere.

Finally, our campaign has shown solidarity with the peace & justice movement by taking action against the right-wing coups in Venezuela & Bolivia, to stop escalation of the war in Syria, and to challenge the executive secrecy that obscures the U.S. role in each of those countries.

## **6. What would you do to improve America’s current immigration policy?**

We support creating a pathway to citizenship. This pathway does not currently exist for people who arrive in the U.S. without documentation, even if they live and work in the U.S. for decades, raise U.S. citizen children, and serve in the U.S. military.

We oppose “comprehensive” immigration reform, which is used as a shorthand to describe enforcement-first proposals. Support for comprehensive immigration reform could ultimately undermine the rights of even U.S. citizens, and reflects the conservative co-optation by some liberals.

I will champion immigration reform aligned with the inscription on the Statue of Liberty, and resist “enforcement-first” proposals that have led to a humanitarian crisis. In Congress, I will:

- protect dreamers (students left vulnerable after Trump rescinded DACA)
- fight for a pathway to citizenship for their families
- end the criminalization of migration by supporting the repeal of the “illegal entry” provisions Section 1325.

I will also oppose border militarization and seek to reverse it, not only in the context of medieval border walls but also the high-tech surveillance nets—like the FBI’s corrupt and authoritarian Next Generation Initiative—that have spread across the country while being presented as immigration enforcement initiatives.

**7. What steps will you take to ensure reproductive freedom?**

I will oppose any legislation that would allow religious exemptions to undermine or limit civil rights or access to reproductive health & family planning services. I support the Do No Harm Act as an extension of these principles, as well as the EACH Woman Act, which would reverse the Hyde Amendment and ensure accessible reproductive planning services, including abortions, for low-income women and women relying on public health insurance.

**8. Do you support raising the Federal Minimum wage? If so, to what amount?**

Yes, I support raising the Federal Minimum wage to \$25 an hour. The Federal Minimum wage has failed to keep up with inflation, let alone the dramatic rise in CEO pay. With more and more working Americans facing desperation, it is time to finally outlaw poverty wages.

**9. Is your campaign accepting any corporate or PAC money? If so, please list those sources.**

No. I reject corporate PAC donations and have signed pledges to specifically reject money from fossil fuel industries and police officers associations.

**10. What are your main strategies for meeting potential voters during this campaign?**

Our strategies include:

- showing active solidarity with organized labor and social movements advancing human rights, climate justice, peace & justice, police accountability, and immigrant rights
- connecting with voters at public events, including marches, rallies, lectures, meetings, and coalition gatherings
- organizing legions of supporters to amplify our campaign's voice online
- mobilizing hundreds of volunteers to call tens of thousands of San Francisco voters on our behalf each week
- Deploying legions of remote volunteers to support us remotely with phone banking, data entry, graphic design, media outreach, and policy research



## **Only Supervisorial Candidates**

1. ~~What are your top three legislative priorities if elected?~~
2. ~~Should SFPD be reformed, transformed, reimagined, defunded, or abolished? And why?~~
3. ~~How exactly will San Francisco balance its budget during this current economic crisis?~~
4. ~~How best should the Board of Supervisors handle the current COVID-19 health crisis and the shelter-in-place orders for both individuals and for businesses?~~
5. ~~Do you support expanding transit-only lanes in your district?~~
6. ~~What strategies will you use to preserve and expand affordable housing in your district?~~
7. ~~Do you support a navigation center in your district?~~
8. ~~How would you characterize the relationship between the executive and legislative branches of government in San Francisco?~~
9. ~~Who do you currently see as your closest allies on the Board of Supervisors?~~
10. ~~If district add-back funds are available in the future, where and how would you allocate them in your district?~~
11. ~~Which of San Francisco's governmental bureaucracies is in most need of an audit and why?~~

## **Only School Board Candidates**

1. Do you support charter schools in San Francisco? Why or why not?
2. Do you support Common Core education standards?
3. What is your plan to address the bullying of LGBTQ students, as well as students of traditionally marginalized communities?
4. How will you address the needs of homeless students?
5. What are your plans to protect undocumented students and their families?
6. What are the most important actions that you can take in your office to stabilize and support African American students?
7. Do you support alternatives to a student's suspension in instances of disruption or *willful defiance*?
8. Do you support the removal of the *Life of Washington* mural at George Washington High School? Why or why not? If yes, what form of removal do you support?

## **Only City College Board Candidates**

- ~~1. What specific experience do you have with the City College of San Francisco?~~
- ~~1. What is your plan to address the bullying of LGBTQ students, as well as students of traditionally marginalized communities?~~
- ~~2. How would you address the needs of homeless students?~~
- ~~3. What are your plans to protect undocumented students and their families?~~
- ~~4. Did you support or oppose the hiring of former Chancellor Mark Rocha? How would you describe his tenure as chancellor?~~
- ~~5. Do you support the Workforce Education and Recovery Fund to dedicate permanent funding for non-credit classes at City College?~~

## **Only BART Board Candidates**

- ~~1. What are your plans to keep BART safe from viral spread during this COVID-19 crisis?~~
- ~~2. What are your plans to keep BART financially solvent during this COVID-19 crisis?~~
- ~~3. Will you vote or have you voted for fare increases? Should BART parking fees be increased across the East Bay and/or elsewhere?~~
- ~~4. Should BART police be defunded, disarmed, or banned entirely? Why or why not?~~
- ~~5. Do you support a regional sales tax to fund transit? Why or why not?~~

## Only Ballot Measures

- ~~1. Please include any and all contact information for your ballot measure position.~~
- ~~2. Briefly explain your position on this ballot initiative and why it should pass or fail this election cycle.~~
- ~~3. What would be the fiscal impact of this ballot measure if it passes?~~
- ~~4. Who crafted this ballot measure, and how was it placed on the ballot?~~
- ~~5. Who are your ballot measure position's principal consultants, and what are your main funding sources?~~
- ~~6. Who are some of your ballot measure position's individual and organizational supporters?~~
- ~~7. Why do you believe the Harvey Milk LGBTQ Club should support your ballot measure's position?~~

## **PART 2:**

### **Yes or No Questions**

*(Please check **Yes** or **No** for each question.)*

#### **GENERAL**

**YES NO**

Are you registered to vote as a Democrat?	Yes	<input type="checkbox"/>
---	-----	--------------------------

Have you ever sought elected office before?	Yes	<input type="checkbox"/>
---	-----	--------------------------

Do you have a campaign consultant or other main point of contact? If so, who? _____	<input type="checkbox"/>	No
---	--------------------------	----

Have you ever sought a Milk Club endorsement in the past?	Yes	<input type="checkbox"/>
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#### **LGBTQ ISSUES & SEXUAL LIBERATION**

**YES NO**

Do you support codifying various relationship structures as a protected class? (For example, a law that would prohibit discrimination against people in consensual non-monogamous relationships in employment, housing, education, and healthcare.)	Yes	<input type="checkbox"/>
---	-----	--------------------------

Do you support public funding for workforce programs, specifically for transgender job-seekers?	Yes	<input type="checkbox"/>
---	-----	--------------------------

Do you support public funding to expand access to PrEP?	Yes	<input type="checkbox"/>
---	-----	--------------------------

Do you support decriminalizing sex work?	Yes	<input type="checkbox"/>
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#### **TENANTS, HOUSING, AND HOMELESSNESS**

**YES NO**

Do you support immediate rent cancellation and mortgage forbearance for all tenants and homeowners impacted by COVID-19?	Yes	<input type="checkbox"/>
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Do you support the creation of an independent commission to oversee the Department of Homelessness and Supportive Services?	Yes	<input type="checkbox"/>
---	-----	--------------------------

Do you support the split-roll repeal of Proposition 13?	Yes	<input type="checkbox"/>
---	-----	--------------------------

Do you support the repeal of the Costa-Hawkins Rental Housing Act?	Yes	<input type="checkbox"/>
--	-----	--------------------------

Do you support the repeal of the Ellis Act?	Yes	<input type="checkbox"/>
---	-----	--------------------------

Have you ever evicted a tenant?	<input type="checkbox"/>	No
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Do you support the sweeps of homeless encampments by the Department of Public Works or SFPD?	<input type="checkbox"/>	No
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Do you support the public acquisition of hotel rooms for permanent shelter and/or supportive housing for the homeless?	Yes	<input type="checkbox"/>
--	-----	--------------------------

Did you support Measure D, the vacant property tax, this year?	Yes	<input type="checkbox"/>
--	-----	--------------------------

Would you support a licensing system for landlords in San Francisco?	Yes	<input type="checkbox"/>
--	-----	--------------------------

Do you support a public municipal bank in San Francisco?	Yes	<input type="checkbox"/>
--	-----	--------------------------

Do you support this year's proposed real estate transfer tax for properties valued at or over \$10 million?	Yes	<input type="checkbox"/>
---	-----	--------------------------

**IMMIGRATION JUSTICE ISSUES**

**YES NO**

Should U.S. Immigration and Customs Enforcement be abolished?	Yes	<input type="checkbox"/>
---	-----	--------------------------

Do you support San Francisco's Sanctuary City status?	Yes	<input type="checkbox"/>
---	-----	--------------------------

Do you support due process protections for immigrant youth accused of crimes?	Yes	<input type="checkbox"/>
---	-----	--------------------------

Do you support allowing undocumented San Franciscans to serve on City boards and commissions?	Yes	<input type="checkbox"/>
---	-----	--------------------------

Do you support increased funds for immigrant defense services?	Yes	<input type="checkbox"/>
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**RACIAL & SOCIAL JUSTICE**

**YES NO**

Do you support the death penalty?	<input type="checkbox"/>	No
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Do you support the use of tasers by law enforcement?	<input type="checkbox"/>	No
--	--------------------------	----

Do you support requiring an independent investigation of all police officer-related shootings?	Yes	
--	-----	--

Does your campaign accept contributions from law-enforcement associations, unions, or organizations?		No
--	--	----

Do you support disbanding the SFPD and requiring officers to reapply to a newly constructed, less violent police force?	Yes	
---	-----	--

Should the San Francisco Police Officers Association be disbanded or at least have its political influence in the City severely curtailed?	Yes	
--	-----	--

Do you support qualified immunity for police officers?	Yes	
--	-----	--

Do you support reparations for Black San Franciscans?	Yes	
---	-----	--

Do you support the implementation of supervised injection/consumption sites?	Yes	
--	-----	--

Do you support extending voting rights in local elections to currently and formerly incarcerated people?	Yes	
--	-----	--

Have you ever crossed a union picket line or ignored a union boycott?		No
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Do you support the right for public sector employees to go on strike?	Yes	
---	-----	--

Do support repealing California's Proposition 209?	Yes	
--	-----	--

Do you support the California App-Based Drivers Regulations Initiative?		No
---	--	----

Do you support rebuilding the county jail at 850 Bryant?		No
--	--	----

**ENVIRONMENTAL AND TRANSPORTATION ISSUES**

**YES NO**

Do you support dissolving Pacific, Gas, & Electric and replacing it with a publicly-owned utility agency?	Yes	
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Do you support expanding the Clean Power SF program?	Yes	
--	-----	--

Do you support a plan to provide free transportation citywide?	Yes	
--	-----	--

Should the mayor continue to appoint all commissioners to the SFMTA?		No
--	--	----

**PUBLIC CORRUPTION & POLITICAL TRANSPARENCY**

**YES NO**

Did you support the <i>Sunlight on Dark Money (Prop. F)</i> measure on the November 2019 ballot?	Yes	
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Do you support expanding SF's public financing program to all City and County elected offices?	Yes	
--	-----	--

Do you support Supervisor Matt Haney's ballot measure to split Public Works into two departments, each with its own oversight commission?	Yes	
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Do you support Supervisor Gordon Mar's ballot measure to create an Office of the Public Advocate?	Yes	
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### **PART 3:**

#### **Support of Other Candidates**

*(Please answer whom you support or supported in each race. If you made a ranked endorsement or voted for more than one candidate using IRV, please indicate the rankings.)*

<b>Candidate</b>	<b>2020</b>
Democratic Presidential Primary	Bernie Sanders
CA State Senate, District 11	Jackie Fielder
District 1 Supervisor	Connie Chan
District 3 Supervisor	Aaron Peskin
District 5 Supervisor	Dean Preston
District 7 Supervisor	Vilaska Nguyen
District 11 Supervisor	John Avalos

<b>Candidate</b>	<b>2019</b>
District 5 Supervisor	Dean Preston
San Francisco District Attorney	Chesa Boudin

<b>Candidate</b>	<b>2018</b>
Mayor	Jane Kim
District 4 Supervisor	Gordon Mar
District 6 Supervisor	Matt Haney
District 8 Supervisor	Rafael Mandelman
District 10 Supervisor	Tony Kelly