

**PROGRESSIVE MASSACHUSETTS
2018 CONGRESSIONAL
ENDORSEMENT QUESTIONNAIRE**



Date: 7/19/2018

Candidate: Alexandra Chandler

**Office Sought: U.S. Representative, Massachusetts' 3rd
Congressional District**

Party: Democratic

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Email questions to *elections@progressivemass.com*.

Questionnaire Responses (excepting sections labeled CONFIDENTIAL) will be published on our website.

I. About You

1. Why are you running for office? And what will your top 3 priorities be if elected?

I am running for Congress to answer a call to serve, as I did after living through the 9/11 attack in NYC which led me to join the Intelligence Community. In this critical moment for our country and the world, I believe I am the best candidate to get things done in Congress that will improve the quality of life, opportunity, dignity, and security for working class and middle class people in Massachusetts. I am the only candidate fully prepared to do the whole job as our next Congresswoman, addressing both foreign policy and domestic issues, and protecting our democracy. My top three priorities in my comprehensive progressive platform which I wrote myself (<http://www.alexandrachandler.com/issues>) will be ensuring every full time job in our wealthy country is a living wage job, working for lower cost higher quality single payer health care, and combating the opioid epidemic as a public health emergency.

2. What prepares you to serve in this capacity?

My professional and leadership experience, my specific expertise, and my lived experience and struggles uniquely prepares me to be the best candidate for MA-3 at this moment.

I spent 13 years in the Intelligence Community as an analyst and leader of analysts tackling the world's toughest problems, including stopping countries like North Korea from exporting their WMD and missile technology, supporting the diplomacy that led to the Iran Deal, and preventing the smuggling of weapons to war zones and to terrorist groups. I got things done in Washington— not just working with relatively like-minded politicians in Massachusetts— working across the federal government under multiple Administrations, working with foreign governments, where posturing and inaction were not an option. I have successfully cultivated relationships with people not at all like me, even with people who may not have fully acknowledged my humanity.

In this vein, my experience in national security comes at a moment of crisis for our democratic institutions and our foreign policy. As a Russian-speaking lawyer and former Intelligence Community leader, I am uniquely prepared to ensure Congress can and does reassume its Constitutional role as a check on this Administration at home and abroad— which will be vital if we are to move forward on any elements of a progressive policy agenda. I also can utilize my national security expertise and familiarity with the federal authorization and appropriation process from my time in the Office of the Secretary of Defense to argue effectively for cuts and reinvestments from Defense to fund diplomacy abroad and progressive domestic priorities at home. My experience as former vice chair of the board of a 16,000 patient community health center focused on LGBT health and drug treatment (which I helped turn around from bankruptcy, raising quality and lowering costs) will help me be a more effective policy advocate for the potentials of a single payer health care system as well as arguing for integrated policies and funding lines to bring a public health approach to the effort against the opioid epidemic.

My lived experience also makes me a valuable asset to Congress and the right representative for this district at this moment in time. The majority of working class and middle class voters in this district want a representative who understands their struggles, has lived them, and can bring them to Congress without the corruption of Big Money politics. I grew up in a family where my father was between jobs, struggled with addiction to alcohol and prescription drugs, as well as multiple sclerosis— which all combined in me losing him by the time I was 17. I went to college working work-study jobs. I have been without health insurance— and then later, when I had it, I had to pay for tens of thousands of dollars of my own medical care because I am

transgender. Because of that, in turn, I have lived the struggles of millennial and Gen X people throughout this district, who have had to delay starting a family or buying a home, as my wife and I did. I now balance the daycare costs and student loans that keep families across MA-3 up at night. I also bring the experiences of a mom whose son's school was on lockdown for a shooting across the street. I have been beaten up, I have been threatened for being who I am, I have had people in a federal agency auditorium cheer for me to be fired for who I am. I know what it means to be vulnerable due to bigotry and prejudice. I will bring not just progressive policies but a personal narrative and a passion on these issues that cannot be learned or bought.

I transitioned gender on the job as an intelligence analyst in 2006 focused on North Korea and Iran— and subsequently rose to become a leader in the Intelligence Community, serving as a Division Chief. I have had to be a tough advocate for myself to thrive as a transgender woman leader working in military intelligence, and I will be that tough advocate for working class and middle class people, people of color, immigrants, people living with disabilities, and LGBT people— all of us, in all our intersections that are vulnerable under this Administration.

No other candidate offers this combination of experience and accomplishment in Washington, a progressive agenda, and a barrier-breaking candidacy that brings the intersection of so many identities unrepresented or underrepresented in our politics (transgender, lesbian, female, and non-wealthy) potentially into Congress.

II. The Issues

Our questionnaire is based on our [Progressive Platform](#): Shared Prosperity, All Means All/ Racial and Social Justice, Good Government and Strong Democracy, and Sustainable Infrastructure and Environmental Protection.

Each section begins with an open-ended question about a plank in our platform. The subsequent questions will be mostly yes/no questions. In such cases, your response should begin with YES or NO. You are welcome to expand beyond just YES/NO to further elaborate on your position, but please keep answers < 150 words.

A. An Equitable Tax System

1. What does tax justice mean to you? What would a fair tax system look like?

Tax justice means a system of revenue collection via progressive taxation and asking those who have benefited most from society to give most, that provides government at all levels with the resources required to support all people in thriving to their full potential, no matter what the circumstances of their birth, maximizing the individual

and the common good. A fair federal tax system would look like the Congressional Progressive Caucus's People's Budget tax reform, including a return to Clinton-era tax rates for those making over \$250,000 a year with surtaxes for those making over \$1 million, a radical expansion of the earned income tax credit, a financial transaction tax and other progressive taxation measures.

2. **Financial Transaction Tax.** Would you support legislation that imposes a tax of a fraction of a percent on transactions done by Wall Street firms and stock traders?

YES. In the last several decades, the accumulation of wealth in our financial services industry has rapidly increased, but our tax system all but ignores this sector while aggressively taxing other forms of income. I propose we join over 30 other countries and implement a tax on financial transactions from 0.004% to .25%, varying by the type of security traded. These rates are deliberately set to at a level to both maximize the revenue generated (up to \$1.8 trillion over 10 years), avoid discouraging economic activity of benefit to the broader economy, while reducing the incentives for market speculation. Our federal government collected tax on these transactions before 1966, and the Securities and Exchange Commission currently collects a fee on many financial transactions to fund its operations-- we can implement this.

3. **Capital Gains Tax.** Would you support taxing capital gains and dividends at ordinary income rates for households with income over \$250,000?

YES

4. **Corporate Tax Avoidance.** Would you support legislation to tax corporations on all of their profits, ending the current practice that allows US corporations to avoid paying taxes on overseas profits?

YES. We should stop giving away public money to corporations offshoring American jobs and thereby penalizing American-based small businesses. A relatively small number of large corporations have indefinitely deferred payment of over \$700 billion in taxes on profits abroad, while others have purchased small foreign entities and incorporated abroad in order to completely avoid U.S. taxation. We must end these practices and their implicit incentive to keep profits abroad.

B. Jobs That Pay a Living Wage

1. What is the role of Congress in creating good-paying jobs? In which sectors do you see the most potential?

The role of Congress and the federal government at large in creating good-paying jobs is to use federal policy and resources to create an environment conducive to private businesses creating good-paying jobs, incentivizing business to do so, and

through regulatory policy (such as raising the federal minimum wage) and investment (such as using public money via the Earned Income Tax Credit), ensuring that living wage jobs are created out of currently non-living wage jobs in the case of the market's failure to respond to higher productivity or higher social need with higher wages. I see the greatest potential to create good-paying jobs in the construction sector (given the trillions of deferred maintenance and infrastructure investment we require), light and advanced manufacturing to produce and install solar panels, wind turbines, geothermal systems, and other renewable energy sources, the healthcare sector as we expand access to high quality care, and the childcare sector given my policies to raise the pay of shamefully underpaid childcare workers.

2. **Minimum Wage.** The gap between productivity and wages has grown dramatically since 1973. Moreover, the federal minimum wage remains stuck at \$7.25—what it was in 2009. Would you support legislation to raise the federal minimum wage to \$15 per hour?

YES. I will vote for the Scott-Sanders "Raise the Wage Act" to raise the federal minimum wage to \$15/hr by 2024. This will not only help tens of thousands of minimum wage workers in the 3rd District, but other working and middle class workers too, as it will exert upward pressure on near-stagnant wages for so many further up the wage scale.

- a. And eliminate the sub-minimum wage for tipped workers?

YES.

- b. And index the minimum wage to inflation?

YES.

3. **Job Guarantee.** Would you support legislation to create a federal job guarantee? If so, what would it look like?

YES. I support legislation by Senator Booker and Rep. Khanna to pilot a federal job guarantee-- an idea that has its roots in FDR's call for a right to employment. Thousands of people across our district -- especially older workers -- have been unemployed or underemployed for so long that their struggle is not accounted for in the top-line unemployment numbers as they are no longer actively seeking employment. These are among the people who would most benefit from this program. When scaled up, local governments and other entities in our district and around the country would submit projects and job descriptions for federal government funding at a modest living wage. The program would also provide these workers with new skills, the social and health benefits and dignity of work at a living wage, as well as providing an insulating effect against recessions.

4. **Retirement Security.** With the decline of pensions and other defined-benefit retirement plans in the workplace, retirement is becoming more insecure, and seniors are having to work longer just to stay afloat. Would you support legislation to....

a. Increase the benefits provided by Social Security?

YES.

b. Raising the cap on earnings that are taxed for Social Security? Currently, only earnings up to \$118,500 are subject to the payroll tax.

YES. Currently, the wealthiest Americans only pay taxes in to Social Security for their first \$128,400 in income. I will vote to remove this cap so that the wealthiest among us pay Social Security taxes on their full income, exempting those making up to \$250,000 from additional tax increases. I will also vote to increase the Additional Medicare Tax for those making over \$200,000 a year to provide increased fiscal stability and increase benefits within Medicare.

5. **Paid Leave.** The US is the only industrial nation without paid family leave. Would you support federal legislation ensuring that workers can take up to 12 weeks of paid leave for a pregnancy, the birth or adoption of a child, to recover from a serious illness, or to care for a seriously ill family member?

YES. I support legislation to provide a maximum of 12 weeks of paid family leave for use with childcare, care for sick family members, and eldercare, to be funded by Federal payroll contributions of not more than 1% split between employer and employee. This benefit will cover all workers but be targeted to working and middle class families, with a maximum benefit cap of \$1,000 a week. This will enhance productivity, improve public health and level the playing field for small businesses, who cannot afford to compete with many existing corporate paid family leave programs.

6. **Paid Vacation.** The US is the only industrial nation that does not require employers to provide any paid vacation time. Would you support legislation requiring employers to provide employees at least two weeks of paid vacation time?

YES

7. **Union Rights.** Unions play a key role in building a strong middle-class; however, unions have been under attack in recent years. Would you support legislation like the Workplace Democracy Act that prohibits “right-to-work” laws and requires employers to recognize a union when a majority of workers in a bargaining unit sign valid authorization cards?

YES. I will fight back against attacks on the hard-earned pay, pension and other benefits won by public and private sector workers in Massachusetts and around the country through collective bargaining by their labor unions. As a former public employee for 13 years as an intelligence analyst, I endured years of pay freezes and understand the damage that is done to society and the economy-- from the

Intelligence Community to the classroom to the nurse's station to the construction site-- when employees do not have the benefit of collective bargaining through unions. Accordingly, I will work to support the re-introduction and passage of the Employee Free Choice Act and the Workplace Democracy Act. I will also preserve the rights of teachers and other public employees to effectively engage in collective bargaining by supporting or co-sponsoring legislation to specifically protect "fair share" dues under attack by the Janus decision.

C. Quality, Affordable Health Care

1. **What do you see as the role of the federal government in health care? What are the most important next steps to build upon the 2010 Patient Protection and Affordable Care Act?**

Healthcare is a human right, and the role of the federal government in health care should be as the guarantor of that right. I support universal healthcare as both a moral imperative to provide healthcare to those who don't have it and good for the health and finances of people that do have healthcare. I have family that depend on the ACA and have depended on the MassHealth system and are constantly worried about the attacks on their healthcare. Other family members living with disabilities only receive appropriate treatment because of the benefits of the ACA. The great unfinished business of the ACA is the transition to a single-payer, universal healthcare system which elevates patient outcome as the primary driver of our healthcare system, not profit. We should also have Medicare negotiate the price of prescription drugs, ban prescription drug advertising, expand community health centers and wellness coverage.

2. **Medicare for All.** Would you support the creation of a single payer/"Medicare for All" health insurance system in the country that would guarantee health care as a right?

YES. I will vote for the Conyers-Sanders "Medicare for All" bill, and will offer amendments to add critical details currently missing in the legislation on the specifics of an incremental expansion of Medicare and the sustainment of essential Medicaid programs including for people living with disabilities and seniors.

3. **Medicaid.** Would you oppose any effort to add a work requirement to Medicaid?

YES

4. **Medicare.** Would you oppose any effort to increase the means-testing of Medicare?

YES

5. **Drug Price Negotiation.** Would you support legislation requiring the federal government to negotiate the price of Medicare prescription drugs with pharmaceutical companies?

YES. This is common sense, an essential reform particularly for those with chronic conditions and our seniors, and a key step on the road to Medicare for All.

6. **Access to Prescription Drugs.** Would you support legislation to reduce monopolies for brand-name drugs and help generic competitors come to market more easily?

YES. We also need to do what nearly every other advanced economy in the world does and put cost controls on prescription drugs, just like we do on any other service essential for life, like our public utilities.

7. **Reproductive Rights -- Part I.** Would you oppose any legislation that seeks to roll back a woman's fundamental right to choose an abortion as set out in *Roe vs. Wade*?

YES. I support equal reproductive rights for all people, including access to birth control, emergency contraception, reproductive health services and education, and safe and legal abortion as set out in the *Roe v Wade* decision— but to my mind is also a matter of Constitutional right and natural law.

8. **Reproductive Rights -- Part II.** Would you supporting legislation to repeal the Hyde Amendment, which bars the use of federal funds to pay for abortion except to save the life of the woman, or if the pregnancy arises from incest or rape?

YES

D. Quality, Free Publicly Funded Education

1. What role should the federal government play in guaranteeing high-quality K-12 education for all students? In guaranteeing access to affordable higher education?

The federal government must serve as a guarantor of the human and civil right of every child to a free and appropriate education tailored to their needs and their potential. That right remains out of reach for too many children, especially those from poor families, working-class families and communities of color, children with disabilities--including some in my own family-- as well as LGBT children, particularly transgender children under attack from this Administration. The federal government should use standards (for general education, students with disabilities, English language learners, and gifted and talented students), dissemination of research and best practices, and targeted resources--such as Title I, IDEA, and NEA and ESSA-associated arts and civic education funds—as leverage in a non-punitive manner to foster excellence and equity for all children in the United States. This federal role should support and complement state and local efforts. We must move away from the punitive use of testing metrics that incentivizes schools to teach to an increasingly narrow curriculum rather than unlocking the creativity and potential of our teachers and our students. In many cases, poor testing metrics measure problems of racial and economic justice and income inequality outside of the classroom that must be met with policy solutions rather than problems of teacher quality. We must do the hard work of meeting those problems head-on, with supportive housing, transportation,

and nutritional assistance to ensure all students are ready to learn. Teachers and schools cannot be punished for our society's failure to properly fund these programs, which leaves our most vulnerable students unprepared to learn when they enter the classroom. Congress should also appropriate new funds to repair, upgrade, and expand public school buildings as part of any national infrastructure bill.

As a mom of two kids, including one in a Haverhill public school, and former PTA VP of a Title I elementary school, I have witnessed first-hand how dedicated teachers make the human and civil right to education a daily reality for students. Leadership in the classroom, the school, and at the local and state level is paramount in achieving the best educational outcomes for our children. However, given the stakes for our future, the federal government must serve as both enabling partner, and guarantor of excellence and equity, to ensure these outcomes are achieved.

Education throughout our lifetimes is critical to unlocking individual potential and expanding our economy, and the federal government should guarantee access to affordable higher education. And yet, we have backed away from this guarantee, we have disinvested in public higher education for decades, and burdened Generation Z, Millennials and Generation X with a higher education system that all but demands debt that our parents' generations never faced, while closing off the option to many people. And people wonder why the American Dream is fading for so many. This doesn't just affect student loan borrowers, it is holding back consumer-led growth in our entire economy. Congress has put the profits (and donations) of student loan lenders above students and graduates, blocking common-sense reform and the debt relief they so readily gave Wall Street. Working and middle-class people of our generations, who have student loan debt-- like my wife and me and many of the younger voters of this country-- are not at the table, therefore we have not been on the agenda. I propose we change that, now.

2. **Race to the Top.** The Race to the Top program, created in 2010, was a competitive grant program for school districts that incentivized public school districts to adopt performance-based evaluations for teachers and to increase the number of charter schools. How would you evaluate the success of the program?

Race to the Top, however well-intentioned by the Obama Administration, was a failure. The program was tantamount to a "test-and-punish" approach to education, which is not a strategy, and does not incentivize any behavior other than a fear-centered drive for more and more test preparation as opposed to skills development.

3. **Achievement Gap.** Since 2005 alone (13 years of K-12 education), Title I of the Elementary and Secondary Education Act (ESEA), which provides funding to states and

districts to improve education for disadvantaged students, has been underfunded by \$347 billion. Would you support legislation to fully fund Title I?

YES. Title I funds are the federal government's most effective tool in guaranteeing the human and civil right of education to vulnerable kids. I was a parent and a PTA Vice President at a Title I elementary school, and understand the power of these resources to transform schools and communities. Increasing Title I funds and expanding the flexibility for how they are used will improve both instructional time and critical supporting services— expanded free school meals throughout the calendar year, expanded before and aftercare programs and supportive services for parents to keep students in an enriching, safe environment in and out of school.

4. **Special Education.** When Congress first passed the Individuals with Disabilities Education Act (IDEA), the federal government promised to pay 40 percent of the cost of educating students with disabilities. That promise has not been kept, with federal funding standing at just 15.7 percent. Would you support legislation to fully fund IDEA?

YES. For decades, the federal government has shirked its legal responsibility to provide a full 40% of the cost of providing children living with disabilities a high quality free public education in the least restrictive environment possible and appropriate. I will support fully funding this mandate that has been left to state and local governments for too long, which not only deprives children living with disabilities of their right to a high quality education but negatively effects the education of other students as funding is sought from other sources.

5. **Student Loan Debt.** Student loan debt is holding back the economy, as graduates are unable to make important long-term investments in their future. Senator Elizabeth Warren has filed legislation to allow those with outstanding student loan debt to refinance at current, lower interest rates. Would you support such legislation?

YES. I am myself a person who put off long-term investments in my own future (deferring having children and buying a house) because of the combination of my student loan debt and my lack of access to healthcare (having to pay for over \$30,000 of it as a transgender woman). Accordingly I have a particular understanding of this issue. The federal government should not profit from student loan debt. I will vote to allow students to refinance student loan debt, to expand public service loan forgiveness and income sensitive repayment programs, and to change the formula that Congress uses to set student loan rates, currently set from 2.05 to 4.6% above the 10-year Treasury rates. I will support reducing these rates by 1 to 2.3%. I will also vote to restore the ability of students to discharge student loan debt in bankruptcy under some circumstances.

6. **Tuition-Free Higher Education.** More and more jobs are requiring a college degree, but the cost of higher education has been growing faster than wages, contributing to a

ballooning student debt burden. Would you support legislation to guarantee free tuition at public colleges and universities? If so, how should such a program operate?

YES. The ability of Americans to work their way through public colleges and universities with little or no debt helped create the once-booming American middle class. This has not been a reality in most states-- including Massachusetts-- for decades. It's time for revolutionary investment in higher education to open up community colleges for tuition-free lifelong learning and make public colleges and universities debt-free for working and middle-class families earning up to \$125,000, with a modest personal and family contribution and student work study. These goals will be achieved by robust federal funding and a highly incentivized match of state funds.

E. Affordable, Decent Housing

1. What role do you believe the federal government should play in guaranteeing affordable, decent housing for all?

The federal government should use a combination of homelessness prevention, rent assistance, and home purchase incentives to guarantee affordable, decent housing for all.

2. **National Housing Trust Fund.** The National Housing Trust Fund was created in 2008 as part of the Housing and Economic Recovery Act to complement existing federal funding sources for affordable housing. Would you support legislation to increase funding for the National Housing Trust Fund?

YES

3. **Tenant Rights.** Prior to the passage of the Protecting Tenants at Foreclosure Act (PTFA) in 2009, tenants were often required to move with as little as a few days-notice. However, the PTFA expired in 2014. Would you support legislation to reauthorize such tenant protections?

YES

4. **Foreclosure Prevention.** Would you support legislation to strengthen requirements for and increase oversight of Federal Housing Administration mortgage servicers so that every homebuyer with an FHA mortgage is given a fair chance at avoiding foreclosure?

YES

F. A Fair and Efficient Criminal Justice System

1. What role can Congress help deliver on the promise of “liberty and justice for all”

America has made enormous strides in making liberty, justice, equality and inclusion for all a reality in this country, but the work is far from finished. Furthermore, the Trump Administration is rolling back hard-fought progress in anti-discrimination protections and inclusion-promoting policy for women, people of color, immigrants, LGBT people, people living with disabilities, the poor, and for people living at the intersections of those communities. We need members of Congress who are willing to stand against these attacks and every attempt by the Trump Administration to demonize whole populations and make us invisible. As a transgender lesbian woman, working mother, lawyer, and former intelligence analyst, I will stand up for all of us against these attacks, every time, and I will fight for us to keep making progress toward social, economic, and racial justice.

2. **Marijuana Legalization.** Do you support removing marijuana from the list of controlled substances, making it legal at the federal level?

YES. It's time to end the decades-long, racially unjust, failed experiment to criminalize marijuana, and divert our public money to combat the opioid epidemic and other public safety ends. I will vote for the Marijuana Justice Act, which will not only remove marijuana from Schedule I of the Controlled Substances Act, but will actively encourage states to decriminalize marijuana by restricting certain federal funds from states with marijuana laws that disproportionately impact low-income people and people of color. This Act will also expunge federal marijuana use and possession crimes from the record and allow currently serving inmates to petition for reduced sentencing or release.

3. **Mandatory Minimums.** Do you support the repeal of mandatory minimums for non-violent drug offenses?

YES. I will support the Sentencing and Corrections Reform Act, which will end the federal "three strikes" provision and reduce mandatory minimum sentences for repeat non-violent drug offenders. These provisions disproportionately incarcerate people of color and divert resources away from correction and recidivism prevention for violent offenders.

4. **Bail Reform.** Do you support the elimination of cash bail, so that no one is held in jail solely for an inability to pay?

YES

5. **Private Prisons.** Would you support legislation to bar the federal government and state and local jurisdictions from contracting with private corporations to run prisons and detention facilities?

YES. Our justice, immigration and correction system must not be for sale to the lowest bidder. I will defy Attorney General Sessions and support legislation to phase out private prisons, which are a hotbed of civil rights violations and a bad financial deal for Americans – except prison corporate executives, some of whom also benefit from Real Estate Investment Trust (REIT) tax breaks. I will also vote to remove this tax break to roll back the use of private prisons at the state and local level.

6. **Federal Parole System.** The abolition of the federal parole system in 1984 has played a large role in the rise of mass incarceration since the 1980s, as prisoners are now required to serve at least 85 percent of their sentence. Would you support legislation to reinstate the federal parole system?

YES

7. **Price Gouging.** Would you support legislation to prevent companies from engaging in unfair practices and charging prisoners unreasonable fees for banking and telecommunications services?

YES

8. **Solitary Confinement.** Do you support limiting the use of solitary confinement to no more than 15 consecutive days, and eliminating the use of solitary confinement for at-risk populations, including pregnant women, LGBTQ people, those with mental illness, and those under age 21 or over age 65?

YES

9. **Police-Community Relations.** Recently, the US House of Representatives passed a bill to create a *federal* penalty of up to 10 years for assaulting a police officer. Such laws already exist on the books in states, and there is no lack of prosecution (some might even argue that such charges are used as a cudgel against protesters). The ACLU, NAACP, Southern Poverty Law Center, and other civil rights groups criticized this bill for pushing a statistically unproven “war on cops” narrative and threatening to do further damage to police-community relations. Would you oppose such legislation?

YES

10. **Militarization of Police.** Would you support legislation to prohibit the transfer of some of the military weapons from the federal government to state and local law enforcement?

YES

11. **Data Collection.** Would you support legislation to require police departments and states to collect data on all police shootings and deaths that take place while in police custody and make that data public?

YES

12. **Racial Profiling.** Would you support legislation to ban racial profiling by law enforcement?

YES

G. A Humane Immigration System

1. What does “comprehensive immigration reform” mean to you?

Comprehensive immigration reform means creating a safe, streamlined, and transparent system where the United States once again welcomes visitors, short-term immigrants, and asylum seekers in accordance with our values and with international law, and creates a path to permanent residency and citizenship to all people of any immigration or documentation status who have not been convicted of dangerous crime of any skill level.

America is great in large part because of immigration. I will support a permanent fix to give DACA and previous DAPA recipients a path to citizenship, as well as to restore the legal residency of Temporary Protected Status recipients. There are over 180 different types of visas for residency in the United States. This complexity is an unnecessary burden to immigrants and U.S. employers. I aim to consolidate cumbersome immigration bureaucracy to the fullest extent we can within treaty obligations and constraints. I will ensure better integration with intelligence and investigative efforts so we may welcome an even broader and more diverse array of immigrants with diverse skills and refugees while still protecting our national security. I will use my Congressional oversight and budgetary powers to push back against arbitrary deportations by ICE, and scrutinize suspicious actions for racial animus. I will seek to ban the federal government from contracting with private prison corporations to detain immigrants, and end federal tax break for private prisons. I will defy Attorney General Sessions and support legislation to phase out private prisons, which are a hotbed of civil rights violations and a bad financial deal for Americans - except prison corporate executives, some of whom also benefit from Real Estate Investment Trust (REIT) tax breaks. I will also vote to remove this tax break to roll back the use of private prisons-- for immigrants and those in the criminal justice system-- at the state and local level.

2. **Border Militarization.** A border wall, as proposed by Trump, would be an economic, environmental, and humanitarian disaster. Would you categorically oppose any legislation that includes funding for such a border wall?

YES— with the only conceivable exception being in the extremely unlikely event that legislation simultaneously contained an irrevocable path to citizenship for all undocumented immigrants currently residing in the United States, inclusive of DACA and TPS recipients, applicants for asylum and those of all other status— and all others henceforward as long as they have not convicted of any dangerous crime. Only in that event would the immediate and permanent improvement of the lives of millions of people, an end to countless human tragedies, be worth temporarily funding a harmful and wasteful border wall which we could leave unfinished.

3. DREAM Act. Would you support the DREAM Act, which would allow certain US-raised immigrant youth to earn lawful permanent residence and American citizenship?

YES. I will support a permanent fix (whether through the DREAM Act or an even broader vehicle for a more comprehensive solution) to give DACA and previous DAPA recipients a path to citizenship, as well as to restore the legal residency of Temporary Protected Status recipients.

4. Path to Citizenship. Would you support legislation that creates a path for undocumented immigrants to gain US citizenship?

YES, per above.

5. Keeping Families Together. Would you support legislation to repeal the three-year, ten-year, and permanent bars of reentry for undocumented immigrants?

YES

6. Protecting Immigrant Families. Over the past few years, ICE has adopted policies that are particularly harmful to children: the practice of detaining women and children when they cross the border despite legal obligations to place families with children in the least restrictive setting possible (family detention), and the practice of separating parents and children (family separation). Would you support legislation to end both of these practices?

YES. I support abolition of the inhumane deportation and detention forces within ICE's Enforcement and Removal Operations Office and within CBP, which I would accomplish through amendments to must-pass legislation defunding their activities against asylum seekers and undocumented immigrants without any criminal record. This is in keeping with our values and our obligations under international law.

7. ICE Bed Quota. Would you support legislation to end ICE's daily bed quota, which requires the detainment of 34,000 immigrants?

YES

8. ICE Detention Centers. The Department of Homeland Security's (DHS) Office of the Inspector General (OIG) have consistently found that ICE detention facilities undermine

the rights of the individuals being held, as sexual abuse, medical negligence, and insufficient access to counsel remain rampant. (A) Would you support legislation to impose a moratorium on the construction of new ones? (B) Would you support a review of private detention centers and the termination of contracts with repeat human rights violation offenders?

YES and YES.

9. **ICE.** ICE (U.S. Immigration and Customs Enforcement), is a fairly new federal agency, birthed in the post 9/11/2001 restructuring of the Department of Homeland Security. Since its start, ICE has operated under a harmful and erroneous paradigm: that undocumented immigrants *ipso facto* pose a fundamental security threat. Over time, ICE has operated in an increasingly unconstitutional matter, embracing practices that, according to judges, "shock the conscience" and have received condemnation from the United Nations. Would you support the elimination of the current agency in favor of a more humane alternative?

NO. Under a future Administration— because I do not trust this Administration to execute this lawfully— I support a full reorganization of the entire Department of Homeland Security, including ICE, CBP, TSA, and other agencies, to better protect civil liberties, our national security and the dignity of every person— native-born or immigrant. Right now, I support abolition of the inhumane deportation and detention forces within ICE's Enforcement and Removal Operations Office and within CBP, which I would accomplish through amendments to must-pass legislation defunding their activities against asylum seekers and undocumented immigrants without any criminal record. The slogan "abolish ICE" is by itself insufficient to the urgency and breadth of the problem— abolishing ICE alone will both take too long and not do enough, given the role of CBP in inhumanely detaining immigrants. We need action to provide relief to families and communities now, not years from now.

H. A Diverse and Welcoming Society

1. What do you believe are the most important factors in building an inclusive community, and what role can Congress play in advancing them?

The most important factor in building an inclusive community is an equal promise of opportunity, dignity, and security to every person regardless of the circumstance of their birth or the identities that they hold. Congress and the federal government can serve as a guarantor and facilitator of this promise through a combination of economic measures ensuring equity of opportunity, social programs such as universal healthcare, childcare, and safety net protections to ensure equity in dignity, and then security – and enforcement of the equity of opportunity and dignity— through robust anti-discrimination protections.

- 2. LGBTQ Rights.** Over the past several years, we have seen numerous states try to deny trans individuals the right to exist in public spaces as well as conservative lawsuits seeking to legalize discrimination against LGBTQ individuals. Would you support legislation to add sexual orientation and gender identity to the Civil Rights Act of 1964?

YES. I will co-sponsor and vote for the Equality Act to codify the full equality of LGBT people under federal law, and aim to fight back against state and local attempts to undermine legal protections or inclusion for LGBT Americans under Title VII, Title IX, the Equal Protection Clause, and other statutes and federal law. I will protect transgender military service, and will fight to reinstate protections and favorable policies for LGBT people that this Administration has undone.

- 3. Sexual Harassment.** Would you support legislation to end the use of forced arbitration clauses in sexual harassment cases?

YES

- 4. Indigenous Rights.** Would you support legislation to ensure that tribal cultures and sacred places are federally protected?

YES

- 5. Gun Safety.** A welcoming society is one in which people feel safe. Would you support the reinstatement of the federal assault weapons ban?

YES. I would also propose other measures to bring federal legislation in line with our effective Massachusetts gun laws and to complement them, including:

- Mandate universal background checks with a psychological screening and enhanced layers of data flow to prevent those in a mental health crisis, those convicted of domestic abuse, terrorists, and others from purchasing a gun.
- Ban large capacity magazines, and modifications including bump stocks.
- Fund buy-back programs and studies to research "smart-gun" technology and other potential gun safety solutions, long blocked by the NRA.
- Mandate a 10 day waiting period for all gun purchases.
- Remove the NRA-purchased restrictions on the ATFE's ability to effectively track and trace firearms, and give them the tools to disrupt the illegal smuggling of weapons at home as I had when working to disrupt arms smuggling abroad.
- Raise the minimum age for gun purchases to 21-- people should not be able to buy a gun before they can buy alcohol.

I. Good Government and Strong Democracy

1. What does democracy mean to you?

Democracy in its purest form means a system of government where the true preferences and votes of the majority are reflected in the policy direction of the state in question, undistorted by corrupting factors such as voter suppression or money in politics— which both distorts policy outcomes as well as provides structural barriers to candidates for office that are not male, wealthy, white, cisgender, straight, and physically able-bodied.

Our democratic institutions are being eroded, and the root cause is money in politics. Lawmakers (and candidates for office) spend at least several hours every single day speaking with their wealthiest campaign donors rather than their ordinary constituents, learning about policy, or actually working with one another to get things done. Legislation is written by lobbyists and most elections are decided by who has the most ultra-wealthy donors. This is why issues of such critical importance to working and middle class people and to marginalized communities - from healthcare and childcare costs to student loan debt relief - don't get addressed, while corporate loopholes are always on the fast track. This Big Money politics is destroying the public's faith in our democratic institutions, in civic engagement, and in public service. It doesn't have to be this way

As the only signatory of the Candidate With a Contract initiative in our race, I have committed myself to vote to overturn Citizen's United, to promote publicly funded elections and end gerrymandering-- on pain of resignation from Congress. I would support the incremental measures above such as the Government by the People Act, but my ultimate goal would be to ban individual or organizational financial contributions to any political candidate in favor of a system of public financing. This goal will not just significantly reduce corruption in politics but will make our politics much more effective. Representatives and leaders with the best ideas, not those who happen to have developed or inherited the best wealthy donor connections, will improve and transform our politics. We will also open up our politics for underrepresented groups beyond the wealthy white men who currently dominate government-- working and middle-class people, women, people of color, people living with disabilities, and LGBT people, all of whom who do not see themselves reflected in our government.

I will also introduce legislation to end the gerrymandering of Congressional districts. Under Article 1, Section 4 of the Constitution, "Congress may at any time by law make or alter such regulations" relating to "the times, places and manner of holding elections for Senators and Representatives." Congress should use that power to mandate every state to redistrict congressional districts via nonpartisan commissions. I also support adoption of Ranked Choice Voting with instant runoffs to allow voters to

reflect their true preferences when voting, and to incentivize a more civil political dialogue by requiring candidates to campaign for broad based support

2. **Diversity in Leadership.** How can the Democratic Party better work to improve a pipeline of young and diverse candidates for elected office and party leadership?

The Democratic Party can improve its pipeline of young and diverse candidates by practicing what it preaches and intentionally breaking the barriers that keep young and diverse candidates from running for office or moving into party leadership— most of all, the structural barriers of money in politics and its “chicken or the egg” role in “viability” determinations by party influencers and elected officials which then distort voter perceptions. The Party should elevate the pursuit of a 28th Amendment of campaign finance reforms and democracy promotion measures such as promoting publicly funded elections and ranked choice voting. Removing these structural barriers will allow the talents of these young and diverse candidates to break through, leading to a more representative government and better policy development.

3. **Ethics.** What do you see as the role of Congress vis-a-vis the Trump presidency with regard to ethics enforcement?

Congress must use its Constitutional oversight and hearing powers to rigorously enforce written and unwritten ethics norms. Congress must ensure through documentation and more robust use of powers of censure and other punitive actions that we do not allow the Administration’s erosion of these norms to become the new baseline of behavior by future Administrations.

4. **Voting Access.** Would you support legislation to...
 - a. Require states to provide same day registration? YES
 - b. Require states to offer automatic voter registration through the Registry of Motor Vehicles and other agencies as appropriate? YES
 - c. Make Election Day a federal holiday? YES
 - d. Prohibit states from adopting discriminatory laws that require select photo identification in order to vote? YES

5. **Voting Rights Act.** Would you support restoring the “pre-clearance” formula under the Voting Rights Act, which extended protections to minority voters in states and counties with histories of discrimination, as well as further expanding the law?

YES

6. **Prisoner’s Rights.** Would you support legislation to prohibit states from taking away the franchise from anyone because of a criminal offense?

YES

7. **Citizens United.** Would you support a constitutional amendment to overturn the Citizens United decision and allow limits on corporate political spending?

YES. As the only signatory of the Candidate With a Contract initiative in our race, I have committed myself to vote to overturn Citizen's United, to promote publicly funded elections and end gerrymandering-- on pain of resignation from Congress.

J. Sustainable Infrastructure & Environmental Protection

1. The current administration in Washington has overturned, or is seeking to overturn, a number of Obama-era environmental regulations, setting the US up for years of just playing catch up. What are your top priorities on environmental protection? How can the US avoid falling even further behind?

My top environmental protection priorities include:

- an overarching goal of reaching a 100% renewable economy by 2035 to 2050 at the latest (via the provisions of the 100 by 50 Act)
- Expand solar and electric vehicle credits.
- Restore ban on drilling in the Alaska National Wildlife Refuge.
- Ban new offshore drilling off the United States.
- Make long-term climate sustainability a requirement for projects to receive federal infrastructure funding support and loan guarantees
- Overhaul the National Flood Insurance Program to reflect the real risk of a changing climate and rising seas.
- Save the Merrimack River, protect the Assabet, Sudbury, and Concord Rivers, and and promote clean water throughout the country through conservation of our rivers and aggressive remediation of lead contamination.
- Study and support state and regional carbon tax and cap and trade programs to determine which model is best to scale up for national implementation.
- Enhance federal support to increase the amount of carbon sequestered in the soil by .4% a year.

The US can avoid falling further behind by ensuring that Washington is not the only arena for action. State and local governments must seize every opportunity for action to protect the environment and to combat climate change.

I have two small children and I am determined that they grow up and grow old on a healthy planet with a thriving environment. My personal Catholic faith also informs my conviction that we must be stewards of the beauty, diversity, and riches of this world for future generations. We, living today, are the people that must make the intentional decision to transition to a fully renewable economy, in order to save the world and

human civilization as we know it. Having worked in the national security realm for 13 years, I will be a leader in pushing persuadable Congressional Republicans to see climate change as a grave national security issue, as the U.S. Navy and DoD have both gone on record doing so in the last several years.

I understand a transition to a fully renewable economy will not come overnight and not without effort and taking on special interests invested in the status quo. But given the stakes for our planet, and the economic opportunities, that is exactly why we need to greatly increase sustained investments in renewable technology R&D, and to accelerate the federal government's own transition to renewable energy. The federal government must be a facilitator and leader in this effort beyond even the scale of the Manhattan and Apollo Projects - and the 3rd District's manufacturing base is well postured to take advantage of the economic opportunities that will result.

2. **100% Clean Energy.** Would you support legislation to put the US on a pathway to replacing fossil fuels with 100 percent clean energy generation and use by 2035, with support for transitioning workers?

YES

3. **Carbon Pricing.** Would you support putting a price on carbon emissions and investing the revenue in clean energy and green infrastructure? If so, how should such a pricing scheme operate?

YES. I would conceive of such a system working by refunding the consumer-facing portion of such carbon pricing to individual citizens, to protect lower-income people, while industry and commercial-facing carbon pricing would be only refunded in part, with other revenue devoted to clean energy and green infrastructure.

4. **Keep It in the Ground -- Part I.** Would you support legislation to prohibit new leases for coal, oil, and gas on all federal lands and waters?

YES

5. **Keep it in the Ground -- Part II.** Would you oppose any legislation that authorizes, or expedites the permitting or approval of, new fossil fuel pipelines?

YES

6. **Clean Water.** Would you support legislation to require natural gas drillers to disclose the chemicals that go into the ground during the hydraulic fracturing ("fracking") process and to close the so-called "Halliburton loophole," which prevents the EPA from conducting rigorous oversight?

YES

7. **Environmental Justice.** Would you support legislation to codify environmental justice into law; require federal agencies to address environmental justice through agency actions and permitting decisions; and strengthen legal protections against environmental injustice for communities of color, low-income communities, and indigenous communities?

YES.

8. **Fuel Efficiency.** Would you support legislation to increase fuel economy standards to 65 miles per gallon by 2025?

NO. The standard is highly appropriate, but the timeframe is not realistic. I believe that the 2012 Obama Administration action to improve standards to 54.5 miles per gallon by 2025—praised by the Sierra Club, and the Union of Concerned Scientists—struck an appropriate balance of achievable progress and costs for industry and consumers with sufficient preparation/R&D timeframe. Given a 13 year timeframe to reach the 54.5 MPG figure, I believe moving the bar on fuel economy standards further up to 65 MPG will require a few more years of R&D and production time, and a 2030 timeframe would be more realistic.

9. **Public Transportation.** Would you support greater investment in public transportation?

YES. I will advocate for federal funding to improve and expand the MBTA system for the benefit of the citizens of the 3rd District. I will seek federal support for expansion of the Lowell line and increases in service on the Lowell, Haverhill and Fitchburg lines, as well as the North-South rail link, which will connect Merrimack Valley and MetroWest residents and jobs to communities south of Boston and vice versa, stimulating growth and creating jobs. I also propose funding to support increases in commuter buses, inter-city bus service provided by several 3rd District transit authorities, and to support software upgrades to allow for integration of bus scheduling and trip planning for consumers.

10. **Science and Policy.** Would you oppose any effort to restrict the ability of federal policymakers from incorporating peer-reviewed science in the decision-making process around new environmental regulations?

YES.

K. US in the World.

1. **Foreign Policy.** What are the principles and priorities you would bring to discussions of US foreign policy?

I have been a leader in national security and the pursuit of a foreign policy centered on the pursuit of peace, in accord with Progressive Mass's values and my own. I am the only career national security professional in this race and am therefore uniquely prepared to be effective to advance a progressive agenda in defense policy (and

funding) and foreign policy, all at a truly dangerous moment for international peace and security. After living through the 9/11 attacks in NYC and deciding to join the Intelligence Community, I served both an intelligence analyst and a leader of intelligence analysts at the Office of Naval Intelligence for 13 years, culminating in service as a Division Chief.

The basic assumption at the center of my foreign policy principles are that Massachusetts and America are better off if we restore the rules and values based international order that this Administration has sought to undermine, with American soft power and leadership with and through multilateral institutions and the pursuit of peace, human rights, and shared prosperity at its center, in an interdependent world where we are a leader but seek to dominate no one.

As a Member of Congress, I will use my platform, my oversight and budgetary powers to advance this vision. Specifically, my progressive foreign policy and national security goals include: putting the United States and the world back on a path to denuclearization, nonproliferation, and arms control, restoring full participation of the United States in United Nations institutions, reentering the Iran Deal and the Paris Climate Accord, reversing U.S. moves toward economic protectionism against our allies, resuming the normalization of relations with Cuba, ending U.S. weapons sales that are fueling humanitarian crises such as in Yemen, resuming a balanced role in a long term Israeli-Palestinian peace process along the lines of a two-state solution or a binational confederation, and increasing global health funding to resume America's leadership in saving and improving the lives of the most vulnerable. I will also aim to use my intelligence and defense background to be a more credible messenger for increases in resources to our diplomatic, development and democracy promotion efforts to balance our disproportionate focus on defense.

I will also argue for reinvestments of defense dollars to fund domestic priorities— and as the only candidate with career national security experience and experience with the federal authorization and appropriation process through my work in the Office of the Secretary of Defense, I will be uniquely positioned to be effective and can provide specifics. I will aim to eliminate funding for all land-based nuclear weapons and the modernization of those weapons. I will aim to reduce the purchase order of F-35s and B-21s, the former as the current plan to accept deliveries through 2037 means latter units will be obsolescent on delivery, and the latter given the long operational life remaining on the B-2 fleet and the high unit costs. I will repeal the increase in the size of the U.S. Army and Marine Corps. Meanwhile I will maintain funding in areas such as cybersecurity and intelligence to confront the proven and future threats to our national security and democratic institutions.

I will utilize my specific background and 13 years of expertise in WMD proliferation to argue for a smaller nuclear force that would honor the spirit of our nuclear reduction commitments, encourage continued adherence to nuclear proliferation control regimes and save resources while preserving our nuclear deterrent. I would similarly utilize direct experience working for and learning military personnel who went in and out of combat zones to help my argument for a repeal of the AUMF and replacement with a new authorization that would ensure Congress is meeting its constitutional responsibilities in making war, as well as to properly bound the limits of military action. As a transgender woman, I will be a visible champion of human rights as an essential component of U.S. foreign policy and a key attribute in how we characterize our partnerships with foreign governments— all while ensuring the Department of Defense is fully inclusive of transgender people and all who desire to serve and meet the standards. As a Russian-speaking lawyer whose experience with Russian and European affairs started with high school study abroad in Russia and an undergraduate focus on Russian foreign policy and continued through work with European partners in the intelligence community, I will ensure the U.S. both confronts Russia's disinformation activities and proliferation threats to the world, while ensuring we always continue the existentially vital dialogue with Russia on nuclear arms control and accountability of our nuclear stockpiles as follow-on to our previous Nunn-Lugar CTR efforts.

If elected, I would seek to serve on either the House Permanent Select Committee on Intelligence, the House Foreign Affairs Committee, or the House Armed Services Committee, given the positive impact I could have in steering any of those committees toward enabling a more progressive, peace-centered foreign policy and national security architecture for our country.

2. **Trade.** Will you oppose any trade deal that allows corporations to sue governments in private tribunals, that fails to include binding requirements to implement both the Paris climate agreement and adopt living wages, or that otherwise fails to support a clean environment, healthy communities, and good union jobs?

YES. We have leading firms and innovative startups in biotechnology, cybersecurity, artificial intelligence, aerospace, consulting services, and other sectors that can compete in the global economy and create wealth if the playing field is fair. I will use my foreign affairs experience to encourage progress on bilateral and multilateral trade agreements with robust labor and environmental standards.