

**PROGRESSIVE MASSACHUSETTS
2018 CONGRESSIONAL
ENDORSEMENT QUESTIONNAIRE**



Date: July 15, 2018

Candidate: Senator Barbara L'Italien

Office Sought: U.S. Congress, MA-03

Party: Democrat

Website: www.teambarbara.com

Twitter: @teambarbara

Facebook: /teambarbara

Other Social Media: Instagram: @teambarbarama

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 first became involved in public service in 2002 as a mom on a mission to help my son. Rudy, who is on the Autism spectrum, was not receiving adequate educational and behavioral health services. Like any mom, I couldn't stand by and do nothing. I became an activist, advocate, ran for office, and worked with families across our state to fight for my son and students like him. Today, as a result of much hard work and patience, Rudy is a college graduate, and I've personally led the effort to built one of the strongest public safety nets in the country for people with Autism and similar disabilities - Massachusetts is now a model in this regard.

Throughout my career as a state legislator, I have always stood up for the vulnerable, no matter what the cost. I started my first term fighting to defend gay marriage, nearly losing my seat because of it, and was pushed out of my church for my leadership on reproductive and LGBTQ rights. I'm running for Congress to continue this work, and to fight and win for those who need our help most. I also believe that now more than ever, we need more reliable pro-choice progressive Democratic women on Capitol Hill.

1. Single-payer health care. When my son was growing up, kids like him with autism could not get access to the behavioral and other services they need through insurance coverage. I ran for office and worked successfully to change that: I created a health insurance mandate, and built the best system for people with autism in the nation. Before then it was common for families like mine to have to second mortgage their homes to afford the basic communication and other behavioral interventions their children needed. I can't explain how scary it is as a parent, worrying about how you're going to take care of your kids if they get sick. I've never forgotten that. It's one of the reasons I've supported and cosponsored single-payer health care for over a decade. I'm proud to have the support of both the Massachusetts Nurses Association and of Mass-Care, the leading advocacy organization on this issue. I earned those endorsements because those organizations know I'm the only candidate with the proven ability to fight for and make real progress towards single-payer in Congress, and that's what I'm promising to do.
2. Protecting and improving public education. The challenges my son faced in school taught me how important it is to have an education system that works for everyone. Trump and Betsy DeVos have made it clear that is not on their agenda - instead, they're coming after public schools. We can't let it happen. I've successfully mobilized folks against

privatizing our school system before. When Question 2 came up in 2016, I organized against the powerful charter school corporations, and we beat them. As an Andover School Committee Member, I prevented a charter school from being built in our community and sapping our resources. I will work with my fellow members of Congress and with the grassroots to build support for public education and against the Trump-DeVos attacks. This is a differentiator - one candidate in my race is funded nearly 25% of her campaign by charter schools and no other campaign has a record on public school advocacy. This is likely why the MTA and AFT MA (and their national organizations) have endorsed me.

3. Protecting vulnerable populations, like working families, seniors, and people with disabilities. I grew up in a working class family, cared for my mother as she lived with Alzheimer's Disease, and raised a son with Autism. The challenges facing these vulnerable groups are ones I know all too well, and I will work tirelessly to help overcome them. I've been their champion here in Massachusetts, and am ready to take that mission to Congress. One place to start is by repealing the Trump tax cuts. The GOP's tax scam may be good for the bottom lines of big corporations, but it will explode the deficit. Within a day of it's passing, Paul Ryan started talking about cutting Medicare, Medicaid, Social Security and SSI to balance the budget again. These programs are instrumental in the lives of seniors, people with disabilities, and low-income families, and we must shield them from any threat. Other worthwhile initiatives include a progressive taxation (like the Fair Share Amendment that I secured on the 2018 ballot in our state), paid family medical leave, and a livable wage. I also want to move beyond stopping austerity and expand the safety net for people with developmental disabilities. I'm proud of what I've accomplished in Massachusetts, working brick-by-brick to build us the best public safety net in the country for people with Autism and similar disabilities. I'm uniquely qualified to take on that initiative at the federal level, and I'm going to work to recreate my successes in Massachusetts for the rest of the nation.

2. What prepares you to serve in this capacity?

I am uniquely qualified in this race to serve in Congress because I am the only candidate who has served as a legislator - or in elected office at all - for at least one term. Not only that, but I have proven myself as a fighter who is willing to get out in front on important issues early, stick my own neck out for those who need it, and go to bat time and time again. I've been able to deliver on dozens of policy priorities and pass legislation that has tangibly improved the lives of thousands of families in our commonwealth. I don't just talk like a progressive, I have lived my life and my career as a progressive and have a record to show for it.

Because of my track record standing up for working families and all vulnerable communities for years on Beacon Hill, I have received the endorsements in this race from both major national teachers unions, the National and Massachusetts Women's Political Caucus, Mass-Care, the Massachusetts Nurses Association, as well as dozens of other progressive and labor organizations and leaders such as State Senator Jamie Eldridge and Senator Paul Feeney. Congress is a serious job, and now more than ever, it requires a candidate with real legislative

experience who can be trusted to deliver and ready on day one.

I encourage everyone to learn more about my story and my platform on my website:
www.teambarbara.com.

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?

Massachusetts has long struggled with one of the nation's most regressive taxation systems. One of my priorities, and something I've been actively fighting for in the legislature over the past decade-and-a-half, is to reverse that. Millionaires, billionaires, and the one-percent are not paying their fair share, and working class families are suffering: not only do they experience a disproportionate tax burden, but the revenue that would come from more taxes on the wealthy could better fund public education, infrastructure, health care, and go toward finally realizing single-payer health care, a federal jobs guarantee, universal pre-K, and the like. I'm the only candidate who has voted to put the fair share amendment on the ballot twice, and will always keep fighting to change our tax structure to make it more progressive and fair.

Obviously, this starts with repealing the Trump-Ryan tax plan, but it must go much further. We need a progressive federal tax system. I've been proud to work on initiatives such as the Millionaire's Tax/Fair Share Amendment. I'm a fan of the Buffett Rule: CEOs pay a higher tax percentage than their secretaries. I would like to see our tax system look more like pre-Kennedy levels: 91% for the highest income bracket.

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, and this is something I have talked a lot about on the campaign trail, as a means to finance tuition-free public college or otherwise reinvest in the middle and working class for lower- and middle-income families whose lives were devastated by Wall Street and the 2008 financial crisis.

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. Overseas tax havens are just another way for the wealthy and powerful in this country to screw over working families who rely on the safety net and other government services that these revenues should go toward.

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?

This is one of Congress' most important roles, as a job is the best way to provide economic stability, mobility, and dignity. Undoubtedly, clean energy is the future and there is huge potential to create jobs in the burgeoning clean energy economy, particularly in Massachusetts, and particularly in this district which has a great background in manufacturing. I would like to work in Congress toward a massive infrastructure project that creates good-paying guaranteed government jobs creating the renewable power infrastructure that will benefit many generations to come.

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, and I have worked on this actively as a leader in the state legislature, and just voted in the Senate to pass this in the Grand Bargain that raises minimum wage in Massachusetts. I am also open to progressive, bold ideas that will ensure basic income for people across MA and the country.

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

YES, and I have worked on this actively as a leader in the state legislature.

- b. And index the minimum wage to inflation?

YES, and I have worked on this actively as a leader in the state legislature. I was deeply concerned and disappointed that the recent Grand Bargain did not include

this, and made those concerns known to my colleagues and to the governor. The fight for a livable wage becomes a lot more difficult when we have to come back time after time to raise the minimum wage to reflect inflation, which continues to rise.

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

YES. I think that a federal jobs guarantee makes the most sense as a new New Deal: a massive government infrastructure project, not building new prisons or pipelines in the model of Donald Trump, but to fix our roads, bridges, and create the infrastructure needed to transition us to renewable energy on the federal scale.

However, I would like to see federal job guarantees tested in pilot programs first. I support Senator Booker's bill to create a pilot program in several communities across the nation, and would advocate strongly to bring one to a gateway city here in the 3rd District.

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, and this is something I have led and fought hard for in the state legislature as the chair of the Committee on Elder Affairs.

- 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, and this is something I have spoken about and look forward to working hard for in congress.

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, and this is something I have fought hard for in the state legislature. I just voted for the so-called Grand Bargain in MA in large part because of the paid family and medical leave program that is now law. I am a proud champion of this issue.

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, and this is something I have actively worked on in the state legislature - particularly recently with the lead-up and eventual decision in *Janus v. AFSCME*. This is absolutely critical to be passed as soon as is possible.

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?

Health care is a right, that should be protected by the federal government. The ACA was a good start, but what America needs is a single-payer health care system so that our healthcare system can focus on care, not on insurance profits, and all Americans can access affordable, quality care. This should start with a federal benchmark to measure the cost-savings of single-payer as compared to our current system. I am proud to be the only candidate endorsed in this race by MassCare, the single payer advocacy organization in MA. Universal insurance coverage is different than universal access to care - I believe everyone needs to be able to access the care they need.

This is an issue I care deeply about and have been fighting for in the legislature for over a decade. I’m proud to have the support of Mass-Care and the Massachusetts Nurses Association in this race due to my leadership on single-payer.

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. See above.

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 a good step, and a process that will be made much easier under a single-payer system.

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.

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, and this is something I have fought for over my entire career in the legislature. I was asked to leave my Catholic church because of my leadership on reproductive rights (and marriage equality), and I'm proud to be the only candidate in this race who has been given Planned Parenthood Advocacy Fund of Massachusetts' "Champion" rating (the highest rating they bestow). This is an issue of deep importance to me (especially now more than ever) and I have the scars to prove it - I'm the only candidate in this race who has a history of leadership on this issue.

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?

Education is the greatest equalizer in life. The federal government has a responsibility to educate our children from "cradle through college" - in addition to universal pre-K and tuition-free public higher education, we need to do a much better job of funding our elementary and secondary education, with a better funding formula. All students, including and especially English-language learners and students with disabilities, deserve a free quality education that sets them up for success in life.

When my son was diagnosed with autism, it became clear to me and my husband that our education system was not set up to adequately set up kids like him for success. I went about changing that in the state legislature, and am proud of how we've since prioritized special education in Massachusetts.

In addition, as a mom of 4 kids in or out of college, I would like to move us to a tuition-free system for public higher ed.

Finally, we must not rely on charter schools which, as currently funded, create a separate and unequal system of education. I see it in the City of Lawrence every day, and I was proud to take on a leading role in helping organize against charter school expansion in 2016 (which Lawrence, along with the rest of Massachusetts, also voted overwhelmingly against).

The federal government should take a leadership role in making public higher education free, and affordable and accessible to everyone.

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?

Poorly. We have shown that performance-based evaluations lead to worse educational outcomes for students, and that charter schools create a separate and unequal system of education. Now more than ever, under DeVos and Trump, we must do everything we can to fight the education privatization agenda. I also want to be clear - there are other candidates in this race who claim to be progressive but are funded by charter schools and their big money donors. This issue is a key differentiator among the candidates in this race and I am the only candidate with a 100% record on public schools.

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, and this is something I'm proud to have worked on in the legislature. I see the effects of this underfunding in Lawrence every day.

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. Fully funding this unfunded mandate is among the core of what I plan to champion in Congress, having successfully fought for better SpEd funding in Massachusetts. Reimbursing school districts for the high cost of educating students with disabilities and learning disabilities is one of the best ways to return taxpayer money into municipal and state budgets, to be spent on other priorities.

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. It is outrageous that students like my children are unable to refinance their loans, and I am proud to have worked on legislation in Massachusetts to protect student borrowers from predatory lenders and high interest rates.

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. I am interested in New York's new system which makes public college free at 2- and 4-year universities for full-time students at or below a certain household income level (both low- and middle-class students are eligible). A household income cap keeps the system from getting flooded, and the free tuition rate forces private institutions forced to compete to lower their rates, too.

E. Affordable, Decent Housing

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

It's the responsibility of the federal government to put in place regulations and protections for consumers so that 2008 never happens again. In my Lawrence district office, housing is the number one issue that families are struggling with. For many younger Americans, home ownership does not feel accessible.

As a state legislator I've taken action to help make housing more affordable and increase access, so that low- and moderate-income families aren't shut out. I've supported dozens of pieces of legislation to preserve and expand low-income housing and make low-income housing available to those who need it.

I've also supported smart growth housing production that our state needs. As a member of Congress, my agenda on housing will include: restoring Glass-Steagall, helping more first-time home buyers qualify for mortgages, expanding and protecting rights for tenants, renewing the mortgage debt forgiveness tax provision that prevents homeowners from being taxed on income they don't actually receive, protecting renters and homebuyers from racial discrimination in the marketplace, preserving the government's role in the secondary mortgage market, and more.

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. In the state I have been a leader on anti-foreclosure measures and worked closely with advocates on these issues.

- 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”?

We need a federal criminal justice system that is focused on rehabilitation, not criminalization, and an end to a system that disproportionately punishes and incarcerates Americans of color. I was proud to help work on and pass Massachusetts’ historic criminal justice reform package (though my views on this issue align much more closely with the Senate version of the bill which was stronger and more progressive), which would be a fantastic start at the federal level. I also have the endorsement of the Criminal Justice bill’s lead author, Senator Will Brownsberger. Will knows I will continue to bring Massachusetts’ reforms to the federal level and focus on this important issue.

We must stop treating public health issues, such as the opioid crisis, as if they can be fixed with criminalization. We must also stop incarcerating people for nonviolent drug crimes, put an end to private prisons, invest more in job training, mental health, and other programs that help folks thrive in society after getting out of prison. We must also put an end to over-incarceration and over-sentencing practices that have locked up too many fathers, too many people of color, and too many Americans for too long, and is costing taxpayers.

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

YES. Declassifying marijuana as a Schedule 1 drug and legalizing it is not only a criminal justice reform issue, it’s also a health issue.

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

YES, and it's something I've been proud to cosponsor and work on in the state legislature.

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, and it's something I've been proud to cosponsor and work on in the state legislature.

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. This issue feels especially topical as we are seeing private prison corporations benefit from the illegal imprisonment of children and families seeking asylum. These prisons are a gross example of corporate greed.

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 - this is an important consumer protection issue and an issue of human dignity.

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, and it's something I've been proud to work on in the state legislature.

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?

The Trump Administration has made life miserable for immigrants. Many of my Lawrence constituents are living in fear: taking cabs and avoiding public spaces in hopes of avoiding harassment, detention, or deportation. ICE in our communities hurts public health and the ability of local law enforcement to properly do all aspects of their jobs.

But even before Trump, immigration was a number-one issue my Lawrence constituents needed help with. I was the first senator in my district to open up a Lawrence office, which is staffed bilingually full-time. We help folks with immigration proceedings every day - and so the need for comprehensive reform is clear to me. We need to abolish ICE and certain aspects of CBP and start fresh, building a new immigration enforcement system that is fair, just, compassionate and reflects the values of a nation of immigrants.

I've been proud to be a leading cosponsor of the Safe Communities Act, and before that, the Trust Act, in Massachusetts for years. That would be a great federal first step on the road toward a system that allows for a clear path to citizenship, keeps our promise to Dreamers, and protects asylum-seekers and refugees.

Read more about my immigration platform:

<https://teambarbara.com/defending-immigrants>

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?

I am 100% opposed to the border wall, as it is a racist, vile symbol that is the antithesis of what I believe America stands for. If, as was discussed months ago, in a Republican controlled House, Senate and Presidency, there was a deal to actually protect Dreamers that included symbolic funding for the wall, I would vote for that deal. My number one priority is always to help and protect marginalized populations. Only under a circumstance where lives were saved would I ever consider voting for any funding allocation for such a vile symbol. Saving people's lives must come first.

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.

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

YES.

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

YES. This is a heartbreaking issue we work on a lot in my Lawrence office.

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 have called for the abolishing of ICE.

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?

- A) YES
- B) 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?

YES. We should abolish ICE and start fresh, building a new immigration enforcement system that is fair, just, compassionate and reflects the values of a nation of immigrants. This is a differentiating issue in my race. I am one of only a couple candidates who would actually abolish ICE in this race, and I am the only candidate who both supports the abolishing of ICE and opposes the privatization of public education into charter schools.

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?

Creating (and enforcing) civil rights laws are an important step in creating and changing a culture that is inclusive and just for all. I've been proud to be a leader on several civil rights issues in our state, particularly: playing a key role in the passage and protection of the nation's first marriage equality law; helping to pass into law protections for transgender people to use public accommodations; being the first (and for a long time, only) senator to stand up to former President Rosenberg on behalf of the voiceless victims during the sexual assault and harassment investigation against his husband; and my continued fight for the rights of all people with disabilities to work and get an education. I feel that that is an area which I can be successful in continuing to champion in Congress, and one where we have far to go.

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. We have made great strides in Massachusetts as a leader on this issue (and I am so proud to have been a part of that), which must be reflected in leadership among our federal delegation.

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

YES, and I am proud to be supporting certain legislation in the State House right now to protect victims on Beacon Hill so that they are not forced to sign non-disclosure agreements. As legislators we must practice what we preach - ending workplace harassment should start with us. I am the only candidate who has led on this issue. Other candidates in this race have voted affirmatively to continue the practice of non-disclosures that have been a tool to silence women (and men) who complain of assault. I am the only legislator on this issue who has a clear and consistent record on this issue.

- 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 helped pass Massachusetts' assault weapons ban as well as our bump stock and trigger crank ban, our ERPO bill, and other important common-sense gun reforms, and as a result, we are the safest state in the nation in terms of handgun deaths. However, many 3rd District communities border New Hampshire which has some of the weakest gun restrictions in the country. My house is only about a 20-minute drive from Gun and Sport North in New Hampshire, where someone could easily buy an assault weapon and bring it back across the borders. Our laws are only as good as our neighbors' I look forward to fighting for these gun reforms and more again at the federal level. I am proud to be a "Gun Sense" approved candidate in this election.

I. Good Government and Strong Democracy

1. What does democracy mean to you?

Democracy to me means an equal say among all Americans in who runs their government, and how. It means that corporations are not people. Above all else, our system of checks and balances should work so that the voice and will of the people rises above the influence of money or corruption. Some of our system could be improved - for example, I'm working to end Citizens United, and I've sponsored a resolution in Massachusetts to create a check on President Trump's unilateral ability to launch a

nuclear strike. Fair voting rights laws and competitive elections are also necessary to upholding a strong democracy and government. Democracy is something we must work together to preserve.

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?

We desperately need to build our bench, starting with the grassroots and at the local level. This is an issue important to me and one I have been actively working on for a long time. I am proud to have worked with and mentored one of my staffers, Maria De La Cruz, who is a proud public school advocate and ran and won a seat on the Lawrence City Council last year, beating a charter school advocate incumbent. As with so many of these issues, I don't just talk about them. I walk the walk as well.

I have been an Emerge trainer, teaching pro-choice Democratic women how to run for office. I have recruited and helped many Democratic candidates run for local office in my district - and win. Last year, in the early months of the Trump presidency, I held an activist forum in my district for local activists from across the Merrimack Valley to get involved with the major issues they care about: I had leaders from groups such as the Environmental League of Massachusetts, the Massachusetts Teachers Association, Planned Parenthood League of Massachusetts, MassEquality, RaiseUp Massachusetts, and more come stage sessions on how to get involved in the progressive movement and make real change on the issues people care about.

We need to be investing time, energy, and money resources into finding, recruiting, and helping Democratic candidates run for office at every level. The Republicans beat us at this, but the Blue Wave is showing that folks are ready and eager to get involved. Our party must support them.

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

Congress, especially with a democratic majority, is our best hope to hold President Trump and his absolutely shameful staff honest and accountable. I will be on the front lines of this fight as a congresswoman.

4. **Voting Access.** Would you support legislation to...
- a. Require states to provide same day registration?

YES, and I'm proud to be working on this in the legislature.

- b. Require states to offer automatic voter registration through the Registry of Motor Vehicles and other agencies as appropriate?

YES, and I'm proud to have just passed this measure in the Senate. I just voted for an automatic voter bill in the senate last week.

- c. Make Election Day a federal holiday?

YES. This is a great first step toward improving ballot access for working families.

- 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, and I'm proud to have worked on this issue for years in the legislature and fight for it recently during the We The People Act debate in the Senate. I've also happily signed on to the American Promise pledge to work to overturn Citizens United in Congress (easiest pledge ever).

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?

First, we need to recommit to the Paris Climate Agreement (I'm proud to work in Massachusetts to commit us as a commonwealth). Second, we need to increase funding for the EPA and restore it to an agency with staff and leadership who prioritize protecting the public, not corporate polluters. My priorities and platform involved rapidly reducing our dependence on fossil fuel while investing in the clean energy economy of the future. I plan to fight for the federal aid and regulations necessary to clean up our waterways and

clean up our drinking water once and for all. As well, Hurricanes Harvey and Maria showed us that we are ill-prepared for natural disasters - more of which are in the future thanks to climate change. I will fight to make sure that FEMA has the resources it needs so that our communities can be resilient against natural disasters. I am proud to support a carbon pricing bill and to have the support of environmental leaders like Senator Jamie Eldridge and Senator Mike Barrett, the lead sponsor of Massachusetts' carbon pricing bill.

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, and I'm proud to have worked on and passed such an initiative recently in the Senate and to be a cosponsor of this legislation.

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, and I'm proud to be working on that legislation in Massachusetts and to have played a leading role in organizing grassroots activists to successfully defeat the Kinder Morgan pipeline in Massachusetts.

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. This is a pressing issue in the City of Lawrence which I currently represent. I am the only candidate in this race who has worked on this issue in Lawrence and locally.

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

YES.

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

YES, and I'm proud to be working on several such initiatives in the state legislature.

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?

First and foremost, we must recommit to diplomatic engagement. President Trump has done so much to ruin America's reputation and standing in the world. We are strongest when we work with our allies and even with countries like China where our interests and values are aligned. We need to keep our word if we ever expect anyone to take it, and we need to play by the rules. I also believe we should be more focused on getting people at home food on the table and a roof over their heads.

As the Massachusetts state director for the Women Legislators' Lobby and Women's Action for New Directions (WiLL/WAND), an organization which builds women's political power to advocate for security and peace with justice, one of my priorities is nuclear disarmament. I've been an activist for the nuclear freeze movements since college, and with WiLL WAND and in coordination with other women legislators across the country, filed a resolution in Massachusetts calling on Congress to put a check on presidential unilateral power to launch nuclear war.

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. My two priorities and lenses through which I will look at all trade agreements will be labor and environment. Our country should only be agreeing to trade policies that uplift union workers and their families, and which protect our environment. In the past, failed policies have led to a race to the bottom for American jobs and wages, much of which was felt here in the 3rd District which previously enjoyed a much more robust manufacturing industry. The trade agreements of today are greenwashed - appearing to be environmentally-friendly but opening up our country to fossil fuel extraction and corporate lawsuit.