

**PROGRESSIVE MASSACHUSETTS
2018 CONGRESSIONAL
ENDORSEMENT QUESTIONNAIRE**



Date: July 15, 2018
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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?
priorities 1) Campaign \$ 2) Labor Law 3) education
2. What prepares you to serve in this capacity?

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? **(3)**
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*
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*

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? **(4)**
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? *No*
 - 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? 5
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....
- Increase the benefits provided by Social Security? *yes*
 - 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*
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*
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*

C. Quality, Affordable Health Care

- 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? 6
- 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*
- Medicaid.** Would you oppose any effort to add a work requirement to Medicaid? *yes*
- Medicare.** Would you oppose any effort to increase the means-testing of Medicare? *yes*
- Drug Price Negotiation.** Would you support legislation requiring the federal government to negotiate the price of Medicare prescription drugs with pharmaceutical companies? *yes*
- 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*
- 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*

- 8. **Reproductive Rights -- Part II.** Would you support ~~the~~ 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

(7)

- 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?
- 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? *BAD*
- 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*
- 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*
- 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*
- 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? *NOT FREE - public service reduces cost*

E. Affordable, Decent Housing

- 1. What role do you believe the federal government should play in guaranteeing affordable, decent housing for all? (8)
- 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"? *9*
2. **Marijuana Legalization.** Do you support removing marijuana from the list of controlled substances, making it legal at the federal level? *yes*
3. **Mandatory Minimums.** Do you support the repeal of mandatory minimums for non-violent drug offenses? *yes*
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*
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? *10*
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*
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*
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*
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*
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 (see Lowell Sun)

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? (11)
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
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. Good Government and Strong Democracy

1. What does democracy mean to you? (12)
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? TERM LIMITS!
3. **Ethics.** What do you see as the role of Congress vis-a-vis the Trump presidency with regard to ethics enforcement? SELF DEALING (give me subpoena power!)
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*

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? *13*
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*
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 the 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? *yes*
9. **Public Transportation.** Would you support greater investment in public transportation? *yes*
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? *(14)*
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*

①

For me, the election of Donald Trump was just an exclamation point on the end of a 40-year slide. My first full-time union job was organizing textile workers; we were losing 2,000 members per month in the mid-70s. It got to the point where I could not go to a worker's door and tell him or her that the federal government would protect their right to organize a union (because it wasn't true). In 1977, we fought for Labor Law Reform. The conservatives filibustered for five straight weeks. We lost. Ever since then, workers' rights have been eroded steadily. Unsurprisingly, the wealth gap grew and grew and grew. It was during this period that the Democrats relied more and more heavily on corporate contributions. There is no way to differentiate policies from the Republicans if you are raising money from the same banks, insurance companies and Wall Street firms. These are the issues that drove my decision to enter the race.

②

My main qualifications are prescience and perseverance. I saw the threat from Saudi Arabia's Wahhabi ideology as early as 1981, when I did a mailing to every social studies teacher in America! It was in response to a PBS special – 4-hour television series funded by American corporations seeking to curry favor with the Saudi regime. At the same time, the Saudis were funding madrassas in Pakistan that were turning out radical jihadists. My mailing was in response to a propaganda blitz from a Madison Avenue advertising firm touting this whitewash of Saudi society (paid for Ford, Harris Corp. & Morgan Guaranty Trust).

In addition, I was a founding member of the Committee in Support of Solidarity when the workers' movement in Poland was under siege. When they won their rights, the face of Europe changed! Lastly, about perseverance, I uncovered the Nike sweatshop problem in Indonesia in 1988. I quit my job – a job I dearly loved – to bird-dog these factories in Indonesia for five years, after moving to Istanbul in 1992 (the same year I had an article in Harper's about the issue). Five years later, Americans would be brought this story by me on NewsHour, CBS, HBO, &c. I knew that consumers would care, and they did. But, it was nearly 10 years of hard work with no pay that got the job done. My skills in research and advocacy were lauded in a front-page story in the Washington Post; similarly, a Harvard Business School case study and a paper published at the Kennedy School's Shorenstein Center used my campaign work to make points about worker empowerment and cross-border solidarity.

③

To me, tax justice means fair rates and fair treatment under law. We have too many loopholes in the 70,000 pages of IRS regulations. To start with, you need to fully fund the Internal Revenue Service. For every \$.45 we spend on the IRS, we get a hundred dollars in revenue! The Republicans have cut enforcement spending at the IRS every year since 2010. Even more appalling, is the fact that poor people get audited more frequently than the rich.

We have a culture of impunity for corporations in America. My campaign has been endorsed by James Henry, probably the most authoritative voice on tax havens and tax-cheating in America.

④

Good paying jobs are in the eye of the beholder. Right here in Lawrence, Massachusetts there are workers making New Balance shoes for a fair wage. They are happy to have the work.

Unfortunately, only about 2% of sneakers in global commerce are made in the United States or the UK (only because New Balance is closely-held, no shareholders). Take a look at Europe. You'll find the fabulously successful INDITEX (a Spanish corporation that makes clothing and is the biggest retailer of clothing in the world today). They're paying workers in Portugal and Spain more than 800 Euros per month for garment-making work. It is 60% of their production, maybe a bit more, according to the Wall Street Journal. Those are good jobs! My point is, there are different varieties of capitalism. I lived in European countries for four years. The Germans, are exporting twice the amount of their GDP than the US, as a percentage. They are training workers for the jobs that are coming in the future. We need to resuscitate the Division of Economic Research at the National Labor Relations Board. In this way, we can tell businesses and unions and workers about future opportunities, five years out, 10 years out, 15 years out. So they can seek the training and unions may know where the organizing possibilities are!

5 I don't think we can have a federal job guarantee. What we can do, is enforce laws on the books and expand the possibility for organizing workers. Why are farmworkers excluded from the National Labor Relations Act? We need to make these jobs pay more! The success of the gig economy is something of a validation for precarious employment. We need to strengthen rules about full-time work; no way should Walmart get away with hundreds of thousands of part-time employees that don't qualify for benefits, but do qualify for food stamps!

6 No progress will be made on the healthcare front without the elimination of the insurance companies. Along with that, pharmaceutical companies need to be regulated and bargaining by the single-payer program would be the best discipline.

7 We need a federal Education Department worthy of the title. There needs to be a massive effort to equalize educational opportunities K-12. It is unconscionable that a Zip Code determines where a child garners X amount of resources. There needs to be a national program that addresses the critical issue of pre-K education. For three years, I volunteered at New York Public Library's Early Childhood Resource and Information Center. My first lobbying assignment from the AFL-CIO was to promote passage of a bill for school breakfast. We need legislation like this introduced in New York this week: create a five hundred million dollar fund for school construction geared towards school districts where the student-to-teacher ratio is greater than 25 to 1. We must oppose the changes in SNAP in the Agricultural and Nutrition Act of 2018, which would egregiously cut meals at school. We must expand from the current 3,538 school districts that are participating in the community eligibility ability provision, which gives all students access to breakfast and lunch at no charge each school day.

Post high school education must be available for all. Rapacious loan companies must be disciplined. We need to devise a reasonable student loan program that enables any young person with the desire for higher education to achieve their goals.

8 The Fair Housing Act was passed 50 years ago, with little measurable impact. Legislative compromises limited enforcement capabilities, essentially putting the burden on victims. It

may sound simplistic, but my approach to well-intentioned “social engineering” programs (in non-cyber sense) is that too much money is spent on bureaucracy. Let’s just give people more money, make it easier to organize workers and punish bosses who refuse to bargain. There may be a way to quantify the damage done by banks to aspiring mortgage-borrowers of color. If so, find them and distribute funds to injured parties!

9) The California law which allows citizens to have unexpunged drug convictions to work in the marijuana industry must be applied nationally. Similarly, Massachusetts’ Economic Empowerment Priority Licensing report of 2017 found only 19% of cannabis business owners are people of color. We must repair some of the damage done by the war on drugs. We also need to involve local activists. Community leaders and residents not involved in determining how to allocate additional funds for violence prevention and intervention, rather than incarceration. Many examples to choose from here, the Midtown Court in New York City, Fortune Society in Long Island city New York, reform L. A. Jails, moms United Chicago and Chicago legal advocacy for incarcerated mothers.

10) As with many immigration questions, we just don’t know enough, because enforcement has been very lax. Let us leave things the way it is but triple the inspection budget and reconsider after two years of reliable information, about the H-1B visa. Congress especially needs to fund increased inspection related to visa programs such as H-1B and the much abused EB-5, which allows persons from abroad who invests in the US start-up businesses to become lawful permanent residents; often an invitation to fraud and self-dealing. We need a closer look at the H-2A and H-2B (a favorite of Trump resorts).

11) We need to celebrate our diversity. Everyone, of course, is a little squeamish about limiting free speech. But, hate speech appears to be on the rise and we must deal with it. I strongly feel it’s much better if this is done through non-governmental means. For example, look what the Sleeping Giants has done to Breitbart news, did you notice? We must use commercial means to discipline the hate-mongers. Advertisers need to know that they are accountable for their association with a toxic brand. The more we can popularize this approach, we will get closer to not just tolerance, but actual inclusivity.

America should have a national service program, it is my strong feeling. It should be focused on community-uplift projects, such as voter registration and civic engagement. It was my great good fortune to have the opportunity to do political work for unions; voter registration, phonebank organization and get out the vote. This work often involved recruiting from and cooperation with communities of color. I also did work on grassroots lobbying efforts at the state legislature level. This involved outreach to many local groups and religious communities. The political work brought me into contact with hundreds of low income Americans– face-to-face at their homes or at unemployment offices, intercity groceries, etc.

12) Democracy has been so degraded in the United States, I hardly know where to begin! When we scored huge gains in understanding the global economy as it applied to workers in Asian countries (really pioneering global labor solidarity), Bill Clinton shut us down! Whoever thought

it was a good idea to engage in unfettered free-trade with countries that imprison union leaders, religious leaders, dissidents, or journalists? How are American workers supposed to compete with them? That was when our democracy—not so great in the 70s, of course—began to go off the rails. As I mentioned earlier, I believe American capitalism to be the most rapacious variety on the planet. Actually, it's a pretty good fit with the totalitarian Chinese "capitalism". When corporations took over Washington, about 35 years ago, it was by funding both parties and giving lobbyists a free hand while stifling dissent and peoples' movements. We need to expose the purportedly mainstream "Business Roundtable" which softened its stance on members' disclosure of contributions to "dark money" groups in February, 2017. We need to enact and enforce requirements for businesses that have government contracts to disclose contributions to groups that spend money to influence campaigns. Wall Street banks should disclose money given to groups that aim to influence policy. Disclosure to shareholders for all contributions made to PACs, candidates or groups seeking to influence issues in the national debate.

One final word about corruption: it is not just paying off inspectors or bribing for a permit. In most countries, institutions are corrupted: press, trade unions, etc. This is so that potential opposition and or pro-good-government forces are weakened or co-opted. For a good counterexample, read Sarah Chayes' report on how a leftist union in Tunisia saved that country from an Islamist putsch, mainly because a union was given sufficient space to operate and represent workers. It paid dividends to democracy.

Words I have lived by: democracy is not achieved simply by the hidden process of socioeconomic development bringing a country to appoint where it has the necessary prerequisites for it; it is not delivered by the grace of some sociological deus ex machina; and neither is it simply the result of the divisions, strategies, tactics, negotiations and settlement of contending elites. Political scientists who conceive of democratic transition simply in this way miss an important element. That element is struggle, personal risk-taking, mobilization and sustained imaginative organization on the part of a large number of citizens. (Via Larry Diamond Hoover Institute at Stanford.)

13

Pressure must be brought on retailers such as Whole Foods to start and develop labeled/certified products produced with this added imperative and cost. In this manner, the public is educated and sellers of these products may charge a slight premium. We need to pass a Superfund Reauthorization and Amendment Law - basically attacks on polluting industries which expired in 1995. We must also put pressure on rich, liberal institutions. (How many rich prep schools and private colleges just in the Northeast US, maybe 600?) We should guilt-trip them on weatherizing buildings. There is faculty housing, older campus buildings and many other places to do the work. Force them to draw up concrete plans for a complete overhaul in five years, starting with a 20% energy-use reduction in the first year. Use the bully pulpit and these administrators will wilt under the pressure. Tens of thousands of jobs just for the asking! Look at what Cornell University has done to make their campus the most environmentally friendly in America.

It's unbelievable to me that we've been in Afghanistan for seventeen years and Congress has not debated it. It's really not acceptable on any level, but especially how it affects our troops; they need to know what the plan is and why they are there. I went toe-to-toe with our Ambassador in Kabul about the issue of smuggling. I told him that the Dutch and German space agencies had satellite monitoring of smuggling routes for precious minerals leaving Afghanistan – it's a very mineral rich country, as you know. But, the country was not reaping any benefits, such as tax revenue. He replied to me was "what does that have to do with the rule of law?" I was disbelieving! It has everything to do with the rule of law. If you're going to build a mining industry in Afghanistan you have to stop the smuggling! But, we're protecting warlords and corrupt politicians and that's the reason we didn't want to use this data. I think Congress has to debate this issue of Afghanistan. It is not enough that they have the Special Inspector General for Afghan Reconstruction issuing two-hundred-page reports every six months! We have to debate this in Congress. I was willing to go toe-to-toe with this ambassador and tell him we needed to build up the mining industry. We have been helping the Ministry of Mining for 17 years, spending tens of millions of dollars and still no mining law has been enacted. So, if you want to have a mining business you have no legal framework to work within. They need to stop the smuggling - they need the revenue.

Again, we need to get serious about enforcement issues. We have lots of good laws - on immigration for example - they're just not enforced very well. Look at the North Korean context, for example. Finally, we are actually stopping ships using satellite technology. This means that we are stopping ships that are offloading goods— transferring to other ships while at sea. We are actually dealing with sanctions-busting and grabbing those who are getting things into North Korea that shouldn't be going there. For many years they've been doing it with impunity. This is what got Kim Jung Un to the bargaining table – effective enforcement! We have finally started getting really serious with our Australian partners and Japanese partners we need to keep the pressure on.

The United Nations deems to conflict in Yemen to be the worst humanitarian crisis in the world, worse than the wars in Syria and Iraq. Saudi Arabia has been indiscriminately bombing Yemen using weapons that are designed and manufactured in this district (Raytheon in Andover). For the past 10 years under Pres. Obama, we've been selling over \$35 billion and weaponry to the highest bidders around the world. Congress has the power to block the sales, but they rarely do (because our representatives have been bought and paid-for by arms dealers). We've all seen the utter incompetence with which Trump handles foreign-policy, his administration is currently solely in charge of distributing hundreds of billions of dollars of the world's most advanced military technology around the world. The future repercussions of this can't be overstated; when the Reagan Administration sold Stinger missiles to the Afghan mujahideen, we gave them the cash windfall needed to regroup and organize Al Qaeda, the perpetrators of 9/11. These are sales that make this world a more dangerous place, harm our national security, and only benefit the billionaire CEOs of arms companies. If Congress doesn't act now, we will definitely be paying the price in the future.