PROGRESSIVE MASSACHUSETTS 2020 CONGRESSIONAL

ENDORSEMENT QUESTIONNAIRE



Date:2/9/2020

Candidate: Dave Cavell

Office Sought: U.S. House of Representatives, 4th District, Massachusetts

Party: Democrat

Website: www.Davecavell.com

Twitter: @DavidFCavell

Facebook: Dave Cavell for Congress

Other Social Media: Instagram: @davidcavell

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 priority pieces of legislation if elected?

I'm running for Congress because we need to restore the rule of law in Washington and deliver bold, transformational change for people in this entire district. This has been my career work, helping deliver the message as a speechwriter in the Obama White House, and then as an Assistant Attorney General and Senior Advisor in Attorney General Maura Healey's Office. We are facing unprecedented challenges with President Trump and his part of enablers who are eviscerating our institutions and safeguards. As a former Assistant Attorney General, I will bring experience and legal knowledge to strengthen our institutions and pass legislation to fight the abuse of power emanating from the White House.

My top priority is legislation to address the ongoing Opioid Crisis. I will support or introduce legislation to tackle the Opioid epidemic by increasing funding for treatment, supporting diversion programs to treat people suffering from addiction rather than jail them, and coordinating state programs at the national level such as prescription drug monitoring programs. I also support funding national prevention programming for students -- when I was working with Attorney General Healey, we discovered there is no statewide prevention program to teach young people about opioids (and other substances) and launched a program that is now in 300 middle schools. It's a start, but we need federal resources and support.

Second, I would proudly vote for the Green New Deal. But I see that as a starting point, not an end point, a proposal that was left intentionally vague about the details of how we decarbonize our economy, reform our transportation system, create millions of good, strong, union jobs, a clean energy future, and a safe and livable planet for all of us. So I would get to work right away making sure the 4th Congressional District was a national leader in cutting-edge rail and bus transportation, in offshore wind power, in building and installing solar panels, and taking advantage of all this new economy has to offer, whether by attacking the cost of public colleges and universities like Bristol Community College so that our residents can hold these new clean energy jobs, or making sure federal agencies like the Bureau of Ocean Energy Management don't create needless delays in creating Atlantic offshore wind.

Third, I would make it a priority for what I call the "Massachusetts Model" of gun reforms -- which have led us to have the lowest rate of gun violence in America -- go national. We need a federal licensing system (because 60% of the guns used in crimes in Massachusetts come from out of state), we need a new national assault weapon ban, a large-capacity magazine ban, more funding for research on the causes and incidents of shootings, raising the age to buy a gun to 21, supporting so-called "Red Flag" laws, and a number of other reforms. To do this, we will likely have to pass anti-corruption reforms that make it harder for the NRA to simply buy legislators in

Washington, but as someone who has helped beat the NRA in court, I have no doubt I can get this done.

2. What prepares you to serve in this capacity?

Because I've been on the front lines of every single one of these issues both in Washington, D.C., and here in Massachusetts. As an Assistant Attorney General and Senior Advisor to Attorney General Maura Healey, I was in the room and on the team that worked on every policy and action to fight back against the Trump Administration's abusive policies, sue Purdue Pharma, investigate ExxonMobil, beat the NRA in court, and everything else we did. As a Presidential speechwriter in President Obama's White House, I had a front-row seat to every decision and was in the rooms with the experts and senior staff to discuss how to make the moral and practical case for progressive policies.

And I also bring to this work an unending passion for making this world more fair and more just. Even before working in politics, I was a public school teacher in the South Bronx, New York, one of the poorest Districts in America. I had students who came to school hungry. I had students who were homeless. When I would call home at night, most of my students' parents weren't there because they were cleaning offices in Manhattan office buildings, often a second job after a full day at another minimum wage job without proper protections. I went into politics because I thought that was fundamentally wrong, and I wanted to spend my life working on their behalf.

Everything I have done prepares me to do this work -- to create needed progressive legislation, build effective coalitions, and make the case to the American public why we need to take on these challenges.

3. What do you view as the biggest barriers to progressive policy on the federal level?

Without question, the biggest barriers to progessive policy on the federal level is a broken political system that allows the unadulterated influence of corporate money, from the Koch Brothers to Wall Street, and that holds back overwhelmingly popular policies from a living wage to universal health care to meaningful gun control. We must build a bi-partisan coalition to enact meaningful political reforms, such as those outlined in the American Anti-Corruption Act. Additionally, I will work with advocacy organizations such as RepresentUs and Better Markets to provide the counter balance to the corporate influence in Washington.

II. The Issues

Our questionnaire is based on our <u>Progressive Platform</u>: Shared Prosperity, All Means All/Racial and Social Justice, Good Government and Strong Democracy, and Sustainable Infrastructure and Environmental Protection.

A. An Equitable Tax System

1. What does a progressive tax system look like? Which specific proposals would you advocate for?

a. A progressive tax system is one defined by justice. It means we support working people and that the wealthy pay their fair share. Today, we have a system in which billionaires grow their piles of wealth while a significant portion of the country lives in or at the edge of poverty. That is a broken system.

A progressvie tax system means that the highest marginal tax rate exceeds 50% of income. It might include a wealth tax or other means of an equitable distribution of the tax burden. At the same time, I would oppose regressive taxes where possible, such as increases in sales tax and transportation and other fees that disproportionately fall on the backs of poor and working people.

B. Jobs That Pay a Living Wage

- 1. **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?
 - a. And eliminate the sub-minimum wage for tipped workers?
 - i. Yes. I worked in the Massachusetts Attorney General's Office to protect wages and workers. I support eliminating the sub-minimum wage for tipped workers because all workers deserve a living wage and it should be the responsibility of employers to provide it, not pay for practically free labor and shift the risk of collecting revenue to the workers.
 - b. And index the minimum wage to inflation?
 - i. Yes. Our once powerful minimum wage is diluted year after year as and Congress bypasses opportunities to keep it level with inflation or the cost of living. I fully support, and will advocate for, indexing the minimum wage to inflation.
- 2. **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?
 - i. Yes, we must strengthen social security, and a more progressive taxation system will provide the resources to invest in social security to both strengthen its long term health and increase its benefits to keep seniors out of poverty.
 - 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.)
 - i. Yes, this cap should exceed \$200,000 in annual earning, if not removed entirely. Everyone benefits from Social Security, and the wealthy must pay their fair share to ensure the long term health of one of America's most successful programs.

- 3. **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?
 - a. Yes, this is a priority of my campaign. I helped implement the Massachusetts Sick Time law and regulations in the Attorney General's Office, and I believe that paid family leave is one of the most important social policies for which we have the opportunity to make into law. It is critical to our national physical, mental, and moral health. It is widely popular and there should be opportunities to reach across the aisle to make this happen.
- 4. **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 the following efforts to strengthen the role of unions in our economy:
 - a. Prohibiting "right-to-work" laws at the state level?
 - i. Yes, I support unions and oppose so-called "right-to-work" laws, and worked with our Fair Labor Division and unions in the Attorney General's office to push back on anti-middle class, anti-union policies across the country. Unions are on the front lines defending the middle class and supporting working families. We need to return to the roots of the Democratic party in defending and strengthening the labor movement.
 - b. Requiring employers to recognize a union when a majority of workers in a bargaining unit sign valid authorization cards?
 - i. Yes. We must strengthen protections for workers seeking to form unions, and ensure unions are treated fairly at the bargaining table. I have been part of this work effort through my work at the Attorney General's Office, and I will continue to advocate for unions in Congress and support legislation to protect workers who seek to improve their conditions through collective bargaining.
 - c. Prohibiting employers from interfering with unionization efforts, such as by compelling worker attendance at anti-union meetings?
 - i. Yes, and I would go further by publicly shaming or even punishing companies that engage in anti-union activities.

Please use this space to share any other principles or proposals on this issue.

C. Quality, Affordable Health Care

1. **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?

- a. I believe health care is a right and every American must have accessible, affordable health care. At the same time, I recognize that here in Massachusetts we have a 98.5% rate of coverage and world-class hospitals and levels of care. I think we need to keep the "ceiling" of our coverage where it is while raising the "floor" and ensuring all Americans have this basic right. So yes, I will support any system that ensures universal health care coverage, but having worked with Governor Patrick when we were implementing the first state universal coverage law, with President Obama when we were implementing and defending the Affordable Care Act, and finally helping defend the Affordable Care Act in court with Attorney General Healey's office, I believe there are many paths to that shared goal. Ultimately, I think getting any health care law passed in Congress -whether "Medicare for All," "Medicare for All Who Want It," or any other -- will require us as Democrats and progressives to be much clearer with the country about our goal, which is **health care for all**. In the White House I saw how much the way we talked about health care mattered: "Obamacare" only had 45% national approval, while "the Affordable Care Act" was at 65%, and support for the provisions of the ACA (preexisting conditions not preventing you from getting insurance, etc.) was near 85%. Achieving a truly universal system will be an immense challenge and will require grinding legislative work. But I am prepared for this challenge and ready to help deliver a message to the American people that health care is a human right and that the best and most affordable system is a public system where executive pay and marketing do not drive up costs.
- 2. **Prescription Drug Prices.** Prescription drug prices in the US are consistently higher than in other countries. Which policies would you support to lower the cost of prescription drugs?
 - a. Allowing Medicare to negotiate prices with pharmaceutical companies?
 - Yes. Congress has refused to allow Medicare to negotiate drug prices for beneficiaries of Medicare Part D. This prohibition must end. I will support legislation and advocate to my colleagues in Congress to advance this critical change.
 - b. Allowing patients, pharmacists, and wholesalers to buy low-cost prescription drugs from Canada and other industrialized countries?
 - i. Yes. If there are ways to equalize drug prices internationally through legislative action, I will support such legislation to ensure Americans and all people have access to affordable medicine.
 - c. Allowing the federal government to manufacture lower-cost generic versions of prescription drugs when the market does not offer them?
 - i. Yes, I will support any program where the government can provide a necessary service or product to the public that the private sector cannot reasonably offer.

- 3. **Reproductive Rights.** Would you support repealing 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?
 - a. Yes. Abortion and reproductive services are a matter of public health and an essential part of the government's responsibility to provide health coverage. They are also fundamental rights that I will fight in Congress to defend.
- 4. **Opioid Crisis.** An essential part of addressing the opioid crisis, safe consumption sites allow medical professionals to respond to overdoses and engage participants in medical and behavioral health services. Would you support the legalization of SCSs?

I know this is one of the most controversial, painful, and hotly debated topics in this work right now. Addressing the opioid crisis is my top campaign priority, and making meaningful progress will require tackling the crisis from many different angles. I've talked about this with families, with law enforcement, with prosecutors, and with recovery advocates. I am open to SCSs because members of the treatment and recovery community have convinced me this can be one piece of our overall response. While SCSs are currently illegal in Massachusetts, I think -- if done right, with appropriate safety standards, staffing, and counseling -- supporting people suffering from addiction by offering safe consumption sites can be a limited part of our multi-pronged response. We must ensure we are doing everything we can to save more people. Ultimately, though, we must recognize that our goal is to end this crisis, which means ensuring every family has the prevention education, treatment resources, and long-term support they need so that everyone can stay sober and substance free. That is what I will wake up every day and focus on as your member of Congress.

Please use this space to share any other principles or proposals on this issue.

Today, five more people will die in Massachusetts from opioid overdose. Tens of thousands more remain trapped in cycles of addiction. Families and communities are desperate for treatment and resources. Firefighters tell me 9-1-1 has become an overdose hotline.

When I was an Assistant Attorney General, the office sued Purdue Pharma and the Sackler family, who make OxyContin. We put them out of business.

I worked alongside the recovery community, fire and police departments, the medical community, and others on the front lines of this crisis.

As your member of Congress, I will work to end this crisis once and for all, by getting families the treatment they need, funding prevention education for students, and getting first responders additional resources to save lives and break up drug trafficking networks.

D. Quality, Free Publicly Funded Education

1. **Education Equity**. More than six and a half decades out from the *Brown vs. Board* Supreme Court ruling, our public education systems remain highly segregated and unequal. Please name three policies you would advocate for in order to address this.

Institutional and structural racism permeates every part of our society. Our public education system reflects society as a whole. I know this from experience having been a public school teacher. We cannot easily address the segregation and institutional racism in our schools without addressing the broader areas where institutional racism continues to contribute to the widening success gap between Black and White Americans.

Here are three policies I would advocate for to address this issue in the education context:

- 1. Oppose high stakes testing that has been shown to disadvantage students of color.
- 2. Support a national funding mechanism to direct resources to schools serving poor and marginalized students.
- 3. Ensure fully funded higher education access to all students, particularly first-generation college students, so they have a path to the middle class.
- 2. **Charter School Funding**. The NAACP has proposed a moratorium on public funds for charter school expansion until a national audit has been completed to determine the impact of charter growth in each state. Do you support such a moratorium?
 - a. Yes I do. As a former public school educator, I am not opposed to the idea of publicly funded schools that offer unique learning environments or educational philosophies. However, the problem with charters schools is how they are funded. Until we can develop a system for offering more public input in authorizing and overseeing charter schools and their funding mechanisms, we cannot continue to draw funds away from public schools and exacerbate inequality.
- 3. Charter School Accountability. Do you support requiring that charter schools comply with the same transparency and accountability requirements as public schools?
 - a. Yes, charter schools are still public schools and should be held to the same standards of transparency and accountability. At the Attorney General's Office, we worked to ensure charter schools followed the law, including open meeting, public records, and ethics laws, and that their boards of directors were held accountable to the communities they served.
- **4. High-Stakes Testing**. Do you support prohibiting the use of standardized testing as a primary or significant factor in closing a school, firing a teacher, or making any other high-stakes decisions?
 - **a.** Yes, I support comprehensive assessments, and oppose systems of high stakes standardized tests as primary or significant factors in evaluating schools, students, or teachers. They disproportionately impact students facing poverty and students

of color. I served as a public school teacher in one of the poorest communities in America. I understand the importance of quality education by supporting teachers, providing them resources, and offering holistic support to students inside and outside the classroom.

- 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. Presidential candidates have put forth various schemes to forgive student loan debt. Do you support doing so, and what would your ideal scheme look like?
 - a. I myself am in hundreds of thousands of dollars of student debt, alongside many of my peers across this country. That's why I support Elizabeth Warren's plan to cancel student debt for the overwhelming majority of students now saddled with debt. We have failed generations of students who as adults are now facing nearly insurmountable challenges in building assets, buying homes, and realizing self-sufficiency and happiness because of crushing educational debt. This is the American Dream at risk. I am proud of the work we took on at Attorney General Maura Healey's Office to sue Secretary Betsy Devos and President Trump's Department of Education. I am ready to work in Congress to hold the Department accountable and direct the agency to serve students, and not large private loan providers that are making millions in profit of the backs of struggling young people.
- 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?
 - a. Yes, this is a public benefit guaranteed by just about every developed nation, and it represents an investment in our future. I would also guarantee free tuition at community colleges and trade schools. We can support free public education through a more equitable tax system and by closing corporate loopholes to ensure corporations pay their fair share in taxes.

Please use this space to share any other principles or proposals on this issue.

My view is simple: every single student in Massachusetts and America must get a world-class education that starts in pre-K and continues into high school and beyond.

As a former 4th grade public school teacher in one of the poorest districts in America, I have seen the successes of our education system and the many challenges we have yet to address. I believe we need initiatives like the Student Opportunities Act, passed in Massachusetts last fall, at the federal level.

I believe in universal Pre-K for every single 3 and 4 year old in Massachusetts, as well as outstanding K-12 education in every community.

I worked alongside the recovery community, fire and police departments, the medical community, and others on the front lines of this crisis.

A two- or four-year degree needs to be affordable at each of our public schools and community colleges. The 4th district is home to world-renowned private colleges and universities (from Boston College Law School to Stonehill College and Wellesley College) as well as outstanding community colleges in MassBay and Bristol Community Colleges, and Vocational Technical programs at Tri-County Regional in Franklin and Diman Regional in Fall River. We need to ensure all students are prepared for 21st century careers.

E. Affordable, Decent Housing

- 1. **Tenant Rights**. Would you support legislation to establish a national just cause eviction standard, which would limit the grounds upon which a landlord may evict a tenant?
 - **a.** Yes, this is a practical solution that would help tenants understand their rights anywhere in the country.
- 2. **Inclusive Communities**. Federal funding can be a major source of leverage in shaping state and municipal policy. Would you support legislation to tie transportation or housing funding to...
 - a. Ending exclusionary zoning practices?
 - i. Yes. Good community planning can coexist with more equitable, diverse, and just housing programs. We must take active steps in the way we fund infrastructure to dismantle institutional and systemic racism.
 - b. Repealing state prohibitions on rent stabilization policies?
 - i. Yes, communities that want to institute rent stabilization policies should have the ability to do so.
- **3. Public Housing.** Would you support the repeal of the Faircloth Amendment, which bans HUD from funding the construction or operation of new public housing units beyond the total that existed in 1999?
 - **a.** Yes, HUD can play a significant role in funding construction of public or mixed use housing and can help overcome local zoning barriers to ensure a more equitable and abundant housing stock. As a member of Congress, I will advocate to re-examine HUD's mission and focus on addressing housing, poverty, and equality through active HUD programs and funding.

Please use this space to share any other principles or proposals on this issue.

F. A Fair and Efficient Criminal Justice System

- 1. **Ending Mass Incarceration**. The past few years have seen a growing recognition that the "tough on crime" legislation passed in the 1980s and 1990s has had a devastating impact on communities of color and has not improved public safety. Which of the following proposals do you support?
 - a. Legalizing marijuana?
 - i. Yes. As a member of Congress, I will introduce or sponsor legislation to repeal the federal laws criminalizing marijuana.
 - b. Repealing mandatory minimums for non-violent drug offenses?
 - i. Yes, as a lawyer I believe mandatory minimums are unnecessary and counterproductive for nonviolent drug offenses.
 - c. Eliminating cash bail, so that no one is held in jail solely for an inability to pay?
 - i. Yes, in Attorney General Healey's office we worked to address some of the ways in which this system is broken, including by supporting criminal justice reform. The cash bail system is inconsistently applied and disproportionately impacts poor and marginalized people. I will advocate and sponsor legislation to create national standards to eliminate cash bail. Any person the court believes to be a danger to the community can be held on other grounds.
 - d. Abolishing the death penalty?
 - i. Yes, I oppose the death penalty in all circumstances. It is immoral, ineffective, and racially tainted.
 - e. Eliminating the sentence of life without parole, which has been proven to have significant racial disparities?
 - i. While I do not oppose life without parole for the most heinous crimes, I oppose any policy that is proven to have significant racial disparities. I will oppose life without parole sentencing until we have faith that we have reformed our justice system so that it is equally and equitably applied.
 - f. Barring the federal government and state and local jurisdictions from contracting with private corporations to run prisons and detention facilities?
 - i. Yes, I will introduce or sponsor legislation ending the practice of private prisons and detention facilities. Making a profit off incarceration is immoral and ripe for human rights violations.
- **2. Prison Conditions.** In addition to having incarceration rates that far <u>outpace</u> those of other countries, the US is known for violating both domestic and international law in the

conditions of its prisons. Which of the following steps would you support to emphasize the rehabilitative, as opposed to punitive, nature of the system and protect basic rights?

- **a.** Preventing companies from charging prisoners unreasonable fees for banking and telecommunications services?
 - i. Yes, these punitive measures punish not just the inmates, but their families and loved ones and interfere with progress toward rehabilitation. I will sponsor or introduce legislation to protect prisoners from cruel and unnecessary punishments.
- b. Requiring that incarcerated individuals be paid for their work at a rate no lower than the federal minimum wage?
 - i. Yes, incarcerated individuals should be paid for their work. The 13th Amendment carved out an exception to slavery for incarcerated individuals, and as a result, the system of slavery moved from plantations to prisons as people of color are incarcerated at higher rates than Whites and then paid unreasonable wages for their labor.
- c. Restoring Pell Grant access to prisoners?
 - i. Yes, and I further support public college access for all, regardless of incarceration status.
- d. Limiting the use of solitary confinement to no more than 15 consecutive days, beyond which it is defined as torture by the United Nations?
 - i. Yes, solitary confinement for extended periods of time is cruel and unusual punishment. I will sponsor or introduce legislation to limit or end this practice.
- **3. Police Accountability.** Lax or nonexistent systems of accountability and perverse incentives at the federal, state, and local level, combined with a legacy of systemic racism, too often lead to law enforcement neither enforcing the law nor keeping the public safe. Which of the following steps would you support to promote a more humane, community-focused policing?
 - a. Prohibiting the transfer of military weapons from the federal government to state and local law enforcement?
 - i. I do not support militarizing our police forces. To the extent certain weapons are transferred that would otherwise be purchased by a local police department, there should be a civilian review process to ensure that any such transfer is necessary and measured.
 - b. Eliminating qualified immunity, which allows law enforcement to violate people's constitutional rights with impunity?
 - i. This is something we often encountered at the Attorney General's Office. Qualified immunity does not allow law enforcement officers to violate people's constitutional rights. Section 1983 of the US Code specifically

removes qualified immunity for law enforcement officers who violate civil rights. However, the government must have stronger policies of denying representation or refusing to fight for such qualified immunity to attach when there are legitimate allegations of civil rights violations. I support strengthening these laws and enforcement practices and prosecuting officers who break the law.

- c. Restricting the use of civil asset forfeiture by police departments and prosecutors' offices?
 - Yes, civil asset forfeiture by police departments and prosecutors must end. Courts can freeze assets where there is a concern for defendants committing further criminal acts with those assets, but due process must be followed

Please use this space to share any other principles or proposals on this issue.

As a lawyer and former Assistant Attorney General in Attorney General Maura Healey's Office, I am experienced and attuned to issues of criminal justice reform. As a member of Congress, I will be ready on day one to tackle this issue and continue the powerful work of Attorney General Healey in this area.

G. A Humane Immigration System

- 1. Comprehensive Immigration Reform. The approximately 12 million undocumented iummigrants in the US are important contributors to strong economies and strong communities. Due to political and economic instability abroad, as well as a labyrinthine and discriminatory immigration bureaucracy at home, this number could very well continue to grow. However, comprehensive immigration reform legislation has remained elusive in Washington. Which of the following policies would you support?
 - a. The DREAM Act, which would allow certain US-raised immigrant youth to earn lawful permanent residence and American citizenship?
 - i. I support the DREAM Act, and as Assistant Attorney General, helped organize and support our cases against the Trump administration to protect Dreamers and oppose the racist and xenophobic travel ban. I've been on the front lines of this issue and will not rest while Donald Trump is president. At the same time, I believe the only long-term solution to this challenge is comprehensive immigration reform so that no matter who is President our immigrant communities are safe. As a member of Congress, I will bring my experience and leadership on this issue to help craft meaningful immigration reform and stop the abusive actions of the Trump Administration.
 - b. A path for undocumented immigrants to gain US citizenship?

- i. I support a pathway to citizenship for undocumented immgrants. Undocumented people contribute to our society and should be allowed to come out from under the shadows to become full participating members of our society. This makes sense morally, economically, and from a public safety standpoint. Despite what critics may fear, taking this important step will not shield any dangerous criminal suspects from justice.
- c. Repealing the three-year, ten-year, and permanent bars of reentry for undocumented immigrants?
 - i. I support these repeals and will support comprehensive immigration reform that opens our restrictive legal immigration process and makes it easier for people to come to this country to become contributing members of our nation. While we need immigration laws and must know who enters our country, we must find the balance that allows for a strong flow of legal immigration.
- d. Decriminalizing border crossing?
 - i. Yes, I support decriminalizing border crossings. There are important reasons for border security, and a better comprehensive immigration law that makes it easier to come to this country will make illegal border crossings a less significant issue. However, while crossing the border illegally may subject certain individuals to deportation, it should not be a criminal offense.
- 2. **Upholding Rights, Ending Perverse Incentives.** Every day, we hear new unconscionable stories about how the US is treating immigrants at the border, fueled by both bad laws and lawlessness at the federal level. Our immigration system should reflect our values. Which of the following policies would you support?
 - a. Ending the practice of family detention?
 - i. Yes, and as an Assistant Attorney General, I participated in Massachusetts' efforts to sue the Trump administration to end this horrific practice. These are issues I have worked on and will continue to work on when I can bring my legal and policy experience to Congress. As the grandson of Jewish immigrants, this is deeply personal to me.
 - b. Ending the practice of family separation?
 - i. Yes. It is unconscionable to use family separation as a means of deterrence. Family separation at the border must only occur where there is a legitimate reason to believe a child is in danger of abuse or trafficking. Even then, such measures must be taken as a last resort and there must be strong oversight.
 - c. Ending ICE's daily bed quota?

- i. Yes. This perverse practice incentives ICE agents to detain people when they otherwise might not and supports a profit stream to private prisons.
- d. Imposing a moratorium on the construction of new detention facilities?
 - i. I support a moratorium on construction of private detention facilities. At the same time, while we seek to reduce the number of people placed in detention, I want to ensure just and humane conditions for anyone placed in detention. My priority would be to release people until their case can be heard before an immigraiton judge. But for those in detention, we need better facilities that take care of people and don't resemble prisons or camps. Thus, I might support new facilities if they meet this goal.

e. Abolishing ICE?

- i. ICE is a rogue agency and we need to either completely reform it under new leadership or, failing that, abolish it while moving law enforcement functions, like preventing trafficking, to other agencies. This is the immigrant nation, and we need to dramatically change our laws to support those who come here in search of a better life. We know 1 in 6 of us in MA (1 in 5 workers) was born abroad. This is our community. I've represented a refugee in an asylum proceeding. As an Assistant Attorney General, I helped sue ICE to protect immigrant communities from cruel & illegal policies (family separation, travel ban, indefinite detention) and helped stop a citizenship question on the 2020 Census. To me, the long-term answer is to get President Trump out of office and for Congress to pass comprehensive, humane, and just immigration reform so that no matter who is President, immigrant communities are safe.
- 3. **Ending Mass Deportations**. Would you support a moratorium on deportations until a comprehensive immigration reform bill is passed?
 - a. I am open to supporting a moratorium on deportation as a method of pushing Congress to pass comprehensive imigration reform that we have desperately needed for far too long. We must ensure due process for all and eliminate the use of expedited removal proceedings. I support creating a pathway to citizenship for all who are here to stay. We need to enact comprehensive immigration reform, and without it we risk deporting people back to dangerous situations in home countries where they may suffer at the hands of sectarian violence, cartels, gangs, domestic violence, and other forms of sexual and identity violence.
- 4. **Refugees.** In October of 2019, the number of refugees resettled in the US hit zero, and the Trump administration would like to keep it that way going forward, abandoning historic humanitarian commitments. What do you see as the appropriate number of refugees for the US to accept each year?
 - a. This is a moral challenge to all Americans. As a Jewish American and the grandson of Polish immigrants, I am deeply committed to the plight of refugees. I would not put a cap on refugees. I would create a simple standard and work to

relocate refugees here. They are a strength and not a burden to our country. If we ever reach a point where refugee resettlement exceeds our capacity, then Congress can address the problem when it occurs. Until then, our country is one built and made successful by generations of refugees, and it is crucial to our national identity. I will be a fierce advocate in Congress for refugees.

Please use this space to share any other principles or proposals on this issue.

H. A Diverse and Welcoming Society

- 1. 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?
 - a. Yes. I have been proud to serve under Attorney General Maura Healy who has been a trailblazer fighting for LGBT rights, including winning a landmark decision against the Defense of Marriage Act. At the AG's office, we filed cases in support of the LGBT community, including working with 17 other state attorneys general to urge the Trump Administration to abandon efforts to adopt a definition of "sex" that would exclude transgender and gender nonconforming individuals from the protections of federal civil rights laws.
- **2. Reparations.** Would you support legislation to create a commission to study the impact of slavery on the social, political, and economic life of the US and propose appropriate remedies (such as HR40)?
 - a. Yes. I don't know what form reparations might take, but we must have this conversation as a nation if we are to surface the issues our country has worked to avoid. As Ta-Nehisi Coates wrote in the Case for Reparations, until we reckon with our moral debts, America will never be whole. A commission to study the impact of slavery and propose remedies is an important and justified first step.
- **3. Sexual Harassment.** Would you support legislation to end the use of forced arbitration clauses in sexual harassment cases?
 - **a.** Yes. I will support any legislation that equals the playing field and empowers the survivors of sexual harassment.
- **4. Gun Violence Prevention**. The US has the largest number of guns per capita in the world--and consequently one of the highest rates of gun deaths. For too long, the federal government has refused to play a constructive role in preventing gun violence. Which of the following proposals would you advocate for?
 - a. Reinstating the federal assault weapons ban?
 - i. Yes. Gun violence prevention is one of my top campaign priorities. Strong gun laws save lives: Massachusetts has the lowest rate of gun violence in America it's not an accident. It's because we have strong gun laws and

enforce them. But one gun death is one too many. We need to do more to keep people safe and pass national sensible gun reform.

As an Assistant Attorney General, I worked to support policies and cases to restrict assault weapons in Massachusetts and make meaningful progress to prevent gun violence. I want to take this experience to the halls of Congress to convince the members of Congress that these laws work.

- b. Banning high-capacity magazine ammunitions?
 - i. Yes.
- c. Requiring a license to purchase a gun?
 - i Yes
- d. Limiting the number of guns an individual can buy to one per month?
 - i. Yes.
- e. Repealing the Protection of Lawful Commerce in Arms Act, which shields the gun industry from lawsuits?
 - i. Yes. The gun industry should not be able to hide behind its successful lobbyists. It must be held accountable for developing and marketing weapons that are used for their intended purpose to effectively kill large numbers of innocent people.

Please use this space to share any other principles or proposals on this issue.

I. Good Government and Strong Democracy

- 1. **Comprehensive Democracy Reform.** Will you commit to voting on HR 1, the For The People Act, as introduced in 2018? Among other things, HR1 ("For the People Act") contains automatic voter registration, Election Day Registration, the expansion of early voting, the prohibition of partisan gerrymandering, and other vital reforms.
 - a. Yes. This is one of my top campaign priorities. As an Assistant Attorney General, I worked with colleagues in my office to ensure ethical and transparent government practices.
- 2. **Ending Prison Disenfranchisement**. Currently, Maine and Vermont are the only states that provide full suffrage to the incarcerated. Do you support ending the disenfranchisement for those currently incarcerated?
 - a. I support ending disenfranchisement for anyone who has served their jail sentence (failure to pay fees should never be a reason to deny someone a vote). I can understand why states may choose to deny voting rights to certain individuals while still incarcerated, but I am open to learning more about this issue.

- 3. **Ranked Choice Voting**. Do you support the 2020 ballot initiative to adopt ranked choice voting for state, county, and (non-presidential) federal elections?
 - a. Yes, I support ranked choice voting at all levels of government, and believe it could be an effective replacement for the electoral college in presidential elections.
- **4.** Campaign Finance -- Part I. Do you support public financing of Congressional elections?
 - **a.** Yes. Campaigns for Congress must be accessible to more than just the wealthy or people with access to high dollar donors. I fully support public financing of Congressional elections.
- 5. **Campaign Finance -- Part II.** Would you support a constitutional amendment to overturn the Citizens United decision and allow limits on corporate political spending?
 - a. Yes. I support a constitutional amendment and legislation meant to curb the effect of this disastrous decision.

Please use this space to share any other principles or proposals on this issue.

Strengthening our democracy is one of my top campaign priorities and a main motivation for running for Congress. The Trump era has revealed gaping holes in our democratic system -- lack of accountability, weak ethics laws, and policies of disenfranchisement. We need to fundamentally re-examine and strengthen our system of government so that it represents everyone and operates free from corruption and conflicts. As a former Assistant Attorney General in Massachusetts, I have worked to ensure that our government acts in the interest of its people. It's time for Congress to get serious about reforms at the federal level.

J. Sustainable Infrastructure & Environmental Protection

- 1. **Green New Deal.** Do you support the concept of a Green New Deal? If so, what should it look like?
 - a. Yes. On day one, I would be proud to join the fight for a Green New Deal. This would allow the US to reach 100 percent renewable energy for electricity and transportation by no later than 2030 and complete decarbonization of the economy by 2050 at the latest.

A Green New Deal would involve a massive investment in public transit. People across the 4th District still rely heavily on cars for transportation and daily commutes, and increased public transit would allow for both reductions in traffic and as well as in emissions. Also, existing public transit that still relies on fossil fuels would become electrified.

A Green New Deal would also have to involve a giant focus on solar energy. We need to see access to solar energy expanded vastly, and we need to continue to invest in greater battery storage capacity to store this energy when the sun is not out.

- 2. **Transitioning to Clean Energy.** We need to rapidly decarbonize our economy if we are to keep global warming within safe levels. Which of the following policies would you support to accelerate that transition?
 - a. Setting a goal of 100 percent clean energy generation and use by 2035?
 - i. Yes. A Green New Deal would allow the US to reach 100 percent renewable energy for electricity and transportation by no later than 2030.
 - b. Putting a price on carbon emissions and investing the revenue in clean energy and green infrastructure?
 - i. Yes. Reducing emissions must be a top priority of environmental policy.
 - c. Prohibiting new leases for coal, oil, and gas on all federal lands and waters?
 - i Yes
 - d. Opposing any legislation that authorizes, or expedites the permitting or approval of, new fossil fuel pipelines?
 - i. Yes. Instead, the federal government needs to expedite the permitting of offshore wind turbines, which have unfortunately been held up by the Bureau of Energy Management. When he ran in 2016, President Trump promised to speed up permitting of new projects down to 24 months, but this administration has instead been delaying the construction of new projects that could bring good-paying manufacturing jobs to the district.
- 3. Climate Emergency. With rising temperatures and sea levels threatening significant harm to Massachusetts' coast, ecosystems, public health and well-being, do you support declaring a Climate Emergency to drive an aggressive response?
 - a. Yes. Climate change is an existential threat to the planet and a call to action for all of us to make this world safer, healthier, fairer, and more secure.
- 4. **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?
 - a. Yes.
- 5. **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?
 - a. Yes. Environmental justice means taking into account the populations affected by the choices we make. Climate justice is social justice, and we cannot allow the consequences of climate change to fall most painfully and directly on low-income communities and communities of color.

- 6. **Electric Vehicles.** Would you support legislation to phase out the sale of gasoline- or diesel-powered vehicles by 2030?
 - a. Yes. Beyond the climate crisis, this is also a matter of security. We have seen the risks of transporting flammables like gasoline in the recent Merrimack Valley explosions, where the breakdown of pipelines caused people in the area to go without heat for three months
- 7. **Public Transportation.** What would be your top priorities for federal reinvestment in transportation and infrastructure if elected?
 - a. We need to move away from fossil fuels in our public transportation systems. Transportation the leading cause of emissions must be decarbonized, electrified, and simplified.

Please use this space to share any other principles or proposals on this issue.

Climate change is an existential threat to the planet — and a call to action for all of us to make this world safer, healthier, fairer, and more secure. We must pass the Green New Deal and do much more. I have the right experience to take the fight for climate justice and clean energy to Congress. From seeing President Obama put together the Paris Climate Accords to working with Attorney General Healey as she investigated ExxonMobil and sued the Trump EPA to protect fuel standards on cars and stop offshore oil drilling off Massachusetts, I'm ready for these fights.

III. ADDITIONAL COMMENTS

Limit answer to 150 words or fewer.

Use this space to add any other issues important to your vision for Massachusetts or any other matter you think progressive voters should know about your candidacy.

I am deeply committed to a progressive agenda. This has been my life's work, from serving as a public school teacher, to working on speechwriting at the Obama White House, to helping Attorney General Maura Healey take on the Trump Administration. I am not only progressive on the issues, I have the Washington and legal experience to make progress on these priorities. I have been on the front lines of many of these issues, protecting the people of Massachusetts from the cruel acts of the Trump administration. I will be ready on Day One in Congress to bring this fight, build coalitions, and pass meaningful legislation to make this progressive agenda a reality.