

## National Union of Healthcare Workers 2020 Presidential Candidate Questionnaire

To help NUHW assess your candidacy, please complete this questionnaire.

### **BACKGROUND**

Name: Bernie Sanders Occupation/Employer: U.S. Senator

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Campaign FEC ID Number: C00696948 Political Party: Democratic Party

1. Briefly describe your educational background and work experience, including the various public offices you have held and the private sector leadership roles you have played.

Bernie Sanders was elected to the U.S. Senate after 16 years as Vermont's congressman in the House of Representatives. Bernie is now serving his third term in the Senate after winning re-election in 2018 with 67 percent of the vote.

Born in Brooklyn, New York, he attended James Madison High School, Brooklyn College, and the University of Chicago. After graduating, he moved to Vermont where he worked as a carpenter and documentary filmmaker. In 1981, he was elected as mayor of Burlington, the state's largest city, by a mere 10 votes.

As mayor, Bernie's helped transform Burlington into one of the most exciting and livable

small cities in America. Under his administration, Burlington made major strides in affordable housing, progressive taxation, environmental protection, child care, women's rights, youth programs and the arts.

In Congress, Bernie has fought tirelessly for working families, focusing on the shrinking middle class and growing gap between the rich and everyone else. Bernie has been called a "practical and successful legislator" and was dubbed the "amendment king" in the House of Representatives for passing more amendments than any other Congressperson. As chairman of the Senate Committee on Veterans' Affairs, Bernie worked across the aisle to "bridge Washington's toxic partisan divide and cut one of the most significant deals in years."

Bernie ran for president in 2016, and together with millions of people in this country, started the political revolution.

Bernie lives in Burlington, Vermont with his wife Jane. He has four children and seven grandchildren.

2. Have you ever been a union member? If so, to which union(s) did you belong? If you were an officer, steward, bargaining committee member, or activist, describe your leadership role.

Bernie is proud to be running the first presidential campaign to unionize. His campaign immediately voluntarily recognized the union, and agreed to a historic a fair and equitable first contract.

Bernie has spent his entire career fighting for workers and the right to organize and bargain collectively in the workplace. As Bernie said recently, "we can move to an economy where workers feel that they're not just a cog in the machine — one where they have power over their jobs and can make decisions. Democracy isn't just the opportunity to vote. What democracy really means is having control over your life."

## 3. What notable endorsements have you received from organizations and individuals? California

Rep. Ro Khanna, U.S. Congressman David Canepa, San Mateo County Board of Supervisors Hillary Ronen, San Francisco Board of Supervisors David Campos, Chair of San Francisco Democratic Party Susie Shannon, DNC Member

#### Iowa

Jeff Kurtz, State Representative
Kate Larson, City Councilor, Dubuque
Jason Roudaboush, County Supervisor, Poweshiek
Beverly Hannon, Former State Senator, Des Moines
Emma Schmit, Iowa Democratic Party State Central Committee Member
Jonathan Green, Mayor, Lonetree
Patrick Morrissey, City Councilor, Dubuque
Chris Morse, Polk County Democrats Membership Committee Chair
Nick Salazar, League of United Latin American Citizens (LULAC) State Director
Kelly Scott, School Board Member, Fairfield

#### Michigan

#### Minnesota

Keith Ellison, Attorney General

#### **New Hampshire**

Brandon Laws, Alderman-at-Large, Nashua
Mark King, State Representative, Nashua
Skip Cleaver, State Representative, Hillsborough
Josh Adjutant, State Representative, Grafton
Tim Smith, State Representative, Manchester
Cam Kenney, State Representative, Strafford
Catherine Sofikitis, State Representative, Hillsborough
Ellen Read, State Representative, Rockingham
Art Ellison, State Representative, Concord
Mark MacKenzie, President Emeritus of NH AFL-CIO
Jan Schmidt, State Representative and Alderman, Nashua
Ryan Buchanon, State Representative, Concord
Frances Nutter-Upham, State Representative, Nashua
Dan Toomey, State Representative, Nashua

#### **New York**

Rafael Espinal, City Councilor, Brooklyn Julia Salazar, State Senator, Brooklyn Phil Steck, State Representative Ron Kim, State Representative, Queens James Sanders, State Senator, Brooklyn

#### Ohio

Tara Samples, City Councilor, Akron Nina Turner, Former State Senator, Cleveland

#### **Puerto Rico**

Mayor Carmen Yulin Cruz, San Juan

### **Rhode Island**

Sam Bell, State Senator

#### **South Carolina**

Stephen J. Wukela, Mayor, Florence Donna Dewitt, SC AFL-CIO President Emeritus Terry Alexander, State Representative Krystle Simmons, State Representative Justin Bamberg, State Representative Shedron Williams, State Representative Wendell Gilliard, State Representative Cezar McKnight, State Representative Ivory Thigpen, State Representative Michael Rivers, State Representative Leon Howard, State Representative Dorothy Williams, City Councilor, North Charleston Sam Hart, City Councilor, North Charleston Wilhelmina Peguese, City Councilor, Bennettsville Elaine Reed, City Councilor, Darlington Sheila Baccus, City Councilor, Darlington Willie Gladden, City Councilor, Marlboro Randolph Walker, Member, Georgetown County School Board Cynthia Leggette, Chair, Marion County School Board Stevenson Pierre, Immediate Past President Cheraw NAACP

### Vermont

Sen. Patrick Leahy, U.S. Senator Rep. Peter Welch, U.S. Congressman David Zuckerman, Lieutenant Governor T.J. Donovan, Attorney General
Beth Pearce, State Treasurer
Doug Hoffer, State Auditor
Tim Ashe, State Senate President
Mary Sullivan, Democratic National Committee Member

### Washington, D.C.

James Zogby, Founder and President of the Arab American Institute, DNC Member Larry Cohen, Former President of Communications Workers of America, DNC Member

## 4. How much money have you raised to date? What is your primary cycle fundraising target?

Through June 30th, we've raised more than \$36 million. Over the course of this campaign, we plan to raise enough money to win not only the Democratic primary, but to launch a nationwide campaign to defeat Donald Trump and win the White House.

5. Beyond our public endorsement, what specific support are you seeking from NUHW?

Bernie shares NUHW's vision of a strengthened labor movement and labor's deep
fundamental importance to bring transformative change. As such, he imagines working
closely with NUHW to engage and motivate voters to fight for economic, social and racial
justice - not just to win the presidency, but to help worker and activist movements all
across the country, as he has done with this campaign. NUHW believes in a deeply
progressive agenda, and we would look forward to working together on advancing our
shared progressive ideals and the ways to communicate them. Finally, Bernie is committed
to building a long-term movement - not just to win the presidency, but to make systemic,
transformative change for generations to come - and so we would look for ways to help
UNHW accomplish our shared goals in the 2020 campaign and beyond.

### STATEMENT OF CANDIDACY

Please provide a brief statement of candidacy including the following information:

## • why you are a candidate for President;

O Bernie's campaign is not just to win the Democratic primary, and not just to defeat Donald Trump, although we must and we will. This is a campaign to bring fundamental political change to America. So when we are in the White House, we will have the movement and the people and the mandate to pass the implement the major reforms we need.

## • why are you seeking NUHW's endorsement;

o Bernie shares NUHW's vision of a strengthened labor movement and labor's deep fundamental importance to bring transformative change. As such, he imagines working closely with NUHW to engage and motivate voters to fight for economic, social and racial justice - not just to win the presidency, but to help worker and activist movements all across the country, as he has done with this campaign. NUHW believes in a deeply progressive agenda, and we would look forward to working together on advancing our shared progressive ideals and the ways to communicate them. Finally, Bernie is committed to building a long-term movement - not just to win the presidency, but to make systemic, transformative change for generations to come - and so we would look for ways to help NUHW accomplish our shared goals in the 2020 campaign and beyond.

## • what will be your top priorities if elected;

Bernie will guarantee everyone in our country basic economic rights – the right to quality health care, the right to as much education as one needs to succeed in our society, the right to a good job that pays a living wage, the right to affordable housing, the right to a secure retirement, and the right to live in a clean environment.

He believes we must recognize that in the 21st century, in the wealthiest country in the history of the world, economic rights are human rights.

He will treat climate change as the single greatest threat facing us today. According to top climate scientists, we only have 11 years to dramatically cut our greenhouse gas emissions, or we will suffer irrevocable environmental and economic damage. We are long overdue for taking this threat seriously, due in large part to the hundreds of millions of dollars and armies of lobbyists deployed by multinational fossil fuel corporations to protect their profits. If he is President, he will stand up to these corporations and make facing this existential threat a top priority for our country. He believes we have a moral responsibility to leave our kids a planet that is healthy and habitable. We cannot afford to wait any longer.

We will create an America where "equal justice for all" is not just an aspirational ideal. Those words were written in our Constitution 242 years ago. And our nation's founding promise is 242 years overdue. We will treat structural racism with the exigency it deserves.

We will transform this country into a nation that affirms the value of its people of color, we must address the five central types of violence waged against black, brown and indigenous Americans: physical, political, legal, economic and environmental.

Whether it is a broken criminal justice system, or massive disparities in the availability of financial services, or health disparities, or environmental disparities, or educational disparities, our job is to—and we will—create a nation in which all people are treated equally. That is what we must do, and that is what we will do.

What I believe is that the American people deserve freedom – true freedom. Freedom is an often used word but it's time we took a hard look at what that word actually means. Ask yourself: what does it actually mean to be free?

It is time for the American people to stand up and fight for their right to freedom, human dignity and security.

## • what distinguishes you as the best candidate for the office.

Together, we will achieve these goals through a political revolution – where millions of people get involved in the political process and reclaim our democracy by having the courage to take on the powerful corporate interests whose greed is destroying the social and economic fabric of our country.

At the end of the day, the one percent may have enormous wealth and power, but they are just the one percent. When the 99 percent stand together, we can transform society.

These are Bernie's values. He has a deep and abiding faith in the American people to peacefully and democratically enact the transformative change that will create shared prosperity, social equality and true freedom for all.

This is a campaign not just to win the Democratic primary, and not just to defeat Donald Trump, although we must and we will. This is a campaign to bring fundamental political change to America. So when we are in the White House, we will have the movement and the people and the mandate to pass the implement the major reforms we need.

### WORKERS' POWER ON THE JOB AND IN THE ECONOMY

Workers are regularly denied the freedom to choose a union due to intimidation, harassment, and other forms of coercion by their employers, and sometimes even by labor organizations. Legal remedies for such violations of workers' rights are far too little, far too late, with the result that these violations are legion and workers' organizing efforts are crushed more often than not. Private sector union density has fallen to 6.4%, and public sector unions are rebuffing attacks in state legislatures and federal courts that have forced them to reinvent themselves to remain viable. Without increased organization and improved legal structures for workplace representation and collective bargaining, U.S. workers' power on the job and in the economy will continue growing weaker, dooming efforts to address rising inequality and its corrosive impacts on our society. Like Franklin Roosevelt, who fought to pass and uphold the National Labor Relations Act in the face of profound economic inequality that threatened the very fabric of the nation – and in the face of profound antagonism from powerful, moneyed interests – the next President will be challenged to fight for the establishment of a new set of labor laws more favorable to workers. The following are among the potential labor law reforms most frequently cited as having the potential for sparking a renewed and revitalized labor movement. Please indicate which of these reforms you would support as President, why you would support them, and how you would overcome the entrenched opposition of corporate lobbyists and right-wing media and politicians to pass them into law:

- A. requiring employers to recognize a union as their employees' exclusive collective bargaining agent when presented with a petition demonstrating its support by a majority of the workers;
  - Yes. Bernie's Workplace Democracy Act includes card check certification, as well as mandating that employers come to the table to bargain within ten days of certification.
- B. establishing a fast and fair union election procedure that provides the employer and the union equal physical access and equal time to discuss workers' choice of a union with them; bans factually inaccurate representations and coercive kinds of campaign communications, like mandatory "captive audience" meetings and one-on-one discussions of unionization with supervisors; and establishes a short election period prior to a final and binding secret ballot vote;
  - Bernie is open to this and any other proposal that strengthens labor protects and increase the power of workers in this country. His Workplace Democracy Act would expand and update the persuader rule to this end.
- C. instituting a sectoral collective bargaining system, with wage boards to set minimum standards;
  - The sectoral bargaining model has been very successful in other countries. He is open to sectoral bargaining and any other proposal that raises the wages of workers, and protects workers' rights, and strengthens organized labor.
- D. covering union organizing under civil rights laws, with enforcement by right of private action;
  - Yes. Union organizing is not a crime it is a constitutional right. When Bernie is president, he will aggressively protect this right.
- E. obliging employers to recognize and bargain with minority unions for members-only contracts:
  - Bernie is open to this and any other proposal that expands organized labor in this country.

## F. creating federal protections against the firing of workers for any reason other than "iust cause":

• Bernie is open to this and any other proposal that protects workers.

## G. outlawing the "permanent replacement" of striking workers.

• Bernie is open to outlawing the "permanent replacement" of striking workers and any other proposal that protects workers.

Bernie wants to move to an economy where workers feel that they're not just a cog in the machine — one where they have power over their jobs and can make decisions. Democracy isn't just the opportunity to vote. What democracy really means is having control over your life.

The Trump administration, the conservative justices on the Supreme Court, and the billionaire class are engaged in class warfare against the workers of this country. Virtually all of the power rests with employers and large corporations, and Republicans are doing everything they can to keep that power out of the hands of workers. What the Waltons, Jeff Bezos, the Koch brothers and other billionaires understand is that if they are able to destroy trade unions in America, workers without unions will find it very difficult to get the kind of wages and benefits that they need.

In Bernie's view, there is really no way the middle class in this country is going to grow unless we build the trade union movement.

The statistics are very clear that workers in union companies are earning better wages and have far better benefits than nonunion workers. And the working people in this country know it. In overwhelming numbers, workers want to join unions.

But it is increasingly difficult for them to do so. That is because of the power of employers to intimidate workers, to threaten to move their companies away, and to fire workers who are trying to organize. So it is very, very difficult now for workers to have a union. That has got to change.

Beyond workers' lack of union organization, the increasing prevalence in our economy of low wage, service sector jobs, the persistence of chronic unemployment and underemployment, and the diversion of fiscal stimulus into financial speculation all constrain our fight against inequality. To build a higher floor beneath workers' power on the job and in the economy, do you also:

## A. support increasing the federal minimum wage to \$15.00 per hour or more?;

• Yes. Bernie believes the time is long overdue to raise the minimum wage to a livable wage. The fight for \$15 has proven to the world that when people stand together and fight for economic, social, and racial justice real change can take place. Just a few short years ago, we were told that our legislation to more than double the federal minimum wage to \$15 an hour was a crazy, radical, pie-in-the-sky idea. Today, it is a mainstream idea that the majority of the American people support. The \$7.25 an hour federal minimum wage is a starvation wage that must be raised to \$15 an hour.

## B. propose any programs that would create large numbers of good jobs while increasing

## our capacity to meet human needs, upgrade our infrastructure, and enhance our environment?

• Yes. We need millions of workers to rebuild our crumbling infrastructure—roads, bridges, drinking water systems, wastewater plants, rail, schools, affordable housing—and build our 100% sustainable energy system. This infrastructure is critical to a thriving, green economy. We need 7.8 million home health and personal care aides by 2026 to meet our needs. We face a teacher shortage in our public schools that is at crisis levels. If we are truly serious about reversing the decline of the middle class and putting millions of people back to work, we need a major federal jobs program. The most effective way to do that is to rebuild our crumbling infrastructure. Bernie will rebuild our crumbling infrastructure: our roads, our bridges, our rail system and subways, our water systems and wastewater plants, our airports and affordable housing - and when we do that we create up to 13 million good paying jobs. We will pass a Green New Deal to transform our energy system and our economy while creating millions of good-paying jobs in American communities.

Bernie believes that in the wealthiest nation in the history of the world, everyone who can work in America should have the right to a decent-paying job. We can and should have a full-employment economy. In 1944, President Franklin Delano Roosevelt talked about the right of every American to have a job. That was true then. It is true today. A job guarantee will lower the crime rate, improve mental health, and create a stronger sense of community.

- C. In particular, do you support the proposed Green New Deal or other plans to spur equitable growth by pursuing a stronger, more comprehensive response to climate change that would accelerate both the transition to renewable energy sources and the implementation of climate resiliency and adaptation plans, while also providing meaningful transition assistance for workers and communities in the nation's most carbon-dependent regions?
  - Yes. We will pass a Green New Deal to transform our energy system and our economy while creating millions of good-paying jobs in American communities. We will end our reliance on fossil fuels by banning leases on public lands, banning fracking and new fossil fuel infrastructure, and ending exports of natural gas, coal, and oil. We will move to 100 percent percent renewable energy and protect our frontline communities from climate change by investing in infrastructure to protect them from wildfires, sea level rise, drought, floods, and extreme weather. Bernie's Green New Deal will protect workers and the communities in which they live to ensure a just-transition to family-sustaining wage, union jobs.

### SINGLE PAYER HEALTHCARE

Despite Obamacare's substantial success in reducing the ranks of the uninsured, much work still must be done to achieve affordable, quality healthcare for all. Even with the expansion of Medicaid to cover the near poor, and the availability of significant subsidies to help low and middle income families purchase coverage through healthcare exchanges, millions of Americans remain uninsured and underinsured, as prices remain too high and continue to rise sharply, especially for those living in high cost areas of the nation. The quality of care received by patients also remains inequitable, with significant differences in services provided and treatment outcomes by race, income, and geography. By bringing so many more people into publicly financed, publicly governed systems of care, Obamacare has set

the stage for us to organize for the real reform we need and accelerate the fight for single payer healthcare.

- 1. Do you support the establishment of a single payer healthcare system a publicly financed system of healthcare for all with a uniform standard of coverage that reduces costs by eliminating the profiteering, administrative waste, and marketing expenditures that accompany private insurance?
  - Yes. Bernie is running for president because the time is long overdue for the United States to join every other major country on Earth and guarantee health care to all people as a right, not a privilege, through a Medicare for All program. Health care is not a commodity. It is a human right. The goal of a sane health care system should be to keep people well, not to make stockholders rich. Bernie's Medicare for All program would provide comprehensive health coverage to all with no premiums, deductibles, copayments, or surprise bills.

While our opponents claim that Medicare for All is too expensive, the reality is that it is much more cost effective than our current system.

The Center for Medicare and Medicaid Services estimates that, if we do not change the system, this country will be spending \$50 trillion over the next ten years –19.4 percent of our nation's GDP. This is unsustainable and will be incredibly harmful to the people of our country, to the business community, and to the entire economy.

And the reason why we spend so much is obvious. It is not just the huge profits in the insurance industry and the pharmaceutical industry, but it is the incredible and wasteful bureaucratic maze developed by thousands of different healthcare plans. Today, hospitals and providers must deal with patients who have different deductibles, different co-payments, different networks of coverage, and different coverage for pharmaceuticals, or no insurance at all. All of this is not only driving providers and hospital administrators to distraction, but it is wasting up to \$500 billion a year on unnecessary administrative costs.

- 2. Are you in favor of pursuing such a system at the national level, and if one is not achievable, would you support the establishment of statewide single payer systems in individual states, as allowed for under the Affordable Care Act?
  - We will enact a national, Medicare for All system to guarantee health care as a human right for everyone in this country, regardless of their income, disability, the color of their skin, and their immigration status. The current debate over Medicare for All really has nothing to do with healthcare. It has everything to do with greed and the desire of the healthcare industry to maintain a system which fails the average American, but which makes the industry tens and tens of billions of dollars every year in profit.

It is about whether we maintain a dysfunctional system which allows the big drug and health insurance companies to make over \$100 billion in profits last year, while the top CEOs in that industry made \$2.6 billion in total compensation — all the while 1 out of 5 Americans cannot afford the prescription drugs their providers prescribe.

It's about whether we maintain a system in which the CEO of the Aetna insurance company, Mr. Mark Bertolini, received a golden parachute worth nearly \$500

million after his company merged with CVS Health, while elderly people lack the resources to purchase a hearing aid.

It's about whether we maintain a system that allows the former CEO from Gilead (John Martin) to become a billionaire by charging \$1,000 a pill for a hepatitis c drug called Sovaldi that costs a dollar to manufacture.

Let us make no mistake about it. The struggle that we are now undertaking, to guarantee health care to all Americans as a right and to substantially lower the cost of prescription drugs, will be opposed by some of the most powerful forces in America — entities that have unlimited amounts of money. We're talking about the insurance companies, the drug companies, private hospitals, medical equipment suppliers, Wall Street and other powerful entities.

Over the last 20 years, the insurance industry and pharmaceutical companies have spent more than \$330 million in campaign contributions and over \$4 billion in lobbying to get Congress to do its bidding.

The pharmaceutical industry alone has hired some 1,200 lobbyists – including the former leadership of both political parties.

Bernie finds it quite interesting that Billy Tauzin, the Republican Congressman who wrote the bill to prevent Medicare from negotiating for lower drug prices and then went on to become the President and CEO of Pharma, received over \$11.6 million in compensation in 2010.

That's how business is done in Washington. Well, Bernie has a different vision of what a rational healthcare system is all about. Instead of massive profits for the drug companies, the insurance companies and Wall Street, we will provide a healthcare system that provides quality healthcare to all in a cost effective way.

# 3. What revenue sources would you support to provide the necessary financing for progressive reform?

• Today we have the most dysfunctional and expensive health care system in the world. We spend far more per capita on health care than any other country on earth yet 34 million Americans have no health insurance and many more are underinsured. We are expected to spend nearly \$50 trillion dollars over the next ten years to uphold this unjust system. The fact of the matter is that we cannot afford inaction on this issue.

Medicare for All creates a system of health care insurance that isn't designed to generate profits for insurance and drug companies -- it will be a system focused on delivering actual health care. It will save lives, save money, and end the frustration of endless paperwork, denials, and desperate fights with an insurance company to cover medically-necessary medications and procedures.

Medicare for All will fully eliminate health insurance premiums, deductibles and copayments. Make no mistake about it: These are nothing less than taxes on the middle class.

Bernie will cut the administrative bloat in our health care system, cut the cost of prescription drugs, and ensure the wealthy and large corporations pay their fair

share. Medicare for all will save the average family hundreds or thousands of dollars a year in health care spending.

## 4. How would you fight and win the campaign to enact a single payer system over the strong opposition of the healthcare and insurance industries?

• Bernie believes the only way we achieve these goals is through a political revolution — where millions of people get involved in the political process and reclaim our democracy by having the courage to take on the powerful corporate interests whose greed is destroying the social and economic fabric of our country. Medicare for All will become a reality just as all major change has taken place in American history: by millions of people standing up and demanding it. We look forward to working with NUHW and millions of others to pass Medicare for all and guarantee health care as a human right.

# 5. Do you think it necessary or advisable to enact further intermediate steps on the path to a single payer system?

• Bernie knows the people want Medicare for All. We cannot settle for anything less. He will work to pass it and guarantee health care as a human right in America. Once Medicare for All is passed, there's a short transition to fully implement the law. But let's be clear--there is absolutely no "hiatus" of care or coverage. The first thing we will do is expand the benefits for existing Medicare recipients to include dental, vision, and hearing, and cap out of pocket costs.

In the first year, we lower the enrollment age for Medicare from 65 to 55. Then we lower it to 45 in the second year, 35 in the third year, and enroll everyone else in the fourth year. We also immediately create a Medicare Transition plan available on the Affordable Care Act exchanges for anyone to buy into.

For those with employer-sponsored insurance or a plan off the ACA exchanges, the bill instructs the Secretary of Health and Human Services to guarantee continuation of care during the transition. No one will be left behind. The bill also provides adjustment assistance for workers employed at private health insurance companies for five years after the law is passed.

At the end of the short transition, Medicare for All will cover everyone in America with no premiums, no deductibles, no copays, no networks, and no surprise bills. Health care will be free at the point of service and coverage will be comprehensive.

This is not a radical idea. When Medicare was passed in 1965, there were no modern computers, no internet--no Twitter. The government hired people to go door to door to tell people about the new program. Still, 93 percent of eligible seniors enrolled in Medicare in the first year after it passed. Bernie is confident that we can extend Medicare to everyone after a short transition.

## 6. If so, which of these steps would you support, which would you oppose, and why?

• Making only minor tweaks to the status-quo is not enough. The truth is that Medicare for All guarantees comprehensive health care for all while lowering overall health care costs. That means Americans will get more health care while paying less for it. Drug companies will no longer be able to gouge American consumers. And health insurance executives will

no longer be looting America's health care system to fund their bloated salaries.

The real questions to be asked are about other candidates' pro-industry plans: Where are they going to get the billions they are suggesting in new subsidies that will go into the pockets of drug company and insurance company executives? Why are they leaving some millions of people uninsured? Why are they not willing to say every person should be able to see any doctor or health professional they choose?

In other words: Why are other candidates standing with health insurance companies and not patients?

- 7. As healthcare reform proceeds, with expanded emphasis on primary and preventive care, reduced reliance on acute care, and new forms of community-based care and care coordination, what steps would you take to support recruitment and retention of new healthcare workers, retraining and redeployment of the existing healthcare workforce, and protection of current healthcare workers' wages and benefits as they move from historically better paid to historically worse paid jobs?
  - Bernie will significantly expand funding for the National Health Service Corps, Community Health Centers, and Teaching Health Centers to increase the number of health care professionals in America, especially providers of color. He will also recruit health care professionals to underserved and rural areas. Under Medicare for All, adjustment assistance will be available for five years to help re-employ any workers displaced by the transition. Bernie will strengthen collective bargaining rights and strengthen labor standards for the entire workforce, including health care workers. He will enact a Domestic Bill of Rights to extend labor protection to caregivers and other domestic workers, as well.

### MENTAL HEALTH PARITY

Under the Affordable Care Act's expansion of the protections provided by the Mental Health Parity and Addiction Equity Act, as well as under even stronger legislation in several states, mental health services are an essential benefit required to be made available under the same terms as physical healthcare to the majority of individuals covered by private and public insurance plans. Unfortunately, the reality falls far short, as many individuals continue to experience the same lack of access to timely and appropriate mental health services as they faced before, with shortages of providers, lengthy wait times for both initial and return appointments, and treatment options limited to short-term and group therapy even when longer-term and individual therapy is merited. To cite one prominent example, NUHW members successfully prosecuted a complaint against Kaiser Permanente for failing to provide its plan members with timely and appropriate mental health services that resulted in California's Department of Managed Health Care levying a \$4 million fine in March 2013, yet fully six years later, these deficiencies remain un-remedied.

1. If elected, what would you do to ensure that mental health parity is fully implemented and strongly enforced, with timely access to all appropriate services, both preventive and comprehensive?

Yes. We are experiencing a crisis in mental health treatment in this country. Bernie's Medicare for All plan would address this crisis by providing comprehensive coverage for mental health and substance abuse treatment services as well as prescription drugs. Mental healthcare, under Medicare for All, will be free at the time of service, with no co-payments that can be a barrier to treatment.

Medicare for All plan requires an evaluation of health disparities, including geographic disparities, and a plan for addressing the disparities found in the evaluation. It also creates an Office of Primary Health to figure out how to increase access to care, including how to train the workforce we need to address these disparities.

### TAX FAIRNESS

More than a decade since the start of the great recession, our federal budget remains challenged by persistent, large operating and cumulative deficits, our nation's decaying infrastructure grows increasingly outdated, our needs for education and healthcare go chronically underfunded, and we are continually pressured to accept cuts to vital human services, all while corporations and the wealthy continue to benefit from multiple loopholes and tax breaks that allow them to escape paying their fair share and to shift both the costs and the negative consequences onto the rest of us. To break the grip of austerity and to renew the promise of prosperity for working families, we need to restore tax fairness and raise the revenue we need to invest in our people and our future.

Where do you stand on each of the following potential items of an agenda to restore tax fairness? Please respond in detail, with specifics regarding each of those measures you would support:

- Restoring higher top marginal tax rates for the wealthy (detail proposed brackets and rates);
  - o Yes. Bernie believes that at a time of massive wealth and income inequality, we need a progressive tax system in this country that is based on the ability to pay. It is unacceptable that major corporations have paid nothing in federal income taxes, and that corporate CEOs in this country often enjoy an effective tax rate that is lower than their secretaries. If we are serious about reforming the tax code and rebuilding the middle class, we have got to demand that the wealthiest Americans, large corporations, and Wall Street pay their fair share in taxes.
- Instituting a wealth tax (detail proposed rates);
  - o Yes. Bernie first proposed a wealth tax in 2017.
- Taxing capital gains and dividends at rates at least the same as earned income; o Yes.
- Restoring appropriate estate taxes (detail exemption levels and tax brackets and rates);
  - o Yes. We will pass the For the 99.8 Percent Act to establish a progressive estate tax on multi-millionaire and billionaire inheritances. At a moment when inequality is worse in America than at any time since the 1920s, we must substantially increase the estate tax on multi-millionaires and billionaires and reduce wealth inequality in America. His bill would only impact the wealthiest .02 percent of Americans. It would tax estates between \$3.5 million and \$10 million at 45 percent. 50 percent for estate between \$10 million and \$50 million. 55 percent for estate above \$50 million. And 77 percent for estates above \$1 billion. The bill also ends tax breaks for dynasty trusts like the Waltons and Adelsons, closes loopholes in the gift tax and other estate tax loopholes, and it protects farm land and conservation easements.
- Enacting a financial transactions tax (detail proposed rates and transactions to be covered);
  - o Yes. Bernie will guarantee higher education as a right for all and cancel all student debt for an estimated \$2.2 trillion. To pay for this, we will impose a tax of a fraction of a percent on Wall Street speculators who nearly destroyed the economy a decade ago. This Wall Street speculation tax will raise \$2.4 trillion over the next

ten years. It works by placing a 0.5 percent tax on stock trades – 50 cents on every \$100 of stock – a 0.1 percent fee on bond trades, and a 0.005 percent fee on derivative trades. If Wall Street can be bailed out for several trillion dollars, 45 million Americans can and will be bailed out of the \$1.6 trillion burden of student loan debt and we can provide free college for all. Some 40 countries throughout the world have imposed a similar tax, including Britain, South Korea, Hong Kong, Brazil, Germany, France, Switzerland and China.

- Closing corporate tax loopholes (detail which specific loopholes you would close);
  - o Yes. We will close tax loopholes that benefit the wealthy and large corporations, eliminate offshore tax scams through the Corporate Tax Dodging Prevention Act.
- Eliminating private equity managers' carried interest tax break.
  - o Yes.

## Please also detail any other tax reforms your administration would fight to enact.

• To pay for the Social Security Expansion Act to protect and strengthen Social Security, Bernie will lift the cap on the Social Security payroll tax, taxing all income over \$250,000 at the same rate. Bernie has also proposed rolling back President Trump's egregious giveaways to the wealthy and corporations enacted by the Trump Tax Cuts.

#### COMPREHENSIVE IMMIGRATION REFORM

Despite the enormous positive impacts of immigrants on the United States' economy and society, the current administration is obsessively seeking to divide our nation by imposing a restrictive immigration regime that would increase detentions and deportations of undocumented individuals, deny them due process, and militarize our borders, while restricting further legal immigration in a manner tainted by racial, ethnic, and religious prejudice. Aggressive immigration enforcement and greater restrictions on legal immigration and refugee resettlement will not only cost taxpayers billions of dollars and threaten public health and public safety, but will break apart families and place vulnerable individuals – such as survivors of domestic violence and sexual assault in the United States, as well as women and children fleeing harsh violence in their homelands – in peril.

1. What are your proposals to achieve comprehensive immigration reform with a path to citizenship for the 11 million undocumented immigrants currently living in the United States, and expand authorized immigration free of racial, ethnic, and religious prejudice?

Bernie believes we are long overdue for comprehensive immigration reform that includes--but goes beyond--a path to citizenship. This is something the American people overwhelmingly support. Bernie will mobilize a grassroots movement of millions of Americans, including Latinos, to push Congress to enact legislative fixes to our broken immigration system. However, if Congress refuses to act, Bernie is prepared to use the President's Constitutional authority on immigration to its fullest extent.

2. Please specify how your proposed reforms would address issues of family unification, refugee admissions, employment-based admissions, diversity visas, and temporary permissions including DACA, as well as how you would modify border security measures and what if any role ICE would play under your plan.

On day one, Bernie will issue executive orders to undo everything President Trump has done to demonize and harm immigrants from the White House. Bernie will immediately reunite families separated by President Trump, as well as those ripped apart by needless deportation. He will reverse Trump's cuts to refugee admissions and live up to our nation's ideals by taking in those who need it the most. Bernie will strengthen labor protections for those in the United States on guest worker visas and protect the diversity visa from attacks. He will immediately extend legal status to the 1.8 million DACA recipients, as well as their parents. Bernie believes we must decriminalize and demilitarize our border, and shift our priorities toward stemming illegal drugs coming through legal ports of entry, human trafficking, and enforcing labor standards, not criminalizing families who have traveled hundreds of miles to escape violence and poverty. Bernie voted against the creation of ICE, and still believes that was the right vote. He will fundamentally restructure ICE and other immigration enforcement agencies to ensure they are subject to close oversight and serve a humanitarian mission.

3. Please also say if your administration would accept the validity of state and local sanctuary laws.

Bernie will respect state and local sanctuary laws. He will also push Congress to repeal the Priority Enforcement Program (PEP), the 287(g) program, Secure Communities, the Criminal Alien Program and other programs that turn local law enforcement into

immigration officers.

### MOVEMENT ENGAGEMENT AND MOVEMENT BUILDING

If elected, what steps would you take to remain actively engaged with trade unions and other progressive social movements in making appointments, developing and prioritizing policy initiatives, determining political strategy, and building the power to enact your policy agenda? Beyond supporting various labor law reform measures, how would you use the power of your office to support the organizing efforts and build the power of progressive groups in civil society?

• Bernie knows that today, we live in the richest country in the history of the world, yet millions and millions of people find themselves in desperate economic conditions.

Today, we now see a handful of billionaires with unprecedented wealth and power.

Today, America and the world are once again moving towards authoritarianism -- and the same right-wing forces of oligarchy, corporatism, nationalism, racism and xenophobia are on the march, pushing us to make the apocalyptically wrong choice that Europe made in the last century.

We see huge private monopolies -- operating outside of any real democratic oversight and often subsidized by taxpayers – with the power to control almost every aspect of our lives.

They are the profit-taking gatekeepers of our health care, our technology, our finance system, our food supply and almost all of the other basic necessities of life. They are Wall Street, the insurance companies, the drug companies, the fossil fuel industry, the military industrial complex, the prison industrial complex and giant agri-businesses.

They are the entities with unlimited wealth who surround our nation's capitol with thousands of well paid lobbyists, who to a significant degree, write the laws that we live under.

Today, we have a demagogue in the White House who, for cheap political gain, is attempting to deflect the attention of the American people away from the real crises that we face and, instead, is doing what demagogues always do - and that is divide people up and legislate hatred. This is a president who supports brutal family separations, border walls, Muslim bans, anti-LGBTQ+ policies, deportations and voter suppression.

It is Bernie's very strong belief that the United States must reject that path of hatred and divisiveness -- and instead find the moral conviction to choose a different path, a higher path, a path of compassion, justice and love.

Bernie believes we must guarantee everyone in our country basic economic rights – the right to quality health care, the right to as much education as one needs to succeed in our society, the right to a good job that pays a living wage, the right to affordable housing, the right to a secure retirement, and the right to live in a clean environment.

We must recognize that in the 21st century, in the wealthiest country in the history of the world, economic rights are human rights.

We will create an America where "equal justice for all" is not just an aspirational ideal.

Those words were written in our Constitution 242 years ago. And our nation's founding promise is 242 years overdue. We will treat structural racism with the exigency it deserves.

We will transform this country into a nation that affirms the value of its people of color, we must address the five central types of violence waged against black, brown and indigenous Americans: physical, political, legal, economic and environmental.

Whether it is a broken criminal justice system, or massive disparities in the availability of financial services, or health disparities, or environmental disparities, or educational disparities, our job is to—and we will—create a nation in which all people are treated equally. That is what we must do, and that is what we will do.

What Bernie believes is that the American people deserve freedom – true freedom. Freedom is an often used word but it's time we took a hard look at what that word actually means. Ask yourself: what does it actually mean to be free?

It is time for the American people to stand up and fight for their right to freedom, human dignity and security.

To realize this vision, we must not view America only as a population of disconnected individuals, we must also view ourselves as part of "an inescapable network of mutuality, tied in a single garment of destiny," as Dr. King put it. In other words, we are in this together.

We must see ourselves as part of one nation, one community and one society -- regardless of race, gender, religion, sexual orientation, or country of origin.

This quintessentially American idea is literally emblazoned on our coins: E Pluribus Unum. From the many, one.

Bernie will tell you, it is enshrined in the motto of our campaign for the presidency -- Not me, Us.

He believes the only way we achieve these goals is through a political revolution – where millions of people get involved in the political process and reclaim our democracy by having the courage to take on the powerful corporate interests whose greed is destroying the social and economic fabric of our country.

At the end of the day, the one percent may have enormous wealth and power, but they are just the one percent. When the 99 percent stand together, we can transform society.

These are his values.

He has a deep and abiding faith in the American people to peacefully and democratically enact the transformative change that will create shared prosperity, social equality and true freedom for all.

This is a campaign not just to win the Democratic primary, and not just to defeat Donald Trump, although we must and we will. This is a campaign to bring fundamental political change to America. So when we are in the White House, we will have the movement and the people and the mandate to pass the implement the major reforms we need.