



## National Union of Healthcare Workers Questionnaire

### Introduction

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Dear Mayor Buttigieg,

NUHW members are registering this week for our annual Leadership Conference that will kick off with a presidential candidate forum. The forum, which will focus on health care policy and mental health parity as well as immigrant and worker rights, is set for the evening of Friday, Sept. 20 at the Sheraton Park Hotel in Anaheim.

On behalf of NUHW's 15,000 members in California, I'm requesting your participation in the forum, which will be attended by housekeepers, nursing assistants, nurses, psychologists, medical technicians and many more health care workers from San Diego to Humboldt County.

I'm also requesting that you complete and return [this candidate questionnaire](#) by July 31. Even if you are unable to attend the forum, we will be disseminating completed questionnaires to all our members so they are ready to vote for our union's presidential endorsement. We will be helping inform our members of the candidates' positions in the weeks leading up to the conference. On Sunday, Sept. 22, we will have an electronic ballot where members can vote for their preferred candidate, and the top vote getter will receive NUHW's endorsement. Our democratic process for candidate endorsements was highlighted in a [recent issue of In These Times](#).

NUHW will be co-hosting the forum for Democratic candidates with [Healthy California Now](#), the state's leading proponent for single-payer health care. It will be moderated by veteran television journalist John Donvan and streamed live in both English and Spanish. NUHW members will also be allowed to ask questions of the candidates.

Please watch [this short video](#) for highlights from our 2017 California gubernatorial debate and fill out the questionnaire by July 31.

Please contact me with any questions at (510) 834-2009 or [srosselli@nuhw.org](mailto:srosselli@nuhw.org)

I look forward to seeing you in Anaheim.

Sincerely,  
Sal Rosselli, President  
National Union of Healthcare Workers

### Questionnaire

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### BACKGROUND



Please provide the following information:

- Name: [Pete Buttigieg](#)
- Campaign Address: [PO Box 1226, South Bend, IN 46624](#)
- Campaign Website: [www.peteforamerica.com](http://www.peteforamerica.com)
- Key Staff and Consultants:
  - [Mike Schmuhl – Campaign Manager](#)
  - [Lis Smith – Senior Communications Director](#)
  - [Jess O’Connell – Senior Political Advisor](#)
  - [Brandon Neal – Senior Political Advisor](#)
  - [Sonal Shah – Policy Director](#)
  - [Larry Grisolano – Media Consultant, AKPD Message & Media](#)
  - [Katie Connolly – Pollster, Benenson Strategy Group](#)
- Campaign FEC ID Number: [C00697441](#)
- Occupation/Employer: [Mayor, South Bend, Indiana](#)
- Campaign Phone: [\(617\) 513-2845](#)
- Campaign Email: [caitria@peteforamerica.com](mailto:caitria@peteforamerica.com)
- Campaign Contact: [Caitria Mahoney, Deputy Political Director](#)
- Political Party: [Democrat](#)

**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.**

I am in my eighth and final year as Mayor of South Bend, Indiana. I was first elected mayor in 2011 and re-elected in 2015 with 80% of the vote. As Mayor, I have focused on reimagining South Bend’s role in the global economy, spurring job growth, and making major investments in advanced industries such as data and technology. Another top priority of mine has been building a South Bend community where every resident—regardless of race, religion, gender, or orientation—can feel safe and included.

I have more years of government experience than the president, more years of executive government experience than the vice president, and more military experience than anybody to walk into the Oval Office since President George H. W. Bush. I served as a lieutenant in the U.S. Navy Reserve and took an unpaid seven-month leave during my mayoral term to deploy to Afghanistan.

I was a Rhodes Scholar at Oxford and graduated from Harvard University. My husband Chasten and I live in the same South Bend neighborhood where I grew up, with our two rescue dogs, Truman and Buddy.

**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.**

No.

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



I am honored to have the support of Americans and leaders across the country, from fellow Mayors like Dayton, OH Mayor Nan Whaley, Austin, TX Mayor Steve Adler, West Sacramento, CA Mayor Chris Cabaldon to former Under Secretary of the United States Army and former US Congressman Patrick Murphy.

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

As of the end of the second quarter of 2019, my campaign had raised \$32 million.

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

We are building a coalition to win the next era. We want to earn your endorsement and the support of your members so that we benefit and learn from their expertise and experience as we continue to grow this movement, develop and refine forward-looking policy positions, and win the Democratic nomination.

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

I am running for president because America is running out of time. This election is even bigger than the Donald Trump presidency. Americans have to ask how a president like this even gets within cheating distance of the Oval Office. It doesn't happen unless America is already in a crisis. We see endless war, climate change, and an economy that doesn't work for most of us. Mayor Pete's industrial Midwestern community has lived it, and so has his generation. And it's only getting worse, and faster. Scientists tell us we have 12 years before we hit the horizon of catastrophe when it comes to our climate. By 2030, a house in this country will on average cost half a million dollars, and a woman's right to choose may not even exist. We are not going to be able to meet this moment by recycling the same arguments and the same politicians who have dominated Washington for as long as I've been alive. In order to break through and meet these challenges, we have to be ready to summon the courage to walk away from the past and do something different. This is our shot. That is why I am running for president.

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

7. 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;
- 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;
- c) instituting a sectoral collective bargaining system, with wage boards to set minimum standards;
- d) covering union organizing under civil rights laws, with enforcement by right of private action;
- e) obliging employers to recognize and bargain with minority unions for members-only contracts;
- f) creating federal protections against the firing of workers for any reason other than "just cause";
- g) outlawing the "permanent replacement" of striking workers.

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:

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

As President, one of my top priorities will be decarbonizing the economy, building a net-zero emissions economy by 2050, and creating 3 million high-paying clean energy jobs across the nation. We must also have support for vulnerable communities, particularly during the transition. This is why I propose initiatives like Regional Resilience Hubs in my [climate change plan](#) to help communities manage the risks of climate change. In that plan, I also detail my vision to establish a 10-year, \$200 billion fund devoted to training and transition for workers.

For decades, our economy has experienced rising GDP and productivity all while workers' voices were systematically silenced and wages remained essentially flat. Earlier this summer, I released a plan to empower workers and accelerate wage growth for the broad middle class, going beyond any legislative proposal that currently exists. My plan aims to restore our society's economic compact. We will get there by restoring workers' rights that have been eroded by decades of anti-worker policies by government and corporations alike, and by expanding labor rights to workers who have been left out. Specifically, my plan to reform our labor laws would:

- Guarantee gig economy workers their labor rights, including unionization
- Impose strong, multimillion-dollar penalties that scale with company size when a company interferes with union elections
- Level the playing field in union elections by requiring "equal airtime on company time," so that workers hear from union organizers and not just employers
- Enshrine the right to multi-employer bargaining for the first time in American history
- Establish a consistent preference in federal government contracting for unionized employers that provide workers with fair pay and benefits
- End "right-to-work" laws, which ban union security in collective bargaining
- Deliver card-check rights
- Ensure that all workers can bargain with the companies that actually control the terms of their employment
- Stop employers from permanently replacing workers who strike, enhancing workers' rights to secondary boycotts
- Take steps to prevent union election interference

In addition to ensuring workers have a viable pathway to joining a union and a voice on the job, my plan will strengthen and expand workplace rights in order to restore fairness to our economy, so every American can share in our country's growth. My Administration will:

- Raise the federal minimum wage to \$15 per hour and indexing to wage growth
- Guarantee workers access to paid sick leave and paid family leave, and the predictable hours and wages they deserve
- Create safe, equitable, accessible, and fair workplaces for women and all people that are free of harassment and discrimination
- Include domestic workers, who have been historically excluded from many employment laws, in common workplace rights and protections

## **SINGLE PAYER HEALTHCARE**

8. 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. 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?

I strongly believe that health care is a right. We must ensure universal access to health coverage and remove barriers that prevent Americans from living the healthiest lives possible. However, I don't believe that the best approach to get to universal health care is by flipping a switch, removing millions of Americans from their plans, and so quickly disrupting the largest sector of our economy.

That's why my plan to get us to universal healthcare is called Medicare for All Who Want it. It will give every American the option to opt in to an affordable and comprehensive Medicare plan. I believe that Medicare for All Who Want It represents a fairer, more effective approach to Medicare for All that will strengthen existing coverage, provide an affordable option for the uninsured and underinsured, require measurable progress on reducing disparities in health outcomes, and reduce overall health care costs along the way.

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?

States play a critical role in providing health coverage to their residents, why is why I support allowing states to continue to offer coverage and innovate to improve delivery, cost effectiveness, and outcomes. With my approach, the Medicare public option would be available to anyone who wants it. States will have the option to continue offering coverage through their existing Medicaid programs and establish new demonstration models, including a single payer system.

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

We need higher taxes on the wealthy and on corporate profits. That means higher marginal and effective income tax rates on those earning the most. That means a wealth tax, or an equivalent tax increase on the income from wealth by raising capital gains and dividend tax rates, and a

financial transactions tax to close the numerous capital gains loopholes. And that means raising the corporate tax rate and shutting down international tax loopholes that allow some of the largest and most profitable corporations to pay lower tax rates than most American families.

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

My vision is for Medicare for All Who Want It to be a glide path to a single payer system – but I believe that this transition should occur organically through competition and consumer choice, rather than standing by an arbitrary and unrealistic transition date. When we deliver an attractive public option, and give people the opportunity to opt in and see that it is the better choice, then we will gain the public and political support needed to transition to Medicare for All in a less disruptive and more sustainable way.

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

Yes. Medicare for All Who Want It will create a strong public option that gives Americans meaningful choice for their health coverage and provides peace of mind that they can get the care they need without fear that an illness or surprise bill will throw them into bankruptcy. That doesn't mean that the rest of our health care system should continue at the status quo. We also need reforms to ensure equitable access to health care, bring down costs, invest in better health outcomes, and ensure that all American families can get the care they need, regardless of where they live or what type of coverage they have.

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

- Undo the Trump Administration's policies that have enabled some states to take away access to Medicaid through 1115 waivers
- Strengthen the Marketplaces by increasing premium assistance and cost-sharing assistance
- Create a Medicare-based public option to offer on the ACA exchanges
- Establish an out-of-pocket limit in Medicare
- Outlaw surprise billing
- Reduce prescription drug costs
- Reduce administrative complexity and costs
- Address market failures that contribute to high health care cost inflation
- Invest in the health care workforce

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?

My Administration will take proactive steps to make sure health care workers are not left behind in any transition. We will address the undervaluing of primary, preventive, and community-based care including through increases in the reimbursement rates and wages for healthcare workers in these fields. In addition, my [rural health plan](#) details how we will increase Medicare reimbursement rates for providers working in underserved areas. This will help address the perverse incentives toward higher-cost, institutional care in our current system and begin closing the wage gap between traditionally better-paid and lower-paid healthcare jobs.

We also must invest in retraining the workforce for the new skills and jobs that will be created as health care reform moves forward. Clinicians and other healthcare workers will need to develop the skills needed to succeed in delivering new care models and learn new health care technologies. We will expand workforce development and training programs and provide funding for transitioning healthcare workers to participate in those programs. We will also create focused outreach and recruitment efforts for workers impacted by reduced demand for higher-cost, acute care settings, so they can move into areas of health care with growing demand.

## **MENTAL HEALTH PARITY**

9. 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.

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?

My "[Healing and Belonging in America](#)" policy is a comprehensive plan for addressing the opioid epidemic and the broader crisis of addiction and mental illness. We will invest \$300 billion in mental health, including a \$100 billion grant program for communities to create tailored solutions for ending addiction and supporting mental health. To combat the opioid crisis, we will universalize Medication-Assisted Therapy and expand take-home naloxone programs to all 50



states by 2024. We will also hold drug companies accountable for the role they played in manufacturing this crisis. To support long-term mental health and well-being, we will enforce mental health and addiction parity across all private payers, Medicare, and Medicaid, so that treatment for mental illness and addiction is as accessible as treatment for other chronic conditions, such as diabetes. We will penalize private payers who do not comply with parity and require plans to provide a free annual mental health check-up to anyone who wants one.

## **TAX FAIRNESS**

**10.** 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);
- instituting a wealth tax (detail proposed rates);
- taxing capital gains and dividends at rates at least the same as earned income;
- restoring appropriate estate taxes (detail exemption levels and tax brackets and rates);
- enacting a financial transactions tax (detail proposed rates and transactions to be covered);
- closing corporate tax loopholes (detail which specific loopholes you would close);
- eliminating private equity managers' carried interest tax break.

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

I strongly believe that the wealthy have an obligation to pay their fairer, higher share. Raising taxes on the highest earning Americans is necessary to pay for the ambitious policy reforms that America needs. I have discussed the need to substantially raise marginal tax rates on the highest earners. I have spoken about the need for a wealth tax and/or analogously high taxes on income from wealth – such as capital gains, dividends, and estate bequests – that raise large amounts of revenue by taxing capital gains and dividends of the wealthy, similar to how we tax their earned income. I also support a financial transactions tax, higher corporate tax rates, and closing corporate tax loopholes, including on multinational corporations that hide their profits overseas in tax havens. I further support taxing all top earners' income from work at the same high rate, including private equity managers' carried interest. Finally, I support a carbon-tax-and-dividend as one key tool to address our life-and-death climate crisis. I will continue to share ways to promote tax fairness and fund important government programs by closing loopholes and increasing the progressiveness of our tax code.

## **COMPREHENSIVE IMMIGRATION REFORM**

11. 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.

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?

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.

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

We largely know what we need to do when it comes to comprehensive immigration reform: we need a path to citizenship for the undocumented members of our communities, resources to address the visa and asylum backlogs so that people no longer have to wait in uncertainty for years, updates to our visa allotments so that they reflect our humanitarian and economic needs, and reasonable border security measures.

That we have not been able to get this done shows how broken our democratic system has become. That's why my first priority is to reform our democracy so that we do not continue this absurd system in which the American people overwhelmingly support reform, yet Congress fails to act.

I support creating a pathway to citizenship for the approximately 11 million undocumented people living here, as well as temporary protections for Dreamers, parents of Dreamers, TPS and DED holders while we wait for legislation to pass. I also support a visa system that is more flexible and responsive to the needs of our communities, both in terms of employment-based visas and family-based visas. We need to restore our role as a global humanitarian leader by restoring the Obama-era refugee numbers at a minimum, and by working with other nations to address humanitarian crises abroad, including the deadly instability in the Northern Triangle region.



In terms of border security, it's obvious that building a wall from sea to shining sea will do nothing to keep us safer, and instead symbolizes the fear and hatred of immigrants stoked by this administration. We need to update our border to reflect today's reality: we need to modernize our ports of entry, re-allocate responsibility of border processing facilities from CBP to HHS, and create a new system to process asylum-seekers that properly protects them. The United States has nothing to fear from a child fleeing violence and, more importantly, a child fleeing violence should have nothing to fear from the United State of America. We also need to immediately stop separating families at the border, reunify families that are currently separated, and conduct a thorough investigation of actions of CBP and ICE and push for accountability for wrongdoers. We need to reinstate enforcement priorities, so the kinds of random enforcement actions like what just happened in Mississippi are no longer possible. I also intend to end 287g agreements and fully respect sanctuary laws.

### **MOVEMENT ENGAGEMENT AND MOVEMENT BUILDING**

**12.** 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?

Empowering people is at the core of our campaign and the America that we envision. Not only do we want to hear from groups like trade unions and other progressive groups, but we also want them to lead and help shape our agenda. In office, I will create advisory boards at the national and local levels to advise my Administration on policy implementation. One example of this is the Regional Resilience Hubs in my climate plan. Each Regional Resilience Hub will have a Board of Advisors made up of local elected leaders, community leaders, and other citizens, and we will ensure that unions and progressive groups are represented on these boards and other ones that we will create. We will prioritize meeting with progressive groups and tailoring our support for their organizing efforts to their specific needs.