

IVI-IPO 2009 CONGRESSIONAL QUESTIONNAIRE – Section 1

DATE 2/4/2009 **DISTRICT:** 05 **PARTY:** Democratic

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NUMBER OF PETITION SIGNATURES FILED: 2,300 **NUMBER REQUIRED:** 927

A) Elective or appointive public or party offices previously held including dates. NONE

B) Other elective offices for which you have been a candidate. NONE

C) What is your primary occupation? Public Sector Psychiatrist, Social Entrepreneur.

D) Briefly list your civic activities of the past ten years. After a Kellogg National Leadership Fellowship from 1997-2000, I co-founded a non-profit organization, SEED, that is committed to social change by working to leverage the power of community agencies by significantly increasing their creativity, accountability, partnering capacity and social impact. I have worked as co-founder in this cutting edge startup as a volunteer since 2000 (working on the weekends as a psychiatrist in public hospitals to pay the bills). SEED's has been steadily creating, assessing and refining its methodology, and building a portfolio of work and reputation throughout the country, including in New York, Louisiana, Georgia, California, Vermont and Illinois. SEED believes that the social sector can be best served by raising the capacity of the sector to create conditions and spaces that ennoble the people that it intends to serve. I am currently on a leave of absence from SEED while engaged in this race. If elected, I hope to bring the insights and practices of this work to Washington, the 5th District, and to my service as a Congressman.

E) What subjects have you studied and what experience have you had which will be most helpful to you in the office you seek? I received a Medical Doctorate and a Masters in Public Health (Health Resources Management) from the University of Illinois in Chicago in 1987. After an Internship at Boston City Hospital (Boston University School of Medicine), and a Residency at Massachusetts Mental Health Center (Harvard University), I became an Assistant Professor of Psychiatry at Dartmouth College), working at New Hampshire State Hospital.

While at Dartmouth, I was awarded a Kellogg National Leadership Fellowship. This experience allowed me to spend a quarter time, for three years, traveling throughout the country and the world, investigating critical issues related to social movements and leadership development. With an eye already towards running for office, the main leadership question I carried as a fellow was to understand the qualities that make leaders in high office more able to stay true to the principles that compel them to serve, and ultimately “do the right thing” for their communities under the constant pressures of compromise and choice.

During the fellowship, I explored the value for leaders in integrating their inner reflective life with their outer life of service (within pluralistic societies). Based on this exploration and other life experiences, I co-founded SEED to put into practice all of the insights that this exploration had revealed. A primary insight in the SEED methodology, is the understanding that true, significant systems change on the intractable issues affecting our communities, can primarily be addressed not so much by technical fixes, but by the processes that facilitate communities coming together across their differences to focus on the visions that unites them and working towards a common future. We may not agree on how we got to any particular intractable problem, but we can often come together and agree on a solution that reflects what we are trying to build together. This work expands on my training as a psychiatrist in deep listening and applies it to the dynamics of groups needing to listen intently to each other as they attempt to create a common path forward. These are the skills that President Obama has demonstrated throughout his candidacy and early in his Presidency. These are the skills that I believe all the world needs as we attempt to tackle seemingly intractable problems together.

F) Which candidates have you supported in past elections? Please be specific in describing your role in each campaign. I worked as a general volunteer for the Jesse Jackson 1984 Presidential Campaign in Chicago, the 1992 Draft Mario Cuomo for President Campaign in New Hampshire, the Bill Clinton Presidential Re-Election Campaign in 1996 in New Hampshire. In 2008, I volunteered for the Barak Obama Campaign in the battleground state of PA, canvassing and various GOTV activities.

G) Please list all endorsements you have received so far. Physicians for a Democratic Majority are actively supporting me with funds and an intern. I am actively in conversation with Doctors for Obama, and the American Medical Student Association to get their support. I will be reaching out to Physicians for a National Health Plan for their endorsement.

H) As concisely as possible, please state why you feel you should be endorsed over the other candidate(s). What goals for the office you seek are most important to you personally? Thirteen years ago, after more than a decade serving in front lines of public

hospitals, I began work with colleagues based on the then radical idea that as a nation we could come together across vast differences to make true change a reality in our public institutions. This “radical idea” was dismissed as naïve and not grounded in the “real world” of our body politics where money, power and political influence rule the day.

Recent events are proving our original idea correct. In the midst of the worst convergence of crises many of us have seen in our lifetimes, Americans understand that this is a time to put away our differences and forge a path forward that is true to our deeply held values as a people - honesty, hard work, opportunity and integrity.

In these times, it is more important than ever to have a radical break from the past. We cannot afford to send people to Washington who represent and embrace business as usual. We need bold leadership that has a deep understanding of the challenges facing ordinary Americans, and that has a demonstrated and unfailing commitment to serving communities most in need.

The panel of candidates running in the Democratic primary for the Illinois 5th Congressional District special election is impressive. I can see how it will be difficult to choose just one individual to endorse over another. What I hope you will see that stands out about me is my vision, life experience, education, and commitment to serving communities. I hope you will also consider the choices I have made in my life to serve the public good rather than my self interest.

I bring a psychiatrist’s ability to listen to what is being said and to what is not. As a co-founder of SEED, I have further honed the skills necessary to help groups listen together across differences, for the change that is trying to emerge from their collective wisdom. Politicians typically come to constituents telling them all they know, and what they will do. I will bring my skill as a listener/facilitator to emerge the collective wisdom of my constituents and become a true voice of theirs in Washington.

When 111th Congress grapples with the matter of health security, economic security and global security, it will be easy for professional politicians and academics to draw battle lines based on money, industry allegiances, party lines and ideology. I believe my lived experiences --as an immigrant growing up in poverty, of the value of education and hard work as a route out of poverty, of a deeply broken healthcare and public health system, of bringing people together across difference to make true change possible—have all profoundly shaped who I am in ways that will serve me well in those moments when tough choices are needed. In those times, I believe it makes the biggest difference what kind of experiences you have had and what choices and allegiances you have already made. For me, the issues we will face are not theoretical or academic. They are deeply personal. And I believe, above all else, this will make the biggest difference.

I have been inspired by Barak Obama’s new transparency and hope. I am inspired by the extraordinary resilience and inner strength of individuals and communities facing uncertain and difficult times. These are the times when hope and true generosity of spirit prevail. If elected, I

look forward to faithfully serving the people of the 5th District of Illinois through the opportunities and challenges ahead.

I) What is your campaign budget? How much have you raised to date? My campaign has a small budget. \$250-400K. To date, we have raised or have pledges for \$45K.

J) How many people are on your campaign staff? How many volunteers are on your list? We have had as many as 15 people at our campaign office at any one time (at the high of the signature gathering exercise). More typically, we have around 6 volunteers working full time. There is only one paid position, our field operator. I have a core virtual team of about 40 individuals around the country that are able to offer expert advice, policy expertise on a variety of subjects, and have extensive networks of connections. There are 1000 Kellogg fellows throughout the country that routinely act as each other's "brain trust" on every issue conceivable.

IVI-IPO 2009 CONGRESSIONAL QUESTIONNAIRE – Section 2

Foreign and Military		
1.	ESSAY	<p>What should be the US role in multi-national alliances such as the UN, NATO and the International Criminal Court?</p> <p>The democratic ideals on which the United States is founded have at their root the fundamental belief in the dignity and rights of self determination of individuals and nations. In this complex and interconnected world, the US must re-establish its global leadership by abiding and supporting these multi-nation alliances that recognize and uphold the sovereignty of nations while establishing clear parameters for their conduct.</p> <p>We must never again become the nation that the US has been under the Bush Administration, that shuns multi-lateral alliances, treaties, and internationally recognized rules of behavior, in favor of a do-it-alone foreign policy.</p>
2.	ESSAY	<p>What should be the policy of the IMF and World Bank toward countries that are essentially bankrupt? In his 2004 book, Confessions of an Economic Hit Man, John Perkins describes how highly paid professionals working for multinational corporations and consulting firms convinced political and financial leaders in developing nations to accept enormous development loans, which they could not reasonably repay. The loans or “foreign aid” were to pay US corporations and other multinationals for large infrastructure projects based on overstated predictions of their potential economic growth. Perkins said that highly paid professionals cheat countries around the globe out of trillions of dollars. They funnel money from the World Bank and other “foreign aid” institutions into the coffers of huge corporations. He goes on to say that the ability to pay has little to do with the placing of loans. He describes a culture of business corruption in which local elites and international banks build mutually supportive relationships based on debts that will have to be repaid by ordinary citizens.</p> <p>The irony of the 2004 and a subsequent 2006 publications is that the problems described in third world countries then, describe the United States now. Predatory lending once only a major problem for third world countries has shaken the United States.</p> <p>These institutions need to clean up their act. Like our sub-prime mortgage crisis, debt needs to be revalued or forgiven so that people and nations can move forward. Where fraud and misinformation were used to make</p>

		loans we need to identify and penalize those who perpetrated it. These practices have to stop.	
3.	ESSAY	What should be Congress' role in formulating foreign policy? I believe that democracy works best when citizens and their representatives are given ample opportunities to deliberate and hear arguments coming from every perspective and at every level. It is in this "process" that differences are highlighted, consensus reached wherever possible, and whole new solutions developed that would not have been possible without such deliberation. The executive branch has the duty to set tone and general directions, and build a pathway towards consensus. Congress, in its duty to create pass budgets, must have considerable involvement in the meta decisions that ultimately drive the budget. When such a process is circumvented because of supposed expediency or national security, more often than not, the results are disastrous.	
	YES	NO	
4.	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	If a Timetable for withdrawal from Iraq is not established, will this affect your votes on funding for the Iraq War? Please explain your answer. I have always opposed the war in Iraq, which should never have been started. The war has cost the US billions and billions of dollars. The war has not made the world safer and has cost the US dearly in terms of its moral standing. It has crippled our economy. Now that we are deeply in the war, we are forced to fund a responsible pull out so that chaos and civil war do not ensue. These goals are best achieved through the setting of clear timetables for pullout that allow Iraq and the international communities time to create conditions for a successful withdrawal of US troops. These timetables should be set in full consultation and cooperation of the international community, NATO, The UN, so that all parties take responsibility for the withdrawal's success.
5.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	Should the US wage war without a declaration from Congress?
6.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	Would you support legislation giving Governors veto power over deployment of their National Guard units overseas?
7.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	Do you agree with the current proposed level of funding for the military?
8.	ESSAY		If you agree, explain. If you disagree, how would you distribute the funds? At a cost of 20 billion dollars a week, the moneys spent on executing the war in Iraq could be better used on activities that would dramatically increase our health, economic and global security. Money spent abroad building schools and hospitals, wells and sewage systems for

			<p>those in need does more than land mines and cluster bombs to ensure our security. These humanitarian efforts dispel false impressions of the US that fuel radical Islam and other opportunistic groups. It embodies our commitment to universal human rights and dignity, improves the quality of life of people across the globe, and gives many a stronger foundation for the future. These activities help the US win the battle of ideas by taking away major propaganda claims used by organizations like Hamas to recruit and sustain members. Further, redirecting some military funding to green energy development and energy independence would place the US in a more stable position, cripple the ability of dictators in oil-rich states to rely on oil wealth instead of developing a stable and productive society, and help elevate the US position as a global leader. Increasing investment in education across all ethnicities and social classes will help create a more tolerant society, better prepared to face challenges to our security and thoughtfully avoiding knee-jerk reactions. These change will lead us down the path of again being becoming a leader and a beacon of hope around the world</p>
9.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	Do you support continued funding for WHISC (the re-named Army School of the Americas)?
10.	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	Would you support congressional investigations into government contractors that have participated in Human Rights violations such as the rendition/torture flights
11.	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	Would you support legislation banning such activities in the question above?
12.	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	Will you support legislation guaranteeing the protections of the Geneva Conventions and the US Constitution to “enemy combatants” or others similarly detained by the US Government anywhere in the world?
13.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	Do you support the way the drug war is being carried on, both abroad and at home?
14.	ESSAY		<p>What would you change?</p> <p>My work in public service and scientific training as a physician inform my views on the War on Drugs. This government effort, intended to reduce the \$400 billion annual global trade in illegal drugs, still fails to achieve its stated aims even after nearly five decades. Despite the Drug War’s current price tag of about \$40 billion/year (\$20 billion from Office of National Drug Control Policy and another \$20 billion from the states), illegal drugs are cheaper, purer and more available than before the War began.</p> <p>As many have noted, most evidence suggests that the public policy emphasis on diminishing the supply of illegal drugs rather than on reducing demand for those drugs has not worked. Evidence about efficacy</p>

			<p>on the supply side is lacking: According to the National Research Council in 2001, evaluations of the efficacy of military operations in coca crop eradication were at best inconclusive to the extent that they were studied at all. Moreover, on the a demand side, a landmark RAND study showed that drug treatment is ten times more cost effective than interdiction with regard to cocaine use. For every \$1 invested in substance abuse treatment, US taxpayers save \$7 in costs to society. So from my perspective, according to the evidence, the Drug War in its current form makes very little sense at all.</p> <p>The War’s misplaced emphasis and flawed execution have also generated significant collateral social damage. The reliance on political ideology rather than science to guide public policy in the War has had important health consequences. For example the federal ban on funding needle exchange programs is estimated to generate ten new AIDS cases each day. The unprecedented explosion in the US prison population (now at 2 million) is driven largely by the rise in drug convictions. And yet, it’s evident that we cannot “incarcerate” our way out of the problem of drug demand. Moreover, reports by Human Rights Watch and others illustrate how disproportionate minority confinement reproduces some of the society’s most serious fault lines. For example, although whites commit more drug offenses, Blacks are arrested and imprisoned on drug charges at significantly higher rates. In all these ways, the Drug War’s failures have inflicted a profound negative toll on American communities. Given these realities and these returns on taxpayer investment, I cannot support the War on Drugs as it is currently waged.</p>
15.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	Do you support the way the drug war is being carried on, both abroad and at home?
			Do you support
16.	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	normalization of relations with Cuba?
17.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	the Helms-Burton Act?
Energy & Environment			
	YES	NO	Do you support:
18.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	Oil drilling in Alaska and other protected wilderness?
19.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	Do you support any increased off-shore drilling? Explain
20.	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	Lower National Carbon emissions goals?
21.	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	National Energy Efficiency goals?

22.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	Coal Liquification?
23.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	Increasing use of Nuclear power for electric generation?
24.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	Mountaintop coal strip mining?
25.	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	Increase user fees for grazing, mining and lumbering on Federal lands?
26.	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	Kyoto Protocols?
27.	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	Biodiesel mixture and agri-biodiesel production tax credits?

Transportation

			Should the federal government have primary funding responsibility for
28.	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	infrastructure improvements?
29.	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	highways?
30.	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	mass transit?
31.	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	high-speed rail?
32.	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	Amtrak?
33.	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	Air transportation?
34.	ESSAY		Please comment on specific proposals: Even under normal times, the proper role of the Federal Government is to provide for “the commons.” These come generally in the form of infrastructure building projects, research, workforce capacity building and other activities that are prohibitively expensive for individual States or private entities to undertake on their own, but which are good for the general well being of the Nation. During this current credit crunch, the role of federal spending on these activities, especially infrastructure and transportation improvements doubly important, as these are activities that can be a significant source of good paying jobs and an immediate and long term stimulus to the economy.

Taxes and Economic Policy

			Do you favor
35.	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	a more progressive income tax?
36.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	a flat tax?
37.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	a national sales tax?
38.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	reduction of the capital gains tax?
39.	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	taxing capital gains at the same rate as earned income?
40.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	reduction or elimination of the estate tax?
41.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	elimination of the corporate alternative tax?
42.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	reduction of the tax on stock dividends?
43.	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	taxing dividends at the same rate as earned income?
44.	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	Increasing the Federal Minimum wage?
45.	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	any other changes in our tax structure?

46.	ESSAY	<p>Please explain. I'm supportive of President Obama tax plan to deliver broad-based tax relief to middle class families and cuts taxes for small businesses and companies that create jobs in America. This will restore fairness to our tax code and returning to fiscal responsibility. For too long, tax relief has been based on the misguided notion and discredited trickle down theories where corporations and big business get the lion's share of the relief. As outlined in the Obama plan, I would favor the elimination of tax loopholes and subsidies that encourage the movement of jobs and companies overseas. I would create tax incentives for corporations who locate the production of jobs and goods in the United States. I would provide incentives for corporations that provide portable health insurance, access to retirement savings plans, and maintaining reasonable ratios between what the highest and lowest paid workers earn, support the emerging green economy. I would roll-back or sunset the Bush tax cuts for the wealthiest Americans.</p>
47.	ESSAY	<p>What changes, if any, do you support regarding Social Security? Is there a real crisis? This is the first question to ask regarding the Social security debate. For a long time, Republicans have said YES, and that justified the need to privatize the system... a position which I oppose. The liberal Democrats have said YES because they feel that the system is self destructing. However, some economists including Nobel laureate Paul Krugman has been quoted as saying that " There is a long-run financing problem. But it is a problem of modest size..." thus we need to understand the issues more. However it is clear that a combination of factors will have to considered. At this point, and following some of the ideas generated by AARP I believe that reducing the Cost of Living Adjustment or COLA would reduce the funding shortfall because wages historically grow faster than prices via economic growth. AARP also produces using progressive indexing may reduce the shortfall 100% but will reduce the growth in scheduled benefits over time. Progressive Indexing mixes prices and wages and would be used to set the initial benefit level. The "progressive" feature seems to be that the less generous price indexing would be used in greater proportion for retirees with higher income.</p>
48.	<input type="checkbox"/> <input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	Will you support "fast track" legislation for trade treaties?
49.	ESSAY	<p>Please discuss your ideas for an economic recovery plan. Please be specific as to what criteria would be necessary for you to support such a plan.</p> <p>The Committee on Appropriations released a statement explaining the proposed Recovery and Reinvestment Act. It is estimated that even with</p>

the recovery act, unemployment in the United States is expected to rise to 8 or 9% during this recession. Without the recovery act, unemployment would probably rise to 12%. Since 2001, worker productivity has risen, yet 96% of that income growth has gone to the top 10% of our society. The remaining 90% of Americans have struggled to maintain their standard of living mostly by borrowing money. Most of those people have reached the limits. They cannot borrow any more. With the job losses and no more money coming in, people are desperate.

In 2000 the United States had a budget surplus. Employment was up by 21 million. When Mr. Bush took office he joked that the multi millionaires were his base. He did everything he could to take care of his base while he was in office with tax cuts, contracts to his vice presidents former company and a war in a country that has one of the world's largest reserves of oil. The recent Wall Street Bailout was still taking care of his base of financier friends. But, even though he cut their taxes, they lost much more when the markets failed. So in truth, Mr. Bush has not been a friend even to his friends. The country is in a mess.

So, now Congress and President Obama are trying to stop the bleeding, pick up the pieces and plan for a better day. Reading through the summary of the Recovery and Reinvestment Act in the House, the provisions are pretty reasonable. Knowing that the high unemployment is going to put great strain on the states, Congress is making provisions for the greater needs in health care and other benefits like food stamps for the unemployed. College students need help to stay in school. People need to survive while we wait for our country to thaw out both literally and figuratively. Local governments will need help paying the salaries of police and firemen and teachers. We have to find a way to help people get through this crisis. It is a little reminiscent of the bailout for Mexico back in the Clinton presidency. At the time, helping our neighbor out of a financial crisis was harshly criticized. It was said that Mexico should be allowed to fail. But, we were good neighbors and helping Mexico was a smart move for the US both strategically and financially. Not only did we avoid the chaos of a Mexican melt down, but Mexico repaid the loans with higher interest than would have been yielded had the money been left in treasury bonds.

In addition to helping people hold on, we are also planning for the future. We are looking for clean, efficient American energy. We are putting money into science and technology and education for the 21st century. We are looking to modernize roads and bridges, transit and waterways. The act is an investment in America.

50.	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	Would you support utilizing anti-trust laws against firms that are “too big to let fail?”
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Consumer Rights

51.	ESSAY	<p>What regulations would you support to safeguard consumers from being harmed in situations such as the recent sub-prime lending credit crisis?</p> <p>A significant part of this and similar crises has been lending with the intent to profit from something other than the good health of the loan, a practice that should be prohibited. In this spirit consumer credit lenders have lent to people without credit checks or at high risk, intended to profit off finance charges and increased interest rates, something that would be banned under such regulation. Further, to prevent brokers from profiting from the sale of risky loans, loan brokering should be prohibited, helping to ensure good lending practices by tying lenders to the risk of the loan. This would mean fewer people would be granted loans, but it would be a form of tough love, preventing people from taking out loans they cannot realistically repay. Caps should be placed on consumer credit and mortgage interest rates, preventing abusive lending. Bankruptcy should include a hold on mortgage foreclosure, allowing Americans to avoid losing their homes in times of trouble. Further, there should be full disclosure on all potential risks, not simply the terms, of variable-rate mortgages, ensuring borrowers fully understand the risks they take. Such protections would not only help ensure consumers aren't victim to predatory practices but would also protect the economy once the true cost of such practices comes to bear.</p>	
52.	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	Do you support a moratorium on mortgage foreclosures?
	YES	NO	Do you support
53.	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	federal legislation to cap interest rates on mortgages?
54.	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	federal legislation to cap interest rates on credit card interest?
55.	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	federal legislation to regulate ATM fees and service charges on credit cards and other consumer loans?
56.	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	allowing states to enact consumer laws which go beyond the protection of federal legislation?

Government and Ethics

57.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	Do you support term limits?
			Do you support
58.	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	public financing of Congressional campaigns?
59.	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	spending limits?
60.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	abolition of PACs?

61.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	Elimination of earmarks?
62.	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	All earmarks being made available in a searchable format on the internet?
63.	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	Would you support increased Congressional oversight of federal contracting?
64.	ESSAY		<p>Why or why not? It is no surprise that we are relearning an ancient wisdom that human greed is real and pervasive. There have been myriad instances of abuses of power and/or insider information to benefit individuals or special interests at the cost of the American people. The era of villainizing Government as the problem is over. Government must take an active role in monitoring and regulating its activities and setting standards in regard to federal contracts.</p>
65.	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<p>Would you support Congressional investigations of wrong-doing under the Bush administration? Yes but not at the expense of getting things done in Congress moving forward. We must not get mired down in a criminal investigation or hearing that would take years to prosecute and could lead to viscous partisan bickering and government paralysis. I would rather see something like a truth and reconciliation commission created.</p>
66.	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<p>Would you support legislation forbidding all Senate, House, and White House staff from engaging in any political activity on government time?</p>
Health & Human Services			
67.	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	Do you support comprehensive, universal, single-payer health care?
68.	ESSAY		<p>If not, how would you address the need for healthcare for the uninsured and underinsured? If you don't have your health, nothing else matters. I believe that health is a human right. And the availability of high quality health care is fundamental to the achievement of that right. As a doctor working at the frontlines of health service and advocacy for over 20 years in the public sector, I know what it means for people to suffer the denial of the basic human right to health. I know what's at stake. And that is why my platform advocates comprehensive health care reform.</p> <p>Americans spend over \$2.2 trillion per year on health, about 16% of GDP. And yet 47 million are uninsured and over 70 million are underinsured, which means over 1/3 of Americans do not have access to the care they need in order to realize the basic human right to health. Though we spend more on health than anyone else on the planet, the US ranks 41st in terms of infant mortality and 35th in life expectancy. Ours is a system ravaged by fragmentation and inefficiency, and riven by racial</p>

and class inequities in health status and care. In our failed experiments with market based approaches, health care is delivered on the basis of ability to pay rather than on the basis of need . As a result, the fundamental human right to health is denied many Americans every day with all the predictable and preventable consequences: excess affliction, suffering and death. Lives and livelihoods hang in the balance in the ongoing fight for a platform that says, “Yes we can” to comprehensive health care reform.

I carry in my wallet a quote by Dr. Martin Luther King who said: “Of all the forms of inequality, injustice in health care is the most shocking and inhumane.” And as a doctor, this I know is true: For too long, special interests in the system’s status quo have ruled the day and denied justice to the American people. Entrenched stakeholders are allowed to say, “No you can’t” or “No you won’t” to comprehensive health care reform. So fight we must. In the words of another great American Frederick Douglas, “Without struggle there can be no progress.” What we need is political leadership strong and wise enough to stand up for the American people who insist it’s time to change. No more business as usual in the health care marketplace. We can no longer afford to line the coffers of health insurance and pharmaceutical companies and the fat pockets of their CEOs. We can no longer afford to extend life support to a dysfunctional system that denies our basic human rights, generates inequities, and drives dismal health outcomes for everyday Americans and their communities.

In the next session of Congress, I will stand against the “business as usual special interests” and stand up for comprehensive healthcare reform . My vision of the health care system we need is focused by two organizing principles: Universality and Quality.

1) **UNIVERSALITY:** “Everybody in, nobody out.” A healthy workforce is critical to economic recovery. Working people need to know that their family’s health is not in peril if they move or lose a job. People with disabilities need to know that they will receive the best possible health support services to allow them to live productive lives. People with preexisting conditions.... People with catastrophic illnesses must know that they will not have to choose between treatment and economic ruin. Those without jobs must know that they too will have access to high quality care regardless of ability to pay.

2) **QUALITY:** Our healthcare system is currently skewed toward subspecialty and emergency room care with too little emphasis on primary care, illness prevention and early detection. Easy access to rationally

			organized and appropriately reimbursed high quality care is key.
69.	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	Should the FDA approve importation of drugs from countries whose manufacturing and safety standards are equal or superior to those in the US?
70.	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	Do you support funding of comprehensive age appropriate sex education programs?
71.	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	Do you support increased funding for HIV/AIDS research, education, prevention, and services?
72.	ESSAY		Please discuss compulsory licensing of essential drugs where needed, in the US, Africa, Asia and elsewhere. The HIV/AIDS epidemic must be treated and contained. The TRIPS-plus agreement and future restrictions on access to essential medicines must be set aside in favor of renegotiating existing free trade agreements to conform to TRIPS minimum requirements.

	YES	NO	Do you support
73.	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	federal funding for stem cell research?
74.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	legislation prohibiting stem cell research?
Do you support			
75.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	the Human Life Amendment?
76.	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	The Freedom of Choice Act?
77.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	parental or spousal notification or consent to obtain an abortion? I would advise parental notification be obtained in cases involving young teens where domestic abuse is not an issue.
78.	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	restoration of Medicaid coverage of abortion?
79.	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	a ban on so-called partial birth abortions? With exceptions given to instances where the life of the mother is at risk.
80.	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	insurance coverage for abortions for federal and military employees and their dependents?
Do you favor increased funding for:			
81.	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	supplemental food programs for Women, Infants and Children (WIC)?
82.	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	food stamp allowances?
83.	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	Head Start?
84.	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	school lunch programs?
85.	ESSAY		What services, if any, should be offered to those whose time on Welfare has run out and do not have adequate income to support themselves and their families? This question speaks to a need for a broad national discussion of safety net services for families in need, which will be ongoing until TANF reauthorization in 2010. As we have these discussions, it is imperative to keep families from slipping deeper into destitution. This being said, families should be offered healthcare, food stamps, housing, transportation, furniture and clothing vouchers at the bare minimum.
Do you support			
86.	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	increased funding to develop affordable housing?
87.	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	restrictions to ensure development of low-income rather than market rate housing?
88.	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	a National Affordable Housing Trust Fund to build, rehabilitate and preserve at least 1.5 million units of housing, 75% of which would be rental housing for households with income below the poverty level?
89.	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	protection against housing discrimination for holders of Section 8 housing vouchers?

			Do you favor
90.	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	increased federal aid to public education?
91.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	vouchers, tuition tax-credits or other any direct public support for parochial or private schools?
92.	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	Are the provisions of the No Child Left Behind Act the most effective way to advance student achievement?
93.	ESSAY		If not, what plan would you propose? Although the No Child Left Behind Act has serious flaws, it should be improved, but not replaced by a new plan that would take years to execute, and even more years to evaluate. The overhaul of the No Child Left Behind Act should include changes in the adequate yearly progress formula, which needs to be replaced so that it allows states to utilize growth models as long as the expectations are kept high and lack of growth is not used as an excuse to cover-up mediocrity. In addition, the federal government shall provide enough resources to fund the new accountability provisions for student achievement, offer bonuses or performance pay as a way to incentivize teachers to work in hard to staff schools, and fully fund the training and on-going professional development of teachers and paraprofessionals at the state and district level.

Law, Justice, and Correctional System

			Do you support:
94.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	admissibility of illegally obtained evidence?
95.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	electronic eavesdropping?
96.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	roving wiretaps?
97.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	capital punishment?
98.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	criminal prosecution of juveniles as adults?
99.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	mandatory sentencing?
	YE S	NO	
100.	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	criminalization of hate crimes?
101.	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	Congressional oversight of the NSA?
102.	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	Real ID program? Primarily for public health records but with significant restrictions on its use.
103.	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	Changes to the Military Commissions Act?
104.	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	Do you support legislation prohibiting racial profiling in law enforcement?
105.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	Do you favor detention of suspects and material witnesses without charges and/or probable cause?

106.	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	Do you favor giving such detainees access to counsel?
107.	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	Would you support legislation authorizing or prohibiting secret military tribunals?
108.	ESSAY		<p>Please explain your position. Secret military tribunals are a dangerous affront to international rules of conduct. I am opposed to the use of secret military tribunals. Specifically, without the benefit of a full, fair and public tribunal our men and women in the military run the serious risk of unknowingly violating or usurping the War Crimes Act (18 USC 2441) resulting in lengthy prison sentences or in a worst case scenario – death. Furthermore, the U.S. Supreme Court in a 5-3 decision in Hamdan v. Rumsfeld has halted secret military tribunals formed to prosecute Guantanamo Bay (GTMO) detainees for alleged violations of the laws of war. The courts reasoning focused on fundamental due process, which was not guaranteed under the rules of the tribunal. Fundamental due process prevents the abuse of absolute discretion, which lacks rules and uniformity. A clear example of what happens when secret military tribunals are utilized are the acts that resulted in the Abu Ghraib prison scandal.</p> <p>In Abu Ghraib prison U.S. military personnel were ordered by senior officers to torture and otherwise humiliate Iraqi prisoners of war. Each order that was carried out violated the War Crimes Act unknown to junior personnel. The end result, prisoners were abused and possibly killed, while junior military personnel were convicted of crimes and imprisoned for simply following orders. Had there been proper oversight and due process afforded prisoners of the prison it is likely Abu Ghraib would never have happened.</p> <p>We must do better and protect the rights of not only our citizens but those in our care and trust. We can not afford another Abu Ghraib.</p>
109.	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	Do you support legislation banning torture and inhumane treatment of detainees under US control?
			Do you support legislation to ban the manufacture, sale and possession of
110.	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	handguns?
111.	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	assault weapons?
			Do you support legislation
112.	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	mandating background checks of purchasers of weapons at gun shows, through the internet and through print advertisements?
113.	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	increasing penalties for illegal resale of weapons?

114.	ESSAY	What restrictions, if any, should Congress enact or repeal regarding the scope of federally funded legal services for the poor? Congress should repeal all restrictions imposed in 1994 and 1995. Virtually all people of good will agree these restrictions should be removed. A number of bar associations found that these restrictions interfered with the professional functioning of legal services for the poor.
Civil Liberties and Civil Rights		
115.	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/>	Do you support DC statehood?
116.	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/>	Do you favor repeal of the Patriot Act or any of its provisions?
117.	ESSAY	<p>Please explain your answer: The law is dangerously flawed and puts significant, unbridles risks to the civil liberties of individuals. The Patriot Act increases the ability of law enforcement agencies to search telephone, e-mail communications, medical, financial and other records; eases restrictions on foreign intelligence gathering within the United States; expands the Secretary of the Treasury's authority to regulate financial transactions, particularly those involving foreign individuals and entities; and enhances the discretion of law enforcement and immigration authorities in detaining and deporting immigrants suspected of terrorism-related acts. The act also expands the definition of terrorism to include domestic terrorism.</p> <p>In particular, I do not support the indefinite detentions of immigrants; searches through which law enforcement officers search a home or business without the owner's or the occupant's permission or knowledge; the expanded use of National Security Letters, which allows the FBI to search telephone, email and financial records without a court order; and the expanded access of law enforcement agencies to business records, including library and financial records. Since its passage, several legal challenges have been brought against the act, and Federal courts have ruled that a number of provisions are unconstitutional. The law is dangerously flawed and puts significant, unbridles risks to the civil liberties of individuals.</p>
		Do you support
118.	<input type="checkbox"/> <input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	repeal or revision of the Posse Comitatus Act? I do not believe it is a good idea to have the US military traipsing around the US doing military things. The Posse Comitatus Act protects our basic constitutional freedoms. Think of the ICE raids on homes early in the mornings and all the constitutional violations there -- do we want the Army to be doing the same thing for us? Immigration is not an "invasion" to be stopped with machine guns and tanks. The Posse Comitatus Act has traditionally been

			viewed as a major barrier to the use of U.S. military forces in planning for homeland defense , however, I believe the Posse Comitatus Act remains a deterrent to prevent the unauthorized deployment of troops at the local level in response to what is purely a civilian law enforcement matter. I support the Posse Comitatus Act.
119.	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	prioritizing family reunification as criteria in granting visas and processing citizenship and permanent resident applications? Family reunification already has a major place in our immigration system. It is good to respect families, and the numbers given to family based immigration quotas should be increased along with general increases in all categories of allowed immigration. Children who are American citizens should never be separated from their parents. There is no reason why brothers and sisters of American citizens, who reside in the United States, should have to wait 14 years to get a residency without having the possibility of working, going to school, or having a drivers license. The present system "works" in its general outline and should be made to work better, not abandoned in a quest for something new and different.
120.	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	halting deportations of immigrants until final determination of residency status has been made and appeals have been exhausted? It makes a lot of sense not to deport most immigrants until their appeals are exhausted. Perhaps in cases where there are major criminal violations that underlie the removal order, and no claim to protection through asylum, withholding or Torture Convention protections, it is not necessary to wait. Too many people are in detention, away from families, communities and lawyers, being "supported" at taxpayer expense.
121.	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	amnesty for undocumented immigrants currently in the country? I support the position that undocumented immigrants in this country, who do not have criminal backgrounds, be allowed to earn their residency through application, reporting back taxes, and some modest penalty fee. This is would not be a blanket amnesty but an earned pardon.
122.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	building a US-Mexican border fence or “wall”? What a ridiculous idea this has been from the get-go. Effective Border control is not achieved by building fences, but by creating jobs in the underdeveloped countries that allow people to work without having to come to the United States as well as to punish those that circumvent US employment protection laws by hiring people whose need for work make them victims of our system.
123.	ESSAY		<p>What immigration reforms do you support?</p> <p>A comprehensive, integrated immigration reform agenda would feature:</p> <p>a. Amending the Immigration and Nationality Act (INA) to permit the parents of US citizens to petition through their US citizen children under</p>

		<p>21 years of age, avoiding the possible deportation of parents of US citizen children and allowing such children equal opportunities with other citizen children. Support enactment of the DREAM Act so that undocumented children who came to the US before their 15th birthday, and who demonstrate achievement in school are able to legalize their status and continue their higher education. Support enactment of the Child Citizens Protection Act.</p> <p>b. Repeal of the provisions of the Anti-Terrorism and Effective Death Penalty Act of 1996, the Illegal Immigration Reform and Immigrant Responsibility Act of 1996, and the 2005 Real ID Act that strip the courts of their historic role to ensure that the Executive faithfully implements the laws of Congress.</p> <p>c. Repeal of current Employer Sanction laws which are ineffective in stopping the hiring of undocumented immigrants and exploit undocumented workers and support of new sanctions that enhance the penalties against employers who violate the labor rights of immigrant workers.</p> <p>d. Enactment of legislation prohibiting mass non-individualized detention of citizens and immigrants at work sites and elsewhere.</p>
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	YE S	NO	Do you support
124.	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	federal legislation to prohibit discrimination based on sexual orientation in housing, employment and education?
125.	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	repeal of the Defense of Marriage Act?
126.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	a Constitutional amendment prohibiting states from recognizing gay marriage or civil unions?
127.	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	Federal recognition of all state marriages for federal benefit purposes?

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128.	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	Would you support legislation allowing gays and lesbians to serve openly in the military?
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129.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	Do you support prior government restraint of the press?
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			Do you support
130.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	prayer in public schools?
131.	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	moment of silence?
132.	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	faith-based initiatives? They must be voluntary and in no way attempt to coerce individuals or be subject to others religious beliefs

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			Do you support mandatory drug testing
133.	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	in private employment? Only in cases where the public is potentially at

			risk from the drug use
134.	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	in public employment? Only in cases where the public is potentially at risk from the drug use.
135.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	Do you support mandatory AIDS testing for insurance or employment?
136.	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	Do you support legislation to redress inequities in pension benefits for women?
137.	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	Do you support the Equal Rights Amendment to the US Constitution?
Labor			
			Do you support
138.	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	repeal of the Taft-Hartley Act?
139.	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	a prohibition on permanent replacement of strikers?
140.	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	giving federal employees the right to strike?
141.	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	the Employee Freedom of Choice Act?
142.	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	a federal public works program to ensure full employment?
143.	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	Do you support Affirmative Action with specific goals, targets and timetables for federal employment, grants and contracts?
144.	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	Do you support legislation to restructure the wage scale of federal employees to correct disparities based on gender by instituting equal pay for jobs of comparable worth?
145.	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	Do you support a federal living wage law to guarantee that a person working forty hours a week would be able to afford housing, food, utilities, transportation and health care?