

Questions Approved by Presidential Candidates' Workgroup

- 1. Because it is well known that joining a union is the best way known to raise wages to a living wage, improve working conditions, and create family-sustaining jobs, every working American must have the right to do so. As President, what would you do to address the forces responsible for the Janus decision?**

Corporate interests have been rigging the system against workers for decades—and last year, in *Janus v. AFSCME*, the Supreme Court handed those interests a massive victory. I will remake the federal courts with nominees who support working people. That starts at the top: I pledge as president to nominate a demonstrated advocate for workers to fill any Supreme Court vacancy. We can't afford more decisions from the Supreme Court and appellate courts that strip workers of rights and hand more power to corporations.

But *Janus* was driven by an underlying problem: American workers don't have enough power. A key reason for that is the systematic attack on unions by giant corporations and their allies in Washington and in state governments. Decades of accumulating decisions in corporate boardrooms and in Washington have shifted more and more power into the hands of Wall Street managers, CEOs, and other elites -- and money along with it. Returning power to working people will be the overarching goal of my presidency. Unions built America's middle class, and with the strong support of my administration, they will help rebuild America's middle class.

To do that, I will partner with Congress, use bold executive action, and leverage the federal procurement process to pursue the most progressive and comprehensive agenda for workers since the New Deal. My agenda has five broad goals: (1) Extending labor rights to all workers; (2) Strengthening organizing, collective bargaining, and the right to strike; (3) Raising wages and protecting pensions; (4) Increasing worker choice and control; and (5) Expanding worker protections, combating discrimination, and improving enforcement. Below are some actions I'll take to put power back in the hands of workers.

- Under my Accountable Capitalism bill, American companies with \$1 billion or more in annual revenue must let employees elect no less than 40% of the company's Board members.
- As president, I will fight to end the practice of misclassifying workers as "independent contractors." I backed a recent law in California that will help end worker misclassification in that state, and I will push to enact a similar law at the federal level. I will also push to make worker misclassification itself a violation of labor law. And I will use every administrative tool available to end worker misclassification from the day I enter office.
- I will adopt a broad "joint employer" standard under the FLSA and the NLRA. I helped lead the fight to ensure a broad definition of employer so that workers could hold big companies accountable - before Trump's Labor Department reversed course. I will direct my Labor Department to scrap the new Trump rule and write a new one that defines employer broadly. And I will push to enact the Protecting the Right to Organize (PRO)

Act, which addresses this problem in statute and empowers the millions of workers who work for franchises and subcontractors.

- I will clarify that graduate students are “employees” who can unionize. In 2016, the NLRB under the Obama Administration determined that graduate students who get paid for teaching or research are “employees” and therefore have a right to unionize. That set off a wave of unionization efforts, which I supported and encouraged. But the Trump Administration’s NLRB recently proposed a new rule reversing that Obama-era ruling. I will appoint NLRB members who would scrap the Trump rule and revive the right of graduate students to organize. And I will fight for legislation to reaffirm that graduate students are employees so future administrations cannot strip them of their rights again.
- I will work with home care workers and their advocates to ensure equal treatment for them under our labor laws. That includes guaranteeing that all home care workers can join a union or other worker organization, creating training and certificate programs to address safety, and enforcing adequate federal nursing home staff minimum requirements. And my administration will reverse a cynical Trump-era rule that prevents home care workers that work with Medicaid beneficiaries from using paycheck deductions for health insurance contributions and union dues.
- My plan further empowers workers by banning the permanent replacement of strikers; protecting the rights of workers to engage in repeated, short-term strikes - sometimes called pattern or intermittent strikes - by appointing NLRB members who recognize that such strikes are legal under the NLRA; and committing to a very high standard for intervening in strikes in all industries.
- A Warren administration will also amend federal labor law to promote sectoral bargaining so workers across industries or child care workers across different employers - can band together and bargain alongside labor organizations to improve wages, hours, and working conditions on an industry-wide basis.
- I will push to repeal Section 8(c) of the Taft-Hartley Act, a provision that permits employer interference like compelling worker attendance at anti-union meetings and restricting reasonable union access to the workplace.
- I will work to crack down on intimidation by state and local officials who insert themselves into organizing campaigns to threaten workers with all manner of consequences should they form a union.

I will also fight to guarantee public sector workers the right to organize, narrow the definition of “supervisor” in the NLRA so that more employees gain collective bargaining rights, broaden the NLRB’s enforcement authority and create a private right of action for employees, legalize craft units, strengthen the NLRB regional offices, support project labor agreements, and defend worker pensions.

You can read my full plan for empowering American workers and raising wages [here](#).

2. How will you ensure that every American can access affordable healthcare and long-term care as we continue on our path to universal healthcare?

Private insurance companies raked in \$23 billion last year while premiums skyrocket and prescription drug copays are going through the roof. It’s not right, and it’s not sustainable. I

support Medicare for All, which would ensure comprehensive health care coverage for all Americans, including for community-based, long-term services and supports. I'm fighting for Medicare for All because I believe every person should be able to get the health care they need.

3. Do you support a national single payer healthcare plan? And if so, when did you first make that publicly clear? If not, please tell us what you support and why.

Yes, I support Medicare for All and believe it should be the law of the land. I have been talking about why families go broke for decades because of medical costs -- even families with insurance. I believe health care is a basic human right and we fight for basic human rights. That's why I am a co-sponsor of the Medicare for All legislation in the Senate and will fight to get it passed.

4. If you are elected, when will you begin to address the inequities that all working people including communities of color, immigrants, women, LGBTQ+, and people with disabilities — face in their employment and to address reverse multi-generational poverty, exploitation, low wages and unsafe working conditions, which the most vulnerable among us face?

As president, I will empower marginalized workers and help raise labor standards for all workers. On day one of a Warren administration, I will take a set of executive actions to boost wages for women of color and open up new pathways to the leadership positions they deserve. I will promote equity in the private sector through historic new requirements on federal contractors. Companies with federal contracts employ roughly a quarter of the U.S. workforce. By imposing new rules on companies that hope to receive federal contracts, we can take a big step towards creating equal opportunities for Black, Latina, Native American, Asian and other women of color. And I will support strong labor unions, which take on workplace discrimination by bargaining for fair, transparent pay scales, protections from harassment and discrimination, and decent workplace conditions for all workers—regardless of race, gender, national origin, sexual orientation, gender identity or disabilities.

Every worker should be safe at work. Every worker should be treated with dignity and respect. And any employer that fails to ensure these conditions should be held accountable. That's why my plan for empowering American workers also calls to:

- Extend basic protections to farm workers and domestic workers. I will fight to pass the Domestic Workers Bill of Rights and the Fairness for Farm Workers Act, proposals that address historical injustices against farm workers and domestic workers. I'm also committed to ensuring that these workers have the right to organize, whether through the NLRA or some other means.
- Support new worker safety protections for health care, transit, and social service workers. I will work with employees in these fields to address worker safety, including by

pushing to pass the Workplace Violence Prevention for Health Care and Social Service Workers Act.

- Protect workers from discrimination during the hiring process. I've promised to ban federal contractors from asking applicants for previous salary information and violating the EEOC's criminal records guidance. And I've committed to reversing guidance exempting privately run re-entry programs from anti-discrimination laws. I'll go further to address inequality in the job market by codifying the EEOC guidance so it applies to all private employers and directing the EEOC to bring pattern-and-practice suits against companies that have a history of this kind of discrimination.
- Stop employers from using traits historically associated with race to discriminate against workers. I will push to pass federal anti-discrimination legislation that includes traits historically associated with race, including hair texture.
- I will fight to pass the Pregnant Workers Fairness Act, which, among other things, makes it illegal to fail to make reasonable accommodations for pregnant workers or to deny employment opportunities to pregnant workers based on the need to make such reasonable accommodations.

I will also push to pass the bipartisan Equality Act to codify workplace protections for LGBTQ+ workers; enforce President Obama's Executive Order requiring federal contractors to have an LGBTQ+ employment non-discrimination policy; issue regulations affirming LGBTQ+ people's equal rights in the workplace; fight to pass the Transformation to Competitive Employment Act, which would support a transition towards competitive, integrated employment for people with disabilities; and significantly strengthen enforcement of worker protection laws.

You can read my full plan to empower American workers [here](#) and my plan to value the work of women of color [here](#).

5. Specifically concerning immigrants, what relief can we expect you to extend to those who hold temporary protected status, what protection to the Dreamers and what clear path forward can we expect from your administration on this issue. How would you make the United States a welcoming nation to immigrants again?

I have a plan to create big structural change in our immigration system: to create a fair immigration system that preserves our security, grows our economy, and reflects our values. One that's good for immigrants, good for workers, and ultimately good for the United States.

I have proposed to decriminalize migration and refocus enforcement on serious criminal activity. Entering the country without authorization will continue to be a violation of civil immigration law, but we will not take children away from their parents or lock them in cages. I will significantly reduce immigration detention by limiting its use only to those situations where it is actually necessary because an individual poses a flight or safety risk. Instead, I'll expand community-based alternatives to detention, which are safer, save money, and can be more

effective at ensuring compliance. I'll enforce strict standards for remaining detention facilities, including for medical care and to end the use of solitary confinement, and I will end ICE contracts with private detention providers. And I'll remake ICE from top to bottom, in a way that reflects our values -- focusing its efforts on homeland security, insisting that it follow the same due process standards as other federal law enforcement agencies, and holding accountable anyone who abuses immigrants.

I will also fight to ensure employers can't exploit undocumented workers and drive down standards for all workers. My administration will fight to amend the NLRA to end the exploitation of undocumented workers as allowed in *Hoffman Plastic Compounds v. NLRB* and ensure all workers are protected.

Our laws and our values compel us to help those fleeing violence and oppression. I'll reject exclusionary policies based on race, religion, and nationality, including by reversing Trump's bigoted Muslim Ban on my first day in office. I'll reinstate Temporary Protected Status designations and Deferred Enforced Departure to protect individuals at risk in their home countries. I'll raise the refugee cap to welcome 175,000 refugees per year by the end of my first term, and I'll affirm asylum protections for those fleeing violence, including by ending the metering and "Remain in Mexico" policies. I'll also withdraw Trump's proposed policy that forces immigrant families to choose between accessing critical health services and staying together with their children, many of whom are American citizens.

I will reinstate the DACA program and protections for our Dreamers and their families, and expand the program to cover more young people by extending the cut-off date, eliminating the arbitrary application age requirement, and extending the "minor" designation to anyone who was brought to the U.S. under the age of 18. But Dreamers have families and communities that are productive, longtime members of our American family and need protection too. I'll extend the individual exercise of discretion to offer deferred action protections to hardworking immigrants who have contributed to our country for years and have built careers and families here, while pushing for a far-reaching legislative fix that provides a fair but achievable path to citizenship for them.

I support additional legal immigration -- to expand family reunification and make it easier for relatives of citizens and green card holders to come to the United States; and to grow our economy, paired with real accountability on employers who break the rules, exploit workers, or don't adhere to basic labor standards.

You can read more about my immigration plan [here](#).

6. Do you support \$15.00 minimum wage, and an opportunity to join a union? If so, when did you first make that clear publicly? And if not, what is your vision of what is a living wage?

After my daddy had a heart attack and couldn't go back to work, my mom, who had never worked outside the home, walked to Sears and got a minimum wage job. That minimum wage job saved our house and our family. This story isn't just a story about my mother, but about millions of Americans who reach down and find what they have to find to pull themselves up. It's also a story about government. When my mom got that job at Sears, the minimum wage would support a family of three, take care of the mortgage and utilities, and put food on the table. Today, a full-time minimum wage job will not keep a momma and a baby out of poverty and that is wrong. I will fight to pass the Raise the Wage Act, which increases the federal minimum wage to \$15 an hour for all workers - including tipped workers and workers with disabilities -- and indexes the minimum wage to median wage growth. While I push to enact that legislation, I will sign an executive order on the first day of my administration to require all federal contractors to pay a \$15-an-hour minimum wage. Additionally, lockouts can disrupt the federal contracting process, and my administration will take that into account in awarding federal contracts.

One of the primary goals of my administration will be reversing the steady decline in union membership and putting workers at the center of our economy. That's why I would prohibit states from enacting so-called "right to work" laws, limit employer interference in union elections, amend antitrust law to protect gig workers, eliminate secondary boycott restrictions and the ban on "hot cargo agreements," and curtail employer lockouts. Beyond that, I don't believe it's appropriate for the federal government to spend the public's money doing business with employers that violate their workers' legal rights to organize and bargain. My administration will use every legal tool it has within the procurement process to promote good union jobs. My plan also supports sectoral bargaining so that workers in the same field across various companies can work together to negotiate higher wages and benefits for all of them.

7. Climate change is a real and present danger to all of us and the powerful corporations are not being held responsible for the rampant pollution that contributes to it. As President, how would you hold these corporations responsible? Would you agree to work with other nations toward this goal?

Climate change is an economic and national security threat that disproportionately impacts our most low-income communities and communities of color. But the climate crisis also represents an unprecedented opportunity to transition our economy to 100% clean energy and redistribute wealth to every American by creating millions of good paying, union jobs. A comprehensive approach to addressing climate change would be a top priority in my administration, because we must meet the urgency of the moment. We won't meet our climate goals with a one-time, one-size-fits-all approach -- we need big, structural change now. That's why I've woven climate

policy throughout my plans, and why I'll use all levels of government to tackle the climate crisis. I've proposed spending \$3 trillion to combat climate change, a fully-offset federal investment that will leverage additional trillions in private investment and create millions of good union jobs. And justice for communities at the front lines of the climate crisis cannot be a secondary concern -- it must be at the center of our response to climate change.

My 100% Clean Energy for America Plan adopts and builds on Governor Inslee's ten-year action plan to achieve 100% clean energy by decarbonizing our electricity, our vehicles, and our buildings. To do so, I'll commit an additional \$1 trillion to subsidize the consumer transition to clean and renewable electricity, zero emission vehicles, and green products for commercial and residential buildings. My Green Manufacturing Plan would invest \$2 trillion over ten years in clean energy technology made right here in America, including using the full power of the federal procurement process to create demand for the resulting technology by committing to purchase American-made clean, renewable, and emission-free energy products for federal, state, and local use.

Industrial pollution has been concentrated in communities of color due to decades of discrimination and racism -- and a system that puts corporate profits before people. Justice for communities at the front lines of the climate crisis must be at the core of our response to climate change. I've got a plan to center environmental justice in the fight to end the climate crisis. As we work to enact the Green New Deal, we'll target \$1 trillion to the most vulnerable communities to clean up pollution and help them build a more resilient future. My administration will elevate the voices of those in front line communities who know best what their neighborhoods need. We'll make sure that no worker is left behind in the transition to the new green economy. And we'll make sure that corporate polluters are held accountable for their role in the climate crisis.

My rural plan will radically expand the Conservation Stewardship Program that funds farmers transitioning to sustainable practices and levels the field for family farmers, holding Big Ag accountable by making them pay for the full costs of the environmental damage they wreak. I've also proposed subjecting new infrastructure projects to a climate test, a stringent environmental impact review conducted by independent entities without conflicts of interest related to the projects. And on my first day, I will sign an executive order establishing a moratorium on all new fossil fuel leases for drilling offshore and on public lands. Instead our public lands will become a part of the climate solution, with 10% of our overall electricity generated from renewable sources offshore or on public lands.

Even after we reduce the U.S. emissions to net-zero, we'll still fall short of the reduction in global emissions needed to avert a climate crisis. My Green Marshall Plan will provide American-made clean energy technology to countries that need it most. I'll commit \$100 billion over ten years to offer discounts to countries hardest hit by the climate crisis, or as an incentive for regulatory changes that further reduce emissions. I'll return the United States to the Paris Climate Accord. Finally, I will use our trade policy to promote environmental stewardship,

protecting domestic subsidies for green products and preferential treatment for green energy production from WTO challenges and imposing a border carbon adjustment on carbon-intensive imported goods.

8. Do you believe the United States can free itself from the horrible Citizens United decision, and if so, do you have a plan that would hold corporations at bay and elevate the one-person one-vote doctrine for fair elections?

We must overturn Citizens United, and I co-sponsored Senator Udall's resolution that calls for a constitutional amendment to overturn Citizens United and get big money out of politics. In the meantime, my Anti-Corruption bill -- the biggest anti-corruption bill since Watergate -- also tackles the influence on money in politics head on. My plan slams shut the revolving door between big business and Washington and ends lobbying as we know it, including by banning federal lobbyists from making political contributions or fundraising for candidates. Elected officials, senior agency officials, and federal judges would be banned from owning or trading any individual stocks while in office, and everyone who runs for federal office would have to put their tax returns online for the public to see. And Americans would be banned from lobbying on behalf of foreign governments -- if foreign governments want to express their views, they can use their diplomats. My plan will make sure all of this happens -- because our government should be working for working families, not the wealthy and well-connected. I also support replacing the Electoral College with a national popular vote, because everyone's vote should count equally -- in every election -- no matter where they live.

Finally, my Accountable Capitalism legislation empowers workers by letting them elect no less than 40% of board members at large American companies. It also requires 75% of shareholders and 75% of board members to approve any corporate political spending, giving worker representatives an effective veto over any corporate political spending that might undermine their interests.

9. Could you please give us specific example on your labor-related activities, such as previous membership; or, if you have previously a mayor, governor, etc. talk about your contract negotiations and support of unions; if you have been in Congress or Legislatures, please talk about specific votes and bills you sponsored.

Every worker who wants to join a union, who wants to bargain collectively, and who wants their voice heard should have a chance to do that. We'll all be better off when that happens.

I have walked picket lines and participated directly in a number of organizing campaigns to support labor organizations. Most recently, I joined striking UAW workers at the General Motors plant in Detroit who are fighting for fair pay and benefits for themselves and temporary workers. I supported graduate student workers' efforts to organize at Harvard, and I wrote a letter to the editor and publisher of the Hampshire Gazette and the Valley Advocate when newspaper

writers were organizing there in 2018. I walked with Stop & Shop workers on the picket line, rallied with teachers in Oklahoma fighting for better conditions for their kids and themselves, and joined janitors and airline workers trying to secure dignity on the job. I stood on picket lines with Marriott workers on strike last year fighting to make sure one job is enough to make ends meet, National Grid workers locked out for months, Verizon workers out on strike, and Harvard dining workers demanding fair pay. I've stood with workers and labor unions—and as president, I will fight to shift power back towards working people, boost America's labor movement, and help create an economy that works for everyone.

Strengthening America's labor unions will be a central goal of my administration. For too long, a worker's right to unionize has been under attack. Twenty-eight states currently have "right to work" laws, which prohibit unions and employers from agreeing that any employee who benefits from a union contract should have to pay dues to support the union. These state laws deprive union treasuries of funds needed to represent workers, bargain contracts, and organize new workers, and are associated with significantly lower wages for workers. I've led the fight to repeal the federal law that permits states to pass these anti-worker laws, and enacting that change will be a top priority of mine as president.

I also support the PRO Act, which, among other things, requires employers and unions to enter binding arbitration to secure a collective bargaining agreement within 120 days of negotiations, beginning to address cases in which employers refuse to bargain or engage in delaying tactics to string out negotiations.

10. If you are elected President of the United States, what would your policy goals be for the first 100 days and what leadership style would you bring to the position to accomplish it?

A central goal of my campaign is removing corruption from our government so that it can serve the interests of everyone, not just the interests of billionaires, lobbyists, and big corporations. Building an America that reflects our values means elevating the voices of those who have traditionally been overlooked and underserved. We've got to make sure everyone has a seat at the table. Corruption has put our planet at risk. Corruption has broken our economy. And corruption is breaking our democracy. I've got a lot of plans, but they all come back to one simple idea: put economic and political power back in the hands of the people. That's why I have proposed the biggest set of anticorruption reforms since Watergate -- a comprehensive set of changes that are designed to eliminate the ability of the wealthy and the well-connected to dictate outcomes in Washington. My plan lays out nearly a hundred ways that we can change our government to fix this problem -- from improving public integrity rules for federal officials in every branch of government to ending lobbying as we know it, fixing the criminal laws to hold corrupt politicians to account, and ensuring our federal agencies and courts are free from corrupting influences.

I've also promised that, in my first 100 days, I'll take actions to fight the climate crisis, secure LGBTQ+ rights, close the racial wealth gap, reduce gun violence, empower workers, and much more. On day one of my administration, I will sign an executive order requiring all federal contractors to pay a \$15-an-hour minimum wage. I will also sign executive orders to hold private contractors accountable for pay equity, make the senior ranks of the federal government look like America, and strengthen enforcement against systemic discrimination. I will direct all federal pension and retirement funds to seek out a more diverse set of investment managers, building on successful programs like the Smaller Asset Managers Pilot Program. I will also reverse the Trump Administration's shameful ban on transgender service members and place a moratorium on all new fossil fuel leases offshore and on public lands. And I'll reverse Trump's bigoted Muslim ban on my first day in office.

In my first 100 days as president, I will use every legal tool we have to make sure that LGBTQ+ people can live free from discrimination. I will send Congress comprehensive gun violence prevention legislation that I will sign into law within my first 100 days and that we will revisit every year to add new ideas and tweak existing ones based on new data. And I will bring frontline community leaders to the White House for an environmental justice summit.

I know how to fight for American families -- and how to win. Before the 2008 financial crisis, I proposed a new federal agency dedicated to protecting working families from tricks and traps in financial products. After the crisis -- before I was even in the Senate -- I pushed Congress to create that agency and helped build a grassroots movement to support the idea. President Obama signed that agency into law in 2010. And in just eight years, the Consumer Financial Protection Bureau has returned \$12 billion to families who were cheated by big financial institutions.

2020 is about the direction America goes, not just for four years, but for generations to come. Yes, there's a lot at stake in this election, and I know people are scared. But we can't choose a candidate we don't believe in just because we're too scared to do anything else. And Democrats can't win if we're scared and looking backward. We win when we meet the moment. We win when we stand up for what is right. And we win when we get out there and fight for it.