

John Delaney

**AFL-CIO
Maryland State and District of Columbia AFLCIO**

Federal Candidate Questionnaire

2012 Elections

1. FREEDOM TO CHOOSE A UNION

The right to form a union and engage in collective bargaining is enshrined in U.S. and international human rights laws, but for many U.S. workers it is a right that exists only on paper. More and more, workers who want to join together to form unions typically face intense employer opposition aimed at suppressing their freedom to unionize and bargain collectively. Workers, their families and the entire nation are paying a high price for the suppression of these basic freedoms. Wages have been suppressed, especially for workers on the lowest rungs of the job ladder—many of them women, minorities and immigrants. Secure guaranteed pensions and decent health care coverage common under union contracts have been denied to millions of nonunion workers who want collective bargaining but cannot have it. Disparities in income and wealth have reached levels not seen since the Great Depression, as workers blocked from access to collective bargaining lack the power to redress rising economic inequality.

Employers routinely resort to legal but coercive tactics, as well as illegal ones to keep workers from forming unions. According to Cornell University's Kate Bronfenbrenner, when private-sector workers try to organize a union, 89 percent of employers force them to attend closed-door anti-union meetings and 77 percent have supervisors deliver anti-union messages to workers they oversee. Seventy-five percent hire outside consultants to run anti-union campaigns, more than half threaten to shut down if the union is voted in and 34 percent illegally fire workers.

Even when workers win a National Labor Relations Board (NLRB) election to form a union, one-third of the time their employer never negotiates a contract with them. And the penalties for all these forms of employer misconduct are so mild they do not serve as a deterrent to future misconduct. The law giving working people the right to form a union through NLRB elections is so weak that, in fact, it is becoming irrelevant for workers seeking to improve their lives. Instead of a workers' rights law, it has become a structure for management to pressure and intimidate workers to reject unionization.

The current system for workers to form unions is broken. It is urgent that it be repaired to give all working people the freedom to make their own choice about whether to form a union and bargain with management for better wages and benefits. We know from over 70 years of experience with the National Labor Relations Act (NLRA) that there is one proven way to give working people the freedom to make their own choice: it's called "majority sign-up." The NLRA has always allowed workers to form unions through "majority sign-up," that is, when a majority of employees sign cards authorizing the union to bargain on their behalf with management. Since 1935, majority sign-up has been shown to reduce conflict, coercion, harassment and delay, as compared to the NLRB election process. But under current law, workers can form a union through majority sign-up only if their employer agrees to

recognize the union. This makes no sense. Management should not get to dictate whether workers can use majority sign-up or whether they have to go through the NLRB election process, which typically triggers an inherently coercive anti-union campaign. Workers should be allowed to form unions through majority sign-up whether management agrees or not, as they did in the early years of the NLRA. We know from experience that majority sign-up promotes employee free choice by reducing coercion and intimidation by management, and it has not resulted in any significant problems over the past 70 years.

After the 2010 election, corporate interests worked with new Republican majorities at the state and federal level to mount a coordinated and focused attack on the NLRB and the workers' rights it protects. These attacks, coming from the same crowd that wants to defund and dismantle the NLRB entirely, have focused on NLRB decisions and rulemaking, and they have nothing to do with creating jobs or helping the economy. They have everything to do with politics.

Similarly, Republicans in both Chambers have tried to repeal a rule issued by the National Mediation Board which makes it clear that representation elections in the transportation sector, which are governed by the Railway Labor Act, will be decided based on whether a majority of the votes cast are for or against the union. This may seem like common sense, but under the previous rule all workers who did not cast a ballot were counted as voting against the union. Such an undemocratic procedure would never be tolerated in our civic elections, and the Board's authority to modernize its election rule has been upheld by the U.S. District Court for the District of Columbia.

At the same time, legislation has been proposed at both the state and federal levels to restrict the ability of unions to collect and spend funds for legislative and political activity. These bills would prohibit unions from using dues to fund voter registration, lobbying and all forms of political communication. The proponents of so-called "paycheck protection" legislation argue that unions spend this money without the consent of the membership. However, unions are voluntary organizations that operate under majority rule, and, in fact, large majorities of union members support their unions' legislative and political activities.

If elected, would you co-sponsor and vote for the Employee Free Choice Act (H.R. 1409 and S. 1560 in the 111th Congress), a bill that would require employers to honor their workers' decision to join a union after a majority of them signed a union authorization card or petition; establish first contract mediation and arbitration; and create stronger penalties for employers who interfere with, coerce or fire workers for attempting to join a union?

YES.

The Employee Free Choice Act presents a historic opportunity to strengthen our unions and, most importantly, to save our middle class. Our country must act to preserve the fundamental rights of our workers to collectively bargain and protect those rights from the increasing attacks from special interests. As the son of a union electrician, I understand firsthand the importance of union rights and how these rights are intertwined with the well being of the middle class. As Congressman, I will support legislation that enshrines these rights.

If elected, would you support workers who are forming unions by publicly reaffirming the importance of unions to our communities and take action, such as contacting employers and urging them not to interfere with employee free choice, issuing public statements, attending rallies supporting organizing campaigns, sponsoring public forums, etc.?

YES.

My father is an electrician by trade and a member of the International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers. Having grown up in a union household, I was directly impacted by the benefits of union membership. I was the first person in my family to graduate from college. There is no doubt that my opportunity to pursue higher education was as a direct result of a scholarship awarded to me by IBEW.

Unions are the backbone of America's middle class and, as a member of Congress; there is no doubt in my mind that I will not forget where I came from.

If elected, would you oppose a national "right to work" bill that would prohibit unionized workers and their employers from voluntarily agreeing to "union security" provisions which allow the union to recover the costs of collective bargaining from all the workers that federal law requires the union to represent in the workplace?

YES.

I absolutely oppose "right to work" legislation and policies. My opponent, Rob Garagiola, has publicly accused me of endorsing a "right to work" state. This is not true. Capital News Service fact-checked Mr. Garagiola's statements and found that they were taken out of context, that they were the opinion of another group, and that I had "never suggest[ed] that Maryland should become a 'right to work' state." I am surprised and disappointed that Mr. Garagiola would resort to such inaccurate and negative attacks.

Right to Work has been proven to do very little to encourage economic growth. Professor Gordon Lafer of the University of Oregon has shown that since Oklahoma went to "right to work" in 2001, the state has lost jobs, increased unemployment, and seen a decreased rate of new businesses moving into the state. Moreover, surveys of manufacturers show that right to work is not an economic draw. As Congressman, I would oppose "right to work" policies because they take away employee rights and do not produce the job creation that we need.

If elected, would you oppose efforts to limit the ability of the National Labor Relations Board to enforce the law or to engage in rulemaking to streamline and modernize procedures for forming unions and to notify employees of their rights under the NLRA?

YES.

If elected, would you oppose efforts to roll back the fair election rules issued by the National Mediation Board under the Railway Labor Act?

YES.

If elected, would you oppose restrictions on the use of union dues for political and legislative activities?

YES.

2. JOBS AND THE ECONOMY

The U.S. economy has lost 6.8 million jobs since the recession began in December 2007. Our manufacturing sector has been hit hardest, losing 2 million jobs since the recession began, and losing 5.8 million jobs (one-third of all manufacturing jobs) since the peak of manufacturing employment in March 1998. Other sectors, such as information technology and telecommunications, have sustained major blows as well. Between March 2001 (the peak of information technology employment) and August 2011, the number of information technology jobs fell by 29 percent (1.1 million jobs); over the same time period, telecommunications employment fell by 44 percent (650,000 jobs).

Construction jobs benefited from the boom economy of the 1990s but have suffered from the federal government's failure to invest in essential public projects such as transportation, school modernization, water systems, and other infrastructure. Moreover, for every \$1 billion invested in transportation, 47,000 jobs are created. The number of construction jobs in the U.S. has fallen by 26 percent (2 million jobs) since the recession began.

U.S. unemployment, which just dipped below 4 percent in 2000, was 9.1 percent in August 2011— and this high rate fails to take into account the hundreds of thousands who have given up and dropped out of the labor force. Long-term unemployment—defined as being without work for 27 weeks or longer—is at historic levels, and accounted for 42.9 percent of all unemployed workers as of August 2011, and the average unemployed person has been out of work for more than 40 weeks. The White House estimates that throughout the course of 2012, nearly 6 million people will remain unemployed after exhausting their state unemployment insurance benefits. Competition for jobs is fierce; for every job opening in July 2011, there were 4.3 unemployed workers, up from 1.7 unemployed workers for every job opening in December 2007. Workers' real wages, which rose across the board in the late 1990s, are stagnating and family incomes are flat.

Income inequality in this country is higher than ever, highlighted by the fact that average CEO pay is *343 times* the earnings of frontline workers. The nation's wealthiest 1 percent control 34.6 percent of the country's net worth, a larger discrepancy than at any point in our country's history, including 1928.

Meanwhile, policies that date to the administration of George W. Bush, including the massive tax cuts passed in 2001 and 2003, are responsible for 40 percent of the growth of the budget deficit since 2001. These policies, including the tax cuts that primarily benefited wealthy taxpayers, have crowded out critical investments such as repairing our schools, securing our homeland and providing health care to the more than 46 million uninsured Americans.

The American Jobs Act, proposed by President Obama on September 12, 2011 aims to jump start employment by pumping \$140 billion into infrastructure investment and aid to states to keep teachers and first responders on the job. It would also extend federal unemployment insurance benefits for another year and prohibit discrimination against the long term unemployed.

The AFL-CIO has called on Congress to take additional steps to: (1) address fundamental weaknesses in the housing sector by providing for mandatory reduction of mortgage principal for homeowners facing foreclosure (2) rebuild American highways and make our air space safe by passing a robustly funded multi-year reauthorizations of the Surface Transportation Act and Federal Aviation Administration; and (3) provide for the creation of millions of jobs in distressed local communities doing work that needs to be done, such as restoring neighborhood parks and providing after-school care for our children; and (4) restore manufacturing by preventing currency manipulation, closing tax loopholes that encourage the offshoring of good jobs and rejecting job killing trade deals (see Section Three).

President Obama proposes to offset the cost of the Jobs Act by asking the wealthiest Americans and biggest corporations to start paying their fair share.

If elected, would you support funding for important infrastructure projects that generate good jobs, such as transportation systems, school modernization, clean energy, airports and water systems?

YES.

One of my priorities is to build a strong, clean, and efficient 21st century infrastructure. Smart investments in our roads and highways, airports and ports, and rail will create thousands of jobs and set the foundation for economic growth. I believe that public-private partnerships in this area would be a key step to modernizing and sustaining our future, as well as jumpstarting our economy for a high return on investment. A modern infrastructure is crucial to both my clean energy goals and the creation of millions of jobs.

Policies and investments in green transportation is a cornerstone of my platform. Vehicles consume most of the oil in our country, and we need to set standards to control the output from this consumption. I support a national standard for fuel efficiency and carbon emissions to hold us accountable. I support investments to develop more efficient biofuels. I support alternative forms of green transportation that would reduce our oil usage in cars. I support tax credits for developing, producing, and buying hybrid and electric vehicles. We can create jobs by

developing clean energy and green transportation for our future, and as Congressman, I will support efforts to make sure this happens.

School modernization is a key element of my platform. The quality of our K-12 educational system is the most important issue facing our country. It is the essential to compete and succeed as a nation. Embracing cutting edge technology that provides students with access to best-in-class learning programs in a highly efficient and scalable manner must be aggressively incorporated into curriculum.

We cannot wait to implement such important initiatives and as Congressman, I will support efforts to fund a modern infrastructure system.

If elected, would you support additional aid to state and local government to preserve vital public services and jobs, including health, education, and transportation and first responders?

YES.

Our federal government plays an enormously important role in providing aid to state and local governments. I believe that aid to local governments should be strategic, and linked to embracing policies that drive results.

Federal aid to state and local governments is especially important for the 6th District of Maryland. With the burden that Governor O'Malley's cost-sharing plan would put onto local governments to pay public service salaries, federal aid will become imperative to the sustainability of local public service jobs. For example, three elementary schools have closed in Garrett County, laying off teachers and extending the commute for students. The infrastructure for Cumberland was built to account for twice the population that it currently has, and the lack of revenue is hurting the city. As Congressman, I will support federal funding to support initiatives that create public service jobs, especially aid to local governments.

If elected, would you support creating a publicly-financed jobs program to put Americans back to work in public service jobs?

YES.

I am in favor of financing an infrastructure bank to invest in a modern infrastructure through public-employee and labor-union pension funds. I agree with AFL-CIO president Richard Trumka that such an investment would create many jobs, especially for union members. And I believe that funding for such a jobs program should come, at least, from the federal government.

If elected, would you support allowing the 2001 and 2003 tax cuts for families making more than \$250,000 to expire? Would you support other progressive revenue measures, including taxing capital gains as ordinary income and imposing a small financial transactions tax so that Wall Street helps clean up the economic mess it helped create?

YES.

I have made my career on helping the small businesses that the big banks ignore. I will continue to fight Wall St. in Congress, and ensure that everyone pays their fair share in taxes. We cannot allow the Bush tax cuts for the ultra wealthy to continue. As Congressman, I will support progressive revenue efforts that reform our tax code in a way that both ensures fairness and creates jobs.

3. TRADE, MANUFACTURING AND THE GLOBAL ECONOMY

Our manufacturing sector has been hit hard. Long before the onset of the financial crisis last year, U.S. manufacturing had already lost millions of jobs between 2001 and 2011. Now, manufacturing is in even worse shape. Lack of both consumer demand and access to credit has put the squeeze on many manufacturers who will have to close their doors if help does not arrive soon. Unfair trade practices are also taking a toll on manufacturing, as subsidized or dumped imports flood the U.S. market and displace goods made by U.S. workers. While stimulus funds brought some much-needed relief, the absence of public investment in the building blocks of a strong 21st century economy during the Bush Administration means that recovery will continue to be slow and our competitiveness in the products of the future -- in manufacturing, in high-tech and clean energy goods -- will continue to wane long after the recession is over.

If the United States is to rise out of our current economic crisis and compete and thrive in a dynamic global economy in the 21st century, we will need a coherent national economic strategy that encompasses domestic reinvestment and trade rebalancing, the rebuilding of our government, and deep reform of our flawed trade and investment policies. Below are just some of the particular issues needing urgent attention.

Trade: Our trade deficit remains unsustainably high, reaching \$500 billion in 2010, and it has meant the loss of millions of U.S. jobs over the last decade. More troubling, our bilateral trade deficit with China has barely budged, standing at \$273 billion in 2010. We need a trade policy, one that puts a premium on promoting strategic exports and creating jobs here at home. The terms of trade agreements must be fair, and include strong provisions that promote decent work and a clean environment for the people of both countries. We need to ensure that WTO negotiations and actions do not undermine our ability to enact domestic health, safety, and workforce policies or to use trade laws effectively. Finally, we need to be vigilant in enforcing our trade laws. When other countries cheat, they gain jobs at the expense of American workers.

Currency: Many countries engage in illegal currency misalignment, preventing market forces from determining the value of their currency. When a country illegally misaligns the value of its currency, it

makes its goods artificially cheaper and foreign goods more expensive, thereby putting American goods and services at a disadvantage in all markets. Currency misalignment thus operates both as a subsidy for foreign-made goods and a tariff on American-made goods. This practice has greatly contributed to our international trade deficit, which imperils the recovery of both the U.S. economy and the world economy. Since 2001, China alone has run up a cumulative \$2 trillion trade surplus with the United States. During this time, China has undervalued its currency by 30 percent or more to distort its gains from trade and illegally subsidize its exports. This practice harms U.S. industries and destroys millions of American jobs. Coordinated action internationally, or unilateral action if needed, must be undertaken to address this pressing issue.

Worker Rights: The labor movement has opposed trade agreements that do not include enforceable protections for internationally recognized workers' rights. We have filed trade cases against the governments of China, Guatemala, Bangladesh, and Bahrain, among others, for systemic violations of workers' rights. The AFL-CIO supports trade policies that help create and maintain good jobs at home and abroad, and require adherence to the International Labor Organization's core workers' rights. More must be done to ensure that the provisions we negotiate in our trade agreement are fully enforced, so that workers can benefit from the value they add to goods and services. When the benefits of trade are skewed toward only for the wealthiest few in any nation, our trade policy is not creating and expanding effective new markets for U.S. exports.

Tax Policy: Current U.S. tax law allows corporations to defer paying taxes on offshore profits until those profits are brought back to the U.S. While President Obama has proposed closing this loophole, others in Congress have proposed giving corporations a one-time tax holiday if they agree to bring their profits back to the U.S. and create jobs. In fact, a repatriation tax holiday was tried in 2004, and studies show that the companies that benefited most did not create jobs, and in many cases actually reduced employment in the U.S. Still others have proposed scraping this system altogether and moving to a so-called territorial tax that would tax corporate profits only if they are generated in the U.S. Under a territorial tax system, corporations that earn profits overseas would never have to pay U.S. taxes, thereby encouraging more offshoring of American jobs. The AFL-CIO believes that the U.S. tax system should encourage domestic job creation, not confer economic benefits on companies that ship jobs overseas.

If elected, would you support legislation and efforts that would promote a new, fair trade agenda for the United States so that our trade policy promotes the exports of goods and services rather than jobs? For example, the Trade Reform, Accountability, Development and Employment Act (The TRADE Act, H.R. 3012, introduced by Congressman Mike Michaud, in the 111th Congress).

YES.

Our trade policy should ensure that increased access to foreign markets is synonymous with the creation of domestic jobs and export of American-made goods. Unlike the recently passed South Korea, Colombia, and Panama trade agreements, the Trans Pacific Partnership presents the opportunity to usher in a new model for our trade agreements. As Congressman, I will support policies that guarantee the promotion of domestic jobs by exporting American goods and services.

If elected, would you support efforts to strengthen trade law enforcement and to secure meaningful remedies for injuries resulting from unfair trade?

YES.

I will support the full enforcement of and efforts to strengthen our trade laws. I believe that investing in our enforcement efforts, and thereby receive remedies from nations that violate international trade rules, will produce substantive results. I will support domestic efforts, such as the Trade Adjustment Assistance program, to offset any negative consequences that result from opening our market. As Congressman, I will support efforts that ensure trade agreements recognize our domestic priorities.

If elected, would you oppose legislation to implement bilateral, regional, or unilateral free trade agreements that do not require enforcement of internationally recognized workers' rights and environmental standards?

YES.

Workers' rights and environmental standards should be a part of every discussion involving trade. I am concerned about entering into trade agreements with countries that do not recognize workers' rights, particularly our recent trade agreement with Colombia. Unequal labor rights and environmental standards not only diminishes our ability to compete on the international market, it is also a violation of human rights. America cannot get away from its role in the world as a moral and civil rights leader. Our leadership on this issue should extend to all agreements we make with foreign countries. As Congressman, I will support efforts to ensure that our trade partners comply with and recognize international standards.

If elected, would you oppose trade agreements that give greater rights to foreign investors than domestic investors or that encourage employers to move American jobs offshore by making it too easy to bypass national court systems to challenge environmental or workplace laws?

YES.

The current investment model in our trade agreements is flawed, particularly with the provisions that allow international tribunals to effectively preempt United States' federal or state law with their decisions. Another concern is that we allow a private right of action for individual investors to bring suit against us outside of our judicial system. This is especially alarming in the case of an international tribunal ruling against our domestic environmental protection laws and using trade agreement-created investor rights as its justification. This has happened under our current structure, and, as Congressman, I will support efforts to ensure that our future trade agreements prevent another occurrence.

What will you do to address the trade imbalance with China and promote the rights of Chinese workers, especially the rights to freedom of association and collective bargaining?

Our growing trade imbalance with China is a serious issue that we need to address. Our first step should be to enforce our trade laws, as I have also discussed above. Since we began borrowing heavily from China, we have become lax regarding the enforcement of our trade laws with one of our biggest creditors. This is not prudent in the face of our growing trade imbalance, and it is no excuse for China not to play by the rules. Another priority is to address China's currency manipulation, which I have also addressed below. From an economic standpoint, currency manipulation plays a main role in our trade deficit with China. The longer we continue to import Chinese goods that are cheaper as a result of unfair trade practices, the longer we will continue this one-sided imbalance. We must stop China's practices of artificially deflating its prices.

On the other side of the equation, we need to identify areas in which we have a comparative advantage over China so that we can export those goods and services. Two of these areas come to mind: high-end manufacturing products and high-quality services. We need to invest in high-end technology in order to export it – technology such as clean energy, which is a cornerstone of my platform, and which will fuel America for generations. We need to export high-quality services that we have but have not yet exported, such as education, health-care, and consulting. This approach would not only reduce our trade imbalance with China, it would create long lasting jobs for years to come, right here in America.

China's abysmal treatment of its workers and its dismissal of human rights in the workplace has spurred the "race to the bottom," as U.S. corporations find China's prices unbeatable and relocate their factories to China. We must hold U.S. corporations to a high standard of accountability. We must support policies that will deter U.S. companies from engaging in business with countries that do not recognize workers' rights, and encourage those companies to recognize those rights themselves.

As Congressman, I will support a multi-tiered approach to addressing our trade imbalance with China and to promote the rights of Chinese workers. It is false to believe that there is a single solution; instead, I will support efforts to address these issues from all fronts.

If elected, would you support measures to ensure that the Chinese government and other foreign nations cease illegal currency manipulation?

YES.

Currency manipulation is a major factor in U.S. competitiveness and ultimately results in hundreds of thousands lost jobs, particularly in the manufacturing sector. When rules of the World Trade Organization fail to address currency manipulation as illegal subsidies, then we must look to domestic efforts to remedy this situation. I would support legislation, such as the Currency Reform for Fair Trade Act, to neutralize the imbalance created from China's and other countries' currency manipulation. Addressing currency manipulation is a key tool that could potentially create over a million jobs, and I will support policies that spur job creation.

If elected, would you support legislation to end the deferral of overseas income?

YES.

If elected would you oppose granting U.S. corporations a tax holiday on repatriated overseas income?

YES.

If elected, would you oppose tax reform proposals that would move the U.S. toward a territorial tax system?

YES.

4. HEALTH CARE

As the nation prepares for broad implementation of the new health care reform law in 2014, the major advances of the Affordable Care Act must be secured while pursuing further reform to address America's health care crisis. Currently, our system simply fails to provide affordable, quality health care for most Americans. Premiums continue to rise faster than inflation and wages. The number of uninsured has grown to over 50 million. A decade of decline in the share of employers offering health insurance continues – adding thousands to the ranks of the uninsured each year. Firms that continue to offer coverage are asking workers to bear a greater share of the cost in the form of higher co-pays and deductibles. For retirees, the picture is even bleaker. The share of employers offering retiree coverage has dropped substantially. Without this coverage, retirees who do not qualify for Medicare have very limited options for obtaining affordable coverage. Unless we address the growing cost burden on employers, U.S. companies will continue to be at a competitive disadvantage in the global market.

Yet for all we spend on health care, there is growing evidence that compromised quality is costing us too much in lost lives and lost money. One hundred thousand Americans die each year due to avoidable medical errors, and patients have a 50-50 chance of getting the right care at the right time. Overall, about one third of all health care spending pays for poor quality care.

Unions bargain to provide health insurance to more than 40 million Americans. For more than a decade, working families have lived through a vicious cycle of reduced health care access and higher costs. The AFL-CIO supports measures that provide comprehensive, affordable, quality health care for all Americans and strongly opposes measures that will exacerbate the problem of the uninsured and rising health care costs.

If elected, would you work to ensure guaranteed health care for all as a right and not a privilege?

YES.

As a father of four, a social safety net is one of the main values I believe in. In our private life, my family has been very involved with supporting Catholic Social Services. Organizations like CSS should not have to be the first line of defense for American families; but far too often they are being asked to fill that role. The Affordable Care Act is critical in ensuring families' access to affordable and quality health care. Since passage, Republicans, lead by the Tea Party, have tried to discredit this legislation by spreading misconceptions. If elected, I would not only fight to fund the Affordable Care Act, but I would also educate my constituents on the benefits it provides their families.

However, I am unsure of the position of my opponent, Rob Garagiola. While Mr. Garagiola worked at Greenberg Traurig as Assistant Director of Government Affairs, he lobbied for clients who led the fight against managed care reform. For example, Mr. Garagiola was a named and registered lobbyist for the Business Roundtable trade association, which led the billion-dollar lobbying efforts to buy influence in Congress during the managed care reform efforts. Mr. Garagiola was also a named and registered lobbyist for Humana, Inc., one of the largest insurance companies who fought health care reform efforts at that time, and who adamantly opposed the more recent Affordable Care Act.

In contrast to Mr. Garagiola, I have never been influenced by special interests, and I have never lobbied for special interests that would do anything to prevent healthcare for all Americans. As Congressman, I will support efforts to ensure that guaranteed health care for all is a right.

Below are links to some of Mr. Garagiola's lobbying records, as well as the record of his clients.

- Business Roundtable: <http://wholobbies.us/filing/9D053AD6-1F33-43D8-BE16-EDB68F6EF46B>; <http://articles.latimes.com/1999/aug/08/news/mn-63686>;
- Humana: <http://wholobbies.us/filing/9D053AD6-1F33-43D8-BE16-EDB68F6EF46B>; http://www.huffingtonpost.com/peter-dreier/humana-profits-over-people_b_327311.html.

If elected, would you work to defend and build upon the landmark comprehensive health reform law, the Affordable Care Act? Would you support further reform to improve access to quality care and reduce health care costs?

YES.

The Affordable Care Act was a milestone in the fight for guaranteeing health care as a right, and not a privilege. But I believe that more can be done. As our health care has progressed and advanced, we are living longer and healthier, which is a testament to our medical innovation. However, our current health care model does not include a framework that would lower costs. As Congressman, I would be committed to refining the Affordable Care Act into a framework that would both extend coverage and lower costs.

If elected, would you work to repeal and oppose any proposal to tax health care benefits or health care plans?

YES.

If elected, would you support legislation that shores up retiree health benefits by securing help for employers for the costs of catastrophic health care or by allowing 55 to 64 year olds to buy into Medicare?

YES.

If elected, would you work to enact additional health care reforms that take us in the direction of a social insurance model?

YES.

If elected, would you support legislation that would establish minimum nurse staffing ratios and prohibit mandatory overtime in our nation's hospitals to ensure safe patient care?

YES.

5. MEDICAID AND MEDICARE

The Medicaid and Medicare programs are cornerstones of our health care system, providing health coverage for vulnerable Americans and supporting the nation's health care infrastructure. Medicaid currently covers nearly 60 million individuals, including 1 in 3 children. As the nation's major source of funding for nursing home and long-term community services, two-thirds of Medicaid spending supports care for seniors and people with disabilities. Medicare covers 47 million seniors and people with permanent disabilities, groups that historically have had great difficulty obtaining coverage. While these programs are administered with relative efficiency, they are part and parcel of the overall health care system which is marked by spiraling cost increases and poor quality.

If elected, would you oppose significant funding cuts for the Medicaid program, through block-granting, changes to the funding formula, or other approaches?

YES.

When it comes to the Medicare, Medicaid, and SCHIP programs, their success is indisputable. Republicans' disingenuous claim that block granting and the repeal of the Maintenance of Effort requirements are needed to balance our budget and "untie the hands of states," emphasizes the lack of commitment they have to our middle class families.

According to a May 11th 2011 analysis by the Congressional Budget Office, the Republican proposal titled the "State Flexibility Act" would save 2.1 billion from 2012 – 2021. But at what cost? The study finds that if HR. 1683 became law, 400,000 people, mostly children, would lose their coverage in 2013. As a member of Congress I would fight efforts that aim to balance the budget on the backs of the middle class, children and seniors.

If elected, would you oppose Medicare benefit cuts that shift costs to seniors, including premium increases, copayment increases, benefit reductions, or conversion to a voucher system?

YES.

With two parents approaching the age where those questions will become more prevalent, I am committed to ensuring that their generation has a wide array of options. Family is very important to me. In these discussions of taking care of our parents and grandparents, we need to have an eye on costs but we cannot lose sight of quality of life. Maintaining quality of life for the generation before us will be an important issue for me if elected to Congress.

If elected, would you support efforts to control the rising price of pharmaceutical drugs in Medicaid and Medicare?

YES.

We have seen the Medicare prescription drug program fail to curb prescription drug prices since its enactment in 2006. When millions of Americans depend on prescription drugs, we cannot have a program that benefits drug companies at the expense of Medicare subscribers and taxpayers. We need real solutions to control the skyrocketing costs of healthcare and pharmaceutical drugs. I will support efforts that take us in the right direction for the right people.

6. FINANCIAL REGULATION

Deregulated financial markets have taken a terrible toll on America's working families. Whether measured in lost jobs and homes, lower earnings, eroding retirement security or devastated communities, workers have paid the price for Wall Street's greed. But in reality, the cost of deregulation and financial alchemy are far higher. The lasting damage is in missed opportunities and investments not made in the real economy. While money continues to be poured into exotic mortgage-backed securities and hedge funds, our pressing need for investments in clean energy, infrastructure, education and health care continue to go unmet.

In 2010 President Obama signed into law the Dodd-Frank Act. Its enactment set the foundation needed to rebuild our country's financial sector and bring accountability to Wall Street. Nonetheless, there have been unremitting attempts to stall its implementation and to defund the very programs and agencies chosen to resolve our nation's financial crisis.

On July 21, the Consumer Financial Protection Bureau (CFPB) took over as the nation's chief consumer financial protector with authority over mortgages, credit cards, payday loans and other financial products. However, to date, the CFPB still does not have a full time director and certain members of the US Senate have refused to hold a vote on the President's nominee for the job. The CFPB will not have its full authority to protect consumers in the financial marketplace

and will not gain all its oversight over payday lenders, mortgage companies until a director is confirmed.

Furthermore, there have been attempts to alter the leadership of the agency from that of a single director to a five-member commission and attempts to allow a simple majority of bank regulators, the same ones who were grossly negligent in our 2008 crisis, to veto any CFPB rule. There have also been efforts to defund the expansion of oversight duties of the Commodity Futures Trading Commission (CFTC) and the Securities and Exchange Commission (SEC). Funding levels for these two agencies have been severely threatened.

The CFTC and SEC are vital to the proper functioning of our financial markets. Anything less than full funding would deprive these agencies of the basic resources they need to police the safety and integrity of our financial markets and increase the danger of another financial crisis. Under-funding them is drastically irresponsible given the potential costs of a financial crisis. It is without debate that much of the deficit issues we are struggling to address today reflect the impact of the 2008 financial crisis, which was brought about by under-regulation of our financial markets.

Congress must do everything in its power to ensure that the financial reform included in Dodd-Frank is implemented as Congress intended. Efforts to weaken the CFPB or to starve the CFTC and SEC of proper funding should be fought at all costs. These agencies are essential to the goal of curbing the kind of financial abuses that caused the nation's worst financial crisis since the Great Depression.

If elected, would you support maintaining an autonomous Independent Consumer Financial Protection Bureau (CFPB) and support the single Director structure?

YES.

I wholly support the CFPB and its mission to protect consumers. Learning from our mistakes of the recent financial crash, consumers need an independent bureau to make financial instruments work the way they are supposed to – for the consumer, and not for the big financial services firms.

My opponent, Rob Garagiola, voted in 2009 against legislation (HB 1048) that would have made it illegal for credit card companies to retroactively change their interest rates and apply them to past debts. Mr. Garagiola, as Chair of the Senate Finance Committee, moved to kill the bill after it had passed the House of Delegates by an overwhelming majority, 136-1. I want to make it clear that, unlike Mr. Garagiola, I would support these types of measures that are meant to protect consumers from unfair practices.

As Congressman, I would not only support the CFPB, but I would also support legislation that advances its objectives.

If elected, would you support increased funding to the Securities and Exchange Commission (SEC) with jurisdiction to regulate hedge funds, derivatives, private equity and many new investment vehicles that are developed, as directed in the Dodd –Frank law?

YES.

Like many Americans, I was disgusted by the fact that the federal government had no choice but to step in and save the financial services industry with taxpayer money. With the new powers that the SEC has pursuant to Dodd-Frank to regulate the same, previously unregulated, financial instruments that caused the recent financial collapse, I will support all efforts to fund the SEC. As Congressman, I will support all efforts to prevent abuse of the financial system and ensure that the SEC has the ability, not just the jurisdiction, to monitor new financial instruments.

If elected, would you support increased funding to the Commodity Futures Trading Commission (CFTC)?

YES.

7. LABOR STANDARDS

The Fair Labor Standards Act (FLSA) is the nation's basic labor standards law. It protects all workers who might otherwise be subjected to unfair wages, pay discrimination or extended work hours without overtime pay. The FLSA limits child labor and industrial homework and protects the disabled. FLSA protections are regularly under attack and are often eroded by lack of enforcement.

The Davis-Bacon Act requires the payment of prevailing community wages on federally financed construction projects. This law ensures local contractors that uphold prevailing rates of pay and local labor standards in a geographic area, a fair chance to compete for government projects without being undercut by outside firms using cut-rate labor. The act also protects the government from unreliable operators seeking to win federal contracts by bidding too low to attract competent craftsmen.

The Service Contract Act (SCA) is based on the principle that the federal government should not award contracts for services to employers that underbid by paying workers less than the actual rates of pay for the same work in a geographic area. SCA protects the living standards of those who are employed as a direct result of federal service contracts, particularly those in low-wage occupations.

Project Labor Agreements (PLA's) are collective bargaining agreements between building trade unions and contractors that govern the terms and conditions of employment for all craft workers – union and non-union – on a construction project. PLA's have been successfully used for nearly a century ensuring the flow of skilled workers and helping projects come in on time and on budget. But PLA's have come under attack by some members of Congress. Behind

these attacks are low-road anti-worker businesses who oppose basic workers' rights and don't want to pay fair wages for skilled labor.

The Family and Medical Leave Act (FMLA) of 1993, requiring employers to provide up to 12 weeks of unpaid (but job-protected) family or medical leave, was a major step in helping workers balance the demands of work and family. But the effectiveness of the FMLA is constrained by its limited coverage and the inability of millions of workers to afford leave without pay. Almost 41 million workers are not covered by the FMLA and according to a 2000 Labor Department study, 78% of workers who needed leave but did not take it said they could not afford it. To address these shortcomings, Congress needs to expand FMLA eligibility and provide for limited wage replacement during periods of leave. Congress must also resist calls by employers to curtail FMLA rights by limiting the circumstances under which employees can take leave. And in addition to family and medical leave already provided under the FMLA, Congress should guarantee at least seven paid sick days for every worker.

If elected, would you oppose any effort to exclude more workers from the protections of the 40-hour workweek or to deny more workers the absolute right to overtime pay?

YES.

If elected, would you oppose any effort to allow employers to avoid paying cash overtime for work in excess of 40 hours per week or to exclude certain forms of compensation from the calculation of overtime pay?

YES.

If elected, would you oppose any legislation that would either weaken or repeal the Davis-Bacon Act?

YES.

If elected, would you oppose any legislation that would weaken or repeal the Service Contract Act?

YES.

If elected, would you oppose efforts to prohibit or weaken Project Labor Agreements?

YES.

Project Labor Agreements benefit communities by encouraging the hiring of workers from disadvantage neighborhoods and improve workforce training, both of which I am a strong supporter of.

If elected, would you support an effort to expand the FMLA to cover workers in companies with fewer than 50 employees?

YES.

As a father of four daughters, I would always want the option to take care of them in time of need. Extending the same option to every American is critical to me, and as Congressman, I would support efforts to do so.

If elected, would you support legislation to require that companies guarantee seven paid sick days per year?

YES.

8. RETIREMENT SECURITY: PENSIONS AND SOCIAL SECURITY

Retirement security is becoming a goal beyond the reach of most Americans. According to the non-partisan Center for Retirement Research at Boston College, the retirement income deficit – that is, the gap between what Americans today have accumulated for retirement and what they should have by now if they are to maintain their standard of living is a staggering \$6.6 trillion. This gaping deficit is explained in large part by the fraying of our private pension system, with fewer workers now covered by traditional pension plans. Although the ability to achieve retirement security has long been premised on a system of mutual responsibility -- government provided Social Security, employer-provided pensions and personal savings -- for the majority of American workers it is only Social Security that guarantees a defined retirement benefit.

As currently constructed, there is little hope that retirement savings plans, like 401(k) plans or IRAs, will make up for the loss of traditional pensions. Half of all American families have no retirement savings whatsoever. Among those near-retirement families with some retirement savings, half have less than \$83,000 – enough for a monthly retirement income at age 65 of only several hundred dollars. Moreover, individual savings plans do not offer the benefits of real pensions which include lifetime income, survivor and disability protections, as well as early retirement benefits and post-retirement benefit increases, in many cases. By contrast, individual savings plans require workers to bear all the risk, are often insufficiently diversified, suffer from poor returns and typically carry very heavy fees and expenses.

Social Security remains the foundation of retirement income for U.S. workers and their families and the principal insurance against family impoverishment due to death or disability. It has reliably and efficiently provided benefits to the elderly and the disabled, helped millions of Americans escape poverty and given the elderly the financial means to live their last years with independence. The Social Security system is an extraordinarily well-crafted plan with a progressive benefits structure that delivers higher returns to lower-wage workers, ensures workers and beneficiaries will not outlive their benefits and protects those benefits from erosion by inflation.

Contrary to some claims, Social Security has not contributed a penny to the federal deficit and is not in crisis. Social Security has a \$2.7 trillion trust fund and can pay full all promised benefits in full

for the next twenty five years. After that, it can pay three quarters of promised benefits and it can be restored to long-term actuarial balance without cutting benefits. The program's revenue shortfall over 75 years is comparable to the revenues needed to pay for Bush-era tax cuts for the wealthiest 2 percent of Americans. More than 80 percent of this revenue shortfall could be closed by eliminating the cap on wages that are subject to the payroll tax (currently set at \$106,800), even if higher benefits were paid to those earning above that amount.

The AFL-CIO is committed to legislation that promotes workers' retirement security, such as legislation that protects and strengthens defined benefit pension plans and legislation that ensures long-term solvency for Social Security without cutting benefits.

If elected, would you support measures to ensure employer responsibility in providing workers with a secure retirement?

YES.

If elected, would you oppose measures to replace any part of Social Security's guaranteed benefits with individual investment accounts?

If elected, would you oppose efforts to reduce Social Security's guaranteed benefits under current law, including proposals: (1) to increase the retirement age (which is already increasing to 67 under current law), (2) change the calculation for the cost of living adjustment, (3) change the benefit formula, or (4) institute means testing?

YES.

Social Security is a staple of America's promises to retirees. As a member of Congress I would be a strong supporter of preserving the benefits and solvency of this key program.

9. OCCUPATIONAL SAFETY AND HEALTH

Four decades ago, Congress enacted the Occupational Safety and Health Act (OSH Act) in response to the unacceptable numbers of workers who were being killed or seriously injured in the workplace. Since then, significant progress has been made, but the toll of workplace injuries, illnesses and fatalities remains high. Each year thousands of workers are killed and millions more injured or diseased because of their jobs. And some groups of workers, including Latino workers and immigrant workers, are at much greater risk due to the dangerous conditions and lack of protections. Millions of workers are not covered by the law, and for other workers, protections are inadequate.

After eight years of hostility and neglect by the Bush Administration, the Obama Administration has moved to strengthen worker safety protections by appointing strong worker safety and health advocates to head OSHA and MSHA, increased the job safety budget, enhanced enforcement and has been developing much needed safety and health rules.

During the 111th Congress, legislation was proposed to expand the OSH Act's coverage to all workers, to strengthen whistleblower protections and to strengthen enforcement, all of which the AFL-CIO strongly supports.

The 112th Congress ushered in an era of budget cuts and attacks on regulatory safeguards to protect workers, the public and the environment. House Republicans pushed numerous pieces of legislation that would roll back and stop important protections and virtually shut down the entire process for issuing all regulations.

If elected, would you support legislation to extend OSHA coverage to the millions of state and local employees currently excluded from the OSH Act?

YES

If elected, would you support legislation to strengthen whistleblower protections for workers who raise job safety concerns?

YES

If elected, would you support legislation that would make criminal violations involving a death of a worker a felony instead of a misdemeanor?

YES.

If elected, would you support increases in the job safety budget to strengthen standard setting, enforcement and worker safety and health training programs?

YES.

If elected, would you oppose efforts to weaken or defund OSHA's and MSHA's regulatory and enforcement programs?

YES.

If elected, would you oppose legislation that would make it more difficult or impossible for government agencies to develop and issue new needed safeguards to protect workers, the public and consumers?

YES.

10. IMMIGRANT WORKERS

The AFL-CIO supports comprehensive immigration reform and opposes enforcement-only efforts. Immigration reform must be done in a comprehensive manner to protect U.S.

workers and reduce the exploitation of immigrant workers. The most effective way to eliminate the competitive advantage unscrupulous employers gain by hiring undocumented immigrants rather than legal immigrants and U.S. workers at prevailing wages is to ensure all workers -- immigrant and native-born -- have the full protection of labor, health and safety and other laws.

Immigration reform must include five major interconnected pieces: (1) an independent commission to assess and manage future flows of immigrant workers, based on labor market shortages that are determined on the basis of actual need; (2) a secure and effective worker authorization mechanism; (3) rational operational control of the U.S. border; (4) adjustment of status for the current undocumented population; and (5) improvement, not expansion, of temporary worker visa programs, limited to temporary and seasonal, not permanent jobs.

If elected, would you support comprehensive immigration reform and oppose enforcement-only legislation?

YES.

I am in favor of smart comprehensive immigration reform that focuses on the five points layed out above.

If elected, would you support legislation that provides otherwise law-abiding undocumented workers and their families permanent legal status through an earned legalization program?

YES.

If elected, would you support immigration reform that protects all workers by establishing an independent commission that makes rational assessments of short-term and long-term labor market shortages and makes recommendations based on actual labor market need?

YES.

If elected, would you support efforts to reform existing temporary worker programs by enhancing workplace protections, strengthening oversight and enforcement and creating new methods to investigate and penalize employers who abuse workers?

YES.

11. EDUCATION

It is in the interest of our nation that we maintain quality public education for all of our children. Private school vouchers, K-12 education savings accounts and other schemes, such as education tax credits for K-12 private school expenses, undermine public education by taking scarce public funds away from public schools, which are open to all students, and shifting them to private schools.

Too many of our nation's rural, suburban and urban public schools are overcrowded and in poor condition. A growing number of public schools all across the country are being forced to set up

classrooms in trailers, hallways and closets in order to accommodate their rapidly rising enrollments. One-third of all public schools also need extensive repair or replacement.

If elected, would you oppose all private school voucher proposals and other schemes intended to divert taxpayer dollars from public to private schools?

YES.

I oppose the voucher system because it pulls funding from public schools, especially for K-12 education. By any measure, the quality of our K-12 education is the most important issue facing our country. It is the backbone of our ability to compete and succeed as a nation. As Congressman, I would oppose private school voucher proposals, and any other proposals that would take away from our K-12 education.

If elected, would you support legislation that would help states and local school districts reduce their class size, provide professional development and supports for teachers and other school staff – particularly for staff working in schools serving high numbers of disadvantaged students.

YES.

If elected would you support proposals to increase federal support for school repair, construction and modernization projects at local prevailing wages?

YES.

12. PRIVATIZATION

Citing budgetary pressures and, in some cases, ideology, government officials continue to support the widespread use of private contractors to perform government work. However, recent studies have found that cronyism, cost overruns and poor performance often result from the rush to contract public work to the private sector. These studies have shown that privatization schemes are often shortsighted and unnecessary. Moreover, our nation should not be relying on private firms to make crucial decisions where confidentiality, unbiased information and public accountability are paramount.

If elected, would you oppose efforts to privatize public services and instead support efforts to work with public employees to improve services through cooperative job redesign, training and labor-management coordination?

YES.

13. NONDISCRIMINATION IN THE WORKPLACE

Since there is no federal law that prohibits employment discrimination on the basis of sexual orientation, it is currently legal to fire working men and women in 33 states because of their sexual orientation. As a result, working people can be denied employment opportunities on the basis of

something that has no relationship to their ability to perform their work. The AFL-CIO strongly opposes employment discrimination based on sexual orientation.

If elected, would you support legislation to outlaw employment discrimination based on sexual orientation?

YES.

14. 11. EQUAL PAY

In 1963, Congress passed the Equal Pay Act to end the widespread practice of pay discrimination against women. The Equal Pay Act makes it unlawful to pay women less than men for work deemed substantially equal and/or identical, unless the pay difference is based on seniority, experience or other legitimate factors. Although equal pay has been the law for 44 years, women with similar education, skills and experience are still paid less than their male counterparts.

If elected, would you support federal legislation to end pay discrimination against women and provide more effective remedies for its victims?

YES.

15. DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA VOTING RIGHTS

More than 500,000 U.S. citizens live in our nation's capital and fulfill the responsibilities of citizenship every day. However, while they serve in the armed forces, pay federal taxes, and sit on federal juries, they have no voting representation in the U.S. Congress. This intolerable situation is an affront to the very principles of democracy we hold dear.

If elected, would you support legislation that would partially remedy this grave injustice by allowing the delegate elected by citizens of the District of Columbia to vote in the House of Representatives?

YES.

Please return Completed Questionnaire to:
Maryland and DC AFL-CIO, 7 School Street, Annapolis, Maryland 21401,
fmason@mddcaflcio
AND
AFL-CIO Legislative Department, 815 16th St., NW, Washington, DC 20006
AND

**Central Labor Council, MWC, AFL-CIO, 888 16th St., N.W. Suite 520, Washington, D.C.
20006, rpowell@dclabor.org, 202-974-8154, Fax: 202-974-8152**