

IVI-IPO 2004 CONGRESSIONAL QUESTIONNAIRE - Section 1

DATE: January 18, 2004
DISTRICT: 2nd CD of Illinois
PARTY: Democratic_
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NUMBER OF PETITION
SIGNATURES FILED: 5,900
NUMBER REQUIRED: 1,028

Please use an additional sheet to complete the following background information:

- A) Elective or appointive public or party offices previously held including dates.
U.S. House of Representatives, 1995-Current.
- B) Other elective offices for which you have been a candidate.
None
- C) Principal business, education, professional and civic activities of the past ten years.
1993-1995, National Field Director, National Rainbow Coalition.
- D) What subjects have you studied and what experience have you had which will be most helpful to you in the office you seek?
Business, Theology, Law.
- E) Activities for other candidates. Please be specific.

Supported & Campaigned for Senator James Meeks (D-15)
Supported & Campaigned for Senator Debbie Halverson (D-40)
Supported Senator Jackie Collins (D-16)
Supported & Campaigned for Senator Barack Obama (D-13)
Supported Senator Donne E. Trotter (D-17)
Supported State Representative Barbara Flynn Currie (D-25)
Supported & Campaigned for State Representative Williams Davis (D-30)
Supported State Representative Mary E. Flowers (D-31)
Supported State Representative Constance A. Howard (D-34)
Supported & Campaigned for Representative Robin Kelly (D-38)
Supported & Campaigned for David E. Miller (D-29)
Supported & Campaigned for George Scully, Jr. (D-80)
Supported Rod Blagojevich for Governor
Supported Pat Quinn for Lt. Governor

Supported Lisa Madigan for Attorney General
Supported Jesse White for Secretary of State
And many others.

F) Please list all endorsements you have received so far.
Many endorsement meetings forthcoming.

G) As concisely as possible, please state why you feel you should be endorsed over the other candidate(s). What goals for the office you seek are most important to you personally?

I have been elected to five terms. I have missed only one vote in the U.S. House of Representatives during the eight years I have been there - by accident. Congressional Quarterly Magazine has voted me one of the most effective members of Congress. I led all 435 member of Congress in opposing legislation (91% of the times) supported by President Bush - an honor I where with pride and distinction. I serve on one of the two most important committees in Congress - Appropriations. I have brought over \$300 million to the Second Congressional District since 1995. I have a great staff that renders outstanding constituent services.

H) Please outline the place of patronage, personnel codes, race, gender, and sexual orientation in establishing criteria for hiring and promoting public employees.

Obviously, in the top policy-making position of an executive administration, an elected official should be able to appoint those he knows or trusts to carry out his/her policies. They, of course, should be qualified to do the job. Beyond this, I am a strong supporter of non-discrimination and equal opportunity in hiring and promotions, including affirmative action with goals and timetables, in both the public and private sectors. I have one of the most diverse staffs in both my Washington and District offices of anyone in Congress. I intended to have such a diverse staff because it is right and because it reflects my district.

I) What is your campaign budget? How much have you raised to date?
I have raised over \$600,000.

J) How many people are on your campaign staff? How many volunteers are on your list?
Three permanent staffers and volunteer numbers vary.

IVI-IPO 2004 CONGRESSIONAL QUESTIONNAIRE - Section 2

Foreign and Military

1.

a. What should be the US role in multi-national alliances such as the UN, NATO and the International Criminal Court?

We should be supportive and creative leaders in all three.

b. What should be the policy of the IMF and World Bank toward countries that are essentially bankrupt?

They should be sensitive and open to debt forgiveness, work with individual countries to design policies (no one size fits all) that will contribute to balanced economic growth and job creation, and serve the basic social needs of education, health, housing and preserving a clean and sustainable environment.

2. What should be Congress' role in formulating foreign policy?

There is a role and relationship for Congress defined by the Constitution. Congress has the power to ratify treaties, declare war and oversee the President's foreign policy activities through hearings, investigations, oversight and funding. That's why I took the President to federal court in Boston over Congress ceding its constitutionally mandated powers to declare war in Iraq. The President is the Commander-and-Chief during a time of war and carries out the nation's foreign policy.

3. Should the US wage war without a declaration from Congress?

The nation has engaged in scores of wars during its history, but officially declaring war only five times. I think that has been an unwise course. I believe Congress should declare war if we are to go to war. The War Powers Act allows a President to go to war for up to 90 days without an official declaration, and international law allows a nation to protect itself - even using pre-emptive means - if there is an actual imminent threat to a nation. There was no such imminent threat in the case of Iraq. I voted against the Iraqi Resolution for two reasons: (a) according to the Constitution, we did not have the power to relinquish that authority to the President; and (b) I did not think we were facing an imminent threat from Iraq.

4.

a. Do you support funding to assist conversion of the defense industry to civilian applications?

Yes.

b. Do you agree with the current proposed level of funding for the military? If you agree, explain. If you disagree, how would you distribute the funds?

Not entirely. I believe the military budget could be cut - I would order a study first - without hurting our defense. Much of the current increase was for old weapons systems and military programs that the President couldn't get through Congress before 9/11, but did after 9/11. That was not prudent. Now, of course, you have the added dimension to the nation's defense of Homeland Security, which is inadequately funded - first responders, ports, nuclear plants, etc., need greater funding.

5. Do you support

a. continued funding for WHISC (the re-named Army School of the Americas)?

No.

b. fast-track authority?

No.

6. Do you support the way the drug war is being carried on, both abroad and at home? What would you change?

No. Columbia is a lesson in failure not success. There must be a greater effort at prevention through education, and cure through our health system. Reducing demand should have a greater emphasis than the over-focus on a military solution at the source. We must also assist in providing poor farmers and workers in those countries with alternative crop programs, in order to allow them to sustain their families and contribute to more balanced general and world economy.

7. Do you support

a. normalization of relations with Cuba?

Yes.

b. the Helms-Burton Act?

No.

Environment

8. Do you support the environmental policies of the current administration?

No. The Bush Administration has the worst environmental record of any administration of which I'm aware.

9. How do we balance the need to protect the environment with our need for economic development? Your comments should include water resources, air quality, wetlands, coastline development, deforestation, use of public lands, and pesticides and herbicides.

In general, cleaning up and protecting our environment in every way that you mentioned above is labor intensive, which would assist in the goal of full employment. On the other hand, we need to increase our current investment in already proven and environmentally sound technologies, which would allow us to continue to grow economically (e.g., solar energy, bio-mass, etc.) and protect the environment for the future through renewable sources of energy; as well as increase funds for research and development for future environmentally safe and efficient technologies which allow us to continue to grow. I have introduced legislation (H.J. Res. 33) that would say that the American people have a RIGHT to a clean, safe and sustainable environment.

10. Do you support oil drilling in Alaska and other protected wilderness?

No.

11. So you support pollution credit schemes?

No, direct protection is better.

Transportation

12. What transportation policy do you favor regarding

a. infrastructure improvements?

b. highways?

c. mass transit?

d. high-speed rail?

e. Amtrak?

f. Air transportation, particularly the proposed O'Hare expansion and third airport?

I favor a mix of all of the above, but there should be massive new expenditures in the area of mass transit and high-speed rail. In air travel, the FAA should be limited to safety issues and should not be in the business of "promoting the airline industry," a dual function they now serve. I am the strongest supporter of a new South Suburban Airport in Peotone. I have organized the South Suburban Airport Commission (SSAC), put out an appeal for capability statements and bids on building such an airport - and we have received competitive bids - and I hope the SSAC will be able to sign a contract to start building the airport in March, 2004. That would mean 1000 new jobs by 2005 and 15,000 new jobs when the airport would open in 2008 with five gates and one runway. Over several decades it could mean upwards of 500,000 direct and multiplier-effect jobs, lower air-fare prices, and more convenient travel for those living on the South Side and in the

South Suburbs.

Taxes and Economic Policy

13. Do you favor

a. a more progressive income tax?

Yes.

b. a flat tax?

No.

c. a national sales tax?

No.

d. reduction of the capital gains tax?

No.

e. reduction or elimination of the estate tax?

No.

f. elimination of the corporate alternative tax?

No.

g. tax cuts on stock dividends?

No.

h. any other changes in our tax structure? Please explain.

The tax code should be made much more fair and simplified. This answer must be put in context. One should be aware that over half of the financial assets of the richest 10% are owned by the richest 1%? You should also be aware that nearly 80% of the assets of the top 1% are owned by the richest one-half of 1% -- about 500,000 families? Rep. David Obey (D-WI) has the documentation. He says, "The holdings of those 500,000 families was worth \$2.5 trillion in 1983. By 1989, it had risen to \$5 trillion. To put that into perspective, the holdings of those families grew by almost three times as much as the national debt grew during that same period. If one wants to talk about reducing the deficits and debt, those 500,000 families could have paid off the entire national debt, not just its growth, and still have owned 10% more wealth than they did in 1983. Under Bush I, Clinton and Bush II, things have gotten even worse with regard to the disparities in wealth and income. Before we say we cannot afford to invest in America; before we say we have to cut entitlement programs, including Social Security, Medicare and Medicaid, I would fight for a much fairer tax structure.

14. Do you favor a roll-back of the Bush tax cuts?

Yes - all three of them.

15. Do you support total or partial privatization of the Social Security fund? Please explain.

No, unless it would be along the lines of what Al Gore proposed in 2000 - Social Security-plus. There should be no possibility of the elimination of a reasonable SS floor below which no American can fall.

16. What is your position on federal deficit spending vs. balanced budget?

I was against President Bush's turning a projected 10-year \$5.6 trillion surplus into large deficits as far as the economic eye can see; and I'm for repealing the President's tax cuts. However, I am not as concerned about the budget deficits per se as I am about the nature of the budget deficits. There's a difference between a \$50,000 gambling debt and a \$50,000 education debt. An education debt and a gambling debt are equal debts, but have different short-and-long-term consequences. After factoring

in a recession and 9/11, the major source of our nation's deficits are Bush's gamble on large tax cuts - disproportionately to the rich - to restore our economy and create jobs. That gamble appears not to be working for main street, as it is likely that this President will be the first since Herbert Hoover to loose jobs during his administration - in the neighborhood of 3 million jobs lost. If we had a debt of \$500 billion - \$100 billion for school construction, \$100 billion for health care, \$100 billion to create affordable housing, \$100 billion to clean up the environment and create renewable energy, and invested another \$100 billion to rebuild our infrastructure, and repair and expand public transportation - that would be a \$500 billion deficit that would generate millions of jobs, grow the economy in a more balance fashion, improve the quality of our lives, and more quickly move toward balancing the budget. Though, like I said, I'm not obsessed with completely balancing budgets. Just as families go into debt to buy a home and pay for a child's education, budget deficits should be "in proportion" to a family's income or a nation's GDP - i.e., what each can afford.

17. Do you support unfunded mandates to local government?
No.

Consumer Rights

18. Do you support
- granting consumers the right to an annual free copy of their consolidated credit report, including credit score?
Yes.
 - banning the use of Social Security numbers as identification in consumer transactions?
Yes.
 - federal legislation to cap interest rates on consumer loans?
Yes.
 - federal legislation to regulate ATM fees and service charges on credit cards and other consumer loans?
Yes.
 - federal legislation to give banks and finance companies priority over other unsecured lenders in bankruptcy proceedings?
No.
 - allowing states to enact consumer laws which go beyond the protection of federal legislation?
Yes.

Government and Ethics

19. Do you support term limits? Describe briefly.
No. In a democracy, the people should decide how long one serves.

20. Do you support
- public financing of Congressional campaigns?
Yes.
 - spending limits?
Yes.
 - abolition of PACs?
No.

21. Would you support increased Congressional oversight of federal

contracting? Why or why not?

Yes. Contacting should be as transparent as possible and congressional oversight could contribute to accomplishing that. The no bid contacts in Iraq to companies close to the Bush Administration demonstrate most clear the need to do this.

Health & Human Services

22. Do you support comprehensive, universal, single-payer health care?

If not, how would you address the need for health care for the uninsured and underinsured?

Yes. But while I support the single-payer approach to health care, all such programs are putting the cart before the horse. We must establish that the American people have a RIGHT to health care by putting such a right in the Constitution. I've proposed such a right (H.J. Res. 30).

23. Do you favor funding changes for the following:

a. supplemental food programs for Women, Infants and Children (WIC)?

Yes.

b. food stamp allowances?

Yes.

c. Head Start?

Yes.

d. school lunch programs?

Yes.

24. Do you support

a. increased funding to develop affordable housing?

Yes.

b. restrictions to ensure development of low-income rather than market rate housing?

Yes.

c. a National Affordable Housing Trust Fund to build, rehabilitate and preserve at least 1.5 million units of primarily rental, primarily deeply targeted housing?

Yes.

d. Protection against housing discrimination based on source of income?

Yes.

25. What services, if any, should be offered to those whose time on Welfare has run out and do not have adequate income to support themselves and their families?

I believe food, health care, housing and education are human rights that should not be denied to anyone in America. I also believe - for those willing and able - that employment is a human right. Thus, financial support while someone is in job training would also be important. In order for people to work, there must be a high quality child support system - day care, pre-school, etc. - must also be seen as part of giving a people the opportunity to become productive citizens.

26. Do you favor

a. increased federal aid to public education?

Yes.

b. vouchers, tuition tax-credits or other any direct public

support for parochial or private schools?

No. Private and parochial schools play an important role in our society and I support them - but not with public tax dollars.

27. Are the provisions of the No Child Left Behind Act the appropriate way to advance student achievement?

There are many good aspects to the NCLB Act, but it was not funded adequately, there is a pre-occupation with testing, and it is a one-size fits all approach to education. Again, ALL education programs are putting the cart before the horse under current law. We must first put the RIGHT to a public education of equal high quality in the Constitution, which I have proposed in H.J. Res. 29.

28. Do you support

a. the Human Life Amendment?

No.

b. parental or spousal notification or consent to obtain an abortion?

No.

c. restoration of Medicaid coverage of abortion?

Yes.

d. a ban on so-called partial birth abortions?

No.

e. insurance coverage for abortions for federal and military employees and their dependents?

Yes.

29. Do you support increased funding for HIV/AIDS research, education, prevention, and services? Please discuss compulsory licensing of essential drugs where needed, in the US, Africa, Asia and elsewhere.

Yes. I was critical of the African Growth & Opportunity Act - and proposed the HOPE for Africa Act, which included debt reduction and compulsory licensing for HIV/AIDS features - that was passed a couple of years ago because it failed to deal with the question of compulsory licensing.

30. Do you support

a. federal funding for stem cell research?

Yes.

b. legislation prohibiting stem cell research?

No.

Law, Justice, and Correctional System

31. Do you support:

a. admissibility of illegally obtained evidence?

No.

b. electronic eavesdropping?

No, unless obtained through a judge in a regular court order.

c. roving wiretaps?

No, unless obtained through a judge in a regular court order.

d. capital punishment?

No. My father and I have written two books against the death penalty.

e. criminal prosecution of juveniles as adults?

No.

f. mandatory sentencing?

No.

g. criminalization of hate crimes?

Yes, with appropriately proportional penalties.

32. Do you support legislation prohibiting racial profiling in law enforcement?

Yes.

33. Do you favor detention of suspects and material witnesses without charges and/or probable cause? Do you favor giving such detainees access to counsel?

No and Yes.

34. Would you support legislation authorizing or prohibiting secret military tribunals? Please explain your position.

I would support legislation prohibiting secret military tribunals.

I believe they are a violation of America's constitutionally-based legal system of openness and due process.

35. Do you support legislation to ban the manufacture, sale and possession of

a. handguns?

Yes.

b. assault weapons?

Yes.

c. ammunition for handguns and assault weapons?

Yes.

36. Do you support legislation

a. mandating background checks of purchasers of weapons at gun shows, through the internet and through print advertisements?

Yes.

b. increasing penalties for illegal resale of weapons?

Yes.

37. a. Should funding for the Legal Services Corporation be increased?

Yes.

b. What restrictions, if any, should Congress enact or repeal regarding the scope of federally funded legal services for the poor?

Poor people should have legal rights comparable to all other citizens.

Civil Liberties and Civil Rights

38. a. Do you favor repeal of the Patriot Act or any of its provisions?

I support repeal of certain provisions of the Patriot Act.

I think they threaten many of our civil rights and liberties. I voted against the USA Patriot Act because, while it is not all bad and there were provisions that I supported, there were many other provisions that were bad and outweighed the good. In particular, three sections concerned me: (a) Section 215, the so-called library records section, which allowed the Attorney General to secure business records through the cover of "foreign surveillance" (which can be done in secret) rather than through normal grand

jury or court proceedings; (b) Section 505, using the rationale of "national security" (again, something that can be done mostly in secret) rather than the more normal judicial procedures to obtain financial records); and (c) Section 213, the so-called "sneak and peak" section which changed the language about notifying you of a search (which used to be 7 days) to "a reasonable period of time," and broader language about what would be "adversely effected" in a case. I support both H.R. 3352, the SAFE Act (Security and Freedom Ensured Act of 2003), which would not go into effect until 2005, and H.R. 3171, the Benjamin Franklin True Patriot Act, which is a strong piece of legislation, that would correct these and other concerns I have about the USA Patriot I. I am also opposed to many other Administration proposals for the so-called USA Patriot Act II, which they are breaking up into individual pieces because they have seen the American peoples' concerns and rejection of many part of Patriot I.

b. Would you vote for Patriot Act II?

No.

39. Do you support

a. federal legislation to prohibit discrimination based on sexual orientation in housing, employment and education?

Yes.

b. repeal of the Defense of Marriage Act?

Yes.

c. a Constitutional amendment prohibiting states from recognizing gay civil unions or same sex unions?

No.

40. What is your position on gays and lesbians in the military?

"Don't ask, don't tell" should be repealed. Inappropriate conduct by any military person should be prohibited and punished accordingly. But gays and lesbians should not be singled out as a class and treated differently in the military.

41. a. Do you support prior government restraint of the press?

No.

b. Do you support State censorship of the arts?

No.

c. What should be the guidelines in determining government support for the arts?

I'm not sure I know the answer to this other than to say, freedom of expression by artists, and good artists and proposals as judged by professionals in the field.

d. Should funding for the NEA be increased, decreased or stay the same?

Increased.

42. Do you support

a. prayer in public schools?

No.

b. moment of silence?

No.

43. Do you support mandatory drug testing in private and public employment? Briefly state the reasons for your answers.

Generally no. There may be some exceptions to this, such as when

the public's health or safety is at stake -- e.g., engineers on trains and airline pilots.

44. Do you support mandatory AIDS testing for insurance or employment?
No, unless the health or safety of the public is at stake.

45. Do you support legislation to redress inequities in pension benefits for women?
Yes.

46. Would you support the acceptance of completed ratification of the Equal Rights Amendment?
Yes. I think that would be a great idea.

Labor

47. What changes, if any, in the Taft-Hartley Act would you work for?
Many, but two come to mind: (a) the use replacement workers during a strike; and (b) support for repeal of Section 14 (B), the basis for "right-to-work" laws.

48. Do you support a prohibition on permanent replacement of strikers?
Yes.

49. Do you favor giving federal employees the right to strike?
Yes.

50. What is your position on Affirmative Action with specific goals, targets and timetables for federal employment, grants and contracts and as a requirement for federal contractors and grantees?
I strongly support such laws and their enforcement.

51. a. Do you support comparable worth legislation?
Yes.

b. What steps, if any, should the government take to monitor pay equity between men and women?
It should design programs both to monitor the disparity and correct the disparity

52. Do you support a federal living wage law? Please explain why or why not.

Yes. I believe the minimum wage - which is not a living wage - has not been changed since the mid-90s, which means it has not kept pace with inflation. I believe that employment at liveable wages is a human right and I have proposed a constitutional amendment as witness to that belief (H.J. Res. 35).