

## Im, Sarah -NGA

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**Sent:** August-12-16 5:45 PM  
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**Subject:** WSHDC-3529: TPP Reactions in Washington - August 12, 2016  
**Attachments:** WSHDC TPP Timeline Graphic - August 12, 2016.pdf

**Summary:** USTR cleared the most recent hurdle on the narrow path to TPP's passage today, submitting the draft statement of administrative action to Congress, a formal step required 30 days before draft implementing legislation can be submitted, again to Congress. A vote on TPP during the current Congress remains possible, though not guaranteed. Since Congress departed for their annual summer break, focus has largely shifted to the November elections, predominantly at the presidential level. While both camps hurl criticisms on the trade policies of the other, many parallels can be found between the two platforms on the issue of trade.

### Report

2. The Administration cleared another procedural hurdle today towards TPP's passage, signaling its enduring political to resolve outstanding issues and get a vote on the agreement this calendar year. USTR earlier today transmitted to Congress the draft Statement of Administrative Action (SAA) for TPP, as well as the final legal text of the TPP agreement. Trade Promotion Authority (TPA) law stipulates that these documents be transmitted to Congress at least 30 days before an implementing bill is submitted. It is important to note that the draft SAA does not require any specific action by Congress. USTR has expressed that submission of the draft SAA is simply a step in the official TPA process and that they intend to continue to work with Members of Congress and interested stakeholders to address work required for successful implementation (such as resolution on IP provisions for biologics). Of relative interest to Canada, the draft SAA outlines that the implementing bill will set forth specific rules related to determining rules of origin, including de minimis provisions. The document also outlines safeguards for agricultural goods, including country-specific safeguard measures in the form of an additional import duty on certain originating agricultural products such as Swiss cheese and milk powders from Australia, other cheese and whole milk powder from New Zealand, and condensed and evaporated milk and cheese from Peru – there is no specific reference to Canada. The only mention of Canada is listed under the section on government procurement which references Canada as a party to the WTO Agreement on Government Procurement. This document has been submitted as a draft and USTR intends to continue to work with relevant committees on its text over the coming weeks. The final SAA is expected when the draft implementing bill is sent to Congress.

3. **Timelines:** In spite of the Administration's resolve, campaign rhetoric on trade continues to dampen prospects for a successful TPP vote during the 114<sup>th</sup> Congress. Congressional trade staff continue to assure that a window of opportunity remains for TPP's passage during the lame duck session, though the eye of the needle is becoming increasingly challenging to thread. **Speaker of the House Paul Ryan (R-WI)** for a number of months has suggested there have been insufficient votes in Congress to pass TPP but recently nuanced his stance, suggesting he is unsure if TPP could pass during this Congress as he believes "the president has to go back and renegotiate some key provisions... before it can be ready to be considered [by Congress]". He maintains that as long as there are not the votes required to pass the bill, Congress should not consider TPP before or during a lame duck session.

### Campaign Rhetoric

4. **The Trump/Pence ticket:** Donald Trump continues to suggest that he's in favour of trade, though not of current in-place or negotiated trade agreements. The GOP presidential nominee argues that deals such as the TPP, NAFTA and others diminish US freedom and independence and do not go far enough to protect American jobs. Trump continues to use the current anti-trade/anti-globalization rhetoric in attempt to garner support for his campaign. August 8 in Detroit he declared "Americanism, not globalism, will be our new credo" - a line intended to resonate with many who have not



seen the benefits of globalization, many of whom reside in swing states such as Ohio, Pennsylvania and Iowa (Comment: polling completed before August 8 showed Clinton leading Trump in all three). Riding the anti-trade wave, Trump is also working to tie association of the TPP with Hillary Clinton in spite of her own opposition to the trade deal. During his speech on the economy earlier this week, Trump suggested that Clinton will ensure TPP's passage if elected, stating "A vote for Hillary Clinton is a vote for TPP", a theme also found in his acceptance speech at the Republican National Convention. Trump has been quite candid about what he sees to be the benefits of his approach, boasting that his staunch opposition to free trade deals will win him the support of "millions of democrats", particularly those who supported Sen. Bernie Sanders in the democratic race. In response, Sanders has called Trump a 'hypocrite' and encouraged him to start by making things in the USA. When joining the GOP ticket, Republican Vice-Presidential nominee

5. **The Clinton/Kaine ticket:** When talking about the TPP, Hillary Clinton maintains that she opposes it now, will oppose it after the election and will oppose it as President. This message is consistent (and often verbatim) from the candidate herself and from her advisors, frequently in response to criticism that Clinton would simply tweak the language of the agreement once elected, before letting it pass. During the Democratic National Convention (DNC), when pressed on if Clinton would abandon or renegotiate the TPP, her advisors suggested that TPP "is in the rear view mirror." In the lead up to and during the DNC, TPP was kept front of mind as opponents protested the agreement and even managed to get Sen. Bernie Sanders off script during his speech to declare "We have got to make sure that TPP does not get to the floor of the Congress in the lame-duck session!" Democratic Vice-Presidential nominee **Tim Kaine** was one of 13 Democratic senators to support Trade Promotion Authority (TPA) in 2015 but has gone on record about his concerns with the investor-state dispute settlement provisions, ultimately coming out against the TPP just ahead of the DNC. Clinton's advisors are adamant that once elected, she will take a new approach to trade that protects US jobs and wages but that her primary focus will be on other economic priorities (e.g. reforming the tax code, infrastructure projects).

6. Ultimately, both tickets advocate for a new approach to trade deals; one that focuses on American prosperity to ensure the protection or growth of US jobs and wages and keeps trade partners accountable through rigorous enforcement.

7. **Down Ticket:** Rhetoric on trade from the presidential race continues to influence races in both the U.S. House of Representatives and the Senate. During the DNC, an advisor to the Clinton campaign was quoted as saying that the presidential campaign has damaged the environment for globalization and free trade so much, that it could take years to recover. From both sides of the aisle, candidates continue to attack their opponents' stance on trade and on TPP. In Pennsylvania for example, a tight race has incumbent **Sen. Pat Toomey (R)**, a member of the Senate Finance Committee, defending his record on trade and side-stepping pronouncements on TPP as he slips in the polls behind his Democratic opponent. **Rep. Elise Stefanik (R-NY)**, the youngest woman ever to be elected to Congress, came out against TPP this week following advertisements by her Democratic opponent attacking her support for TPA and alleging she supports TPP. Other known trade supporters are faring better; for example, **Rep. Ron Kind (D-WI)**, a co-chair of the Friends of the TPP Caucus and 1/28 Democrats who supported TPA, easily won his primary. Organized labour's efforts to unseat pro-trade democrats have so far fallen short.

Drafted/Released: WSHDC/Lumsden

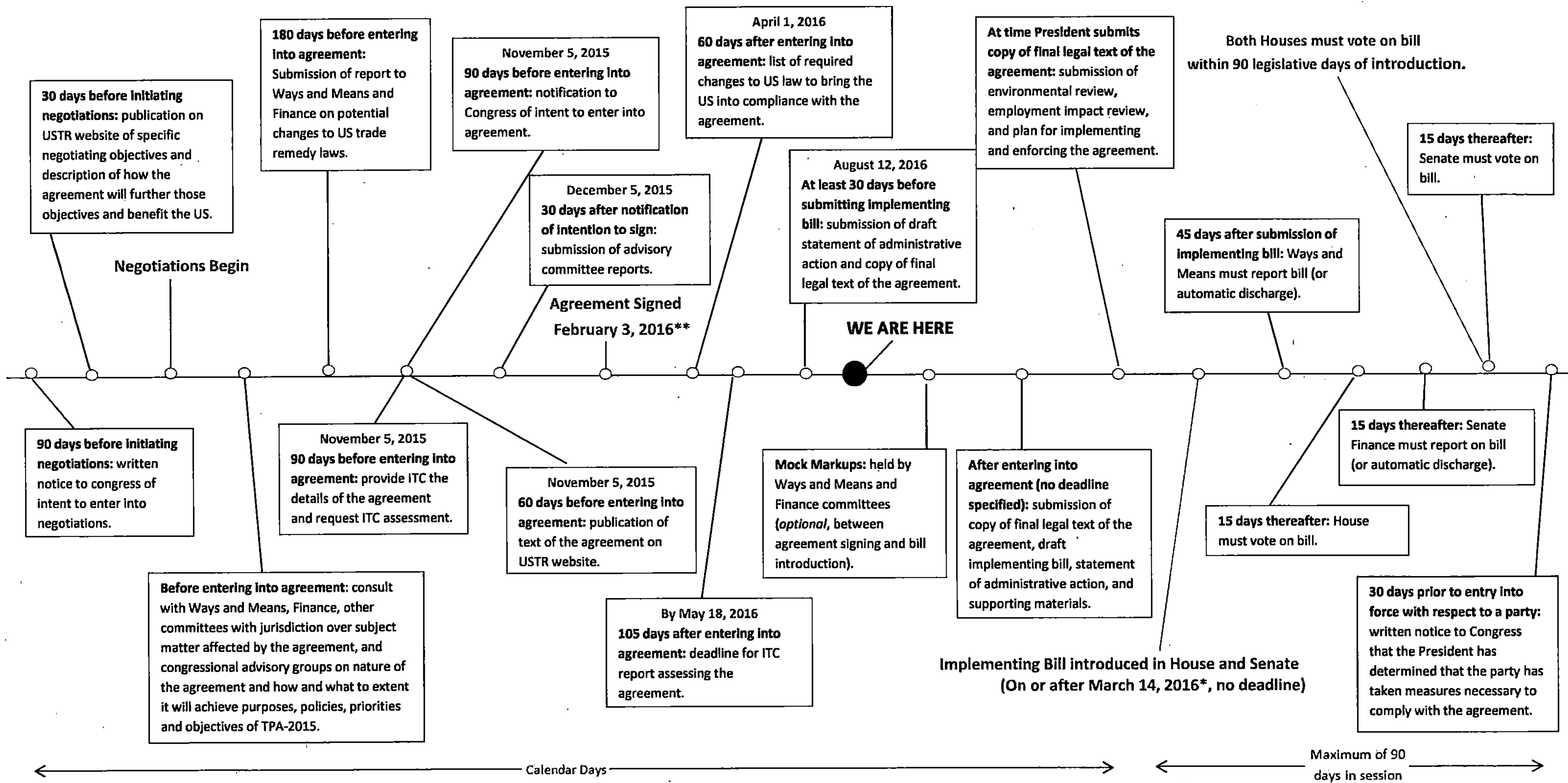
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# Timeline and Requirements for Trans-Pacific Partnership Under TPA-2015 Legislation



\*earliest possible date \*\* US time (Feb 4 in New Zealand)

Based on information available as of August 12, 2016



## Im, Sarah -NGA

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**To:** Hillman, Kirsten -TFM; Morrison, David -NGM; \*DMT-Policy; Alexander, Vera -USS  
**Subject:** WSHDC-3598: TPP Reactions in Washington - September 9, 2016

*\*\*\*Appreciating that it's again September, any updates to the distribution list for this report should be sent to WSHDC/Lumsden.\*\*\**

**Summary:** Both the U.S. House of Representatives and Senate returned from summer break on September 6, commencing the final session of Congress prior to the November 8 elections. Over the break, rhetoric on trade has continued to affect electoral races, particularly in close contests for the U.S. Senate. Hope for a vote on TPP implementing legislation during the 114<sup>th</sup> Congress continues to dwindle, particularly as Senate Majority Leader Mitch McConnell (R-KY) has recently declared that there will not be a vote on TPP this calendar year. In spite of this, the Administration continues to work to find solutions to issue areas such as biologics and cautions against putting too much weight on leadership statements, viewing them as an effort minimize the impact of the TPP in the election. On the other side, industry/academic groups opposed to TPP have reinvigorated their outreach as well.

### Report

**2. Election dynamics:** Over the summer Congressional break, trade has continued to impact congressional races in the lead up to US elections on November 8. Neither presidential candidate has softened their stance on trade, nor are they expected to from now until Election Day. The TPP has become an issue in recent weeks in Senate races in Wisconsin (recent polling shows Republican incumbent Sen. Ron Johnson anywhere between 3 and 13 points behind Democratic contender and former senator, Russ Feingold), Missouri (Republican incumbent Sen. Roy Blunt is up 5 points on his Democratic rival Jason Kander), and continues to be an issue in Pennsylvania (where Republican incumbent Pat Toomey is neck-in-neck with Democratic rival Katie McGinty, who as of September 9 is up 0.2 points). In all of these cases, Republican incumbents are facing harsh criticism for being pro-trade and promoting policies that "ship [American] jobs overseas."

**3.** In spite of the ongoing diatribe against TPP and trade, the Administration continues to promote the agreement as essential to the American economy and security interests. The White House has affirmed that President Obama will continue to make a strong case that progress has been made with Congress and that there is a path to getting the deal done before the end of his term as president. In this vein, on September 8, officials from the Administration met with heads of Trade associations and executives from major companies at the White House, urging them to increase their advocacy efforts in favour of the TPP to generate sufficient support for vote in the lame duck session. Vice President Biden also confirmed the Administration's goal of a lame duck vote in a September 6 interview with CNN, acknowledges that there would be challenges to passage, including issue areas of market protection for biologics, the ISDS carve-out for tobacco and dairy market access.

**4. Timelines/Potential for Passage:** On August 25, **Senate Majority Leader Mitch McConnell (R-KY)** pronounced that the Trans-Pacific Partnership agreement will not be considered by the US Senate during the 114<sup>th</sup> Congress, either before or during the lame duck session, citing "serious flaws" with the agreement as written. McConnell has suggested that the deal can be changed and possibly considered during the next administration. McConnell's comments were praised by opponents to TPP, including by Sens. Jeff Merkley (D-OR) and Bernie Sanders (I-VT). Previously, Sen. McConnell had suggested that there was a "bleak" chance for TPP's consideration this calendar year. **Speaker of the**



**House Paul Ryan (R-WI)** continues to affirm that the Obama Administration has not done enough to garner support for the agreement and that a vote on TPP implementing legislation currently would not have the required votes for passage, stating "I don't think we should bring up a bill that's going to go down." Despite procedural requirements allowing for the Administration to send an implementing bill to Congress as early as Monday, September 12, TPA law does not stipulate a deadline on when the TPP implementing bill would in turn be introduced in Congress. Thus, there is no procedural hurdle impeding leadership from deferring consideration of an implementing bill to the 115<sup>th</sup> Congress, or indefinitely.

**5. Sticking Points: Senate Finance Committee Chairman Orrin Hatch (R-UT)** continues to work with the Administration and the US pharmaceutical industry in pursuit of a solution on **biologics**. Sen. Hatch is seeking resolution which aligns with current U.S. law, allowing for 12 years of market exclusivity. This week, Hatch suggested that commitments by other TPP partner countries to meet his demands would not have to be framed in side-agreements, but could be through a "methodology" that "honourable" countries would follow. He stressed that impetus to find a solution remains on the Administration and that even if this issue were to be successfully addressed, TPP implementation would still have a difficult road to passage. TPP's **Investor-State Dispute Settlement** provision also remains a hurdle to support. **Sen. Elizabeth Warren (D-MA)** continues to voice her opposition to the agreement, calling the ISDS conditions in TPP a system of "rigged pseudo-courts" that would allow private entities to challenge environmental, labour, and health protections in any TPP country if these regulations are considered damaging to investment.

**6. Industry:** Industry and private sector outreach to Congress is ramping up again now that members are back from the summer break. On September 6, two leading consumer groups, **Consumer Union and Consumer Federation of America**, sent a joint letter to members of the Senate and House of Representatives, urging lawmakers "not to support approval of the Trans-Pacific Partnership (TPP) trade agreement if presented to you this year, or if presented at any time in its current form". The letter voices concern that safety regulations and inspection procedures enforced by the US Food and Drug Administration will be challenged by international food shippers and pharmaceutical companies, respectively. They also identify the TPP's ISDS provisions as a threat to important consumer protections, writing that "ISDS does not belong in the TPP, and its inclusion is a fatal flaw." The letter underscores that the same justification for excluding tobacco products from the ISDS should be extended to other products related to public health and consumer safety. These consumer groups disagree with laws and regulations designed to protect consumers being viewed or described as barriers to trade.

7. On September 7, a letter expressing concern about the ISDS was sent to Congress from more than 220 law and economics professors. The letter urges members of Congress to reject the TPP "as long as it includes the ISDS and ensure any future investment treaty, such as the TTIP and the BIT with China, excludes ISDS."

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## Im, Sarah -NGA

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**Subject:** WSHDC-3621: TPP Reactions in Washington - September 19, 2016

**Summary:** The US Congress is now more than half way through its autumn session, with one or two weeks remaining before both chambers adjourn in advance of the November elections. As days count down on the 114<sup>th</sup> Congress, both proponents and opponents of the TPP are counting votes, including the Administration which is seen to be putting a full court press on its outreach, both on and off of Capitol Hill. Republican presidential candidate Donald Trump is doubling down on his opposition to TPP post-election, in spite of increased criticism of his economic policies.

### Report

**2. Election dynamics:** In a fact sheet issued by the **Trump** campaign on September 15, the Republican presidential candidate lays out his “America-first” trade policy which avows that every US trade agreement will increase American GDP growth rate, reduce the US trade deficit and strengthen the domestic manufacturing base. On the TPP, Trump’s campaign is notably specific, stating “There will be no Trans-Pacific Partnership, even if the President and Congress are reckless enough to pass it in a lame duck session against the will of the American people.” A Trump trade advisor, Peter Navarro recently reinforced this, stating “A Trump administration would use all available options to ensure the TPP will never be implemented, even if Congress betrays the American public and votes for it in a lame-duck session”. If Congress were to pass TPP implementing legislation during the lame-duck session, the next president could refuse to exercise the fast-track certification requirements and put the agreement in limbo before it enters into force. This could be done by refusing to verify that other countries have implemented their commitments under the agreement or delay sending formal notice to other TPP members that the US has completed its own implementation. The fact sheet released by Trump’s campaign also reaffirms that under a Trump presidency, NAFTA will be renegotiated. Trump’s economic platforms have been coming under increased criticism by various think tanks (inc. Oxford Economics) which are suggesting that, if put in place, Trump’s policies would cost the US millions of jobs and perhaps send the American economy into recession. (The Peterson Institute Study, Assessing Trade Agendas in the US Presidential Campaign is critical of the trade policies of both presidential candidates).

**3. Counting Congressional Votes:** This past week, **Chairman of the Ways and Means Subcommittee on Trade, Rep. Dave Reichert (R-WA)**, spoke with a mix of urgency and optimism at a meeting of the President’s Export Council. Chairman Reichert shared that he is confident that a pathway forward on TPP will be found, suggesting “an additional 12 Democrat votes” may eventually support TPP during an implementation vote. This stands in contrast with remarks from the agreement’s opponents, such as **Sen. Bernie Sanders (I-VT)** and **Rep. Rosa DeLauro (D-CT)** who held a press conference last week where they suggested that the 160 House Democrats who voted against Trade Promotion Authority (TPA) will also vote against the TPP. The press conference was in conjunction with an anti-TPP “day of action” where citizens opposed to the deal were encouraged to ask their representatives to vote against the TPP. The balance of support will be important for those looking to pass TPP, particularly as a number of House Republicans who helped pass TPA have now come out against TPP. Most recently, **Rep. Fred Upton (R-MI), Chairman of the House Energy & Commerce Committee**, announced his opposition to the agreement, citing issues from the automotive and pharmaceutical industries. Chairman Upton is one of the highest-profile House Republicans to-date to pronounce opposition to TPP. According to Chairman Reichert, “Some people have said it’s dead, I don’t believe it. I know [Ambassador Froman] doesn’t believe it, and the president doesn’t believe it.” However, the window for Congressional consideration of a TPP implementation bill is shrinking. Both chambers are scheduled to adjourn before the end of September, only to return for a short lame-duck session post November elections.

**4. Ongoing obstacles:** Prominent obstacles which remain include IP protections for biologics and the ISDS carve-out for



tobacco,

To this, **Friends of the TPP Caucus Co-Chair, Rep. Ron Kind (D-WI)**, asserted "[TPP] is the largest market expansion that tobacco has ever seen". On biologics, **Senate Finance Committee Chairman, Orrin Hatch (R-UT)**, has continued to work with the White House to find a solution palatable to Congress. This week he provided the best glimmer of hope to TPP's passage during the 114<sup>th</sup> Congress seen in recent months when he told media, "I think we're going to get it done in lame duck". Exactly how the Administration will quell Sen. Hatch's concerns over the length of patent protections for biologics has yet to be seen. To-date, he has been adamant that protections last 12 years, a duration which would emulate current US law. In contrast, other members of the Senate Finance Committee, including **Subcommittee on International Trade, Customs, and Global Competition Chairman and Senate Majority Whip, John Cornyn (R-TX)**, told media that the politics around TPP remain toxic and though he would like to see a vote on implementation of the agreement, chances for a vote during the lame-duck session remain "not very good, unfortunately." In a meeting with **House Speaker Paul Ryan's (R-WI)** office this week, it was stressed to Embassy staff that critical to TPP's success would be a "clear, firm, implementation plan prior to a vote."

**5. Pushing the Agenda:** As the clock starts to run out on the 114<sup>th</sup> Congress, the Administration has been amplifying its pro-TPP message on and off Capitol Hill. **President Obama** and **House Ways and Means Chairman Kevin Brady (R-TX)**, alike, leveraged a new US trade enforcement action against China at the WTO to make a pitch for the TPP. Both made the argument how via the TPP, the US has a hand in setting trade rules and assurance that American labour, agricultural and business interests are put first. President Obama has also called upon politicians and business leaders such as Governor (and former presidential candidate) John Kasich (R-OH), Gov. John Bel Edwards (D-LA), Atlanta Mayor Kasim Reed (D), retired admiral and dean of Tufts University's Fletcher School of Law and Diplomacy James Stavridis, and IBM president and CEO Ginni Rometty, and former New York City Mayor Michael Bloomberg to help bolster support for the TPP. Admiral Harris, the US Pacific Commander, noted in a speech on September 16 in Los Angeles that "TPP would strengthen stability and security by deepening our relationships throughout the region... our partners who've signed up for TPP see it as a vital demonstration of America's enduring commitment to the region."

**6. Commerce Secretary Pritzker** spoke at the International Manufacturing Technology show in Chicago on September 13 urging manufacturers to voice their support for the TPP. She acknowledged that many who work in manufacturing "are feeling left behind" but attributed changes in the sector to globalization and advances in technology. Also on September 13, **USTR Chief U.S. Agriculture Negotiator Darci Vetter** spoke at the United Fresh Conference, asserting that the U.S. Administration is working to persuade Congress on the importance to pass TPP this year. She underscored that renegotiation "is not an option."

**7. U.S. Stakeholders:** **JPMorgan Chase** CEO Jamie Dimon advocated for TPP in a speech at the Economic Club of Washington on September 12. 'TPP would be positive for GDP and for wages. It would be positive for the average American.' Further support came from technology Industry business groups such as the **Internet Association**, the **Semiconductor Industry Association**, and **TechNet** sent a letter to Congressional leaders asking them to intensify efforts towards passage of the TPP in 2016, stating "The TPP creates a new standard for trade pacts with its forward-looking approach on technology products and services going far beyond just tariff reductions with provisions on data flows, intellectual property and trade secrets." **U.S. Chamber of Commerce** Senior Vice-President for International Policy, John Murphy, made the pitch for free trade underlining that "more than 41 million American jobs depend on trade." Former New York City Mayor Michael Bloomberg and U.S. Chamber of Commerce President Tom Donohue co-authored an op-ed in Bloomberg View on September 16 highlighted the benefits of trade, reinforcing "Without trade, everything we buy - from food to clothing to electronics - would be dramatically more expensive."

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## **Bird, Colin -WSHDC -TD**

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**Subject:** DC Dispatch: Campaign 2016  
**Attachments:** 2016 Presidential Campaign - Candidate Positions - Tax, Financial Regula....xlsx

With the Iowa caucuses less than a month away, the ongoing journey that is the 2016 presidential election campaign will soon have results that go beyond polling data.

To help in keeping track of Republican and Democratic campaign commitments, the embassy is compiling an evergreen summary of the leading candidates' positions on key issues. Attached is the initial Finance-specific contribution to that effort, which covers tax, financial sector and fiscal policy (with some platforms more detailed at this point than others) and is taken primarily from the candidate's own words: official Web sites, debate transcripts, op eds, etc. It, along with the entire document, will be updated throughout the year.

Over the coming weeks and months I plan on providing summaries of Finance-related campaign subjects, focusing either on an issue or a candidate, so if there is a particular subject you would be interested in let me know.

In the meantime...

### **An Analysis of Donald Trump's Tax Plan**

Jim Nunns, Len Burman, Jeff Rohaly and Joe Rosenberg – Urban-Brookings Tax Policy Center

December 22, 2015

#### **Key Analysis Takeaways**

- Trump tax proposals would reduce federal revenue \$9.5 trillion in first decade
- Taxes would be cut by an average of about \$5,100, or about 7 percent of after-tax income—and more than \$1.3 million in 2017, or nearly 19 percent of after-tax income for the top 0.1 percent of income earners
- The current seven income tax brackets would be reduced to three, while standard deductions for single filers would nearly quadruple
- The proposals include a one-time 10 percent tax on existing unrepatriated foreign earnings of U.S. companies, payable over 10 years
- As much as \$11.2 trillion added to the U.S. federal debt by 2026, and \$34.1 trillion by 2036, the TPC concludes



Although candidates lower in the polls have provided more details, there has been more substance emerging on tax reform from Republican front-runner Donald Trump's campaign. While what has been published on the candidate's website and elsewhere has been called incomplete and vague by various tax policy commentators, four experts at the joint Urban-Brookings Tax Policy Center (TPC) recently published an analysis of Trump's plan using a model to estimate its effects with available information.

Trump tax plan reforms would significantly reduce marginal rates for both individuals and businesses, increase the standard deduction to almost quadruple its current levels, limit or repeal a number of tax expenditures, repeal the alternative minimum tax, repeal the estate and gift taxes, and tax the profits of foreign subsidiaries of U.S. companies in the year that they are earned. Using their modeling, the TPC estimates that **Trump's proposal would cause U.S. federal revenue to drop as much as \$9.5 trillion over its first decade of implementation, and as much as \$15 trillion over the second decade before accounting for interest costs or macroeconomic feedback.** Most of the revenue loss would come from tax cuts on the individual side, but nearly a third would come from a reduction on the corporate rate and the creation of special rates for pass-through entities.



TABLE 3

**Estimated Effect of Trump Tax Plan on Tax Receipts**

\$ billions, FY 2016-38

Provision	Fiscal			
	2016	2017	2018	2019
<b>Individual Income Tax</b>				
Repeal the individual AMT	0.0	-32.7	-31.7	-33.7
Repeal the 3.8 percent net investment surtax	-6.7	-0.3	-5.0	-16.1
Impose individual income tax rates of 10, 20, and 25 percent	0.0	-231.9	-322.2	-343.1
Impose standard deduction of \$25,000-\$50,000	0.0	-216.9	-264.1	-302.6
Tax business income at preferential rates	0.0	-59.8	-82.7	-87.6
Double phaseout rates for Pease and PEP	0.0	8.4	11.8	12.7
Limit value of certain tax expenditures to 10 percent	0.0	51.7	72.6	77.5
Repeal various business tax expenditures	0.0	14.6	27.8	29.3
Tax carried interests as ordinary business income	0.0	0.0	-0.1	-0.1
Repeal exclusion of investment income on life insurance contracts issued after Dec. 31, 2016	0.0	0.7	2.0	3.5
<b>Total for individual income tax revenues</b>	<b>-6.7</b>	<b>-453.2</b>	<b>-621.5</b>	<b>-660.1</b>
<b>Corporate Income Tax</b>				
Repeal the corporate AMT	0.0	-8.6	-13.0	-12.1
Reduce corporate rate to flat 15 percent starting in 2017	0.0	-107.8	-215.0	-237.1
End deferral for income of CFCs earned after Dec. 31, 2016	0.0	7.6	15.3	17.1
Require deemed repatriation over 10 years of accumulated pre-2017 earnings of CFCs, with reduced rates	0.0	7.1	14.2	15.8
Repeal various corporate tax expenditures	0.0	7.9	17.4	21.0
<b>Total for corporate income tax revenues</b>	<b>0.0</b>	<b>-91.8</b>	<b>-181.2</b>	<b>-195.3</b>
<b>Estate and gift taxes</b>				
Repeal the estate, gift, and GST taxes for deaths and gifts made on or after Jan. 1, 2017	0.0	0.0	-14.8	-22.1
<b>Total for estate and gift tax revenues</b>	<b>0.0</b>	<b>0.0</b>	<b>-14.8</b>	<b>-22.1</b>
<b>Total revenue effect of all proposals</b>				
<b>Total revenue change</b>	<b>-6.7</b>	<b>-544.9</b>	<b>-817.4</b>	<b>-877.6</b>
<b>As a percentage of GDP</b>	<b>0.0</b>	<b>-2.8</b>	<b>-4.0</b>	<b>-4.1</b>

Sources: Urban-Brookings Tax Policy Center Macroeconomic Model (version 0615-14); TPC estimates

Note: AMT = alternative minimum tax; CFC = controlled foreign corporation; GDP = gross domestic product; GST = generation skipping tax; Pease = employer payroll

Trump's plan would reduce income taxes at every level, but higher earners would see bigger cuts, both in dollar terms and percentage of income. On the whole, the proposal would cut income taxes by an average of about \$5,100, or about 7 percent of after-tax income. The highest 0.1 of income earners (i.e., those with incomes over \$3.7 million in 2015) would see an average tax cut of more than \$1.3 million in 2017, or nearly 19 percent of after-tax income. Middle-income earners, on the other hands, would see an average tax cut of \$2,700, or 4.9 percent of after-tax income.

The TPC analysis estimates that the tax cuts would boost incentives to work, save and invest, assuming that interest rates do not change. However, increased government borrowing as a result of lower revenue would put upward pressure on interest rates, which could offset any or all of the proposal's positive incentive effects. Authors Nunns *et al.* stress that in order to offset such a large hypothetical deficit, it would require unprecedented cuts in federal spending.

**Individual Income Taxes**



Reviewing the major elements of Trump's proposal, it is clear to see that the personal income tax side of the ledger would undergo some major changes. Of note, the current seven individual income tax brackets, which range from 10 to nearly 40 percent, would be condensed into three brackets: 10, 20 and 25 percent. Additionally, the current 2015 standard deduction for single filers of \$6,300 would increase to \$25,000, while married couples filing jointly would see their deduction increase from \$12,600 to \$50,000. Nunns *et al.* predict that because of the increase in the standard deduction, the number of filers who itemize their deductions would drop significantly. In that vein, they estimate that as many as 39 million (86 percent) of the 45 million filers who would otherwise itemize in 2017 would prefer the standard deduction.

TABLE 1

**Tax Rates Under Current Law and Under Trump Tax Plan**  
Among tax filers claiming the standard deduction, 2015<sup>a</sup>



Single Filers				Childless Married Couples Filing Jointly			
Adjusted gross income (\$)		Current marginal rate (%)	Trump plan marginal rate (%)	Adjusted gross income (\$)		Current marginal rate (%)	Trump plan marginal rate (%)
Over	But not over			Over	But not over		
0	10,300 <sup>b</sup>	0	0	0	20,600 <sup>b</sup>	0	0
10,300	19,525	10	0	20,600	39,050	10	0
19,525	29,000	15	0	39,050	58,000	15	0
29,000	47,750	15	10	58,000	95,500	15	10
47,750	54,000	25	10	95,500	108,000	25	10
54,000	101,050	25	20	108,000	171,800	25	20
101,050	154,000	28	20	171,800	251,050	28	20
154,000	199,600	28	25	251,050	308,000	33	20
199,600	421,800	33	25	308,000	432,100	33	25
421,800	423,500	35	25	432,100	485,450	35	25
423,500	and over	39.6	25	485,450	and over	39.6	25

Source: Urban-Brookings Tax Policy Center based on the Trump tax plan and IRS tax brackets.

(a) Tax filers who itemize deductions would not benefit from the Trump tax plan's increase in the standard deduction and would thus face tax brackets different from those shown in this table.

(b) The lowest tax bracket covers the standard deduction plus personal exemptions: \$6,300 + \$4,000 for single filers and \$12,600 + \$8,000 for childless married couples filing jointly. It does not include the additional standard deduction for elderly or blind people.

Also noted in the analysis is that Trump's proposal would likely reduce the tax incentive for charitable giving. Under current law for taxpayers in the 39.6 percent tax brackets, the after-tax cost of giving a dollar to charity is only 60.4 cents per dollar. Under the individual tax cuts in the Trump plan, the cost of giving a dollar to charity would rise to 75 cents, stemming from the 25 percent proposed tax bracket.

**Business Taxes**

Trump's proposal would reduce the corporate tax rate from 35 percent to 15 percent, the kind of reduction that has been a long-time goal of Congressional conservatives, and repeal the corporate alternative minimum tax. The top rate on pass-through entities would also be reduced to 15 percent, which Nunns *et al.* suggest could lead wage-earners to become independent contractors, who would be then taxed at preferential rates.

Additionally, the plan includes measures to impose a one-time 10 percent tax on existing unrepatriated foreign earnings of U.S. companies, payable over 10 years. Following that, future profits of foreign subsidiaries would be taxed each year as profits were earned, ending the current deferral of tax on profits until they are repatriated. The authors

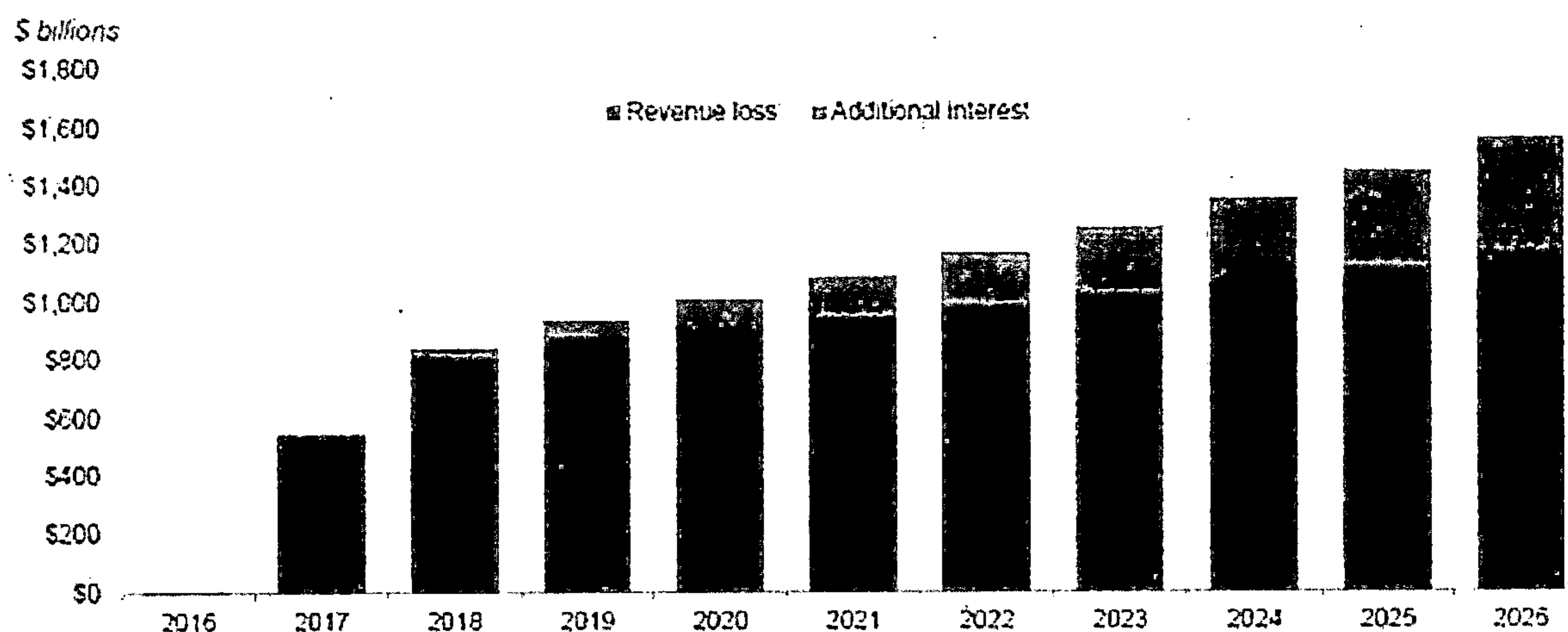


note reductions in the corporate rate and ending deferral would reduce incentives to categorize their domestic income as foreign-source income to avoid tax and also decrease the incentives for corporate inversion. Of course, should corporations not be convinced and continue to opt for inversions, however, this would offset some of the effects of the rate cut.

### Revenue effects

As noted above, Trump's proposal would negatively (and significantly) affect federal revenue receipts. Nunns *et al.* note that the revenue losses are merely the tip of the iceberg, as additional interest payments are not taken into account. Considering interest and macroeconomic feedback, the authors estimate that **as much as \$11.2 trillion would be added to the U.S. federal debt by 2026, and \$34.1 trillion by 2036.** Assuming that tax cuts are not offset by federal spending cuts, federal debt would rise by 39 percent of GDP by 2026 and as much as 80 percent by 2036.

FIGURE 1  
Effects on the Debt  
FY 2016–26



Source: Urban-Brookings Tax Policy Center Microsimulation Model (version 0515-3A). Congressional Budget Office (2015a, 2015b)  
Notes: Increase in debt from 2016 to 2026 is \$11,557.1 billion (\$9,633.3 billion in revenue loss and \$1,753.8 billion in additional interest). Increase in debt from 2017 to 2026 is \$23,720.3 billion (\$15,528.2 billion in revenue loss and \$8,192.2 billion in additional interest).

### Impacts on labour supply

Projections show that **estimated marginal tax rates on labor income would be reduced by an average of 7.6 percent overall, and by as much as 14 percent for the top 0.1 percent of wage-earners.** Citing previous research, Nunns *et al.* write that taxes play a small or negligible role in labor supply decisions for most workers: lower taxes can induce some to work more because the reward for working rises, but some choose to work less because consumption goals are more easily met with higher levels of take-home pay. However, second earners (i.e., lower-earning spouses) are much more sensitive to taxes. An individual married to a high earner may see higher tax rate on the first dollar of earnings, which combined with the costs of working (childcare, etc.) could make work unappealing. Reduced marginal rates, as proposed by the Trump plan, could therefore reduce the disincentive for entering the workforce for potential second earners.

### Macro effects

The authors note that income tax cut could have four major effects from a macroeconomic standpoint:

1. The substitution effect: lower rates would almost certainly increase incentives to work, save and invest;



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2. The income effect: while it would offset the substitution effect in some cases, it would make reaching consumption targets (i.e., retirement, university education, etc.) easier. Taxpayers might feel richer in this case, which might induce some to work, save or invest less;
3. Effect of tax cuts funded by government borrowing vs. spending reductions: if revenue losses are not offset with equivalent spending reductions, higher federal deficits reduce net national savings, which would crowd out private investment, raise interest rates, and slow economic growth;
4. Base broadening: canceling out distortionary tax expenditures under the Trump plan would broaden the tax base, which the authors note increase economic output by reducing taxation's role in determining the allocation of resources across the economy. However, this comes with a caveat: some expenditures increase with income, which could increase marginal rates on additional earnings by raising the cost of some goods and services purchased with earnings.

### Conclusion

As with most GOP tax proposals, Donald Trump's plan is intended to boost incentives to work, save and invest, mainly through cuts on both the individual and corporate sides.

However, the main point of concern raised by both the authors and other commentators is that without a major corresponding reduction in federal spending or future tax increases, large (and possibly unsustainable) budget deficits would likely result.

The TPC's analysis in full can be found [here](#).

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**Attachments:** 1. Clinton Releases Platform for Innovation and Technology.docx; 2. Kaine, the quiet tech advocate.pdf; 3. GOP platform's take on tech.pdf; 4. Pence and tech have a tough history.pdf; 5. Internet Governance Forum USA Prioritizes Open Internet and Global Connectivity.docx; 8. The U.S. Privacy Shield negotiators.pdf; 9. Brookings Examines Manufacturing in a Global Context.docx; 10. FirstNet Public Safety Broadband Network Faces Deployment Challenges.docx

## **ISED WASHINGTON UPDATE**

**July 26<sup>th</sup>, 2016**

- 1. Clinton Releases Platform for Innovation and Technology**
- 2. Clinton's VP Pick is a Tech Advocate**
- 3. GOP Releases Party Platform, Including Positions on Tax Reform and Internet Policy**
- 4. [REDACTED]**
- 5. Internet Governance Forum USA Prioritizes Open Internet and Global Connectivity**
- 6. Department of Commerce Reviews Efforts During Obama Administration**
- 7. Federal Appeals Court Decides that US Electronic Communications Privacy Act does not Apply to Data stored Overseas**
- 8. Department of Commerce Comments on Passing of Privacy Shield**
- 9. Brookings Examines Manufacturing in a Global Context**
- 10. Public Safety Broadband Network "First Net" Faces Deployment Challenges**
- 11. FCC Votes to Make Wireless Spectrum Bands above 24 GHz available for 5G**
- 12. Obama Administration Makes Wireless Broadband Investment**
- 13. Reports & Articles of Interest**
- 14. Upcoming Events**

### **US Presidential Election**

#### **1. Clinton Releases Platform for Innovation and Technology**

Democratic nominee Hillary Clinton has released a comprehensive tech and innovation policy platform, which includes a commitment to increased federal spending on STEM education, basic research, and infrastructure, and specific reforms on immigration, IP, and digitizing government services. Overall the plan reflects a continuation and extension of tech policies and proposals made by the Obama Administration. Clinton's innovation platform is comprised of five pillars: (1) education, skills, and jobs; (2) investment in digital infrastructure; (3) advancing America's global leadership; (4) regulatory frameworks to promote innovation; and (5) smarter and more innovative government. The plan emphasizes developing opportunities for minorities, women, and young entrepreneurs. The plan was generally well received by the tech industry, consumer groups, and media, who applauded the thoroughness of the platform, and the seeming importance placed by Clinton on innovation and technology issues. [Report Attached; Clinton Platform]

#### **2. Clinton's VP Pick is a Tech Advocate**

Clinton's VP Pick, Virginia Senator Tim Kaine, has been a "quiet" tech advocate throughout his political career. As Governor of Virginia, Kaine dedicated significant funds to training workers in STEM fields and as Senator, he co-chaired the Career and Technical Education Caucus. Kaine also supported a congressional effort to comprehensively reform immigration with a bill that would have improved the tech industry's access to highly skilled foreign workers. Like Clinton, Kaine is committed to increasing broadband access (in 2010 Kaine launched an effort to bring high-speed broadband to



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all businesses) and remains committed to training workers in STEM fields. He has also devoted resources to health technology in Virginia. During the Apple encryption battle earlier this year, Kaine suggested that Congress create a special commission to study encryption (a position supported by some of the tech community). Kaine has publicly rejected the idea that the government should be able to force tech companies to unlock devices. According to Aneesh Chopra (who served as the Secretary of Technology for Kaine from 2006 to 2009 before becoming the first Chief Technology Officer of the United States under Barack Obama), as Governor, Kaine sought to use technology to solve policy problems. Kaine shares in Clinton's tech policy positions, and, has some operational experience implementing them. [Article Attached: *Kaine, the quiet tech advocate*]

### **3. GOP Releases Party Platform, Including Positions on Tax Reform and Internet Policy**

While the tech sector is still waiting for an official policy platform from the Trump Campaign, the GOP has released its own 2016 party platform and has dedicated full sections to tech and innovation. The platform comes out with a plan for tax reform (favored by the tech community) toward a territorial system that might lower some of Silicon Valley's foreign tax bills. The GOP platform also suggests less regulation, possibly creating an easier environment for the sharing economy and the IOT. The platform does not mention immigration reform with regard to high-skilled workers. It takes a hard line in criticizing the Obama administration on internet policy and pledges to fight against the Administration's current efforts to give up control of the IANA functions. ENCRYPTION Industry groups including the Information Technology Industry Council, the Consumer Technology Association and TechNet have called on Trump to release a comprehensive plan similar to Clinton's so that the industry and consumers can compare their proposals side by side. [GOP Platform; Article Attached: *GOP platform's take on tech*]

## **Digital Economy & Internet Governance**

### **5. Internet Governance Forum USA Prioritizes Open Internet and Global Connectivity**

The Internet Governance Forum USA took place on July 14<sup>th</sup> 2016 in Washington DC, and was well attended by government officials and industry experts. State Department Undersecretary Cathy Novelli discussed progress and challenges to the multilateral initiative Global Connect (a project seeking to connect 1.5 billion people around the world to the internet by the year 2020). Key challenges to the program include engaging finance ministers around the world in building internet infrastructure and securing the funding to build out networks. In a keynote address later in the day, NTIA's Larry Strickling, discussed the importance of preserving a free and open internet and of seeing the IANA transition through on its current timeline. [Report Attached]

### **6. Department of Commerce Reviews Efforts During Obama Administration**

On June 22<sup>nd</sup>, Secretary Pritzker and the Department of Commerce (DOC) released a new report titled "Enabling Growth and Innovation in the Digital Economy." The report chronicles the efforts of the DOC over the course of the Obama administration to promote a free and open internet and a productive digital economy. The report is organized around the Digital Economy Leadership Team's four pillars: (1) the Free and Open Internet (2) Trust and Security Online (3) Innovation and Emerging Technologies and (4) Access and Skills. Specifically, the report details the US government's approach to internet policy (in support of a flexible multistakeholder approach to internet policymaking), and emphasizes the importance of an international commitment to preserving a free and open internet.

## **Privacy**

### **7. Federal Appeals Court Decides that US Electronic Communications Privacy Act does not Apply to Data stored Overseas**

Last Thursday July 14<sup>th</sup>, a US Federal Appeals Court ruled that Microsoft did not have to comply with a US warrant seeking customer information stored in a data center in Ireland. The court held that the Electronic Communications Privacy Act (ECPA), which governed the US warrant request, does not apply to digital data held outside the US. The court rejected the prosecution's argument that US law should apply regardless of the geographical location of the



information. US Senators Orrin Hatch (R-UT) and Chris Coons (D-DE) who lead the charge on the International Communications Privacy Act (an act seeking to provide an international framework for US law enforcement to manage global data access) welcomed the decision. The court's decision confirms that the ECPA does not provide US law enforcement with the right to access data stored in other countries. Almost 100 companies (including Apple, CISCO and Verizon) filed amicus briefs in support of Microsoft. Notably, Google, Facebook and Yahoo did not, possibly because they disapprove of the Court's decision that data should be governed by laws based on geographical location. [[Court's Decision; Microsoft Wins Appeal on Overseas Data Searches](#)]

#### **8. Department of Commerce Comments on Passing of Privacy Shield**

On July 12<sup>th</sup>, 2016, European governments approved Privacy Shield, the new US-EU agreement that allows companies to share digital information across the Atlantic. Justin Antonipillai, the lead US negotiator and Counselor to Commerce Secretary Penny Pritzker, called the new agreement a nice "bridge" between US and EU privacy laws. When asked how long he expects Privacy Shield to last, Antonipillai said he thought Privacy Shield was quite durable, but recognized that the agreement will face scrutiny and likely a court challenge somewhere down the road. In a response to a question about how Privacy Shield balances US and EU interests, Antonipillai emphasized the "elegance" of the solution in that it allows companies in the US to "opt in" to privacy shield principles on either side of the Atlantic. [Article Attached: *The U.S. Privacy Shield negotiators*]

### **Manufacturing**

#### **9. Brookings Examines Manufacturing in a Global Context**

On July 7<sup>th</sup>, Brookings Institution hosted a half-day conference titled "[Comparing Countries: Manufacturing in a Global Context](#)." Panelists at the event (including industry representatives from Europe and the United States) discussed the new labour demands of "advanced manufacturing" economies and shared best practices on how to prepare their workforces for the industry. Panelists agreed that in order to benefit from the changing landscape of the manufacturing industry, mature economies will need to close an existing "training gap" between workers and advanced manufacturing companies. Nations can close the training gap and create more interest in manufacturing jobs largely by restructuring education (toward more apprenticeship based models), dedicating more policies and funding to "retraining" programs, and improving public perception of the manufacturing industry. [Report Attached]

### **Broadband**

#### **10. FirstNet Public Safety Broadband Network Faces Deployment Challenges**

On June 21<sup>st</sup>, 2016, the Senate Committee on Commerce, Science & Transportation held an oversight [hearing](#) to discuss the status of the public safety broadband network. The hearing focused on FirstNet's progress in selecting a commercial partner through its request for proposal process this year. It examined issues in cost of deployment, especially in rural areas, and FirstNet's plan to become an independently funded program. Members of Congress remain concerned about the physical and economic feasibility of deploying the network in rural states and agreed that FirstNet's rollout will remain largely in a "wait and see" mode until FirstNet chooses its commercial partner later this year. [Report Attached]

#### **11. FCC Votes to Make Wireless Spectrum Bands above 24 GHz available for 5G**

The Federal Communications Commission has voted to make wireless spectrum bands above 24 GHz available for 5G commercial use in an effort to promote rapid advancement and innovation for next-generation networks and technologies. The FCC's new rules make close to 11 GHz of high frequency spectrum available for mobile and fixed use wireless broadband – 3.85 GHz of licensed spectrum and 7 GHz of unlicensed spectrum. The rules also create a new "Upper Microwave Flexible Use Service" in the 28 GHz (27.5-28.35 GHz), 37 GHz (37-38.6 GHz) and 39 GHz (38.6-40 GHz) bands as well as a new unlicensed band at 64-71 GHz. Going forward, the FCC also adopted a "Further Notice of Proposed Rulemaking" indicating that the commission seeks to apply the rules to an additional 18 GHz of spectrum including 8 other high-frequency bands. [[FCC Order](#)]

#### **12. Obama Administration Makes Wireless Broadband Investment**

On July 15<sup>th</sup>, after the FCC voted to grant 5G networks access to spectrum, the White House announced that it would invest 400 million dollars in an "Advanced Wireless Research Initiative." The National Science Foundation will lead the effort to aid the FCC in deploying 5G networks in the US. [[White House Fact Sheet](#)]

### **Reports & Articles of Interest**

#### **Election**

[Science policy positions reveal candidates' views of America](#)



"Both candidates find immense value in science and continued research and funding. In a town hall last year, Clinton stated that U.S. investment in science and research has been "one of the great advantages we have had over the last 70 years" and went on to say it is a "huge economic boon." Trump stated "I think it's wonderful" when asked about space travel and putting a person on Mars. However, the similarities end there."

Brookings, June 20<sup>th</sup>, 2016

### Internet Association Policy Platform

Internet Association, July 2016

#### **Broadband**

##### ITIF Explores what's next in 5G

"The ongoing development of 5G wireless technologies represents a unique opportunity to radically expand the capacity and flexibility of wireless networks, which will have profound implications for broadband competition and productivity growth. Policymakers at the national and local level should support the development of next-generation '5G' wireless networks, primarily by ensuring new spectrum is available and by streamlining deployment of physical infrastructure."

ITIF, June 30<sup>th</sup>, 2016

#### **Health**

##### A Trillion Dollar Opportunity: How Brain Research Can Drive Health and Prosperity

"Policies that both increase federal funding for research into mental conditions and enable bio-pharmaceutical companies to invest more in mental health-related R&D should be incorporated as key components of a national economic growth strategy."

ITIF, July 2016

##### How 5G Technology Enables the Health Internet of Things

"The billions of devices and sensors deployed with 5G will make possible the gathering of this data and, while most desktop computers or tablets lack sufficient storage for that level of detail, storing that data on a cloud makes it available to physicians and researchers who need access around the clock."

Brookings, July 2016

#### **Upcoming Events**

(webcasts are available for most events)

Note: Congress is in recess until Labour Day

##### DNC Policy Forum: How the Next Administration Can Foster Innovation, Boost Productivity, and Increase U.S. Competitiveness

ITIF (Philadelphia, PA)

July 27<sup>th</sup>, 2016

##### Data for Development: Powering Evidence-Based International Aid with Mobile Technology

ITIF

August 3<sup>rd</sup>, 2016

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## **Bird, Colin -WSHDC -TD**

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**From:** Isaac, Howard -WSHDC -TD  
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**Subject:** WSHDC-3499 COMPARISON BETWEEN THE DEMOCRATIC AND REPUBLICAN PARTY PLATFORMS  
**Attachments:** Democratic-Party-Platform.pdf; Republicanplatform.pdf

Both the Republicans and Democrats approved their party platforms during their conventions. Although not binding on presidential or congressional candidates, the two platforms do represent an outline of possible policies that will be pursued during the next Administration and the 115th Congress. The Democrats and the Republicans come from different philosophical and demographic positions. On the economy, the former believe in more government intervention, while the latter put much more emphasis on individual initiative and less government activity in business. Nonetheless, their platforms share many common elements and remarkably, frequently take similar approaches to the issues.

2. The overarching concern for both parties is the barriers facing the middle class in today's economy. According to the Republicans, the economy is unnecessarily weak with stagnant wages. For the Democrats, the economic growth now only benefits the richest one per cent. Both parties believe that Americans' earnings are not keeping up.

### **TRADE and TRADE AGREEMENTS**

3. In their discussion of trade, the Democrats and the Republicans affirm the importance of trade for U.S. prosperity and employment. Nevertheless, both platforms take a sceptical perspective, which is in line with prior Democratic platforms, but is a break from the traditional Republican approach. The Democrats as a party have a longstanding view that international trade and trade agreements have failed to live up to their promise. Rather than deliver new jobs, they have boosted the profits of large corporations, while failing to protect workers' rights, the environment and public health. The Democrats claim that the failure of global trade is due to too many countries breaking the rules as well as corporations outsourcing their manufacturing at the expense of U.S. workers and communities.

4. The Democratic platform proposes to review "agreements negotiated years before" to reflect the goal that a trade policy should support jobs in the U.S. as well as the other fundamental principles such as labour rights. Like Mr. Trump, Ms. Clinton has indicated she would include NAFTA among the agreements that should be re-negotiated. It is unclear if either candidate would also include the underlying Canada-U.S. Free Trade Agreement (CUSFTA) in that list.

5. The Republican platform does confirm that trade is "crucial for all sectors of America's economy." However, it decries trade deficits and calls for a multilateral trading agreement based on shared principles of an open market. What they call a "Reagan Economic Zone" in which free trade is fair trade. The platform does not explain whether this would be a system similar to the WTO or a free trade agreement like the TPP, but among like-minded democratic countries. In a nod to the thinking of candidate Trump, the Republic platform calls for "trade agreements that put America first."

6. In partial defence of trade agreements, the Republican platform states that agreements carefully negotiated with friendly democratic countries have resulted in millions of jobs, although they did not provide any examples, e.g., CUSFTA. However, in a similar vein to the Democratic document, the Republican platform states that "when those agreements do not adequately protect U.S. interests, U.S. sovereignty, or when they are violated with impunity, they must be rejected." The platform says that the U.S. should be willing to walk away from negotiations, although they should also broaden agreements with countries that share the same business and commercial principles.

7. The Republican platform is light on substantive trade negotiating objectives. It does condemn forced localization, especially by China, (

In a nod to important

Republican constituencies, like research-based pharmaceutical companies, the platform condemns countries that steal intellectual property rights (IPR). Both parties see IPR as an important contribution to U.S. prosperity and its heritage and both want to protect data privacy while ensuring the free flow of data across borders.

8. The Republicans do not mention labour and the environment, while these are central areas of concern for the Democrats. The Democratic platform states that future trade agreements, including the TPP, must not "undercut American workers by taking shortcuts on labor policy or the environment." New trade agreements must include enforceable labour and environment standards in their core document, unlike NAFTA. The Democrats will prioritize and enforce provisions on workers' rights in their diplomatic, trade and programmatic efforts.

9. The Democratic platform appears to single out investor-state dispute settlement (ISDS) by saying that future agreements should not "undermine democratic decision-making through special privileges and private courts for corporations." The Republican platform does not address ISDS.

10. Both the Democratic and Republican platforms highlight concern about currency manipulation, especially by China. The Democrats state that no country should be able to use its currency to gain competitive advantage. They would use trade enforcement tools to hold them responsible. The Republicans' platform states that they cannot "allow China to continue its currency manipulation..." China is the only trade partner/foe mentioned in either document. For the Democrats, the Chinese dump goods on the market, subsidize their industries, manipulate their currency and discriminate against U.S. companies. The Republican platform has a similar list, but also complains about the exclusion of U.S. products.

11. Both parties vow to use available trade remedies against countries, such as China that do not trade fairly and openly, e.g., manipulate their currency to create unfair advantages. However, the Democrats are more interventionist and support subsidization for small business and minorities.

12. On process issues affecting trade negotiations, both the Republican and Democratic platforms believe that the American people are entitled to transparency, full disclosure and protection of national sovereignty as well as having their negotiators bargain hard to advance the interests of U.S. workers. The Republican platform specifically states that no significant trade agreement should be rushed or undertaken in the Lame Duck Session, which could have an impact on the TPP's prospects. The Democratic platform is silent on this issue, but Clinton and V.P. candidate Kaine have come out against bringing the TPP up for a vote in the Lame Duck.

## **DOMESTIC POLICIES WITH INTERNATIONAL RAMIFICATIONS**



13. While the platforms are remarkably similar on international trade, their domestic policy prescriptions for economic growth do differ. Both platforms condemn outsourcing, but the Republican platform simply says that American companies should be headquartered in the U.S. while the Democrats state that the U.S. should claw back tax breaks for companies that ship jobs overseas and use the proceeds to reinvest in communities and workers at home. The Republicans also want to bring in new investment from tax revenue. However, their platform proposes that the playing field can be levelled by lowering the U.S. corporate tax while the Democrats do not discuss this issue. The Republicans also propose to switch to a territorial tax system to enable companies to bring back profits earned and taxed abroad for "job-creating investments" in the U.S. The Democrats do mention the need for tax simplification, but most of their approaches involved increased government spending. The Democrats instead propose a more punitive approach. They would claw back any tax breaks from companies that relocate jobs abroad. They would also crack down on companies that use inversions and other methods to avoid tax responsibilities. The Democrats are unlikely to support switching to a territorial basis as their platform calls on American corporations to pay U.S. taxes on foreign profits immediately and not avoid their fair share of taxes by keeping profits abroad. On regulation, the Republicans claim that corporations face increasingly burdensome regulations and go so far as to question the constitutionality of the current Administration's regulatory agenda. The Democrats do not discuss the burden of regulations. Rather, they appear to support increased governments to address a wide host of issues, such as the environment, union rights, workers' rights and parental leave.

14. Both parties strongly endorse new spending on infrastructure. The Republicans would try to repeal legislation that requires workers on federally financed infrastructure projects be paid the federal minimum wage. They claimed this drives up costs. Nevertheless, the Republicans also recognize the need for increased funding for infrastructure expansion. Therefore, they would support Private-Public Partnerships to save taxpayers' money and to find outside investment. The Republicans do not directly or indirectly mention Buy American or Buy America, although Candidate Trump explicitly supported such policies in his trade policy speech delivered on June 28, 2016.

15. The Democrats, unsurprisingly, endorse the use of government contracting and infrastructure programs to support American jobs. The Democrats want to use up to one trillion dollars in government spending on contracts, loans, and grants to support jobs that would rebuild the middle class. They favour significant reinvestment in infrastructure projects of all types including public transit, airports, freight and passenger rail lines and water systems. In an indirect endorsement of Buy American and Buy America, the Democratic platform states that these investments would create increased demand for American-made steel and other U.S.-manufactured products. They also propose an infrastructure bank to finance the projects.

16. The Democratic platform acknowledges the "Make it in America" plan that has been a project of the House Minority Whip Steny Hoyer (D-MD) for the past two Congresses, which is also part of Clinton's own policy platform. This plan includes encouraging innovation through an industrial strategy and the revitalization of hard-hit manufacturing communities and the creation of manufacturing hubs. The Democrats, unlike the Republicans, believe that the government must help workers and businesses compete for jobs in clean technology as well as high-tech products, internet technology products, and advanced manufacturing and vehicles. They also call for increased federal investment in housing to construct, preserve and rehabilitate millions of rental units. Democrats propose additional funding for affordable housing.

17. Both parties want workers to share in the profits of their employers. The Republican platform endorsed employee stock ownership plans that enable employees to become capitalists, expand the reach of private property and energize "a free enterprise economy." They would leave the minimum



wage up to state and local authorities. In contrast, the Democrats call for a \$15.00/hour minimum wage that would be indexed but implemented over time. They also want to "incentivize companies to share profits with their employees on top of wages and pay increases." This would be achieved working with business, labour and other stakeholders.

## CONCLUSION

18. Although they differ on the details and the methodology, the two platforms share much in common regarding the underlying principles. This is especially true on trade, where both parties favour it in principle but view other countries as acting unfairly and not in the best interests of the United States. The Democrats as a party seem to be much more supportive of Buy America and Buy American, but the Republicans have led or acquiesced on several occasions on its inclusion in legislation and Mr. Trump is a proponent. The Republicans take a more hands off approach to government intervention in the economy, while the Democrats are more comfortable with government involvement. Nevertheless, these platforms suggest a more protectionist tone, and in some respect carry an anti-trade agreement perspective, which point to new speed bumps on the road to more open trade. It is important to recognize the limited impact of the platforms. A party's platform is not binding on a candidate. Furthermore, many of their provisions will require legislative action that could face significant challenges from Congress.

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**Subject:** DC Dispatch: The week that was

A summary of the past week, as vacation beckons...

**Campaign 2016—The Tao of Steves:** Republican presidential candidate Donald Trump today announced his economic team, consisting primarily of real estate investors, hedge fund managers and bankers. The list includes: **John Paulson**, founder of an investment firm that made billions betting against subprime mortgages in the run-up to the financial crisis; **Harold Hamm**, CEO of Continental Resources; **Stephen M. Calk**, chairman and CEO of The Federal Savings Bank; **Steve Feinberg**, co-founder and CEO of Cerberus Capital Management; **David Malpass**, a former Bear Stearns chief economist who served in the Reagan and George H.W. Bush administrations; **Tom Barrack**, founder and chairman of Colony Capital and deputy undersecretary of the interior for Ronald Reagan; and **Stephen Moore**, a former member of *The Wall Street Journal's* editorial board and a founder of the Club for Growth who has advised Trump on his tax plan. Joining them are **Stephen Miller**, Trump's national policy director, **Dan Kowalski**, Trump's deputy director of policy and director of budget review for the Republican staff of the House Budget Committee, and **Peter Navarro** and **Dan DiMicco**, who have previously advised the presidential candidate on trade. Billionaire investor **Carl Icahn** is reported to have turned down an invitation. Initial response to the announcement has focused primarily with the number of billionaires among its membership and on its exclusively male makeup. "All 15 members are men, six are called Steve, one is a hotdog vendor (**Howard Lorber**, Executive Chairman of Nathan's Famous) and two are actual economists," opined The Guardian. The team unveiling comes prior to a speech in Detroit on Monday where Trump is expected to lay out his economic agenda, which will reportedly include details on individual and corporate tax cuts.

**Also on the campaign trail...:** Donald Trump on Tuesday advised American to avoid placing retirement funds in the stock market, warning of "some very scary scenarios". "I've never been a big investor in the stock market," Trump told Fox Business in a phone interview. "I don't like a lot of the things that I see. The only reason the stock market is where it is is



because you get free money.” During the same interview he also committed to an infrastructure fund worth half a trillion dollars, or double Democratic presidential candidate Hillary Clinton’s campaign commitment, which would be paid for through a combination of bonds and “a fund that everyday people and investors will pour money into.”

In other news, speculation as to the most likely candidates for Hillary Clinton’s cabinet continues, in a recent “insiders” article in *POLITICO Pro*. For Treasury Secretary the most likely candidates are: **Sheryl Sandberg**, COO of Facebook with Treasury experience under former Secretary Larry Summers; **Gary Gensler**, former chairman of the Commodity Futures Trading Commission and chief financial officer for the Clinton presidential campaign (and who would have considerable support from progressive Democrat Elizabeth Warren given his role in implementing Dodd-Frank reforms); **Lael Brainard**, a Federal Reserve Governor and former Undersecretary of the Treasury for International Affairs; current Health and Human Services Secretary **Sylvia Burwell**; and **Gene Sperling**, former director of the National Economic Council under presidents Bill Clinton and Barack Obama.

**Death AND taxes...together:** On Tuesday the Treasury Department announced a new proposal aimed at closing a loophole enabling taxpayers to understate the fair market value of their assets for estate and gift tax purposes, by placing new limits on a technique used to transfer interests in family businesses. Under the current strategy, families would put assets in a limited liability corporation and then argue that the assets should be valued at a discount given the difficulty of selling a portion of the corporation. “It is common for wealthy taxpayers and their advisors to use certain aggressive tax planning tactics to artificially lower the taxable value of their transferred assets,” Mark Mazur, Assistant Secretary for Tax Policy at the Treasury Department, said in a statement. “Treasury’s action will significantly reduce the ability of these taxpayers to use such techniques solely for the purpose of lowering their estate and gift taxes.” While Treasury did not say how many families would be affected, the estate tax (which applies at the top rate of 40% above the \$5.45 million per-person exclusion, with a \$10.9 million lifetime exclusion for married couples) is paid by only two out of every 1,000 estates, according to the Center for Budget and Policy Priorities, and is projected by the Congressional Budget Office to collect \$20 billion (less than one percent of federal revenue) in the 2016 fiscal year. “Really, anyone who is not on death’s doorstep with a good (estate) planner can get the rate down to zero,” Robert Lord, a tax attorney, told the *Washington Post*. Republican presidential candidate Donald Trump has pledged to eliminate the estate tax entirely, while Democratic counterpart Hillary Clinton has proposed a \$3.5 million exclusion per person, a \$1 million per-person gift-tax exemption and a 45 percent tax rate.

**Diversity submissions required:** Also on Tuesday, federal banking agencies the Federal Reserve, Federal Deposit Insurance Corporation and Office of the Comptroller of the Currency provided more information on how they expect financial institutions to submit self-assessments on diversity policies and practices, instituted as part of the Dodd-Frank Act. The joint press release said that financial institutions are “strongly encouraged” to disclose their diversity policies and practices as of year-end 2015 on their websites to maximize transparency, and included a series of FAQs designed to aid in developing these voluntary self-assessments. The FAQs note, for example, that a financial institution can go beyond the policy’s definition of diversity (which refers to women and minorities), and that the diversity policies and practices will not be assessed by the primary federal financial regulator.

**Progress report on Treasury market:** Once more on Tuesday the Treasury Department, Federal Reserve Board of Governors, Federal Reserve Bank of New York, U.S. Securities and Exchange Commission and U.S. Commodity Futures Trading Commission issued a statement intended to highlight the progress made in strengthening the U.S. Treasury market since their last joint staff report was released a year ago, and to flag the next steps to be taken. In terms of progress made to date, the statement referred to the Treasury Department’s request for information on the evolution of the market structure, a memorandum of understanding that permits sharing of information on U.S. Treasury cash and related derivative markets among agencies, a proposed rule last month that would require brokers and dealer members of the Financial Industry Regulatory Authority (FINRA) to report Treasury cash market transactions to a centralized repository, proposed SEC amendments that would enhance transparency and oversight of alternative trading systems and a CFTC proposal on specific aspects of automated trading in futures markets, including Treasury futures.

In the coming months, joint member agencies commit to the following:

- Hosting a conference at the Federal Reserve Bank of New York on October 24 to discuss the evolution of the U.S. Treasury market and related policy initiatives
- Continuing to assess ways to ensure data collection regarding Treasury cash securities market transactions is comprehensive and encompasses non-FINRA institutions
- Working with market participants to develop a set of principles on the appropriate scope of Treasury market data available to the public
- Considering the potential for ongoing sharing and collaborative analysis of transaction data from Treasury cash and related derivatives markets
- Continuing to review and evaluate further potential changes to the regulatory framework for government securities markets and participants

“The progress highlighted today on the first comprehensive review of the U.S. Treasury market since 1998 is the result of closely coordinated interagency work,” said Antonio Weiss, Counselor to Treasury Secretary Jack Lew. “We remain committed to that approach, and I look forward to sharing our vision of the road ahead at the conference in October.”

**Looking for details:** U.S. regulators are asking such financial institutions as JP Morgan Chase, Bank of America, Citigroup, Goldman Sachs and Morgan Stanley to provide investors with more detailed disclosures related to their trading business, *The Wall Street Journal* reported on Tuesday. While requests so far are reportedly informal and preliminary, the SEC may send official comment letters in the coming months which could include specific requests such as bonds, stocks, commodities and currency products. The SEC has declined comment.

**FINRA eyes BDCs:** FINRA yesterday launched an inquiry into non-traded Business Development Companies (BDCs), a sign the investment product will receive increased scrutiny from the broker-dealer regulator. In an exam letter FINRA requested a list of each BDC offered by member firms, a list of all broker-dealers who have selling agreements with each BDC, and a copy of related due diligence procedures. The request covers the period from January 1, 2015 to June 30, 2016 and is due by September 9. BDCs, unregistered closed-end investment companies that invest in small- and mid-sized businesses, were identified in FINRA’s annual examination priorities list for concerns with “high commissions and fees, illiquidity risks and uncertainty regarding the time period BDCs will hold funds before they are invested.”

**A small(ish) exemption:** Following an announcement on Monday, regional banks are exempt from the regulatory burden faced by larger lenders from margin requirements for certain swaps not cleared through a clearinghouse. A release by agencies including the Federal Deposit Insurance Corporation, Federal Reserve and Office of the Comptroller of the Currency indicated that banks with less than \$10 billion in assets do not have to satisfy margin rules and other standards governing the securities.

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## **Bird, Colin -WSHDC -TD**

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**From:** Bird, Colin -WSHDC -TD  
**Sent:** August-11-16 4:54 PM  
**To:** Morrison, David -NGM  
**Cc:** MacNaughton, David -WSHDC -HOM/CDM; Stevens, Denis -WSHDC -DHOM/CDMA;  
George, Douglas -DTROT -HOM/CDM  
**Subject:** Clinton Economic Speech in Michigan - August 11 2016

**Summary:** Three days after Donald Trump's address at the Detroit Economic Club, Democratic presidential nominee Hillary Clinton gave her economic policy speech at a high-tech manufacturing facility in nearby Warren, Michigan. Clinton's remarks, in comparison with Trump's, painted a rosier picture for the state of the U.S. economy, saying that "energy and dynamism [are driving the U.S.] comeback." The speech spoke to four main questions: which candidate had a "real" plan to create jobs; ensuring fairness across the income distribution; advocating for working families; and difference-making leadership. There were no direct references to Canada. Clinton was more measured in her comments on trade compared to Trump, but proposed heightened enforcement for trade violations. She was also unequivocal in her opposition to the TPP (saying that she was against it in the past, is against it now, and will be against it in the future).

### **Report:**

1. Promising that in-play Rust Belt states like Michigan will be on the front lines of a manufacturing and employment renaissance in America, Democratic nominee Hillary Clinton used an address at Futuramic Tool & Engineering, a high-tech manufacturing firm headquartered just outside of Detroit to outline the broad points of her economic and jobs plans. The former Secretary of State advocated to making the best use of the "most dynamic, productive workforce in the world, bar none" by making investments in training, green technology and energy, and affordable education. Playing to her progressive base, the former Secretary of State also highlighted income inequality and "the basic bargain of working hard to get ahead." Clinton's plan, according to a former economic advisor to Arizona Senator John McCain, could produce as many as 10 million U.S. jobs, while the same analyst projects Republican nominee Donald Trump's plan to cost as many as 3.4 million jobs.]

2. **Creating jobs, boosting growth:** in the first portion of her speech, Clinton outlined proposals for what she called the "biggest jobs investment since World War II" with a focus on the modernization of U.S. infrastructure. In that vein, she called for further economic development of underserved communities (by making improvements to water systems in nearby Flint, public schools, and affordable housing), the implementation of a clean, resilient power grid to become the "clean energy superpower of the 21<sup>st</sup> century" and the creation of an infrastructure bank to compliment private investment, potentially unlocking \$250 billion worth of investments. Elsewhere, Clinton called for "Make It In America" partnerships to encourage research, "New Market" tax credits for left-behind regions like the Rust Belt, more affordable college tuition, and emphasizing skills training across the board through union training programs and paid apprenticeships.

3. **Trade that works for us:** Addressing the issue of trade, Clinton contrasted her approach with that of Trump by saying that "the answer is not to rant and rave or cut ourselves off, but make trade work for us." She acknowledged that past trade deals had been sold to the American worker as "too rosy," with companies moving abroad and states like China "gaming the system for too long." Clinton bemoaned that enforcement has been too lax, and floated the creation of a Chief Trade Prosecutor [REDACTED] and did not shy away from the potential imposition of targeted tariffs for trade violators. Clinton also voiced her opposition to the TPP, and advocated for tax incentives for local production in addition to an "exit tax" for outsourced firms. Making a reference to U.S. Olympic athletes like Michael Phelps, she opined that "America is not afraid to compete" globally.



**4. Fairness:** Clinton stated that the “tide is not rising fast enough and not lifting any boats.” To that end, she proposed a new tax credit to incentivize firms’ profit-sharing with workers, and would fight for a more progressive tax code “that puts jobs first.” Compared to Trump’s tax plan that would simplify the tax code and reduce the tax brackets from seven to three, Clinton’s iterations of her tax plan would impose a new tax on multimillionaires, include the “Buffet rule,” and close the carried interest loophole. Attacking Trump’s proposed elimination of the Estate Tax, Clinton said that the elimination would do nothing for 99 percent of Americans, but could potentially save the Trump family as much as \$4 billion. The Consumer Financial Protection Bureau (CFPB), which has long been a target by Republicans in the aftermath of Dodd-Frank Wall Street Regulation, received praise from Clinton for returning as much as \$11 billion to as many as 25 million Americans.

**5. Going to bat for working families:** Clinton acknowledged the changing demographics of the American workforce, noting that women are often the sole or primary breadwinners in U.S. households. To that end, she proposed limiting the cost of quality childcare to 10 percent of family income, an expansion of the Child Tax Credit (CTC), paid family leave to ensure that the “skilled and talented” remain in the workforce, and expanding Social Security.

**6. Leadership:** Finally, Clinton highlighted her own leadership qualities and those of her running mate, Virginia Senator Tim Kaine, as key assets to “get things done” amidst the ongoing partisan gridlock in Washington. She said that serious, steady leadership was necessary to find common ground through hard, tough negotiations both at home and abroad, and said that she and Kaine often used bipartisan approaches to get results during their respective Senate tenures.

**Comment:**

Experts, including Moody’s Mark Zandi, have noted that as many as 10.4 million jobs could be added to the U.S. economy by 2020 under Clinton’s proposals – with 321,000 of those jobs being located in the battleground state of Michigan. A more nuanced approach towards trade from Clinton, despite her opposition to the TPP, stands in stark contrast to the proposals offered by Trump, but could be a main sticking point in the run-up to November’s general election.

Drafted: Ferrese

Consulted: WSHDC-WS-PA

Approved: WSHDC-TD Bird

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s.15(1) - International

## Bird, Colin -WSHDC -TD

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**From:** Ferrese, Damian -WSHDC -TD  
**Sent:** August-17-16 12:37 PM  
**To:** Bird, Colin -WSHDC -TD  
**Cc:** McLaren, Steven -WSHDC -TD  
**Subject:** Repatriation tax and inversion  
**Attachments:** TPC: An analysis of Hillary Clinton's Tax Proposals; DC Dispatch: Campaign 2016

Further to Steve's e-mail, the attached messages have a breakdowns of Clinton's and Trump's tax proposals from the Urban-Brookings Tax Policy Center (TPC).

A few things to note:

For Clinton, her campaign website states that she will "close corporate and Wall Street tax loopholes and invest in America. Hillary will close tax loopholes like inversions that reward companies for shifting profits overseas. She will charge an "exit tax" for companies leaving the U.S. to settle up on their untaxed foreign earnings." According to the TPC analysis, her international reforms in this regard will raise \$3.4 billion in additional revenue during her first year of office and \$6.9 billion in her second, with an estimated \$91.7 billion of additional revenue in the decade 2016-2026. In terms of sheer numbers, that \$91.7 billion is not all that far off from an estimated \$100 billion that would be raised under a simple one-time 10% repatriation scheme proposed by Trump (estimates show that there is potentially \$1 trillion subject to tax under such a scenario).

The TPC's analysis of Trump's tax proposals (which dates back to the 2015 holiday season) makes the assumption that a 10 percent repatriation would be payable over 10 years. Under such a scenario, it would raise \$7.1 billion in additional revenue in the first year of his presidency, \$14.2 billion in the second, and as much as \$147.8 billion over the decade 2016-2026. Thus, there is a bit of uncertainty around how such a scheme could be put in place: on one hand, it could raise just about the same as Clinton's, or raise \$56.1 billion more than his competitor over the first decade.

during his speech in Detroit last week, the New York real estate mogul hinted that additional funds from a repatriation tax could be used towards infrastructure spending in Rust Belt areas. On the other hand, Clinton would likely spend additional revenue on programs, like infrastructure, education, or entitlement spending.

As mentioned, both candidates' proposals are highly dependent on Congress. While there is an apparent appetite for tax reform in both houses of Congress (especially in the Senate Finance Committee), it represents one of the larger challenges for the next President. The TPC's Co-director Eric Toder testified this past April before the Senate Finance Committee, saying that "1986-style tax reform does not do the job" especially in reference to revenue neutrality (the gold standard for Republicans), in a reference to the last significant change in the U.S. tax code under Ronald Reagan.

Whether one candidate's plan or the other could actually be effective in preventing inversions or encouraging bringing funds in from offshore remains to be seen. Clinton's plan can seem ambitious, and she has tied it into her larger economic and jobs plan. Trump, on the other hand, touted the 10 percent repatriation tax as a way to jumpstart the economy and provide stimulus to business.



## Moore, Christine -DCP

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**From:** Ferrese, Damian -WSHDC -TD  
**Sent:** March-09-16 6:06 PM  
**To:** McLaren, Steven -WSHDC -TD  
**Subject:** TPC: An analysis of Hillary Clinton's Tax Proposals

### **An Analysis of Hillary Clinton's Tax Plan**

Richard Auxier, Len Burman, Jim Nunns and Jeff Rohaly, Urban-Brookings Tax Policy Center | March 3, 2016

In the latest of their series of the 2016 presidential candidates' tax plans, analysts from the Urban-Brookings Tax Policy Center recently released their take on Hillary Clinton's proposals. In their first report on a Democratic candidate, authors Richard Auxier, Len Burman, Jim Nunns and Jeff Rohaly outline the former Secretary of State's plan that differs remarkably from the challengers in the Republican race for their party's nomination, especially in that Clinton's proposals would raise both taxes on certain individuals and federal revenues.

The authors estimate that Clinton's proposals would increase federal revenue by as much as \$1.1 trillion over the first decade and an additional \$2.1 trillion over the subsequent decade, before considering any macroeconomic feedback effects.

The main elements of Clinton's proposals are as follows:

#### **Individual income tax:**

- Implementing a 4 percent surcharge on adjusted gross income (AGI) over \$5 million;
- Imposing a 30 percent minimum tax with those with AGI above \$1 million (also known as "the Buffett Rule");
- Limiting the tax value of specific deductions and exclusions to 28 percent;
- Implementing new tax rates for capital gains with rates that decline with the holding period: assets held for less than two years would be taxed as short-term gain at ordinary tax rates, and the 23.8 percent capital gains rate would only apply to assets held six years or longer;
- Taxing carried interest as ordinary income;
- Preventing additional contributions to tax-favored retirement accounts;
- Requiring that derivative contracts be marked-to-market annually, with the resulting gain or loss treated as ordinary income; and
- Providing tax credits for caregiving expenses and certain out-of-pocket health care expenses.

#### **Estate and gift taxes:**

- Permanently reducing the tax threshold for estates to \$3.5 million (or \$7 million for married couples) with no adjustment for future inflation, increasing the top rate to 45 percent, and setting the lifetime gift tax exemption to \$1 million;
- Requiring consistency between valuations for estate and gift taxes and those used for income tax purposes

#### **Business taxes:**

- Increasing the threshold for foreign ownership in an inversion transaction from 20 percent to 50 percent of the combined company shares before a U.S. company can give up its domestic tax residence;
- Levying an “exit tax” on unrepatriated earnings;
- Limiting the interest deductions for U.S. affiliates of multinational companies to deter earnings stripping;
- Instituting a “risk fee” on the largest financial institutions;
- Implementing a tax on high-frequency and algorithmic trading;
- Negating any deductions for excess nontaxed reinsurance premiums paid to affiliates;
- Reforming “performance-based” tax deductions for executives of public companies;
- Eliminating tax incentives on fossil fuels;
- Subjecting tar sands-produced crude oil to the excise tax used to finance the Oil Spill Liability Trust Fund;
- Providing tax credits for businesses that invest in community development and infrastructure projects;
- Providing tax credits for businesses that hire apprentices or share profits with employees; and
- Reauthorizing and expanding the use of Build America Bonds.

### Effects on revenue

As noted above, Clinton’s tax plan is estimated to increase revenue by around \$1.1 trillion between 2016 and 2026, and even raise some revenue before she would take office, as high-income earners would speed up the realization of capital gains and other income to avoid expected tax increases as they come into effect. Nearly two-thirds of the revenue increase over the first decade would come from three individual income tax provisions aimed at high earners: \$406 billion from the 28 percent cap on certain deductions and exclusions, \$126 billion from the 4 percent surtax, and \$119 billion from the 30 percent minimum tax.

**TABLE 2**  
**Estimated Effects of Clinton Tax Proposals on Tax Receipts**  
 \$ billions, FY 2016–36



Proposal	Fiscal Year						2016-26	2027-36
	2016	2017	2018	2019	2020	2021		
<b>Individual Income Tax</b>								
Limit value of certain tax expenditures (other than charitable) to 28 percent	0.0	23.1	32.7	35.4	38.0	40.3	406.0	717.1
Four percent surcharge on AGI greater than \$5 million, unindexed	2.2	0.7	2.6	9.6	12.9	13.6	126.3	328.1
Fair Share Tax (“Buffer Rule”)	2.1	2.4	4.7	10.2	12.5	12.8	118.9	198.1
Increase capital gains rates based on holding period of capital	3.2	-6.0	-4.7	-1.5	2.1	7.4	64.2	250.5
Incentives for community development and infrastructure	0.0	0.0	0.0	-0.1	-0.2	-0.3	-3.2	-13.4
Eliminate fossil fuel tax incentives	0.0	0.6	1.1	1.1	1.2	1.1	8.8	7.8
Repeal carried interest, mark derivatives to market, and limit deferral in retirement accounts	0.0	1.1	6.4	5.7	5.0	4.5	39.7	30.3
Other provisions	Insufficient data for analysis							
<b>Total for individual income tax revenues</b>	<b>7.5</b>	<b>21.8</b>	<b>42.7</b>	<b>60.4</b>	<b>71.4</b>	<b>79.4</b>	<b>780.7</b>	<b>1,518.5</b>
<b>Corporate Income Tax</b>								
International reforms	0.0	3.4	6.9	7.5	8.2	8.9	91.7	178.9
Incentives for community development and infrastructure	0.0	0.0	0.0	-0.1	-0.2	-0.4	-5.5	-17.3
Eliminate fossil fuel tax incentives	0.0	3.4	5.7	5.7	5.6	5.5	49.6	49.2
Other provisions	Insufficient data for analysis							
<b>Total for corporate income tax revenues</b>	<b>0.0</b>	<b>6.8</b>	<b>12.5</b>	<b>13.1</b>	<b>13.6</b>	<b>14.0</b>	<b>135.9</b>	<b>210.8</b>
<b>Estate and Gift Tax</b>								
Restore 2009 estate and gift parameters; reform grantor trust and valuation rules	0.0	1.8	7.9	10.0	13.4	17.3	160.5	354.9
<b>Total for estate and gift tax revenues</b>	<b>0.0</b>	<b>1.8</b>	<b>7.9</b>	<b>10.0</b>	<b>13.4</b>	<b>17.3</b>	<b>160.5</b>	<b>354.9</b>
<b>Excise Taxes</b>								
Impose the oil spill liability excise tax on oil production from tar sands	0.0	*	*	*	*	*	*	*
Other proposals	Insufficient data for analysis							
<b>Total for excise tax revenues</b>	<b>0.0</b>	<b>*</b>	<b>*</b>	<b>*</b>	<b>*</b>	<b>*</b>	<b>*</b>	<b>*</b>
<b>Total revenue change</b>	<b>7.5</b>	<b>30.4</b>	<b>63.1</b>	<b>83.5</b>	<b>98.3</b>	<b>110.6</b>	<b>1,077.1</b>	<b>2,084.2</b>
<b>As a percentage of GDP</b>	<b>0.0</b>	<b>0.2</b>	<b>0.3</b>	<b>0.4</b>	<b>0.4</b>	<b>0.5</b>	<b>0.5</b>	<b>0.6</b>

Sources: Urban-Brookings Tax Policy Center Macroeconomic Model (version 6.15-11, TPC estimates)  
 Note: AGI = adjusted gross income; GDP = gross domestic product; \* = less than \$0.05 billion



Regarding the federal debt, Clinton's proposals would reduce the debt by more than \$1.2 trillion over the 10-year budget window. Overall, from the 20-year period from 2016 to 2036, the former Secretary of State's proposals would decrease the debt by as much as \$4.3 trillion (10 percent of GDP) in 2036.

**TABLE 3**  
**Effects of Clinton Tax Proposals on Federal Revenues, Deficits, and the Debt**  
 FY 2016–36  
 \$ billions



	Fiscal Year												
	2016	2017	2018	2019	2020	2021	2022	2023	2024	2025	2026	2016–26	2027–36
Revenue loss	-7.5	-30.4	-63.1	-83.5	-98.3	-110.6	-122.0	-129.9	-137.0	-142.8	-152.0	-1,077.1	-2,034.2
Additional interest	-0.1	-0.4	-1.8	-4.5	-8.0	-12.3	-17.2	-22.8	-28.8	-35.3	-42.6	-173.7	-954.2
Increase in deficit	-7.6	-30.8	-64.9	-88.0	-106.4	-122.9	-139.2	-152.7	-165.8	-178.1	-194.6	-1,250.8	-3,038.4
Increase in debt*	-7.6	-38.3	-103.2	-191.2	-297.6	-420.5	-559.7	-712.4	-878.2	-1,056.3	-1,250.8	-1,250.8	-4,289.3
Cumulative increase in debt relative to GDP (%)	0.0	-0.2	-0.5	-0.9	-1.3	-1.8	-2.3	-2.8	-3.3	-3.8	-4.4	-4.4	-10.0
Addendum: GDP (end of period)	18,831.9	19,701.4	20,558.3	21,403.7	22,314.7	23,271.0	24,261.5	25,287.4	26,352.1	27,455.5	28,600.0	28,600.0	42,800.0

Source: Urban-Brookings Tax Policy Center Microsimulation Model (version 0515-4); Congressional Budget Office (2015a, 2015b).

Note: GDP = gross domestic product.

\* Increase in debt equals the cumulative increase in deficit plus additional interest on the debt.

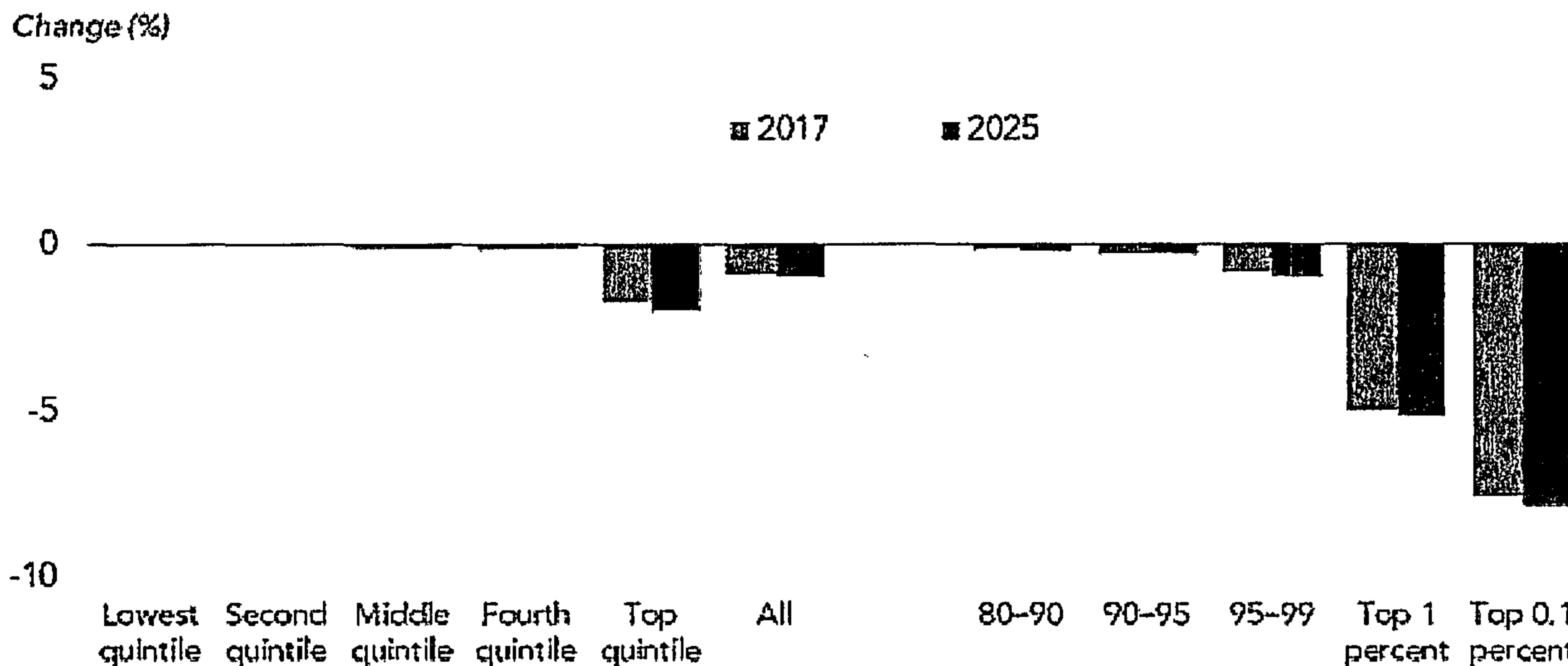
### Effects on distribution

In terms of effects on the income distribution, Clinton's plan would increase taxes on the highest earners, and would have negligible effects on those earning less than \$300,000 (the top quintile would bear nearly 94 percent of the net tax increase). More than half of that increase would be felt by the top 0.1 percent of income earners, and more than three-fourths would hit the top one percent. The top quintile would have an average tax increase of \$4,527 (a 1.7 percent reduction in after-tax income), which would be concentrated among the highest earners. Earners between the 80<sup>th</sup> and 95<sup>th</sup> percentiles (i.e. those between \$143,000 and \$295,000) would see a much more modest tax increase, averaging around 0.3 percent of after-tax income. Conversely, the top 0.1 percent of earners (i.e. those earning more than \$3.8 million) would see an average tax increase of \$520,000, or 7.6 percent of after-tax income. Any effects on the lower four quintiles will be almost non-existent compared to the top quintile, as seen below (which, from WSHDC's perspective, could be used as a selling point to middle-class voters being courted by both the Clinton and Sanders campaigns).

FIGURE 1

# Change in After-Tax Income under Clinton Tax Proposals

By expanded cash income percentile, 2017 and 2025



Source: Urban-Brookings Tax Policy Center Microsimulation Model (version 0515-4).

## Effects on complexity

Clinton’s proposals would render the tax code more complex, especially with higher earners with the institution of the Buffett Rule. Additionally, the 28 percent limit on the value of certain deductions and exclusions would be an additional minimum tax on certain tax preferences, and the schedule-based provisions for holding periods on capital gains would increase complexity. The authors suggest that simpler alternatives exist to achieve the same goals as Clinton’s plan, which could include a 30 percent tax bracket for long-term capital gains and dividends for those with over \$1 million in income.

## Economic effects (savings/investment, labor supply, economic effects)

Clinton’s proposals would reduce the incentive to save and invest, but only for files in the top 10 percent of wage earners – especially due to the fact that most of these earners receive the most investment income. The authors estimate that her plan would not have a major effect on the overall level of interest rates. Further, the analysis finds that while the new capital gains tax rate schedule is intended to encourage longer-term investment, a tax-based solution may not be enough to cure the capital gains problem.

For the labour supply, Clinton’s plan would raise effective tax rates on labor income for the highest earners. The effective tax rate on labor income is slated to rise half of a percentage point, from 24.6 to 25.1 percent. The average hike for the top quintile would be 1.0 percent, while for the top 0.1 percent it would be 3.1 percent. As noted in previous TPC reports, tax rates play a minimal role in labor supply decisions for most first-income earners, but second earners (i.e. lower-earning spouses) are much more sensitive to taxes.

Like previous analyses of other candidates’ tax proposals, the report draws on research that examines the effects of income tax changes on the long-term growth rate of the economy. The effects of a change in the individual income tax can be broken into four parts:

1. The substitution effect – in that higher marginal tax rates decrease incentives to work, save and invest;



2. The income effect – a rise in taxes lowers the after-tax return on labor, saving and investment, making it harder to attain consumption targets;
3. Where the new tax revenue goes – new revenue will have various effects on the economy, depending on if it is used to pay down the federal debt, or to increase spending on various programs;
4. Base-broadening effects: Clinton's proposal will broaden the base by closing a number of loopholes and eliminating certain subsidies (i.e. on fossil fuels), which could eliminate rent-seeking behaviour or more productive allocations of human capital.

## **Comment**

In all, Clinton's proposal differs remarkably from the previous analyses of the Republican competitors for their party's nomination, especially in that it would raise revenue to the tune of \$1.1 trillion over the next decade, reduce the debt, and raise taxes on higher-income individuals. Several loopholes on the business end are set to close under a Clinton administration, which could further boost revenue. The biggest complaints from the authors' conclusion is that the former Secretary of State's plan would render the tax code more complex in an already-burdensome environment and it would reduce incentives to work, save and invest among the highest earners.

Still, this plan will likely be appealing to middle-class voters, as she continues her attempts to woo the progressive electorate currently held by Vermont Senator Bernie Sanders. As Clinton firms up a more concrete tax plan, look for certain aspects to become regular talking points as the campaign for the Democratic nomination continues.

## Moore, Christine -DCP

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**Subject:** DC Dispatch: Campaign 2016  
**Attachments:** 2016 Presidential Campaign - Candidate Positions - Tax, Financial Regula....xlsx

With the Iowa caucuses less than a month away, the ongoing journey that is the 2016 presidential election campaign will soon have results that go beyond polling data.

To help in keeping track of Republican and Democratic campaign commitments, the embassy is compiling an evergreen summary of the leading candidates' positions on key issues. Attached is the initial Finance-specific contribution to that effort, which covers tax, financial sector and fiscal policy (with some platforms more detailed at this point than others) and is taken primarily from the candidate's own words: official Web sites, debate transcripts, op eds, etc. It, along with the entire document, will be updated throughout the year.

Over the coming weeks and months I plan on providing summaries of Finance-related campaign subjects, focusing either on an issue or a candidate, so if there is a particular subject you would be interested in let me know.

In the meantime...

### **An Analysis of Donald Trump's Tax Plan**

Jim Nunns, Len Burman, Jeff Rohaly and Joe Rosenberg – Urban-Brookings Tax Policy Center

December 22, 2015

#### **Key Analysis Takeaways**

- Trump tax proposals would reduce federal revenue \$9.5 trillion in first decade
- Taxes would be cut by an average of about \$5,100, or about 7 percent of after-tax income—and more than \$1.3 million in 2017, or nearly 19 percent of after-tax income for the top 0.1 percent of income earners
- The current seven income tax brackets would be reduced to three, while standard deductions for single filers would nearly quadruple
- The proposals include a one-time 10 percent tax on existing unrepatriated foreign earnings of U.S. companies, payable over 10 years
- As much as \$11.2 trillion added to the U.S. federal debt by 2026, and \$34.1 trillion by 2036, the TPC concludes



Although candidates lower in the polls have provided more details, there has been more substance emerging on tax reform from Republican front-runner Donald Trump's campaign. While what has been published on the candidate's website and elsewhere has been called incomplete and vague by various tax policy commentators, four experts at the joint Urban-Brookings Tax Policy Center (TPC) recently published an analysis of Trump's plan using a model to estimate its effects with available information.

Trump tax plan reforms would significantly reduce marginal rates for both individuals and businesses, increase the standard deduction to almost quadruple its current levels, limit or repeal a number of tax expenditures, repeal the alternative minimum tax, repeal the estate and gift taxes, and tax the profits of foreign subsidiaries of U.S. companies in the year that they are earned. Using their modeling, the TPC estimates that **Trump's proposal would cause U.S. federal revenue to drop as much as \$9.5 trillion over its first decade of implementation, and as much as \$15 trillion over the second decade *before* accounting for interest costs or macroeconomic feedback.** Most of the revenue loss would come from tax cuts on the individual side, but nearly a third would come from a reduction on the corporate rate and the creation of special rates for pass-through entities.



**TABLE 3**  
**Estimated Effect of Trump Tax Plan on Tax Receipts**  
**\$ billions, FY 2016–36**

Provision	Fiscal			
	2016	2017	2018	2019
<b>Individual Income Tax</b>				
Repeal the individual AMT	0.0	-22.7	-31.7	-53.7
Repeal the 3.8 percent net investment surtax	-6.7	-0.3	-5.0	-16.1
Impose individual income tax rates of 10, 20, and 25 percent	0.0	-231.9	-322.2	-343.1
Impose standard deduction of \$25,000/\$50,000	0.0	-216.9	-294.1	-302.6
Tax business income at preferential rates	0.0	-59.8	-82.7	-87.6
Double phase-out rates for Pease and PEP	0.0	0.4	11.8	12.7
Limit value of certain tax expenditures to 10 percent	0.0	54.7	72.5	77.5
Repeal various business tax expenditures	0.0	14.5	27.8	29.3
Tax carried interests as ordinary business income	0.0	0.0	-0.1	-0.1
Repeal exclusion of investment income on life insurance contracts issued after Dec. 31, 2016	0.0	0.7	2.0	3.5
<b>Total for individual income tax revenues</b>	<b>-6.7</b>	<b>-453.2</b>	<b>-621.5</b>	<b>-650.1</b>
<b>Corporate Income Tax</b>				
Repeal the corporate AMT	0.0	-8.6	-13.0	-12.1
Reduce corporate rate to flat 15 percent starting in 2017	0.0	-107.8	-215.0	-237.1
End deferral for income of CFCs earned after Dec. 31, 2016	0.0	7.6	15.3	17.1
Require deemed repatriation over 10 years of accumulated pre-2017 earnings of CFCs, with reduced rates	0.0	7.1	14.2	15.8
Repeal various corporate tax expenditures	0.0	7.9	17.4	21.0
<b>Total for corporate income tax revenues</b>	<b>0.0</b>	<b>-91.8</b>	<b>-181.2</b>	<b>-195.3</b>
<b>Estate and Gift Taxes</b>				
Repeal the estate, gift, and GST taxes for deaths and gifts made on or after Jan. 1, 2017	0.0	0.0	-14.8	-22.1
<b>Total for estate and gift tax revenues</b>	<b>0.0</b>	<b>0.0</b>	<b>-14.8</b>	<b>-22.1</b>
<b>Total Revenue Effect of All Proposals</b>				
<b>Total revenue change</b>	<b>-6.7</b>	<b>-544.9</b>	<b>-817.4</b>	<b>-877.6</b>
<b>As a percentage of GDP</b>	<b>0.0</b>	<b>-2.8</b>	<b>-4.0</b>	<b>-4.1</b>

Sources: Urban-Brookings Tax Policy Center MacroSimulation Model (version 0515-2A), TPC estimates

Note: AMT = alternative minimum tax, CFC = controlled foreign corporation, GDP = gross domestic product, GST = generation skipping tax, Pease = transferor phase-out

Trump's plan would reduce income taxes at every level, but higher earners would see bigger cuts, both in dollar terms and percentage of income. On the whole, the proposal would cut income taxes by an average of about \$5,100, or about 7 percent of after-tax income. The highest 0.1 of income earners (i.e., those with incomes over \$3.7 million in 2015) would see an average tax cut of more than \$1.3 million in 2017, or nearly 19 percent of after-tax income. Middle-income earners, on the other hands, would see an average tax cut of \$2,700, or 4.9 percent of after-tax income.

The TPC analysis estimates that the tax cuts would boost incentives to work, save and invest, assuming that interest rates do not change. However, increased government borrowing as a result of lower revenue would put upward pressure on interest rates, which could offset any or all of the proposal's positive incentive effects. Authors Nunns *et al.* stress that in order to offset such a large hypothetical deficit, it would require unprecedented cuts in federal spending.

### Individual Income Taxes



Reviewing the major elements of Trump's proposal, it is clear to see that the personal income tax side of the ledger would undergo some major changes. Of note, the current seven individual income tax brackets, which range from 10 to nearly 40 percent, would be condensed into three brackets: 10, 20 and 25 percent. Additionally, the current 2015 standard deduction for single filers of \$6,300 would increase to \$25,000, while married couples filing jointly would see their deduction increase from \$12,600 to \$50,000. Nunns *et al.* predict that because of the increase in the standard deduction, the number of filers who itemize their deductions would drop significantly. In that vein, they estimate that as many as 39 million (86 percent) of the 45 million filers who would otherwise itemize in 2017 would prefer the standard deduction.

TABLE 1

**Tax Rates Under Current Law and Under Trump Tax Plan  
Among tax filers claiming the standard deduction, 2015<sup>a</sup>**



Single Filers				Childless Married Couples Filing Jointly			
Adjusted gross income (\$)		Current marginal rate (%)	Trump plan marginal rate (%)	Adjusted gross income (\$)		Current marginal rate (%)	Trump plan marginal rate (%)
Over	But not over			Over	But not over		
0	10,300 <sup>b</sup>	0	0	0	20,600 <sup>b</sup>	0	0
10,300	19,525	10	0	20,600	39,050	10	0
19,525	29,000	15	0	39,050	58,000	15	0
29,000	47,750	15	10	58,000	95,500	15	10
47,750	54,000	25	10	95,500	108,000	25	10
54,000	101,050	25	20	108,000	171,800	25	20
101,050	154,000	28	20	171,800	251,050	28	20
154,000	199,600	28	25	251,050	308,000	33	20
199,600	421,800	33	25	308,000	432,100	33	25
421,800	423,500	35	25	432,100	485,450	35	25
423,500	and over	39.6	25	485,450	and over	39.6	25

Source: Urban-Brookings Tax Policy Center based on the Trump tax plan and IRS tax brackets.

(a) Tax filers who itemize deductions would not benefit from the Trump tax plan's increase in the standard deduction and would thus face tax brackets different from those shown in this table.

(b) The lowest tax bracket covers the standard deduction plus personal exemptions: \$6,300 + \$4,000 for single filers and \$12,600 + \$8,000 for childless married couples filing jointly. It does not include the additional standard deduction for elderly or blind people.

Also noted in the analysis is that Trump's proposal would likely reduce the tax incentive for charitable giving. Under current law for taxpayers in the 39.6 percent tax brackets, the after-tax cost of giving a dollar to charity is only 60.4 cents per dollar. Under the individual tax cuts in the Trump plan, the cost of giving a dollar to charity would rise to 75 cents, stemming from the 25 percent proposed tax bracket.

**Business Taxes**

Trump's proposal would reduce the corporate tax rate from 35 percent to 15 percent, the kind of reduction that has been a long-time goal of Congressional conservatives, and repeal the corporate alternative minimum tax. The top rate on pass-through entities would also be reduced to 15 percent, which Nunns *et al.* suggest could lead wage-earners to become independent contractors, who would be then taxed at preferential rates.

Additionally, the plan includes measures to impose a **one-time 10 percent tax on existing unrepatriated foreign earnings of U.S. companies, payable over 10 years**. Following that, future profits of foreign subsidiaries would be taxed each year as profits were earned, ending the current deferral of tax on profits until they are repatriated. The authors

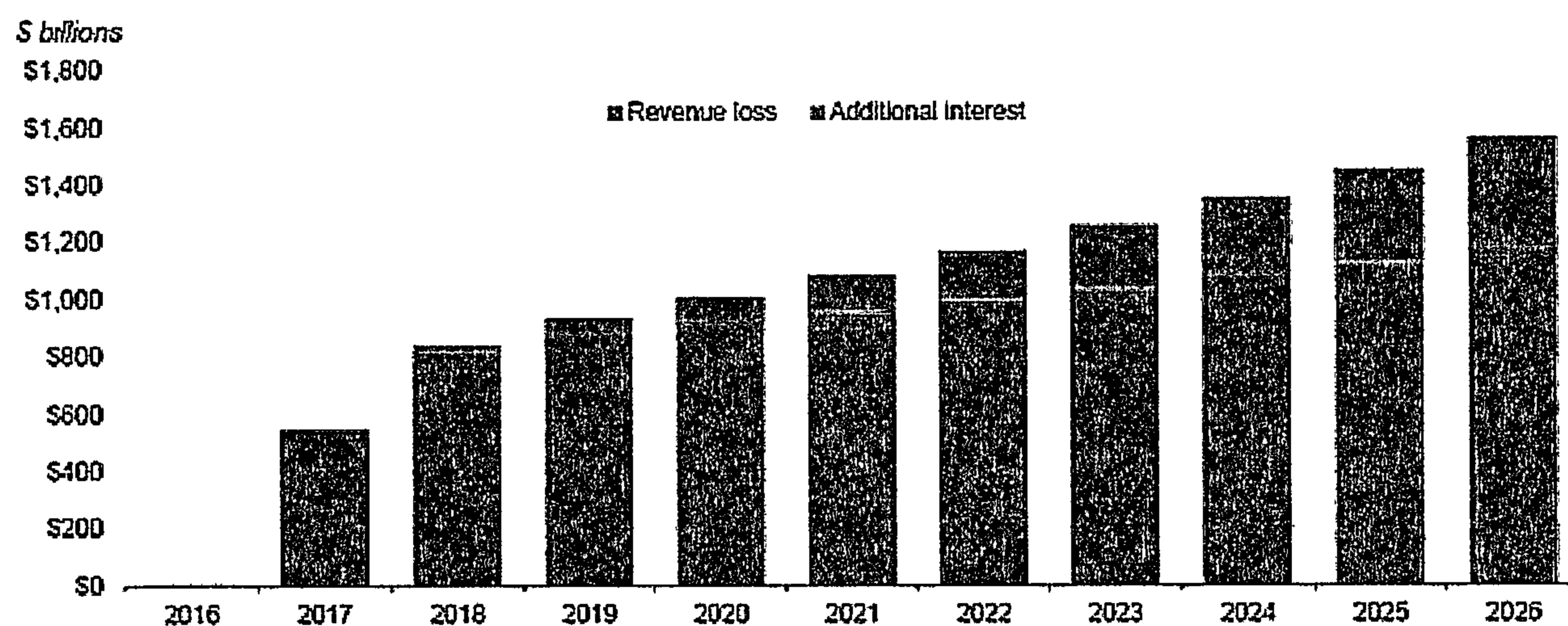


note reductions in the corporate rate and ending deferral would reduce incentives to categorize their domestic income as foreign-source income to avoid tax and also decrease the incentives for corporate inversion. Of course, should corporations not be convinced and continue to opt for inversions, however, this would offset some of the effects of the rate cut.

## Revenue effects

As noted above, Trump's proposal would negatively (and significantly) affect federal revenue receipts. Nunns *et al.* note that the revenue losses are merely the tip of the iceberg, as additional interest payments are not taken into account. Considering interest and macroeconomic feedback, the authors estimate that **as much as \$11.2 trillion would be added to the U.S. federal debt by 2026, and \$34.1 trillion by 2036.** Assuming that tax cuts are not offset by federal spending cuts, federal debt would rise by 39 percent of GDP by 2026 and as much as 80 percent by 2036.

**FIGURE 1**  
**Effects on the Debt**  
**FY 2016–26**



Source: Urban-Brookings Tax Policy Center Microsimulation Model (version 0515-3A); Congressional Budget Office (2015a, 2015b).  
Notes: Increase in debt from 2016 to 2026 is \$11,557.1 billion (\$9,833.3 billion in revenue loss and \$1,753.8 billion in additional interest). Increase in debt from 2017 to 2036 is \$23,720.3 billion (\$15,526.2 billion in revenue loss and \$8,192.2 billion in additional interest).

## Impacts on labour supply

Projections show that **estimated marginal tax rates on labor income would be reduced by an average of 7.6 percent overall, and by as much as 14 percent for the top 0.1 percent of wage-earners.** Citing previous research, Nunns *et al.* write that taxes play a small or negligible role in labor supply decisions for most workers: lower taxes can induce some to work more because the reward for working rises, but some choose to work less because consumption goals are more easily met with higher levels of take-home pay. However, second earners (i.e., lower-earning spouses) are much more sensitive to taxes. An individual married to a high earner may see higher tax rate on the first dollar of earnings, which combined with the costs of working (childcare, etc.) could make work unappealing. Reduced marginal rates, as proposed by the Trump plan, could therefore reduce the disincentive for entering the workforce for potential second earners.

## Macro effects

The authors note that income tax cut could have four major effects from a macroeconomic standpoint:

1. The substitution effect: lower rates would almost certainly increase incentives to work, save and invest;



2. The income effect: while it would offset the substitution effect in some cases, it would make reaching consumption targets (i.e., retirement, university education, etc.) easier. Taxpayers might feel richer in this case, which might induce some to work, save or invest less;
3. Effect of tax cuts funded by government borrowing vs. spending reductions: if revenue losses are not offset with equivalent spending reductions, higher federal deficits reduce net national savings, which would crowd out private investment, raise interest rates, and slow economic growth;
4. Base broadening: canceling out distortionary tax expenditures under the Trump plan would broaden the tax base, which the authors note increase economic output by reducing taxation's role in determining the allocation of resources across the economy. However, this comes with a caveat: some expenditures increase with income, which could increase marginal rates on additional earnings by raising the cost of some goods and services purchased with earnings.

## Conclusion

As with most GOP tax proposals, Donald Trump's plan is intended to boost incentives to work, save and invest, mainly through cuts on both the individual and corporate sides.

However, the main point of concern raised by both the authors and other commentators is that without a major corresponding reduction in federal spending or future tax increases, large (and possibly unsustainable) budget deficits would likely result.

The TPC's analysis in full can be found [here](#).

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**Subject:** Presidential Candidates and Trade

This morning, the Peterson Institute released a policy brief on trade policies articulated by Trump in the current election campaign. The paper will certainly find echo in the press today and in the days ahead.

The paper is very thorough and comprehensive, looking at all the legal means a President Trump can use to terminate trade agreements, including NAFTA, and impose unilateral tariffs on Mexico and China. The conclusion is that a President Trump has domestic legal authority to terminate NAFTA and other free trade agreements. However, in order to impose 35% tariffs on Mexico and/or China, a Trump Administration would either need to invoke "national security exemption", or withdrawing from the WTO. In both instances, this could lead to trade wars. The paper also contains a detailed assessment of the impact on employment, by sector and region. Approximately 4.8 million US jobs would be lost in a trade war scenario. Even if a full blown trade war is averted, job losses exceed one million.

The paper also contains an analysis of Clinton position trade, which are viewed as overall negative, even if not as damaging on the US economy. Notably, the decision of Clinton to oppose TPP is strongly criticized and will lead to a diminished leadership role for the US in fostering trade liberalization and global trade rules. The paper can be found at:

<https://piie.com/publications/piie-briefing/assessing-trade-agendas-us-presidential-campaign>

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**To:** 'rob.stewart@fin.gc.ca'; 'leah.anderson@fin.gc.ca'; 'Pezzack, Lisa (FIN)'; 'josee.nadeau@canada.ca'; 'ian.wright@canada.ca'; 'Shannon, Matthew (FIN)'; 'justin.brown@fin.gc.ca'; 'Hemmings, Lynn (FIN/FIN)'; 'Vaillancourt, Hugues (FIN)'; 'glenn.campbell@fin.gc.ca'; 'eleanor.ryan@fin.gc.ca'; 'Saeedi, Khusro (FIN)'; 'Dussault, Manuel (FIN)'; 'Carley, Brendan (FIN)'; 'Alexandra.Dostal@fin.gc.ca'; 'Mosier, Michael (FIN)'; 'Tepczynska, Margaret (FIN)'; 'Saeedi, Khusro (FIN)'; 'marie-france.loranger@canada.ca'; 'elisha.ram@fin.gc.ca'; 'Girard, Jean-François (FIN/FIN)'; 'Calof, Dan (FIN/FIN)'; Sample, Robert (FIN/FIN); 'McCauley, Kathryn Ann (FIN)'; 'Dugré-Sasseville, Pascale (FIN)'; Erin O'Brien; 'Stewart, Rick (FIN/FIN)'; Samson, Paul -FIN; 'antoine.brunelle-cote@canada.ca'; Sajkunovic, Mathew (FIN); 'Karaguesian, Julian (FIN)'; 'dean.beyea@fin.gc.ca'; 'Halley, Patrick (FIN)'; 'nick.leswick@fin.gc.ca'; 'harriet.jackson@canada.ca'; 'bradley.recker@canada.ca'; 'King, Phil (FIN/FIN)'; 'Emde, Matthew (FIN/FIN)'; 'Rafique, Siyam (FIN/FIN)'; 'Mailhot, Pierre-Yves (FIN)'; 'Villeneuve, Mitch (FIN)'; 'Collins, Jennifer (FIN/FIN)'; 'pyoungman@bankofcanada.ca'; 'mkruger@bank-banque-canada.ca'; 'jslive@bankofcanada.ca'; 'Andrew Kidd'; 'ichristensen@bankofcanada.ca'; 'abonnyman@bankofcanada.ca'; 'bfay@bankofcanada.ca'; 'zantia@bankofcanada.ca'; 'Marsden, Joanne'; 'Melessanakis, Vlasios'; 'Cheung, Lindsay'; 'liane.orsi@osfi-bsif.gc.ca'; 'Strauss, Jessica'; 'Syed, Yasir'; 'Brad Evenson'; Marion, Nicolas -CNGNY -EC; Dunn, Sandra -LDN -TD  
**Cc:** Gauthier, Gilles -WSHDC -TD; Bird, Colin -WSHDC -TD; Hirji, Hussein -WSHDC -TD; Ferrese, Damian -WSHDC -TD; Avila-Yiptong, Carmen -WSHDC -TD; Morrison, David -NGM; Cowl, Terrence -PEC; Anderson, Cory -PEC; Garson, Ron -WSHDC -GR; Thompson, Kevin -NGA; Parent, Guillaume -NGM; Surma, Monika -PEC  
**Subject:** DC Dispatch: The week that was

### Subjects covered

- Yellen dismisses "impossible standards" for big banks
- SEC looking across borders
- Improving circuit breakers the exchanges' way
- Giancarlo's 21<sup>st</sup>-century speech
- Brady holds out TPP hope
- The candidates' debt price tags
- Don't forget the debt limit

An assortment of items from the past week.

**"Impossible standards" dismissed:** While economic growth forecasts and future rate decisions got most of the attention, Federal Reserve Chair Janet Yellen indicated at the FOMC press conference Wednesday that the Fed's expectations that banks have "robust systems" of risk management weren't "impossible standards to meet", and dismissed the idea that a bank's size makes its risk management requirements too onerous. In comments that may be a preview of her appearance next week at the House Financial Services Committee, she expressed disappointment that banks typically respond after a problem arises rather than "ensuring that employees are always acting in a legal and ethical manner", and downplayed the Wells Fargo sales practice fines as a sign such firms become "too big to manage".

**SEC going global:** On Wednesday SEC chair Mary Jo White addressed the International Bar Association Annual Conference, with remarks focusing on efforts by the Commission to collaborate with its international partners. Noting that advisers registered with the SEC with principal offices outside the U.S. now account for \$8.7 trillion in assets under management—a quadrupling since 2003—she raised concerns with privacy, bank secrecy and other laws that prohibit some foreign-domiciled SEC registrants from providing client and other information to the SEC and responding to requests. “More than ever before, it is critical that jurisdictions break down their information-sharing walls,” said White. “As regulators, we cannot afford to have a blind or even cloudy spot.” She commended international cooperation by a number of countries, including Canada, to counter foreign corrupt payments.

It has been a challenging time for both White and the SEC in recent months; earlier this week Senator Jeff Merkley (D-OR) criticized Commission leadership for being “singularly uninterested in using its authority to secure transparency and accountability”, saying White has failed to exercise appropriate oversight and “slow-walked reforms required by law” such as finishing the Volcker Rule. Earlier this year during a banking committee hearing Senator Elizabeth Warren (D-MA) said she was “more disappointed than ever” in SEC leadership.

**Exchanges tackle extraordinary events:** If trading halts were longer, perhaps there would be fewer of them. That’s the basis of recommended changes by U.S. stock markets to limit such events as the market volatility of August 24, 2015, when trading halts numbered more than 1,200. As reported this week in *The Wall Street Journal*, under the exchanges’ limit-up/limit-down system proposals, the auction process that attempts to balance supply and demand following a circuit breaker halt would extend in increments of five minutes if the auction isn’t fully successful in matching buyers and sellers, while the minimum price band will be lowered by 5 percent at a time. This could lead to trading pauses that last much longer than the five-minute halt that occurs under the current system. All of the exchanges would conduct electronic auctions in the same manner, eliminating the variation that has caused some broker-dealers and traders to avoid them. “This collaborative effort is designed to increase investor confidence in the market at times of increased stress,” said Bryan Harkins, Executive Vice President for U.S. markets at Bats Global Markets.

Any recommended changes would need to be approved by the SEC, but there is speculation they could be in place by early next year. In a speech to the Security Traders Association earlier this month, SEC Chair Mary Jo White referred to ongoing efforts to improve the limit-up/limit-down process, including whether specific changes should be made to the mechanism for exchange-traded products, to reflect their sensitivity to disorderly market activity. She also discussed a number of SEC initiatives related to algorithmic trading, including a soon-to-be-finalized proposal ensuring all high-volume registered trading firms are subject to oversight by the Financial Industry Regulatory Authority, and expressed concern with the recent Treasury market report indicating that the surge in aggressive demand by short-term professional traders has increased their exposure to the market in the direction of price moves, suggesting a destabilizing short-term trading strategy during a period of market weakness. “The Commission should identify and address those specific elements of the algorithmic trading environment that may be working against investors, rather than for them,” she said.

**Because it’s the 21<sup>st</sup> Century:** In a speech Wednesday to the American Enterprise Institute, CFTC Commissioner J. Christopher Giancarlo called for a number of changes in how the Commission deals with the challenges of new technology. “The CFTC remains stuck in a 20<sup>th</sup> century time warp,” said the Republican appointee, pointing to regulation of fintech and algorithmic trading in particular, where the CFTC is expected to release a final rule shortly. “The British fintech sector employs more people than that of New York. One key reason is the relative simplicity, transparency and innovation friendly approach of British regulators...In contrast, U.S. regulatory frameworks, including those managed by the CFTC, are widely seen as complex, conservative and, in some respects, opaque.” He also criticised CFTC rules on swap execution facilities as “poorly designed and overly engineered”, while the Commission’s rules on automated trading were dismissed as “a classic Washington manoeuvre: force as many businesses as possible into the regulatory framework so there is someone to investigate if something goes wrong.” He called on the regulator to address innovation through “do no harm” rules for blockchain and fintech “using the same forward-thinking approach American regulators took two decades ago in the early days of the Internet.”



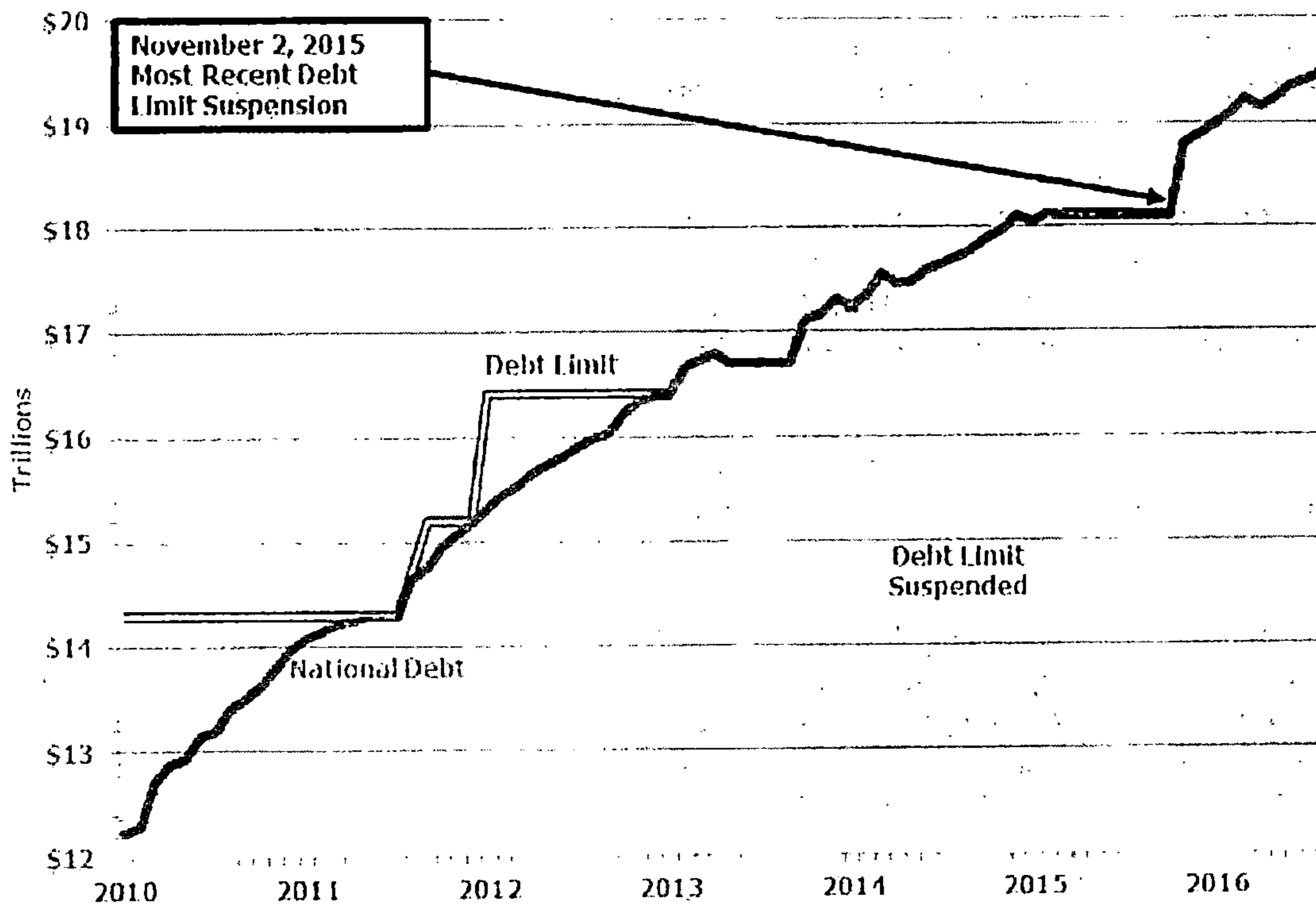
**Ways & Means Chairman holds out TPP hope:** In a recent article in the *Texas Tribune* Kevin Brady (R-TX), Chairman of the House Ways and Means Committee, said "not so fast" to those who consider the Trans-Pacific Partnership deal dead, opining that there is a chance the deal could move through Congress during the post-election "lame duck" session. "We will neither delay nor rush this agreement," Brady said. "It depends on whether the president is successful in that push to attract more Democrats to support TPP and whether his trade agency...can address members' concerns about the agreement. What I'm absolutely certain of is, every day we delay in accessing that Asia-Pacific region, the more we lose economically."

**What cost debt?:** An updated election analysis yesterday from the think tank Committee for a Responsible Federal Budget predicts that Republican presidential candidate Donald Trump's latest tax proposal would increase the U.S. federal debt by \$5.3 trillion over the coming decade, compared to a \$200 billion debt hike if Democratic nominee Hillary Clinton's plans became reality. There is a caveat on the Trump estimate, due to what the analysis refers to as "significant ambiguity" related to corporate tax liabilities. The cost of Clinton's plan is due mainly to her proposals for free college, child care assistance and universal pre-kindergarten for four-year-olds. Just yesterday she released further details on her tax plan, which include levying a 65 percent estate tax on property valued at more than \$500 million for a single person or \$1 billion per couple, up from the current 40 percent, which would make it the highest estate tax since the 1980s.

Under Clinton's plan, says the CRFB, debt is forecasted to grow from nearly 77 percent of GDP today to over 86 percent by 2026, while under Trump's plan debt would grow to 105 percent of GDP by 2026. "Unfortunately, neither candidate has presented a proposal to address our growing national debt and put it on a more sustainable path, nor have they offered a proposal for shoring up the Social Security, Medicare, or Highway trust funds," according to the report. "As it currently stands, Donald Trump's proposals would still substantially worsen the debt."

**The debt limit strikes back?:** On the subject of debt, last week the Washington-based Bipartisan Policy Center (BPC) issued a short blog post reminding fiscal policy devotees that the debt limit will be reinstated just two months into the next president's term – and this comes on top of the need to come to an agreement for government funding as the U.S. begins its new fiscal year on October 1. The debt limit, suspended since November 2, 2015, is set to be reinstated on March 16, 2017 at around \$20.1 trillion, according to BPC's latest projections. Any additional borrowing beyond that date would need to be done through the increasingly familiar "extraordinary measures" undertaken by the Department of the Treasury (i.e., delaying contributions to federal retirement funds).

## RECENT HISTORY OF THE U.S. DEBT LIMIT



Source: U.S. Treasury Department, Daily Treasury Statements

Even under the extraordinary measures, there would come a point where the U.S. federal government would be unable to continue making full and on time payments (colloquially known around DC as the "X Date"). The blog post notes that any delayed action on the debt limit would increase associated risks – but there is still enough time to gather the political will and act before the eleventh hour.

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Canada



s.15(1) - International

s.21(1)(b)

**Im, Sarah -NGA**

**From:** Sunderland, Meaghan -WSHDC -WS  
**Sent:** October-07-16 1:27 PM  
**To:** Sunderland, Meaghan -WSHDC -WS  
**Subject:** FW: ACTION REQUIRED: USS request for a [REDACTED] on US election  
**Attachments:** Timeline - Government Priorities and U\_S\_ Presidential Election Scenarios - WSHDC input - highlighted redactions.docx

With redacted attachment.

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**From:** Garson, Ron -WSHDC -GR  
**Sent:** July-25-16 5:00 PM  
**To:** Benjamin, Martin -NGD; Lundy, Peter -POD; Nickel, Jim -NND  
**Cc:** Stevens, Denis -WSHDC -DHOM/CDMA; Riordon, Sheila -WSHDC -GR; Gauthier, Gilles -WSHDC -TD; Brown, Catherine -POR; Heaton, Jeffrey -POR; Bergeron, Jean-François -NGA; MacDuff, David -NGA; Goyette, Andréanne -NGA; Nardocchio-Jones, Gavin -NGM; Baird, Katherine -WSHDC -WS; Barratt, Adam -WSHDC; Sunderland, Meaghan -WSHDC -WS  
**Subject:** RE: ACTION REQUIRED: USS request for a [REDACTED] on US election

WSHDC input

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**From:** Benjamin, Martin -NGD  
**Sent:** July-25-16 12:04 PM  
**To:** Lundy, Peter -POD; Nickel, Jim -NND; Garson, Ron -WSHDC -GR  
**Cc:** Stevens, Denis -WSHDC -DHOM/CDMA; Riordon, Sheila -WSHDC -GR; Gauthier, Gilles -WSHDC -TD; Brown, Catherine -POR; Heaton, Jeffrey -POR; Bergeron, Jean-François -NGA; MacDuff, David -NGA; Goyette, Andréanne -NGA; Nardocchio-Jones, Gavin -NGM  
**Subject:** ACTION REQUIRED: USS request for a [REDACTED] on US election

Colleagues,

USS has requested information regarding our government-wide preparations for the upcoming U.S. election and how we will be positioning Canadian interests in either a Clinton or Trump scenario. We are currently drafting a message for NGM.

As you know, [REDACTED] We have prepared the attached draft timeline, reflecting key leads, dates, and activities. The current material is focused on NGA-policy related work, and there are placeholders for WSHDC and POR activities.

We would appreciate it if you could revise and add to this table by 12:00 noon tomorrow, July 26, 2016. Please send your input to [david.macduff@international.gc.ca](mailto:david.macduff@international.gc.ca). Many thanks,

Martin

Martin Benjamin  
Director General-North America Strategy/Directeur général-Stratégie pour l'Amérique du Nord  
Global Affairs Canada | Affaires mondiales Canada  
1-343-203-3547

Not relevant as agreed with requester

**Government of Canada Preparations for U.S. Election**

s.15(1) - International  
s.21(1)(b)

**Timeline**

<b>Lead</b>	<b>Date(s)</b>	<b>Activity</b>
NGA / OGDs	July 22, 2016	
<i>OGDs to NGA</i>	<i>August 12, 2016</i>	
<i>NGA</i>	<i>August 15-26, 2016</i>	
<i>POR</i>	<i>Week of August 29, 2016</i>	
<i>POR</i>	<i>September/October 2016</i>	
NGA	September 29, 2016	
NGA	November 3, 2016 (deadline to be negotiated)	
WSHDC	<u>July - November 8, 2016</u>	

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Not relevant as agreed with requester

<b>NGA</b>	<b>November 17, 2016</b>	
<b><i>WSHDC</i></b>	<b><i>November – February (onwards as required, given length of appointments process)</i></b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- <i>Monitor lame duck session (what might pass)</i></li> <li>- <i>Coverage of inauguration / Embassy inauguration event (Note: USG discourages senior level visits during inauguration – security and resource constraints)</i></li> <li>- <i>Track Committee assignments (esp. Chairs)</i></li> <li>- <i>Track senior appointments (White House, Cabinet, senior departmental officials) and seek opportunities for engagement</i></li> </ul>
<b>NGA</b>	<b>December 2017</b>	

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**Bolded items are confirmed.**  
*Italicized items are placemarkers and are not confirmed.*

## Im, Sarah -NGA

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**From:** Garson, Ron -WSHDC -GR  
**Sent:** August-16-16 8:55 AM  
**To:** Morrison, David -NGM  
**Subject:** WSHDC-GR-3531: Trump on ISIS

Donald Trump spoke yesterday afternoon at Ohio's Youngsville State University on *Understanding the Threat: Radical Islam and the Age of Terror*. The speech text, complete with copious footnotes (including for the Clintons' tax records) can be found [here](#). Trump spoke from a teleprompter and only occasionally departed from his written text.

Trump framed the struggle against ISIS as an ideological battle akin to that waged in the Cold War. A prerequisite for success in such a struggle is recognizing that the enemy is "Radical Islamic Terrorism" and being willing to call it that. Anyone who refuses to call the enemy by its proper name is morally unfit to lead the United States. And that, said Trump, would be President Obama and Hillary Clinton.

Trump painted a grim picture of rising terror in the world – he opened with a long recitation of attacks in the U.S. and Europe – of a Middle East in chaos, and of an ascendant Iran. The blame for this can be laid squarely at the feet of the "Obama-Clinton foreign policy," which got its start in 2009 with the President's so-called "apology tour." Before then, the Middle East was stable, Iran was contained, and Al Qaeda in Iraq had been nearly extinguished. But mistakes in Libya and Iraq (the premature withdrawal and a public timeline for it) threw the region into chaos and "launched ISIS onto the world" (not quite the founder allegation of last week). Trump was especially critical of Clinton's role in the Libya intervention: the White House was divided and Clinton cast the deciding vote in favour of regime change.

The upshot is not only that "Hillary Clinton lacks the judgement, the temperament and the moral character" to be President, but that she also does not have "the mental and physical stamina" for the job (an allusion to her 2012 fainting spell and concussion that has lately been resurrected by Trump to suggest she is not in sound enough health to be leader).

**A new approach:** Trump called for a new approach to the fight against ISIS. Such an endeavour would dispense with nation-building and regime change and instead focus on halting the spread of "Radical Islam." Any country that shares this goal will be a U.S. ally. A President Trump would call an **international conference** focused on this aim that would include friends in the Middle East (Israel, Jordan and Egypt were mentioned). It would also include Russia ("common ground with Russia – wouldn't that be a good thing?"). NATO would be closely involved in the effort (Trump suggested NATO has stepped up its commitment to anti-terrorism in response to his comments that it had become obsolete due to its failure to adequately address the issue). The coalition Trump would forge would use military operations to "crush and destroy" ISIS, while cutting off its financing, recruitment and propaganda (Trump said he would immediately cut off ISIS' access to the internet).

**Immigration and extreme vetting:** Trump focused considerable attention on combating ISIS' ideology, which he said has infected America (he claimed there have been "many, many cases" of honour killing in the U.S.). Linked to this would be a change to U.S. immigration policy (here, he highlighted Europe's experience with integration, such as the Cologne attacks on women last New Year's Eve). Prospective immigrants to the United States would be subjected to an ideological screening to ensure their views were compatible with U.S. values and the Constitution (adherence to the Constitution is already required for naturalization). In a departure from his text, Trump said "I call this extreme vetting ... *extreme, extreme vetting*" (predictably, this phrasing has garnered the most media attention).



To put this system in place, the U.S. would temporarily suspend immigration “from some of the most dangerous and volatile regions of the world that have a history of exporting terrorism” (a reformulation of his earlier call to ban Muslim immigration). Immediately upon becoming President, Trump would ask the State Department and the Department of Homeland Security to identify regions where adequate screening is not possible. Immigration would be barred until circumstances allowed proper vetting. Trump contrasted his approach with that of Hillary Clinton – “America’s Angela Merkel” – claiming she wished to bring in 620,000 immigrants with a resulting lifetime cost to U.S. taxpayers of \$400 billion.

**Common sense and law enforcement:** Trump argued that common sense needs to be restored to U.S. security procedures, which he claimed have too often been undermined by concerns for political correctness (e.g., racial profiling). One of his first acts as President would be to establish a **Commission on Radical Islam** – which would include reform-minded Muslims “who will hopefully work with us” – to raise Americans’ awareness of radical Islam, identify the warning signs of radicalization, and expose networks that support this radicalization.

The commission will develop “new protocols” for law enforcement officials and immigration screeners (he claimed immigration officers had been stripped of their power). Guantanamo Bay will remain open, foreign combatants will be tried by military commissions (last week, Trump suggested the same for U.S. citizens, a practice that is currently illegal), and anyone lending material support to terrorists will be prosecuted (Trump compared it to efforts to take down the mafia). Departing again from his written text, Trump vowed to strip out and remove terrorist networks “one by one, viciously if necessary, viciously if necessary.”

**Reviving the spirit of Americanism:** Trump concluded by calling for a “bipartisan and international consensus” to defeat Radical Islamic terrorism. This consensus would seek to advance U.S. values and impress them upon new immigrants to America (“assimilation is not an act of hostility, but an expression of compassion” because American society produces the best outcomes for people). Trump vowed to fight “bigotry and oppression in all its forms,” heal divisions within the country – he called President Obama “the great divider” - and “make America great again and safe again – for everyone.”

Drafted/Released: WSHDC/Garson

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<Neil.Brennan@international.gc.ca>; Nasser, Hani -WSHDC -GR <Hani.Nasser@international.gc.ca>



## **Im, Sarah -NGA**

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**From:** Garson, Ron -WSHDC -GR  
**Sent:** September-07-16 6:01 PM  
**To:** EXTOTT (NGM)  
**Subject:** WSHDC-GR-3589: Donald Trump on "peace through strength"

Donald Trump spoke today to the Union Club of Philadelphia, a private club founded in 1862 "to support the Union and the policies of President Abraham Lincoln." Trump's speech focused on the defence policy he would pursue should he be elected president. His address included a vow to boost U.S. defence spending, increase the capabilities of U.S. forces, and build a world-class missile defence system. Trump also vowed to ask allies to shoulder more of the defence burden, including meeting the NATO target of 2 per cent of GDP.

### **Report**

Trump opened with an attack on the track record of President Obama and Secretary of State Clinton, contrasting in particular the (relatively) stable Middle East of 2008 with the chaotic scene today. He noted as well the declining deference China, Russia and Iran show the United States. Trump also leveled charges at Clinton that she has often directed at him: she is "trigger-happy and unstable when it comes to war ... so reckless, in fact, she put her emails on an illegal server that our enemies could easily hack ... [and her] only foreign policy experience is failure." In sum, "her conduct is simply disqualifying."

Trump would introduce a new approach to U.S. national security that would avoid the failures of the past:

- Its overriding theme would be "peace through strength," a phrase used by, among others, Ronald Reagan (1981-1989) and the Roman Emperor Hadrian (117-138 AD). It would be a "new" foreign policy based on advancing key U.S. interests, promoting regional stability and easing global tensions. It would be a policy that eschews endless war and efforts to promote radical change (as in regime change).
- The U.S. would work with any country whose goal is to destroy Daesh and America would wage military, cyber, financial and ideological warfare against the terrorist group. Immediately after taking office, a President Trump would ask his generals to present a plan for Daesh's destruction within 30 days. Media commentators were quick to note that Trump has previously claimed to know more about Daesh than the generals and has repeatedly said he already had a plan for the group's destruction – but was keeping it secret so as not to tip his hand to the enemy.
- Immigration security will be central to U.S. national security: "We only want to admit people to our country who will support our values and love our people."
- Trump bemoaned current levels of defence spending and U.S. military capabilities and vowed "as soon as he takes office" to ask Congress to eliminate the defence sequester. He would then introduce a new budget to rebuild the U.S. military. Increased defence spending would be made possible in part by eliminating waste in government, reducing the size of government through attrition, collecting now-unpaid taxes and "unleashing American energy." The military bureaucracy would also be streamlined.
- A President Trump would, "early in my term," ask all NATO members to "promptly pay their bills" – i.e., the 2 percent of GDP target, which he noted only 5 members now meet. He would also "respectfully" ask that countries such as Germany, Japan, South Korea and Saudi Arabia pay more for U.S. security support.
- With these new funds, the U.S. would build:



- an active army of about 540,000, compared to today's 490,000 troops, one-third of whom are considered combat-ready (based on the Army Chief of Staff's assessment of U.S. needs);
- a Marine Corps of 36 battalions, in place of today's 23 (a Heritage Foundation recommendation);
- a navy of 350 surface ships and submarines, compared to today's 276 (a recommendation of the National Defense Panel); and
- an air force of 1,200 fighter aircraft versus the 1,113 today (a Heritage Foundation recommendation).

The U.S. would also develop a "state-of-the-art missile defense system" – a capability Trump said had been degraded by "Obama-Clinton" precisely when threats from regimes like Iran and North Korea are growing. A Trump presidency would also improve the Department of Defense's cyber capabilities ("Hillary Clinton has taught us all how vulnerable we are to cyber hacking"). One of the first directives of a Trump presidency would be to order a review of U.S. cyber defences that would identify all vulnerabilities and establish plans to remedy them. A Trump presidency would also invest significantly in offensive cyber capabilities.

This military build-up would be a "fifty-state effort – every state in the union will be able to take part in rebuilding our military and developing the technologies of tomorrow." It would help ensure that America is the "world's dominant technological powerhouse of the 21<sup>st</sup> century" and, Trump noted, "young Americans – including in our inner cities – should get these new jobs."

Trump concluded with a plea for unity and inclusion ("we will work across all racial and income lines to create One American Nation") and a promise to "discard the failed policies and division of the past, and embrace true American change to rebuild our economy, rebuild our inner cities, and rebuild our country."

Drafted/Released: WSHDC/Garson

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## Im, Sarah -NGA

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**From:** Garson, Ron -WSHDC -GR  
**Sent:** September-22-16 4:25 PM  
**To:** EXTOTT (NGM)  
**Subject:** WSHDC-GR-3632: 75 career diplomats endorse Clinton, denounce Trump  
**Attachments:** Former-ambassadors-sign-a-letter-refusing-to.pdf

Seventy-five career diplomats have released (attached) a letter endorsing Hillary Clinton for president and denouncing Donald Trump.

The letter notes that its signatories have, as career officers, served every president since Truman and, as Ambassadors or senior State officials, represented every president since Nixon. More prominent names on the list include Thomas Pickering (multiple senior postings – Russia, India, Israel, UN – and a former Under Secretary for Political Affairs), Nicholas Burns (former Under Secretary for Political Affairs under Bush II), Ryan Crocker (Iraq, Afghanistan) and Jim Cunningham (UN, Afghanistan, Israel). A number of former Assistant Secretaries of State (roughly ADM level) have signed the letter as well.

The letters notes that many of the signatories have never before publicly endorsed a candidate for president and are doing so now because this is an election “different from any election we can recall.”

The letter has harsh words for Donald Trump:

“One of the candidates -- Donald J. Trump -- is entirely unqualified to serve as President and Commander-in-Chief. He is ignorant of the complex nature of the challenges facing our country, from Russia to China to ISIS to nuclear proliferation to refugees to drugs, but he has expressed no interest in being educated. Indeed he has recently demonstrated he entirely misunderstands and disrespects the role of the very officials who could educate him: the senior career officers of our intelligence services and of our military services (whom he has characterized as “rubble”). In his frequent statements about foreign countries and their citizens, from our closest friends to our most problematic competitors, Mr. Trump has expressed the most ignorant stereotypes of those countries; has inflamed their people; and has insulted our allies and comforted our enemies. Shockingly, he has even offered praise and admiration for Vladimir Putin, the leader of Russia whose international activities and reported intrusions into our democratic political process have been among the most damaging actions taken by any foreign leader since the end of World War Two. We fear the damage that such ineptitude could cause in our closest relationships as well as the succor it might offer our enemies.”

The signatories instead endorse Hillary Clinton for president, noting that her “handling of foreign affairs has consistently sought to advance fundamental US interests” and has been grounded in the work of the thousands of career officers charged with responsibility for US national security. In the view of the signatories, only the Clinton team has the skills and knowledge to lead American foreign policy “in a manner befitting our role as the world's sole superpower.”

The letter joins two previous letters issued by GOP national security experts, who likewise vow not to support Trump. The first was signed in March by 121 former GOP national security officials. The second, issued in August, was signed by 50 former GOP officials (signatories overlap between the two letters). Trump, on the other hand, can also point to a letter, signed by 88 retired military officials, endorsing his candidacy. One wonders what impact such letters have outside of the policy world... recall Spiro Agnew’s reference to the media elite in his day as “an effete corps of impudent snobs.”

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*September 21, 2016*

**STATEMENT BY FORMER CAREER AMBASSADORS AND SENIOR STATE DEPARTMENT OFFICIALS**

The undersigned have each previously served the people of the United States as career diplomats in our nation's Foreign and Civil Services. We have each had the privilege of being nominated by the President, and confirmed by the United States Senate, to represent our nation abroad and at the highest levels of our foreign policy and security organizations.

- Together, we have represented the United States as ambassadors in 52 countries or international organizations. We have hundreds of years of combined service.
- As career officers, we have served every President since Harry Truman, and have proudly represented every President since Richard Nixon as ambassadors or senior State Department officials in Senate-confirmed positions. We have served Republican and Democratic Presidents with pride and enthusiasm.
- None of us will vote for Donald J. Trump.
- Each of us endorses Hillary Clinton and Tim Kaine. Because the stakes in this election are so high, this is the first time many of us have publicly endorsed a candidate for President.

Very simply, this election is different from any election we can recall. One of the candidates -- Donald J. Trump -- is entirely unqualified to serve as President and Commander-in-Chief. He is ignorant of the complex nature of the challenges facing our country, from Russia to China to ISIS to nuclear proliferation to refugees to drugs, but he has expressed no interest in being educated. Indeed he has recently demonstrated he entirely misunderstands and disrespects the role of the very officials who could educate him: the senior career officers of our intelligence services and of our military services (whom he has characterized as "rubble").

In his frequent statements about foreign countries and their citizens, from our closest friends to our most problematic competitors, Mr. Trump has expressed the most ignorant stereotypes of those countries; has inflamed their people; and has insulted our allies and comforted our enemies. Shockingly, he has even offered praise and admiration for Vladimir Putin, the leader of Russia whose international activities and reported intrusions into our democratic political process have been among the most damaging actions taken by any foreign leader since the end of World War Two.

We fear the damage that such ineptitude could cause in our closest relationships as well as the succor it might offer our enemies.

By contrast, Hillary Clinton's handling of foreign affairs has consistently sought to advance fundamental US interests with a deep grounding in the work of the many tens of thousands of career officers on whom our national security depends. Not every one of us has agreed with

every decision she made (and the same would be true of every one of her predecessors), but we have profound respect for her skills, dedication, intelligence, and diplomacy.

In this election there is only one team to represent our nation and lead our career foreign policy and security professionals in a manner befitting our role as the world's sole superpower. Hillary Clinton and Tim Kaine are the candidates we support.

### **Signatories**

1. **Morton Abramowitz** - Ambassador to Turkey (1989-1991) Assistant Secretary of State for Intelligence and Research (1985-1989), and Ambassador to Thailand (1978-1981)
2. **Frank Almaguer** - Ambassador to Honduras (1999-2002)
3. **Diego Asencio** - Ambassador to Brazil (1983-1986), Assistant Secretary for Consular Affairs (1980-1983), Ambassador to Colombia (1977-1980)
4. **Robert Beecroft** - Ambassador and Head of Mission to Bosnia and Herzegovina (2001-2004)
5. **Robert O. Blake** – Assistant Secretary of State for South and Central Asian Affairs (2009-2013), Ambassador to Sri Lanka and Republic of Maldives (2006-2009), Indonesia (2014-present)
6. **Charles Richard Bowers** - Ambassador to Bolivia (1991-1994)
7. **Robert Bradtke** - Ambassador to Croatia (2006-2009)
8. **Aurelia E. Brazeal** - Ambassador to Ethiopia (2002-2005), Kenya (1993-1996), Federated States of Micronesia (1990-1993)
9. **Sue K. Brown** - Ambassador to Montenegro (2011-2014)
10. **Susan Burk** - Special Representative of the President for Nuclear Nonproliferation
11. **A. Peter Burleigh** - Ambassador to Sri Lanka and Republic of Maldives (1995-1997)
12. **Nicholas Burns** - Under Secretary of State for Political Affairs, and Ambassador to Greece
13. **Patricia Butenis** - Ambassador to Sri Lanka and Republic of Maldives (2009-2012) and Bangladesh (2006-2007)
14. **Johnnie Carson** - Assistant Secretary of State for African Affairs (2009-2013), Ambassador to Kenya (1999-2003), Zimbabwe (1995-1997), Uganda (1991-1994)
15. **Carey Cavanaugh** - Ambassador/Special Negotiator for Nagorno-Karabakh and New Independent States Regional Conflicts (2000-2001)
16. **Wendy Chamberlin** - Ambassador to Pakistan (2001-2002) and Laos (1996-1999)
17. **Peter Chaveas** - Ambassador to Sierra Leone (2001-2004), and Malawi (1994-1997)



- 18. Marion Creekmore, Jr. - Ambassador to Sri Lanka and Republic of Maldives (1989-1992)**
- 19. Ryan Crocker – Ambassador to Lebanon (1990-1993), Kuwait (1994-1997), Syria (1998-2001), Pakistan (2004-2007), Iraq (2007-2009), Afghanistan (2011-2012)**
- 20. James B. Cunningham - Ambassador to Afghanistan (2012-2014), Israel (2008-2011), United Nations (2001)**
- 21. Jeffrey Davidow - Ambassador to Mexico (1998-2002), Assistant Secretary of State for Western Hemisphere Affairs (1996-1998), Ambassador to Venezuela (1993-1996), Zambia (1988-1990)**
- 22. John Dinger - Ambassador to Mongolia (2000-2003)**
- 23. Nancy Ely-Raphel - Ambassador to Slovenia (1998-2001)**
- 24. Robert W. Farrand - Ambassador to Papua New Guinea, Vanuatu, and the Solomon Islands (1990-1993)**
- 25. Robert P. Finn - Ambassador to Afghanistan (2002-2003), Tajikistan (1999-2001)**
- 26. Robert Fitts - Ambassador to Papua New Guinea, Vanuatu, and the Solomon Islands (2003-2006)**
- 27. Robert S. Gelbard - Ambassador to Indonesia (1999-2001), Assistant Secretary of State for International Narcotics Matters (1993-1997), Ambassador to Bolivia (1988-1991)**
- 28. Edward "Skip" Gnehm - Ambassador to Jordan (2001-2004), Australia (2000-2001), Kuwait (1991-1994)**
- 29. Marc Grossman - Under Secretary of State for Political Affairs (2001-2005), Ambassador to Turkey (1995-1997), Assistant Secretary of State for European and Canadian Affairs (1997-2000)**
- 30. Maura Harty - Ambassador to Paraguay (1997-1999), Assistant Secretary of State for Consular Affairs (2002-2008)**
- 31. Thomas C. Hubbard - Ambassador to the Republic of Korea (2001-2004) and the Philippines (1996-2000)**
- 32. Edmund J. Hull - Ambassador to Yemen (2001-2004)**
- 33. Cameron R. Hume - Ambassador to Indonesia (2007-2010), Sudan (2005-2007), South Africa (2001-2004), Algeria (1997-2000)**
- 34. William H. Itoh - Ambassador to Thailand (1995-1999)**
- 35. Dennis Jett - Ambassador to Peru (1996-1999) and Mozambique (1993-1996)**
- 36. Linda Jewell - Ambassador to Ecuador (2005-2008)**

37. **A. Elizabeth Jones** - Assistant Secretary of State for Europe and Eurasia (2003), Ambassador to Kazakhstan (1995-1997)
38. **James Keith** - Ambassador to Malaysia (2007-2010)
39. **Laura Kennedy** - Ambassador to Turkmenistan (2001-2003)
40. **Thomas C. Krajewski** - Ambassador to the Republic of Yemen (2004-2007), Kingdom of Bahrain (2011-2014)
41. **Daniel C. Kurtzer** - Ambassador to Israel (2001-2005), Egypt (1998-2001)
42. **Alphonse F. La Porta** – Ambassador to Mongolia (1997-2000)
43. **Chris LaFleur** - Ambassador to Malaysia (2005-2007)
44. **Edward Gibson Lanpher** - Ambassador to Zimbabwe (1991-1995)
45. **Michael Lemmon** - Ambassador to Armenia (1998-2001)
46. **James G. Lowenstein** - Ambassador to Luxembourg (1977-1981)
47. **John Maisto** - Ambassador to the Organization of American States (2003-2006), Venezuela (1997-2000), and Nicaragua (1993-1996)
48. **Edward Marks** - Ambassador to Cape Verde (1977-1980), and Guinea-Bissau (1977-1980)
49. **Marshall McCallie** - Ambassador to Namibia (1993-1996)
50. **Jackson McDonald** - Ambassador to Guinea (2004-2007), The Gambia (2001-2004)
51. **Thomas J. Miller** - Ambassador to Greece (2001-2004), Bosnia and Herzegovina (1999-2001)
52. **William Green Miller** - Ambassador to Ukraine (1993-1998)
53. **Mark Minton** - Ambassador to Mongolia (2006-2009)
54. **B. Lynn Pascoe** - Ambassador to Indonesia (2004-2007), and Malaysia (1998-2001)
55. **June Perry** - Ambassador to Sierra Leone (2007-2010), and Lesotho (2004-2007)
56. **Donald K. Petterson** - Ambassador to Sudan (1992-1995), Tanzania (1986-1989), and Somalia (1978-1982)
57. **Thomas R. Pickering** – Under Secretary of State for Political Affairs (1997-2000), Ambassador to Russia (1993-1996), India (1992-1993), United Nations (1989-1992), Israel (1985-1988), El Salvador (1983-1985), Nigeria (1981-1983), Assistant Secretary of State for Oceans and International Environmental and Scientific Affairs (1978-1981), Ambassador to Jordan (1974-1978)



58. **Nicholas Platt** - Ambassador to Pakistan (1991-1992), Philippines (1987-1991), Zambia (1982-1985)
59. **Nancy Powell** - Ambassador to India (2012-2014), Nepal (2007-2010), Pakistan (2002-2004), Ghana (2001-2002), Uganda (1997-1999)
60. **Phyllis Powers** - Ambassador to Nicaragua (2012-2015), and Panama (2010-2012)
61. **Charles A. Ray** - Ambassador to Zimbabwe (2009-2012), Cambodia (2002-2005)
62. **Thomas B. Robertson** - Ambassador to Slovenia (2004-2007)
63. **Howard B. Schaffer** - Ambassador to Bangladesh (1984-1987)
64. **Teresita C. Schaffer** - Ambassador to Sri Lanka and Republic of Maldives (1992-1995)
65. **Ints M. Silins** - Ambassador to Latvia (1992-1995)
66. **Thomas W. Simons, Jr.** - Ambassador to Pakistan (1996-1998) and Poland (1990-1993)
67. **Kathleen Stephens** - Ambassador to the Republic of Korea (2008-2011)
68. **Gordon L. Streeb** - Ambassador to Zambia (1990-1993)
69. **Nicholas Veliotis** - Ambassador to Egypt (1984-1986), Assistant Secretary of State for Near Eastern and South Asian Affairs (1981-1984), and Ambassador to Jordan (1978-1981)
70. **Edward S. Walker, Jr.** - Assistant Secretary of State for Near Eastern Affairs (2000-2001), Ambassador to Israel (1997-1999), Egypt (1994-1997), United Arab Emirates (1989-1992)
71. **Alexander F. Watson** - Ambassador to Peru (1986-1989), Assistant Secretary of State for Western Hemisphere Affairs (1993-1996)
72. **E. Ashley Wills** - Ambassador to Sri Lanka and Republic of Maldives (2000-2003)
73. **Kenneth Yalowitz** - Ambassador to Georgia (1998-2001) and Belarus (1994-1997)
74. **Johnny Young** - Ambassador to Slovenia (2001-2004), Kingdom of Bahrain (1997-2001), Togo (1994-1997), Sierra Leone (1989-1992)
75. **Stephen M. Young** - Ambassador to Kyrgyz Republic (2003-2005)

## **Im, Sarah -NGA**

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**From:** Boudreau, Wendy -WSHDC -WS  
**Sent:** September-07-16 3:57 PM  
**To:** Benjamin, Martin -NGD; Stevens, Denis -WSHDC -DHOM/CDMA  
**Subject:** WSHDC-3585 - U.S. National Political Update, Sept. 7, 2016

### **U.S. National Political Update, Sept. 7, 2016**

NB: BCC List appended below.  
For Official Use Only

- 1. Presidential candidates hit the homestretch**
- 2. Congress returns already looking for the exits**
- 3. TPP draft statement of administrative action sent to Congress**
- 4. Senators write USTR on Soft Wood Lumber**
- 5. Senators write USTR on Dairy Concerns**
- 6. House to vote to allow 9/11 families to sue Saudi Arabia**
- 7. Election Outlook - MIAMI/DALAS Update**

The House and Senate are in session.

#### **1. Presidential candidates hit the homestretch**

With Election Day less than two months away, presidential candidates Hillary Clinton and Donald Trump begin the final phase of the campaign with the polls tightening up. The Real Clear Politics polling average gives Clinton a slight three-point edge, down almost by half from just a couple of weeks ago. The last two weeks have arguably been the worst for the Clinton campaign as continued media reports about the Clinton Foundation and her use of a private email server have dominated the headlines. However, while the national polls have tightened, the state polls continue to give Clinton a solid lead in the electoral college. According to NBC News, Clinton currently leads by four or more points in enough states to give her 272 electoral college votes (270 needed), with Trump at 174 and 92 electoral vote toss-ups. Trump needs to sweep most of the larger battleground states such as Florida and Ohio but would also have to flip Pennsylvania where Clinton leads by an average of 6.5 points.

Throughout September, the consulates will be contributing to the national political update with information on important races happening in their regions. This will include not only how the presidential race is shaping up in their respective territories, but also how congressional and state races are developing. The first such reports, from MIAMI and DALAS, can be found in section 7 below.

#### **2. Congress returns already looking for the exits**

Congress returns to work this week after a seven-week summer break with one goal – reaching agreement on a continuing resolution (CR) to fund the government when the current fiscal year ends on Sept. 30 and then heading back to the campaign trail. Congress has yet to enact any of the 12 appropriations bills necessary to fund the government so without agreement on a CR the government will shut down on Oct. 1 when the new fiscal year begins – something no one wants a month before the election.

Little progress was made over the break, however. The main point of contention remains the length of the CR. Members of the conservative House Freedom Caucus want a CR that goes through to March 2017 and would like to cancel the lame-duck session after the November 8 election. They believe that House Republican leaders have given away too much in previous lame-duck sessions. However, the White House, congressional Democrats and many Republicans, including leadership and the chairs of the Appropriations committees, want a CR through to December 2016 with the goal of working out an omnibus appropriations bill. For a shorter CR



to pass the House, Speaker Paul Ryan would have to go against one of the largest voting blocks in his party and may have to rely on Democratic votes for passage. House Republicans are set to meet on Friday morning to discuss how the party should approach the year's remaining spending decisions. On Sept. 7, Senate Majority Leader Mitch McConnell (R-KY) said he had begun negotiations with the White House and Senate Democrats on a CR lasting through Dec. 9.

### **3. TPP draft statement of administrative action sent to Congress**

The Obama Administration cleared the most recent procedural hurdle on the narrow path to pass implementing legislation for the TPP on August 12, submitting the draft statement of administrative action to Congress, a formal step required 30 days before draft implementing legislation can be submitted for congressional consideration. A vote on TPP during the 114<sup>th</sup> Congress remains technically possible, but is far from guaranteed. On August 25, Senate Majority Leader Mitch McConnell (R-KY) stated that the current TPP agreement will not be taken up by the Senate this year. Speaker of the House, Paul Ryan (R-WI) has also nuanced his stance, suggesting that he believes the president has to renegotiate key provisions before it can be considered by Congress. Speaker Ryan maintains that as long as there are insufficient votes to pass TPP, Congress should not consider an implementing bill, before or during a lame duck session. In spite of the hardening positions, the Obama Administration continues to push for a vote on TPP this year.

### **4. Senators write USTR on Softwood Lumber**

Over the recess, 25 U.S. senators wrote to U.S. Trade Representative Michael Froman, saying that the adverse impact of Canada's subsidized lumber on the U.S. industry has been documented for decades and that any new softwood lumber agreement with Canada must include strong protections for U.S. lumber jobs. Ambassador MacNaughton responded forcefully by letter, stating that there has never been a U.S. subsidy or injury finding on Canadian softwood lumber in the past 35 years that has survived a legal challenge, and that Canada's proposals would ensure lumber supplies to U.S. consumers and companies at fair prices. The 2006 Softwood Lumber Agreement expired in October 2015 and included a 12-month standstill against new U.S. trade actions. If a new deal isn't reached by October, the U.S. industry can bring renewed trade complaints targeting softwood lumber imports from Canada.

### **5. Senators write USTR on Dairy Concerns**

Canadian dairy policies were the subject of an Aug. 31 letter to U.S. Trade Representative Michael Froman and U.S. Agriculture Secretary Tom Vilsack penned by Sens. Chuck Schumer (D-NY) and Tammy Baldwin (D-WI). The senators urge the investigation of whether recent announcements in Canada, such as the National Ingredients Strategy and Ontario's Class IV pricing program, are consistent with Canada-US trade commitments. The senators suggest concern that Canada is potentially "moving to target New York and Wisconsin exports of ultrafiltered milk" and curtail U.S. dairy exports overall by incentivizing Canadian processors to shift to using increased Canadian milk and dairy inputs.

### **6. House to vote to allow 9/11 families to sue Saudi Arabia**

The House will vote this week on a bill (the "Justice Against Sponsors of Terrorism Act") that would allow the families of 9/11 victims to sue Saudi Arabia in U.S. courts. The bill, which was already approved unanimously by the Senate in May, is expected to clear the House and head to President Barack Obama's desk just days before the 15<sup>th</sup> anniversary of the 9/11 terrorist attacks. The President is expected to veto the bill, which opponents say would undermine international sovereignty and hurt the country's relationship with Saudi Arabia.

### **7. Election Outlook - Miami/Dallas Update**

Florida is a bellwether state, predicting the presidency in 12 of the last 13 elections. It has been traditionally more Republican, but with an increasing Democratic demographic as new young innovators, particularly Hispanic, move into the state.



**Presidential Race:** The Real Clear Politics average of recent polls shows Hillary Clinton leading Donald Trump by about 3 points in Florida. Clinton so far has a significant advantage in the state, outspending her opponent 12-to-1 (\$20 million versus \$1.6 million) in ads and in organization -- she has a total of 51 field offices while Trump only has a Sarasota statewide headquarters open in the state he absolutely must win to be elected president. Clinton's running mate Tim Kaine has recently spent significant time in the state, capitalizing on his ability to speak Spanish.

**Senate Race:** When Sen. Marco Rubio decided to re-enter the Senate race after dropping out of the Republican presidential primary, he stated that his decision was in large part due to the looming Supreme Court appointment. However, many pundits have speculated that his bid for Senate re-election has much more to do with his presidential ambitions. The Real Clear Politics polling average shows Republican Sen. Marco Rubio with a six-point lead over his Democratic opponent Rep. Patrick Murphy. Many analysts believe that Murphy has room to grow because he's relatively unknown and only recently won the Democratic primary to take on Rubio. In addition, a recent poll found that by a 60-21 margin, Florida voters think Senate candidates should pledge to serve the full six-year term, something that Rubio has so far refused to do.

**Redistricting and House races:** Republicans currently outnumber Democrats 17-10 in the state's congressional delegation. There are four competitive seats in Florida that Democrats hope to pick up after court-mandated redistricting chipped away the advantages of some Republican incumbents.

## **DALAS**

**Presidential race:** DALAS' territory has been a bastion of Republican support for several presidential election cycles, led by Texas as the largest state that has voted for the Republican candidate without exception since 1980. Three of the five states in the DALAS territory - Louisiana, Oklahoma and Arkansas are squarely in the Trump/Pence column. Recently, there has been some speculation whether Texas's 38 electoral college votes could actually be in play. An August poll had Trump up just 6 points over Clinton. The most important variable as to whether Texas could be legitimately competitive is the long-dormant Hispanic vote in Texas -- which makes up 39% of the state's population.

The Dallas Morning News, for decades the voice of the state's moderate Republicans, said this week in a lead editorial: "Donald Trump is not qualified to serve as president and does not deserve your vote," and this morning endorsed Hillary Clinton for president -- the first time since before WW II that this paper has endorsed a Democratic nominee. Additionally, the Houston Chronicle has also endorsed Hillary Clinton, as its editorial board stated that Trump would not be a steady hand in the White House.

**New Mexico,** by contrast, has voted Democratic in every presidential race between 2000 and 2012 except for 2004, when the state favored George W. Bush over John Kerry by one point. This year New Mexico and its 5 electoral votes appear to be once again leaning toward the Democrat.

**Trade as an election issue:** Although anti-trade rhetoric has been strong in this year's presidential race, particularly from Donald Trump, conversations with political leaders across DALAS' 5-state territory reveal continued strong free trade support.

"The bottom line is that trade isn't a dirty word in the Texas vernacular," U.S. Senator John Cornyn of Texas, the Senate Majority Whip, said in a Houston Chronicle op-ed last week. Mexico and Canada are the state's first and second-largest export markets. Most analysts say Texas has benefited more than any other state from NAFTA.

**Senate:** There are three Senate races in the DALAS territory, none of which are likely to shift the overall balance of the Senate. Two Republican incumbents—Sens. John Boozman of **Arkansas** and James Lankford of **Oklahoma**—are on-track to handily retain their seats.

The **Louisiana** Senate race by contrast will bring a newcomer to the chamber, as Republican incumbent David Vitter is retiring. Twenty-four candidates will compete for the seat on November 8, though most expect it



to remain in Republican hands with State Treasurer John Neely Kennedy leading the field. David Duke, former Ku Klux Klan leader and former one-term Louisiana State Representative, continues to make headlines as an unpopular candidate in the race. Under Louisiana's "jungle primary" system, all of these candidates will appear on the November 8 ballot; if no candidate wins a more than 50% of the vote, then the top two finishers will advance to a December runoff election.

**House:** Only one U.S. House race in the DALAS territory is widely viewed as competitive in terms of shifting parties: The seat (Texas District 23) has flipped between Democrats and Republicans in the last three election cycles - a result attributed by analysts to higher Hispanic turnout in presidential election years in a district where 2/3 of the voting age population is Hispanic. Republican Will Hurd will face former Rep. Pete Gallego, whom he defeated in 2014, 49.8% to 47.7%. Gallego predicts that an anti-Trump wave in the Hispanic district will overcome Hurd's 2 to 1 fundraising advantage. None of the remaining 35 U.S. House seats from Texas are expected to change hands.

In Louisiana, Republicans hold five of the state's six seats and are expected to continue to do so. In Oklahoma, all five House seats are currently held by Republicans with incumbents likely to prevail in each race. In Arkansas, Republicans are expected to continue to hold all four U.S. House seats. In New Mexico, incumbents (2D, 1R) are also on solid footing in all three of the state's U.S. House races.

**State-level races:** In Arkansas, Louisiana, Oklahoma and Texas, Republicans are predicted to continue their control of both houses of the state legislatures while in New Mexico Republicans are looking to take control of the State Senate and hold on to the House. There are no gubernatorial contests in DALAS' territory in 2016.

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**To:** Benjamin, Martin -NGD; Stevens, Denis -WSHDC -DHOM/CDMA  
**Subject:** WSHDC-3613 - U.S. National Political Update, Sept. 14, 2016

**U.S. National Political Update, Sept. 14, 2016**

NB: BCC List appended below.  
For Official Use Only

- 1. Trump tries to capitalize on Clinton's sick days**
- 2. Senate leaders set exit plan in motion**
- 3. President Obama to veto 9/11 lawsuit bill**
- 4. Senate set to approve water projects bill**
- 5. [REDACTED]**
- 6. Election Outlook – SEATL/BOSTN Update**

The House and Senate are in session.

**1. Trump tries to capitalize on Clinton's sick days**

Donald Trump this week is looking to take advantage of Hillary Clinton's absence from the campaign trail as the Democratic nominee continues to recover from pneumonia. While mostly refraining from commenting on Clinton's health, Trump has held a number of events this week, most recently in Ohio, where he released a plan to provide six weeks of paid maternity leave for new mothers.

Amid charges that the Clinton campaign should have been more open about her health status, the campaign said that it will release more information on her health later this week. The Trump campaign said that their candidate underwent a physical last week and would reveal the results on the Dr. Oz show on Sept. 14. According to the campaign, Trump's medical information will be released "soon." Clinton is expected to return to the campaign trail on Thursday, Sept. 15.

Clinton's bad week began last Friday when she was criticized for saying half of Trump's supporters were a "basket of deplorables" who were sexists, racists and bigots. Clinton partially walked back the statement saying she regretted generalizing and using the term "half" but went on to criticize Trump: "What is "deplorable," she said, is that Trump "hired a major advocate for the so-called 'alt-right' movement to run his campaign and that David Duke and other white supremacists see him as a champion of their values."

While Trump seems to have picked up a bit of momentum in the past few days, Clinton continues to lead him in the Real Clear Politics polling average by three points. A national poll released on Sept. 11 by the Washington Post/ABC News has Clinton leading by eight points in a head-to-head match with Trump and by five points when the two minor party candidates are included.

**2. Senate leaders set exit plan in motion**

Senate leaders have begun to put in place an exit plan for completing a continuing resolution (CR) to fund the government until after the election and allow members to head back to the campaign trail as early as next week. But as expected, the plan has hit a snag. Negotiators generally agree on the spending level and the length of the CR, but continue to argue over a handful of other provisions, known as anomalies.

The Senate had hoped to pass the CR, which would fund the government through Dec. 9, this week and then force the House to accept the measure or risk causing a government shutdown. However, negotiations have



stalled over additional provisions to prohibit Zika funding in the bill to be given to Planned Parenthood affiliates in Puerto Rico. Democrats want the provision dropped while Republicans are looking to modify the language.

Lawmakers also continue to argue over pesticide spraying regulations related to Zika, the Export-Import Bank, and a provision aimed at blocking the Obama administration from transferring certain government controls on the internet from the U.S. to a global non-profit organization. House conservatives, who originally wanted a six-month CR, are also working to win concessions out of leadership, including provisions to slow or halt admission of refugees from the Middle East and blocking the president from transferring prisoners from Guantanamo Bay to the U.S. mainland.

### **3. President Obama to veto 9/11 lawsuit bill**

President Obama is expected to veto a bill cleared by Congress last week that would allow the families of 9/11 victims to sue Saudi Arabia in U.S. courts. The Obama administration has long expressed its opposition to the bill (S 2040 - the Justice Against Sponsors of Terrorism Act), over concerns that it could harm relations with Saudi Arabia, a key counterterrorism partner, and encourage other countries to allow lawsuits by their citizens against the United States and its allies.

If, as expected, the president vetoes the measure, Congress may decide to try to override his veto. Doing so requires a two-thirds majority of those present and voting in both the House and Senate. The bill was passed by voice vote in both chambers and it is thought there will be enough votes to override the veto. However, it's not clear when veto override votes would occur. The Senate may recess until after the election as early as next week, with the House following shortly. They will only return to Washington for the lame duck session starting on Nov. 14<sup>th</sup>. While there was certainly some political expediency in passing the bill on the eve of the Sept. 11<sup>th</sup> anniversary, it's hard to see the bill garnering the same attention during the lame duck session, when legislators will need to focus on a number of other priorities in the few remaining weeks of the 114<sup>th</sup> Congress, including an omnibus appropriations bill. Any bills not dealt with during this Congress will die, and would need to be re-introduced in the next Congress that will get underway in January 2017.

### **4. Senate set to approve water projects bill**

The Senate could pass a \$10.6 billion water projects bill as soon as Sept. 14 after a managers' package of 40 amendments was approved by voice vote Tuesday. Of particular interest to Canada, there are changes to Buy America requirements that bring the drinking water state revolving funds on par with the clean water state revolving funds. There's also language directing Harbor Maintenance Tax (HMT) reimbursements to eligible ports that are "most at risk of diversion to seaports outside of the United States." WSHDC has been active on Buy America and HMT reforms and will continue to advocate and monitor. The Senate bill also includes \$300 million/year over five years for the Great Lakes Restoration Initiative.

The House Transportation Committee reported out its version of the bill on May 25, but unlike the Senate bill, it does not include aid for Flint, MI and other drinking water infrastructure language.

### **5.**

Both presidential candidates recently completed a science questionnaire put together by Scientific American magazine. Donald Trump's answers made headlines, particularly when he raised the possibility of weaning the U.S. from fossil fuels and endorsing wind and solar power. The magazine, together with ScienceDebate.org, recently asked the presidential candidates a series of questions on science related matters, including their ideas on climate change, agriculture, biodiversity and fisheries, topics seldom covered elsewhere throughout the campaign. Among his answers, Donald Trump mentioned the possibility of weaning the United States from fossil fuels and referred to Canada, the United States and Mexico as "the key energy producers in the world", but also said, "there is still much that needs to be investigated in the field of 'climate change.'" Hillary Clinton, for her part, stayed true to previous sentiments, largely reiterating her policy proposals like the creation of a Water Innovation Lab to develop water efficiency, treatment and reuse solutions, and expanding solar energy development.



## 6. Election Outlook - SEATL/BOSTN Update

Throughout September, the consulates will be contributing to the national political update with information on important races happening in their regions. This will include not only how the presidential race is shaping up in their respective territories, but also how congressional and state races are developing.

**Washington and Oregon** are counted as quite safe for Hillary Clinton, while Alaska and Idaho are seen as similarly safe for Donald Trump. However, there are some notable things about each state's electorate. **Alaska's** very small electorate (300,000 voters in 2012) can create surprises. For example, a reduced turnout among anti-Trump Republicans (Trump lost to Ted Cruz in the primary) coupled with increased turnout among Native Alaskans (generally Democratic) and Alaska's 'independent' voters - a majority in the state - could be enough to flip it. **Idaho's** significant Mormon population (second largest after Utah) has to be seen as a wild card for Trump, despite the reliable conservatism of Idaho voters. Mitt Romney's strong opposition to Trump has likely had traction here and the Mormon vote can be difficult to poll accurately. **Oregon's** very conservative rural areas can also produce surprising results with a large enough turnout, though this would need to be accompanied by a mirror-image reduced turnout among the very liberal voters of the Portland metro area, who are the majority. On the other hand, a solid turnout for incumbent Democratic Governor Kate Brown probably helps keep Oregon safe for Clinton.

**Congressional Races: Sens. Ron Wyden (D-OR) and Patty Murray (D-WA)** are considered among the safest Senate Democrats.

**Sens. Mike Crapo (R-ID) and Lisa Murkowski (R-AK)** are considered similarly safe Senate Republicans, though Murkowski does have to contend with the tricky dynamics of the Alaska electorate and always faces charges from conservatives of being too moderate due to her relatively bipartisan approach to legislating.

There is not expected to be any change in the make-up of the House delegations.

**State Races:** Two incumbent Democratic governors, **Jay Inslee (D-WA) and Kate Brown (D-OR)** are expected to win re-election. Inslee and Brown are strong proponents of clean energy/climate change measures and are working closely with BC, QC and CA on cooperative efforts in this area.

The very narrowly divided **Washington State Legislature** has been in a near-tie situation for much of the last several election cycles with a Democratically-controlled House and a super-slim one or two-vote Republican majority in the Senate. This condition looks likely to continue; with Democrats perhaps eking out a slim Senate majority of their own (and thus control of both Houses and the Governor's office) if there is a strong turnout for Clinton and/or against Trump.

**Ballot Initiatives: Oregon Measure 97** would significantly increase corporate taxes for businesses with annual sales exceeding \$25 million in order to fund education, health care and senior services. The measure has sharply divided the business community and other typical allies. Oregonians widely accept the need to increase revenues (Oregon is among the few states that has no state sales tax) but many feel this is the wrong way to address the problem. Measure 97 support appears to be leading in polls, but revenue-increasing measures of any kind are historically very difficult to pass.

**Washington Initiative 732** would institute "revenue-neutral carbon tax" that is directly modeled on neighboring British Columbia's carbon tax. The measure has split the typically strongly united environmental community, many of whom support the Governor's ongoing effort to pass legislation allowing Washington to join the CA (and QC/ON) cap-and-trade carbon market instead. Backers point out that Washington has failed to achieve this goal despite having initiated the idea of carbon market with CA in 2005. And that the state has now fallen behind its peers (CA, OR, BC, QC) in action on climate change/carbon reduction legislation.



**BOSTN/New England:** Within New England, **New Hampshire** is by far the most important and most uncertain electoral battleground. The Senate race between incumbent Republican Senator Kelly Ayotte and Democratic Governor Maggie Hassan - one of the most costly and widely watched in the country - is too close to call. Even the New Hampshire presidential race has become too close to call in recent days with one poll showing Donald Trump within one percentage point of Hillary Clinton while Clinton leads in the polling average by five points. Clinton is widely expected to win the blue states of **Massachusetts** (26 point lead), **Vermont** and **Rhode Island**. In **Maine**, which has been counted as Democratic in most predictions, Trump hopes to capture an electoral vote in the rural north (Maine is one of two states that allows a split electoral college vote). Alarming for the Dems, recent numbers show Clinton's lead in Maine overall has shrunk to three points. Democrats nationally have to be concerned with this uncertain trend in Democratic-friendly northeast, as it reflects their national worry that Clinton ought to have a larger, firmer lead.

**New Hampshire Presidential Race:** In 2012, Obama beat Romney by six points. In the past week, the polls have narrowed significantly showing Clinton, who had previously enjoyed an 11 point lead, just 1 point ahead of Trump in an NBC News poll of New Hampshire released last weekend. New Hampshire has a history of unpredictability so there is a real possibility that Trump could manage to win the swing state. The Libertarian Party candidate Gary Johnson's relatively high number in that NBC poll (15%) suggests this scenario is possible.

**New Hampshire Senate Race:** The Senate race in New Hampshire between incumbent Republican Kelly Ayotte and Democratic Governor Maggie Hassan is one of the most watched races in the country that could decide control of the Senate. It is also set to become one of the costliest in New Hampshire history with estimates showing that spending could reach \$100 million by Election Day. While New Hampshire is a small state, ads are generally run in the expensive Boston market. Super PACs on both sides have spent tens of millions of dollars on television ads. Despite this, polls show the candidates one and two percentage points apart, but with Ayotte trending up over the past two weeks.

Ayotte is viewed as a strong leader, is very popular in New Hampshire and has deep family roots in the state. Hassan, who grew up in Massachusetts, is thought to have an added advantage given the more Democratic electorate in a presidential election year and New Hampshire's narrow support for Clinton. However, Ayotte has received bipartisan support from voters in the past. With regard to Trump, Ayotte's position has remained "support but do not endorse." The reluctance of multiple Democratic state legislators and Clinton supporters to discount Ayotte's chances or speculate definitively on the outcome of the race demonstrates an uncertainty about Hassan's ability to pull it off. Ayotte is viewed as a strong campaigner, a contrast to the low-key Hassan. It is interesting to note that New Hampshire voters have sent at least one Republican to the U.S. Senate since 1979.

**New Hampshire Gubernatorial Race:** The primary race to replace Governor Maggie Hassan (D) has been one of most contested in recent state history with five Democrats and five Republicans vying for the job. Chris Sununu, son of former Governor and former Bush Chief of Staff John Sununu and the brother of former U.S. Senator John Sununu, is less than a thousand votes ahead of main rival Frank Edelblut with 95% of precincts reporting, which likely means there will be a recount of the Sept. 13 primary results. Sununu has been a vocal supporter of Eversource/Hydro-Quebec's Northern Pass transmission line which has stirred controversy in the state. Edelblut and the Democratic gubernatorial candidate, Colin Van Ostern, are either opposed to Northern Pass, or "approve of the project" but on conditions that range from acceptable (more power for NH) to unworkable (burying 100 pc of the line).

**Vermont Gubernatorial Race:** While **Vermont** currently has an entirely Democratic legislature and Democratic governor, Republican candidate Lt.-Governor Phil Scott has consistently enjoyed high favourability ratings.

The race between Scott and Democrat Sue Minter (former Secretary of Transportation) is shaping up to be closer than previously expected. Vermont has a history of voting for a balance in power by electing Republican governors. Scott, a strong campaigner and popular with voters, is seen as the frontrunner at this point.



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## **Im, Sarah -NGA**

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**Subject:** WSHDC-3625 - U.S. National Political Update, Sept. 21, 2016

### **U.S. National Political Update, Sept. 21, 2016**

NB: BCC List appended below.  
For Official Use Only

- 1. Presidential election close ahead of first debate**
- 2. Government funding deal still elusive**
- 3. President Obama to veto 9/11 lawsuit bill amid Senate hesitation on override**
- 4. House vote on WRDA delayed until lame-duck session**
- 5. Election Outlook - DENVR/ATNTA Update**

The House and Senate are in session.

#### **1. Presidential election close ahead of first debate**

With less than a week before the first presidential debate – expected to be the most-watched debate in U.S. history - the race between Hillary Clinton and Donald Trump remains close. Clinton leads in the Real Clear Politics polling average by just 1.2 points. However, it seems that the momentum Donald Trump appeared to have last week has been slowed or stopped. Clinton has rebounded slightly in national polls although her support is down substantially from early September polls.

Next Monday's 90-minute debate, to be held at Hofstra University in Hempstead, NY, will be moderated by NBC Nightly News anchor Lester Holt, who earlier this week released the debate topics to be discussed: "America's Direction," "Achieving Prosperity," and "Securing America." Significant attention is expected to be paid to national security and anti-terrorism policies in light of last weekend's bombings in New York and New Jersey, and the stabbing attack in St. Cloud, MN.

#### **2. Government funding deal still elusive**

With just 10 days until the start of the new fiscal year, congressional negotiators are still without a deal that would keep the government running after Oct. 1. The Senate decided to move forward Sept. 20 with a procedural vote on the bill that will eventually serve as the vehicle for any continuing resolution (CR). That vote yesterday speeds up the process if and when a deal is reached. Even then, it's possible that the Senate would require several more days to go through all the procedural hoops necessary for final passage. It is possible that the Senate and House will be in session next week; however, there are discussions underway to keep Congress in session this weekend to finish up the CR.

According to reports, there are about 20 outstanding issues remaining. Agreement has been reached on the length of the CR (through Dec. 9) and funding to combat the Zika virus (\$US 1.1 billion). A prohibition on the use of Zika funds by Planned Parenthood in Puerto Rico has been dropped. The final agreement will also contain the \$190 billion Military Construction-Veterans appropriations bill.

Instead of moving ahead with its own version of a CR, the House is waiting on the Senate to pass a bill and send it over. Traditionally the House acts first on appropriations bills but House Republican leadership, unsure of the reception that any short-term CR will get from their conservative wing, is waiting on the Senate with the hope that, under pressure to fund the government and wanting to get out on the campaign trail, the House will act quickly to pass the measure.



### **3. President Obama to veto 9/11 lawsuit bill amid Senate hesitation on override**

President Obama has until midnight Friday to veto a bill that would allow families of the 9/11 terrorist attack victims to sue Saudi Arabia. Once the President issues the veto, as the White House has stated he will do, the House and Senate are expected to vote on a veto override before departing Washington for the campaign trail later this month. A veto override requires a two-thirds majority in both the House and Senate.

Both the House and Senate passed the measure by voice vote but an override vote in the Senate is still expected to be close. The White House is reported to have had some success in convincing some Senators that the bill would weaken the principal of sovereign immunity that protects the United States from being sued in foreign courts. The bill would give U.S. courts jurisdiction to hear private lawsuits alleging a foreign government or its employees knowingly provided direct support to a terrorist organization in carrying out attacks on the United States going back to Sept. 11, 2001. Right now, only nations designated by the State Department as official sponsors of terrorism can be privately sued in federal court by terrorism victims.

The Senate voted (71-27) on Sept. 21 not to proceed to a vote on a joint resolution that would disapprove a \$1.15 billion arms sale to Saudi Arabia.

### **4. House vote on WRDA delayed until lame-duck session**

House leaders announced Sept. 20 that the chamber won't take up the Water Resources Development Act (WRDA) until after the election. There was a hope that a modified version would be brought to the floor under an expedited procedure, but jurisdictional negotiations hit a snag and the bill has now been shelved until the lame-duck session in November.

The \$10.6 billion water projects bill was approved by the Senate last week. Of particular interest to Canada, there are changes to Buy America requirements that bring the drinking water state revolving funds on par with the clean water state revolving funds. There's also language directing Harbor Maintenance Tax (HMT) reimbursements to eligible ports that are "most at risk of diversion to seaports outside of the United States." The Senate bill also includes \$300 million/year over five years for the Great Lakes Restoration Initiative.

The House Transportation Committee reported out its version of the bill on May 25, but unlike the Senate bill, does not include drinking water infrastructure language.

### **5. Election Outlook - DENVR/ATNTA Update**

Throughout September, the consulates will be contributing to the national political update with information on important races happening in their regions. This will include not only how the presidential race is shaping up in their respective territories, but also how congressional and state races are developing.

#### **The Mountain West**

**Presidential:** As is the case across the United States, 2016 is shaping up to be an unusual election year in the Mountain West region. Considered a key battleground state in the last several elections, Colorado's swing state status has tapered over the last several months. Although Donald Trump has made some recent gains in polls, Hillary Clinton has maintained a healthy lead over Trump, to the point that Democrats have dramatically reduced advertising, personnel and resources in the state. Some of those resources may have shifted to Colorado's western neighbor, Utah, where there has been some speculation the state could be in play. Trump's unpopularity among Mormons, most notably in Utah where 60% of the population is Mormon, has caused a dramatic shift in party affiliation. A survey released by The Pew Research Center earlier this month found that 48% of Mormon registered voters now describe themselves as Republican — down from 61% four years ago when Mitt Romney, a Mormon himself, was the party's presidential nominee. If Utah were to flip, this would be the first time a Democrat won the solidly conservative state since Lyndon Johnson in 1964. While it's

still the longest of longshots that the Republicans would lose Utah, the simple fact the state could be in play is remarkable. Trump, however, is expected to easily win **Kansas, Wyoming and Montana**.

**Senate:** The three Senate incumbents up for re-election in the region – Sens. **Michael Bennet (D-CO)**, **Mike Lee (R-UT)**, and **Jerry Moran (R-KS)** - are expected to easily win re-election. Analysts originally believed that Bennet would have a tough re-election campaign, but the state Republican Party struggled to field a respectable candidate to take on Bennet and continues to have problems building momentum and enthusiasm in the race. Bennet currently leads by an average of 13 points.

**House of Representatives:** Colorado's "blue" shift could have a favorable effect for Democrats in several House races this election cycle. Republicans currently hold four of the seven U.S. House seats in the state; two of those seats were narrowly held last election by incumbent Congressmen **Mike Coffman (CD-6)** and **Scott Tipton (CD-3)**. This year, both are being challenged by high-profile women politicians (both former state legislators), who are hoping to capitalize on anticipated high presidential turn-out and a general enthusiasm for female candidates in these competitive districts.

**Wyoming** will likely elect **Liz Cheney (R)**, daughter of former Vice President Dick Cheney, to replace the retiring **Cynthia Lummis (R)**. **Democrat Doug Owens**, could potentially win **UT-4**, the state's only competitive district, currently held by Republican **Mia Love**. All other incumbents throughout region are expected to be re-elected.

**Gubernatorial:** Two governors—**Montana Gov. Steve Bullock (D)** and **Utah Gov. Gary Herbert (R)**—are up for re-election. Both incumbents enjoy high favourability in the state and are expected to win, though Bullock's win is expected to be narrow.

**Colorado Governor John Hickenlooper,**

Hickenlooper, re-elected to a second term in 2014, was most recently on the short list for Vice President, and his close ties to Clinton transition team leader Ken Salazar (who formerly served as Colorado's senior Senator and Secretary of Interior under President Obama) position the governor well for a Cabinet appointment.

**State-level:** With 18 seats out of the chamber's 35 seats up for election, Republican's current one-seat advantage in **Colorado's Senate** could be in jeopardy. If Democrats are able to take control, they will hold both chambers of the legislature and the governorship.

**Kansas'** state primary in August resulted in 12 incumbent, hardline conservative lawmakers at the state and federal level losing their primary challenge to more moderate Republicans. The most notable losses are that of Tea Party-aligned Congressman **Tim Huelskamp (KS-1)** and Kansas Senate Majority Leader **Terry Bruce**. At the state level, the Senate and House members who lost their seats were all conservative allies of Gov. **Sam Brownback**. While the wave won't unlock the statehouse doors for Democrats, who are dramatically outnumbered in both House and Senate, the primaries signal growing frustration with the Governor's unbreakable commitment to trickle-down economic policies that have left Kansas so insolvent it can't pay for a basic public education system. The change will be most sweeping in the 40-seat Senate, where there are currently four Republicans for every Democrat. A full quarter of seats there will be filled with more moderate Republicans next year.

In a broader sense, Kansas' primary election could be an early signal for things yet to come in U.S. political trends. Kansas is a deeply Republican state, and conservative trends often manifest here before spreading throughout the nation. The state was among the first to embrace the Tea Party movement and elect far-right lawmakers to office. The election of a dozen moderates over more conservative incumbents may signal the beginning of a backlash against hardline lawmakers and a growing preference for more balanced policymaking.



s.21(1)(a)

s.15(1) - International

s.21(1)(b)

## Atlanta (ATNTA)

**Presidential ballot:** ATNTA's six states (Alabama, Georgia, Mississippi, North Carolina, South Carolina, and Tennessee) will have a total of 66 Electoral College votes in 2016.

### North Carolina

presents a complex picture (see below) and is essentially tied between Clinton and Trump at the time of writing.

**Congressional races:** The four open House seats in the region are all in reliably Republican districts and no seats are expected to change hands. Four Republican senators are up for re-election: Tim Scott (SC), Richard Shelby (AL), Johnny Isakson (GA) and Richard Burr (NC). Scott and Shelby have comfortable leads and Isakson is running better than Trump in Georgia polls and more than ten points ahead of his less well-known Democratic opponent. The Senate race in North Carolina has become more interesting. Burr currently leads by an average of 2.3 points but the most recent poll has his Democratic opponent Deborah Ross up by one point. State level politics and the unpopularity of Gov. Pat McCrory could have a down-ballot effect in the state on Election Day.

**State-level races:** All state legislatures are currently controlled by the Republicans and we do not expect this to change.

**Will North Carolina swing?** Much attention is focused this year on the swing state of North Carolina. President Obama narrowly won the state in 2008 but lost to Mitt Romney here in 2012. However, the state's demographics are gradually changing – increasing urban population; over 50% of residents born outside North Carolina; the coming of age of the millennials. Another factor is the anger of younger, educated, urban women at the damage done to the state's reputation by House Bill 2 affecting the rights of LGBTQ people. One respected North Carolina analyst said he thought that the incumbent McCrory was bearing the brunt of this, but if this demographic turns out strongly in November it could also affect the presidential and Senate ballots. The presidential and gubernatorial votes in the state are too close to call: Clinton leads Trump by less than one per cent and Governor McCrory leads the Democratic Attorney General Roy Cooper by two per cent, both less than the statistical margin of error. With Trump doing better in other states that President Obama won in 2012 (notably Ohio), North Carolina has become more important to Clinton's Electoral College victory map.

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Canada

## Im, Sarah -NGA

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**From:** Zupans, Katherine -WSHDC -EN  
**Sent:** August-12-16 4:31 PM  
**To:** Benjamin, Martin -NGD; 'Jacovella, France'; Leclerc, Caroline -MSD; 'Leyburne, Drew'; Nickel, Jim -NND; 'Pearson, Mark'; 'Soni, Shannon-Marie'; 'Stewart, Catherine'  
**Subject:** WSHDC-3528 - WSHDC Climate Change, Energy and Environment Update - August 12, 2016

**Weekly Reports are now available on the GCPedia site at**  
[http://www.gcpedia.gc.ca/wiki/WSHDC\\_EN\\_Weekly\\_Reports](http://www.gcpedia.gc.ca/wiki/WSHDC_EN_Weekly_Reports)

**NB: BCC list appended below**  
WSHDC-EN would be pleased to provide additional information or context for any of the items set out below.

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### Issues Summary

#### CLIMATE CHANGE

Republican EPA Chiefs Endorses Clinton  
Court Rules for DOE, Upholding Obama's Social Cost of Carbon  
Clinton Vows to Make U.S. 'Clean Energy Superpower', Stresses Climate Action as Core Pillar of Economic Strategy

#### ENVIRONMENT ISSUES

MMPA Seafood Import Rule Finalized

#### ENERGY

EPA Fracking and Water Report  
Oil Pipelines/TransCanada KXL  
Chevron Lawsuit  
Coal Self-Bonding  
Massachusetts Adopts Law Requiring Large Scale, Long-Term Hydro Contracts

#### THIS WEEK'S E & E TWEETS ON CONNECT2CANADA

<https://twitter.com/#!/connect2canada>

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### CLIMATE CHANGE

#### Republican EPA Chiefs Endorses Clinton

On August 9, former Nixon and Reagan EPA Administrator William Ruckelshaus and former George H.W. Bush EPA Administrator William Reilly both endorsed Hillary Clinton for president, criticizing Donald Trump for his "profound ignorance of science." The two men criticized Trump for failing to accept the warnings on climate change from scientists and threatening to "cancel" the Paris climate deal. "To back away now, as Trump wants to do, would set the world back decades - years we could never recover. The young people in this country deserve far better than that as our legacy." Ruckelshaus and Reilly are unusual in the GOP for their acceptance of and concern about climate change. But other Republican heavyweights have joined them in their preference for Clinton over Trump, including Brent Scowcroft, Meg Whitman, Richard Armitage, and Henry Paulson. Former George W. Bush EPA chief Christine Todd Whitman said Clinton was "more stable" than Trump, but hasn't endorsed anyone in the race.

#### Court Rules for DOE, Upholding Obama's Social Cost of Carbon

A federal court ruled on August 8 for the first time on the legality of the Obama Administration's estimated social cost of carbon (SCC). The 7th U.S. Circuit Court of Appeals upheld the Department of Energy's use of the metric in its analysis of standards for commercial refrigeration equipment. The court upheld DOE's rules in their entirety against industry challenges. "We conclude that DOE acted in a manner worthy of our deference," Senior Judge Kenneth Ripple, who was appointed by President Reagan, wrote in the opinion. DOE issued the two rules in 2014. One of the rules set energy efficiency standards for 49 classes of commercial refrigeration equipment, while the other stipulated test procedures for the standards. The industry entities questioned DOE's use of the social cost of carbon, a metric that represents the long-



term economic damage to society. Federal agencies formed a working group in 2009 to establish the social cost of carbon and revised the estimate in 2015 to \$36 per metric ton of CO<sub>2</sub>. That cost will rise to \$50 a metric ton in 2030 and \$69 a metric ton in 2050. Industry had questioned DOE's statutory authority to use the estimates to quantify benefits of the efficiency rule.

Republican foes of the social cost of carbon have raised similar arguments for years, particularly in reference to how EPA has used the metric to assess rule costs and benefits. DOE can consider the social cost of carbon under the Energy Policy and Conservation Act, the 7th Circuit ruled. The department was reasonable in considering global climate benefits when it calculated national regulatory costs, Ripple said.

### **Clinton Vows to Make U.S. 'Clean Energy Superpower', Stresses Climate Action as Core Pillar of Economic Strategy**

On August 11, citing the potential to create millions of jobs and drawing contrasts to her Republican opponent, Democratic presidential nominee Hillary Clinton called for making the U.S. the global leader in clean energy. In an economic address in Warren, Michigan, Clinton said "some country is going to be the clean energy superpower of the 21st century and create millions of jobs and businesses. It's probably going to be either China, Germany or America. I want it to be us." Clinton, whose remarks offered no new policy prescriptions, wanted to rebut a recent economy-focused address by Republican nominee Donald Trump. She said the wealthy real-estate developer has offered "no credible plans" for creating a clean energy future. Clinton renewed her calls for investing heavily in modernizing the nation's infrastructure, saying it would create millions of new jobs.

Amanda Renteria, Clinton's campaign's political director, said that combating climate change with investment in renewable power is a main part of Hillary Clinton's economic platform. "When you think about her economic message, this is one of the key drivers to that, so it's one of the four pillars or five pillars that she's talked about... what we've seen across the board and as she's traveled in Iowa and Pennsylvania is you have wind turbines, you have this opportunity in manufacturing in clean energy. That's why it's a big deal. At the end of the day, it's going to lead to more jobs."

Climate change is also one of several issues essential to gaining the support of millennials, as well as Democrats who supported Vermont Senator Bernie Sanders, she noted after speaking during a breakfast at a summit of the National Conference of State Legislatures. On August 8, Republican presidential nominee Donald Trump released his own economic blueprint, in which he argued he would create "vast new wealth" by expanding oil and gas production and revitalizing the coal industry in the U.S. Renteria called Trump's plan "opposite to anything our party believes in."

## **ENVIRONMENTAL ISSUES**

### **MMPA Seafood Import Rule Finalized**

On August 12, the National Marine Fisheries Service published its final rule implementing a provision of the Marine Mammal Protection Act (MMPA) that requires imported seafood to adhere to marine mammal bycatch standards that are "comparable" to U.S. standards. A notable change from the proposed rule is that fish oil, slurry, sauces, sticks, balls, cakes, pudding and other highly processed fish products are no longer exempt from the bycatch standards. Some comments and responses have particular relevance to Canada. Comment 49 (pp.93-97, 142) deals specifically with reimports of Maine lobster from Canada. Comment 65 (pp. 118-21) raises concerns about potential impacts on supply chains and the answer notes that Canada is a major supplier of salmon. The standards go into effect in 2022. NMFS also expects to finalize its imported seafood traceability rule this fall.

## **ENERGY**

### **EPA Fracking and Water Report**

On August 11, EPA's Science Advisory Board (SAB) provided its comments on EPA's draft report, Assessment of the Potential Impacts of Hydraulic Fracturing for Oil and Gas on Drinking Water Resources. The SAB wrote that the draft report did not substantiate its preliminary conclusion that fracking does not pose "widespread, systemic" risks to drinking water. The SAB recommended that EPA revise the fracking report "to clearly link these statements to evidence provided in the body of the final Assessment Report". EPA released the draft report in June 2015. It has since been undergoing peer review.

### **Oil Pipelines/TransCanada KXL**

On August 8, Republican presidential candidate Donald Trump gave an economic speech in Detroit which called for energy reform given as "unleash an energy revolution" to embrace all domestic production including all fossil

fuels. Trump did not reiterate that his Administration would approve KXL. However, along with the speech, the campaign released a statement, Unleashing America's Prosperity to Create Jobs and Increase Wages. Under Energy Reform, the statement says, "Ask TransCanada to renew its permit application for the Keystone pipeline."

### **Chevron Lawsuit**

On August 8, the U.S. Second Circuit Court of Appeals upheld the lower District Court's March 2014 ruling that an Ecuadorian court judgement against Chevron was fraudulently obtained and therefore cannot be enforced in the U.S. In 2011, an Ecuadorean court issued an \$18 billion ruling against Chevron arising from pollution charges; the damages were eventually reduced to \$9.5 billion. With no assets in Ecuador, the plaintiffs and their lawyer have attempted to enforce judgement in the U.S., Chevron's corporate headquarters, and in other jurisdictions where Chevron has assets, notably Canada. The U.S. court decisions were as a result of a lawsuit by Chevron claiming that the U.S. attorney, Steven Donziger, who pursued the Ecuadorian case, did so fraudulently. Chevron issued a statement. In 2013, the plaintiffs filed in Ontario where Chevron's Canadian companies are incorporated. In May 2013, the Ontario Superior Court stayed indefinitely enforcing the judgement in Canada, without hearing the merits of the case. In December 2013, the Ontario Court of Appeals undid the indefinite stay, but granted no relief, deciding that the plaintiffs were entitled to have their case for enforcement in Canada adjudicated. In September 2015, the Supreme Court of Canada ruled that the plaintiffs were entitled to have their case for enforcement adjudicated in Ontario. The Ontario court case is scheduled to start the week of September 12.

### **Coal Self-Bonding**

On August 9, the Department of Interior's Office of Surface Mining Reclamation and Enforcement (OSMRE) issued a policy advisory on reclamation bonds, which coal companies are required to obtain to assure post production land remediation. The advisory is specific to self-bonding where a coal company gives a legally binding corporate promise to fund remediation without separate surety or collateral normally associated with a bond. Self-bonding is available only to coal producers who meet certain financial tests. Because of the changes in the coal market and the high degree of financial distress including bankruptcies among producers, the OSMRE advisory calls upon states to end allowing self-bonding until coal production and consumption reach equilibrium, which is unlikely until at least 2021, to not allow new companies to self-bond for five years, and to assess whether companies that currently self-bonded remain eligible per the required financial tests.

### **Massachusetts Adopts Law Requiring Large Scale, Long-Term Hydro Contracts**

As reported by BOSTN, on August 8 Massachusetts Governor Charlie Baker signed an energy diversity law that requires, among other things, utilities to solicit and contract for large scale, long-term clean energy through hydro (1200 MW) and off-shore wind (1600 MW). The law aims to reduce energy costs, strengthen clean energy economy and help meet GHG reduction goals. Milestone achieves multiple Canadian objectives: expands market for hydro via legislation, which will be worth hundreds of millions of dollars per year; helps MA achieve clean energy and climate change goals, and improve competitiveness; strengthens Quebec/Eastern Canada-New England energy, trade and economic ties; and, provides an immediate example of progress aligned with the June 29 NALS statement on climate, clean energy and environment. Next critical milestones: a) distribution companies must solicit proposals by April 1, 2017 for 1200 MW of hydro and other renewables, to which Canadian companies and U.S. partners will respond; and, b) various transmission infrastructure projects between Quebec/Eastern Canada and New England must move towards final permitting and construction. Latter is a significant challenge.

### **THIS WEEK'S E & E TWEETS ON CONNECT2CANADA**

**August 9:** Join @ec\_minister McKenna in pledging to protect the #birds! <http://ow.ly/LFOe3034eN1> (via @environmentca) #BirdYear

#### **August 10:**

Nominate Canada's next @UNESCO #WorldHeritage site! Learn more: <http://www.cbc.ca/1.3711967> Submit an application: <http://www.pc.gc.ca/eng/progs/spm-whs/sec06/a.aspx> ...

Celebrate 100 years of CAN-US #BirdConservation! Download the #BirdYear pledge & help "take birds under your wing". <http://bit.ly/2auSs6x>

#### **August 11:**

@NCC CNC is bringing the @google trekker to more than a dozen of its flagship sites across Canada. <http://www.theglobeandmail.com/news/national/these-pei-bay-of-fundy-attractions-are-coming-soon-to-google-streetview/article31328528/> ... #StreetView



Join @ec\_minister McKenna in pledging to protect the #birds! <http://ow.ly/LFOe3034eN1> (via @environmentca)  
#BirdYear

## HEARINGS

The House and Senate are in summer recess, returning September 6.

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**Sent:** September-16-16 4:22 PM  
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**Subject:** WSHDC-3617 - WSHDC Climate Change, Energy and Environment Update - September 16, 2016

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**NB: BCC list appended below**

WSHDC-EN would be pleased to provide additional information or context for any of the items set out below.

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### Issues Summary

#### CLIMATE CHANGE

White House Adds Methane and NO2 to Social Cost of Carbon Tool  
Presidential Candidates Respond to Science Questions  
Trump Speech to NY Economic Club  
Murky Methane Findings Complicate Obama's Regulatory Plan  
House Republicans Express 'Serious Concerns' About HFC Phaseout  
More Than 80% of Americans Support U.S. Climate Goals  
Little-Noticed Rule Could Press Firms to Acknowledge Warming  
White House Strengthens Effort to Shape Behavior on Climate  
Washington State Adopts 'Unique' Carbon-Capping Rule

#### ENVIRONMENT ISSUES

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#### ENERGY

Consent-Based Siting for Nuclear  
N.Y. Issues Plan to Speed Offshore Wind Development

#### THIS WEEK'S E & E TWEETS ON CONNECT2CANADA

<https://twitter.com/#!/connect2canada>

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### CLIMATE CHANGE

#### White House Adds Methane and NO2 to Social Cost of Carbon Tool

On August 26, a 12-member interagency working group published an addendum to the Administration's social cost of carbon adding two additional GHGs. It puts the cost of methane at between \$870 per ton in 2010 and \$2,500 per ton in 2050. The cost of nitrous oxides is \$12,000 per ton in 2010 and \$27,000 per ton in 2050. The social cost of carbon tool was developed in 2010 and updated in 2013 to account for the costs incurred by GHG emissions and to calculate benefits of GHG regulations. The new addendum would support cost benefit analysis for future regulations such as existing source methane regulations for the oil and gas sector under the Clean Air Act.



## **Presidential Candidates Respond to Science Questions**

Scientific American sent 20 science questions to the four presidential candidates, receiving responses so far from Hillary Clinton, Donald Trump and Jill Stein. All candidates agreed to direct new funding to research, though responses to climate science ranged more widely. Trump did not reject the science of climate change, suggesting instead that the research is incomplete and perhaps less important than expanding access to clean drinking water. His comments marked a soft pivot away from his claims earlier this year that climate change is a hoax. Green Party Candidate Stein called climate change the "greatest existential threat". Clinton's response indicated the science was clear and climate change is an urgent threat with effects felt in the U.S. and around the world.

On energy, Clinton reiterated her plan to have half of all electricity from clean sources within the first term, as well as reducing oil consumption through efficiency increases. Her response also referenced the Paris climate change agreement and a general reference to cutting methane emissions from new and existing sources. Trump highlighted the goal of energy independence through all energy sources, noting that a market system in North America would lead to a "safer, more productive and more prosperous world", specifically recognizing Canada and Mexico in this context. He also highlighted the need to develop energy sources and power production that could alleviate the need for fossil fuels, more embracing alternatives. Both candidates noted that nuclear power was a valuable and key source of energy moving forward, though neither mentioned the challenges with waste disposal. On water, Trump focused on infrastructure, as well as singled out the need to make desalinization more affordable, especially for the agriculture industry water needs. Clinton focused on the need to have clean water for all communities, invest in infrastructure, and increase resilience to climate change effects. Questions also revolved around immigration, the openness of the internet, mental health, education, and public health, among other areas.

## **Trump Speech to NY Economic Club**

In a speech focused on economic policy on September 15, Republican presidential candidate Donald Trump reiterated his proposals to repeal the Environmental Protection Agency's Clean Power Plan and the Waters of the U.S. Rule. Trump also discussed his policies that would lift restrictions on fossil fuel production on federal lands. An initial fact sheet that accompanied the speech appeared to indicate that Trump was backing down on his previous pledges to protect the Renewable Fuel Standard, but his campaign re-issued the fact sheet later in the day without mention of renewable identification numbers.

## **Murky Methane Findings Complicate Obama's Regulatory Plan**

The jury is still out on the culprit behind the recent increase in global methane emissions. A new study published on September 12 found that fossil fuel production has emitted significantly more of the potent GHG since 2000 and could account for much of the unexplained uptick in global atmospheric methane since 2007. That is an opposite finding from other recent research, which has blamed sources like agriculture, animal husbandry and wetlands instead. Andrew Rice, a researcher at Portland State University and lead author of the research published in *Proceedings of the National Academy of Sciences* said "what's going on in the gas and oil sector has been the big question with methane... It's not settled, but we give some new pieces to the puzzle." EPA is preparing rules to curb methane leaks from existing oil and gas sources, pointing to its data that show increasing methane emissions from fossil fuel extraction points in the U.S. Scientists around the world have been trying to figure out whether oil and gas production, particularly a boom in the U.S., could be responsible for the global rise in methane.

## **House Republicans Express 'Serious Concerns' About HFC Phaseout**

On September 13, top Republicans on the House Energy and Commerce Committee and Small Business Committee raised concerns to U.S. EPA Administrator Gina McCarthy about efforts to curtail hydrofluorocarbons that have a high global warming potential. In a letter, Energy and Power Subcommittee Vice Chairman Pete Olson (R-TX) and Representative Steve Chabot (R-OH), who holds the gavel on the Small Business Committee, requested information related to the legality, cost and feasibility of the agency's proposed rules for phasing out HFC-containing refrigerants. Olson and Chabot wrote that "we have serious concerns about this rule's impact on American businesses and consumers, and we also believe that it exceeds the agency's statutory authority by establishing a new and expansive global warming program never intended by Congress," adding that "these proposed regulations could have a chilling effect, and not the kind you want, on manufacturers and consumers alike." EPA last year finalized a rule to phase out the use of HFCs for air conditioning and refrigeration. Another proposed regulation incorporates what was seen as an unprecedented agreement between industry and environmentalists to eliminate HFCs on a timeline that manufacturers have since suggested might be difficult to meet.

## **More Than 80% of Americans Support U.S. Climate Goals**

According to an Associated Press and University of Chicago poll released on September 14, a strong majority of Americans think the U.S. should meet its obligations under the Paris climate agreement, though they doubt nations abroad will uphold their end of the bargain. The survey found hardly any of those polled think China and India will follow through on their pledges from Paris to reduce carbon emissions — at just 7 and 6%, respectively. Trevor Tompson,



director of the AP-NORC Center for Public Affairs Research, said "while climate change has in the past eight years become an increasingly divisive issue in American politics, we do find widespread agreement that the U.S. should be a leader on this issue globally." Still, the poll found Americans aren't confident the U.S. will meet its Paris commitments. Only 25% said they believe that will happen. Asked if climate change is a "problem the government should address," 84% of Democrats, 55% of independents and 43% of Republicans agreed. Those results follow the trends of other polling on climate. In April, a Pew Research Center poll found 68% of Democrats and 20% of Republicans agreed that "global climate change is a very serious problem."

#### **Little-Noticed Rule Could Press Firms to Acknowledge Warming**

The U.S. government is the world's biggest buyer of supplies and services, with a \$450 billion annual budget. Soon, federal contractors might have to talk about climate change to get a piece of that pie. The Department of Defense, the General Services Administration and NASA proposed a rule in May that would compel suppliers of all federal agencies to say whether or not they publicly disclose their GHG emissions and their goals to cut them. The rule would also require them to list the website where those strategies are made public. "This proposed rule asks no more than what private companies could ask of their vendors," Jim Bruce, chief energy policy officer at UPS Inc., wrote in a letter supporting the rule. UPS was one of 17 organizations and people to comment on the proposal, which has gone largely unnoticed. Critics view the proposal as a progression of regulations requiring companies of all kinds to acknowledge the presence of climate change and to do something about it. Some also see a subtle threat. If a company doesn't count its emissions, it might be less competitive when seeking lucrative federal contracts. Even supporters see it as a sign of growing green expectations. The disclosure rule proposed in May would apply to companies that received \$7.5 million or more in federal contracts in the previous financial year. It would cover about 5,500 companies, including 2,700 small businesses, federal officials said. All told, those figures represent roughly 3.5% of all businesses and 2.6% of small businesses that contracted with the government in fiscal 2015. It's unclear when the rule will be finalized.

#### **White House Strengthens Effort to Shape Behavior on Climate**

The White House wants to change how Americans think and act about climate change, using the latest research in behavioral science. President Obama signed an executive order on September 15 to make the Social and Behavioral Sciences Team (SBST) a permanent fixture. The research unit helps make government programs easier to use and comes up with ways to advance the Administration's agenda in several areas, including climate change. Obama said in a press release "adopting the insights of behavioral science will help bring our government into the 21st century in a wide range of ways — from delivering services more efficiently and effectively; to accelerating the transition to a clean energy economy; to helping workers find better jobs, gain access to educational opportunity, and lead longer, healthier lives." Over the past year, SBST has tested different methods for conveying the scale of climate change to the general public. Researchers used online surveys to see how people understood different climate change metrics like GHG levels. Using the results, the team designed simpler graphs to illustrate warming trends. The research unit also looked at ways to encourage people to spring for cleaner energy. Many utilities offer customers the choice to source their electricity from cleaner sources like renewables, sometimes with a surcharge, but only about 700,000 customers across the U.S. have selected this option.

#### **Washington State Adopts 'Unique' Carbon-Capping Rule**

On September 15, Washington state regulators adopted a climate change measure unlike any other in the country. The Clean Air Rule is intended to reduce the state's emissions to 1990 levels by the end of the decade and 25% below that by 2035. Rather than one economy-wide carbon cap, the rule subjects the state's 24 largest emitters to individual caps that decline by 5% every three years. "Our approach is the first of its kind in our country," said state Department of Ecology Director Maia Bellon. "We are using the state's Clean Air Act to limit carbon pollution. It's a unique approach that provides flexibility for our businesses to trade independently amongst themselves and with other markets." Bellon said the state under Governor Jay Inslee (D) had originally wanted to pursue a traditional cap-and-trade program but could not get authorization from state lawmakers. Under Washington's program, in-state sources that emit more than 100,000 tons per year of carbon must demonstrate a 1.7% annual average emissions reduction every three years. The 100,000-ton threshold will decrease by 5,000 tons every three years until 2035. To achieve the reductions, businesses will be allowed to trade credits among themselves, fund emissions reductions in uncovered sectors of the economy and also buy credits from other qualified programs, potentially including California's economy-wide cap-and-trade market. The plan, which takes effect next month, envisions regulating in-state power plants until and unless the federal Clean Power Plan for existing power plants comes into effect. A Department of Ecology official said it wouldn't affect the state's targets significantly if the power plants were regulated by one plan or the other.



## ENVIRONMENTAL ISSUES

### **ENGOS Prepare to Sue NOAA over ESA violations for Marine Mammal Entanglements in West Coast Fisheries**

On September 12, the Center for Biological Diversity and Turtle Island Restoration Network notified NOAA of plans to sue over alleged violations of the Endangered Species Act and Marine Mammal Protection Act related to the California drift gillnet fishery and the California/Oregon/Washington Sablefish pot fishery. The groups note the high incidence of sperm whale mortality in the gillnet fishery (16 in 2010) as an example of NOAA's failure to ensure the fishery does not jeopardize endangered sperm whales, North Pacific Ocean loggerhead sea turtles and leatherback sea turtles.

### **Our Oceans Conference**

Secretary Kerry hosted the third Our Ocean Conference at the Department of State in Washington, DC on September 15-16. State noted that the conference included more than 100 new commitments by a variety of stakeholders. President Obama last month expanded the Papahānaumokuākea marine protected area in Hawaii, and on September 14, the White House announced the designation of another marine national monument, the first in the Atlantic, off the coast of Cape Cod in Massachusetts that will preclude activities like commercial fishing and deep-sea mining in an additional 4,913 square miles. Canada was represented at the conference by Parliamentary Secretary Serge Cormier and DFO DM Blewett who also had bilateral meetings with NOAA Administrator Sullivan and Assistant Secretary of State Garber.

### **Continuing Resolution Contains Pesticide Rider**

As the U.S. Congress debates a spending bill to keep the government open past the September 30 deadline and through, at least, the federal elections on November 8, multiple environmental groups raised concerns about a policy rider included in the short-term spending bill. The rider would exempt pesticides sprayed to prevent the spread of the Zika virus via mosquitos from certain reporting requirements under the Clean Water Act. The House tried to attach such a rider in its original Zika aid bill, which the Senate rejected (ref: WSHDC-3421).

### **Frankenfish Features in Alaska Senate Race**

In a new ad, Senator Lisa Murkowski (R-AK) stars with Chef Jeff who promotes Alaskan salmon while applauding the Senator for her opposition to "frankenfish." Chef Jeff, based out of Fairbanks, Alaska, calls the frankenfish "disgusting" and questions why anyone would accept "fish made in a lab." The term refers to genetically-engineered salmon, whose eggs are produced in Prince Edward Island and approved by the U.S. Food and Drug Administration for human consumption in November 2015 (ref: WSHDC-2806)

### **Toxic Algae in Lake Erie Now Being Analyzed in Near Real-Time**

The National Oceanic and Atmospheric Administration (NOAA), along with the University of Michigan, deployed a system in western Lake Erie near the Toledo, Ohio, water intake that allows for near real-time monitoring of harmful algal blooms and their toxins. These toxins prevented approximately half a million people from drinking their tap water in August 2014 for nearly three days. The system, known as an Environmental Sample Processor (ESP), works like a "lab in a can," directly collecting and processing water samples instead of scientists having to collect the samples, take them to a lab, and then realize the results. The results will be posted on NOAA's website. The increased monitoring comes after Canada and the U.S., along with the Province of Ontario and the states of Michigan and Ohio separately, agreed to reduce the amount of phosphorus entering western Lake Erie and driving harmful algal blooms.

### **Microplastics Widespread in Great Lakes Tributaries**

A U.S. Geological Survey report, published on September 15, suggests microplastics are prevalent throughout 29 main Great Lakes tributaries, representing 22% of the total river water flow into the Great Lakes. Researchers looked at tributaries in Minnesota, Wisconsin, Indiana, Michigan, Ohio and New York. The study showed the highest concentration of microplastics coming from the Huron River at Ann Arbor, Michigan, with high levels also detected in the Buffalo River (Buffalo, New York), the Ashtabula River (Ashtabula, Ohio), and the Clinton River (Mt. Clemens, Michigan). Though urban watersheds had the highest concentrations, microplastics were also present in forested and agricultural area streams. The U.S. Congress passed a bill banning the use of microplastics in products (ref: WSHDC-2907).

### **Water Resources Bill Includes Great Lakes Environmental Priorities**

The Senate passed its version of the Water Resources Development Act on September 15, with a vote of 94-3. The highly-bipartisan bill included authorization for the Great Lakes Restoration Initiative through FY2020, as well as reaffirming a growing budget for harbor and waterway maintenance. The bill also establishes a Great Lakes Algal Bloom Coordinator and requests a study on the options to modernize the Saint Lawrence Seaway transportation corridor. The bill also includes funding to help Flint, Michigan, address its drinking water infrastructure after ongoing struggles with lead contamination. The House has yet to pass its own bill, which is a much smaller version and does not contain the environmental provisions.



## **Senate Passes Wildlife Trafficking Bill Ahead of CITES**

Ahead of the Convention on International Trade in Endangered Species (CITES) Conference in late September, the U.S. Senate passed the Eliminate, Neutralize, and Disrupt Wildlife Trafficking Act (H.R. 2494), which calls for new programs at the Department of State and the U.S. Agency for International Development to improve foreign law enforcement and reducing demand for products. The bill would also require an annual report designating countries that are major sources, transit points, or consumers of wildlife trafficking products. Specific "countries of concern" would be those whose government engaged in or knowingly profited from wildlife trafficking. Notably, the Senate removed the House-passed increases in penalties that would make them equivalent to weapons and drug trafficking. The House would have to repass the Senate version or negotiate some sort of compromise language for both Chambers to pass, before sending it to the President for his signature.

## **ENERGY**

### **Consent-Based Siting for Nuclear**

On September 15, DOE held its last in a series of public meetings on how to develop a "consent-based" siting process for nuclear waste sites. The DOE process is at the stage of collecting info about how a "consent-based" siting process should be created, but not actually creating one. DOE plans to conduct the consent-based siting process in multiple phases by first engaging with the public, secondly designing a process to serve as a flexible framework for host communities and, finally, using the resulting consent-based siting process with potential host communities. DOE released an 84-page draft document summarizing the comments that came in so far. DOE is soliciting comments on the draft report through October 30. They intend to issue a final version of the summary document in December 2016.

### **N.Y. Issues Plan to Speed Offshore Wind Development**

New York state officials announced on September 16 an Offshore Wind Blueprint laying out plans to accelerate commercial wind power off the south shore of Long Island and New York City. The New York State Energy Research and Development Authority (NYSERDA) will lead the state's effort to create offshore wind energy resources in a 16,740-square-mile area 12 miles offshore. NYSERDA will compete in an auction for development rights that the Department of the Interior's Bureau of Ocean Energy Management (BOEM) plans to hold by the end of this year. Several private wind farm developers have also declared preliminary interest in bidding. If NYSERDA is successful in the auction, it will undertake site assessments, environmental and economic impact analysis and grid interconnection studies, leading to a competitive selection of a project developer, the agency said. The wind farm's energy would be sold through a power purchase agreement. A detailed master plan is expected to be ready by the end of 2017, according to the state. Wind power projects off Long Island are a key element of Governor Andrew Cuomo's (D) campaign to have New York get 50% of its electric power from renewable energy sources by 2030.

## **THIS WEEK'S E & E TWEETS ON CONNECT2CANADA**

**September 15:** Have questions about #MigratoryBirds? Tweet @environmentca 1PM-3PM EST today using #BirdYearCan!

## **UPCOMING EVENTS / VISITS**

September 20-21: **Dan McDougall**, Assistant Deputy Minister Strategic Policy Branch at ECCC will visit Washington to participate on a Panel on 2050 GHG reduction strategy organized by E3G, and meetings with the Administration.

September 21-22: **Frank Des Rosiers**, ADM Innovation and Energy Technologies Sector, NRCan, to participate on panel during NA Energy Forum at Canada Institute of Woodrow Wilson Center, and meetings with the Administration.

## **HEARINGS**

### **House**

**OVERSIGHT HEARING ON THE IMPACTS OF THE OBAMA CEQ'S FINAL GUIDANCE FOR GHG EMISSIONS AND THE EFFECTS OF CLIMATE CHANGE**

September 21, 10:00 AM, 1334 Longworth

*Committee on Natural Resources, Full Committee*



**MIDTERM REVIEW AND UPDATE ON THE CORPORATE AVERAGE FUEL ECONOMY PROGRAM AND GREENHOUSE GAS EMISSIONS STANDARDS FOR MOTOR VEHICLES**

September 22, 10:00 AM, HVC-210 U.S. Capitol Building

*Committee on Energy and Commerce, Subcommittee on Commerce, Manufacturing, and Trade*

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## Im, Sarah -NGA

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**From:** Zupans, Katherine -WSHDC -EN  
**Sent:** September-23-16 4:33 PM  
**To:** Benjamin, Martin -NGD; 'Jacovella, France'; Leclerc, Caroline -MSD; 'Leyburne, Drew'; Nickel, Jim -NND; 'Pearson, Mark'; 'Soni, Shannon-Marie'; 'Stewart, Catherine'  
**Subject:** WSHDC-3634 - WSHDC Climate Change, Energy and Environment Update - September 23, 2016

**Weekly Reports are now available on the GCPedia site at**  
[http://www.gcpedia.gc.ca/wiki/WSHDC\\_EN\\_Weekly\\_Reports](http://www.gcpedia.gc.ca/wiki/WSHDC_EN_Weekly_Reports)

**NB: BCC list appended below**

WSHDC-EN would be pleased to provide additional information or context for any of the items set out below.

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### Issues Summary

#### CLIMATE CHANGE

HFC Announcement in Lead-up to Montreal Protocol Meeting  
Clean Power Plan Goes to Court  
U.S. Defense and Intelligence Agencies to Plan for Climate Change

#### ENVIRONMENT ISSUES

Trail Smelter Superfund Litigation  
Report on Waters Rule  
Wildlife Trafficking Bill Heads to Obama  
Presidential Candidates' Surrogates Speak at Great Lakes Restoration Conference

#### ENERGY

Donald Trump Speaks at Shale Insight Conference

#### THIS WEEK'S E & E TWEETS ON CONNECT2CANADA

<https://twitter.com/#!/connect2canada>

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### CLIMATE CHANGE

#### HFC Announcement in Lead-up to Montreal Protocol Meeting

On September 22, More than 100 countries, including Canada, announced their support for the New York Declaration of the Coalition to Secure an Ambitious HFC Amendment, which calls for adopting an ambitious HFC phasedown amendment (ref: WSHDC-3468) at the upcoming Meeting of the Parties to the Montreal Protocol in Rwanda in October. In addition to signing on to the Declaration, Canada was also one of 16 countries to pledge an extra \$27m to the Montreal Protocol Multilateral Fund in 2017 to provide fast-start support for article 5 countries backing an early freeze date. A further \$53m has been promised by a group of 19 philanthropic organisations and individuals.

#### Clean Power Plan Goes to Court

On Tuesday, September 27, oral arguments on the Clean Power Plan will be heard by the DC Circuit Court. While the arguments will be closely watched by both advocates and opponents of the rules, there is a strong likelihood that the arguments may not provide decisive clues about the ultimate fate of the Clean Power Plan. Firstly, this is because judges often play devil's advocate during oral argument, so it can be misleading to read too much into their questions. Second, as arguments will be presented to a 10 judge panel, and some judges are more active during oral arguments than others, it could be difficult to gauge the majority mood of the Court. Third, even if the arguments do give insight into the specific concerns some judges have about the rules, the case is widely expected to be finally resolved by the Supreme Court on appeal. By granting a stay of the Clean Power Plan earlier this year, overruling the DC Circuit rejection of a stay request, the Supreme Court has already demonstrated that it may not grant the deference in this case to the Circuit Court that it might in others (ref: WSHDC-3034 and WSHDC-3052).



Of course, none of these caveats will stop legal analysts from trying to read the tea leaves in interpreting how the Circuit Court might decide in the case. Of particular interest will be the reaction of more liberal judges to some of the controversial elements of the rule, particularly the unconventional way in which it reaches beyond the fence-line of regulated facilities and the novel state-by-state methodology EPA used to set emissions targets. If judges that are expected to be more sympathetic to EPA show skepticism of such controversial elements it may indicate trouble ahead for both the DC Circuit and Supreme Court decisions on the CPP. On September 22, EPA received a surprise boost when Judge Pillard, an Obama appointee to the Circuit Court, was added to the roster of judges who will hear the case. It had previously been assumed that she would recuse herself from the case as she had not participated in earlier proceedings. Her addition to the panel means that six of the judges hearing the case will be Democrat appointees, while four will be Republican.

### **U.S. Defense and Intelligence Agencies to Plan for Climate Change**

President Obama issued a Presidential Memorandum on September 21, requiring defense and military leaders to consider climate change when developing national security policies. The order also creates a federal working group of more than 20 agencies, directing creation of a *Climate Change and National Security Action Plan* within 90 days. The order recognizes the role climate has played as an amplifier of other security issues. The recent Climate and National Security Forum on September 14 centered on the role of climate change as a destabilizing force, featuring retired U.S. military brass, former administration and Congressional employees, and academia providing recommendations for the next U.S. administration.

## **ENVIRONMENTAL ISSUES**

### **Trail Smelter Superfund Litigation**

On September 14, Teck, the owner of the Trail Smelter in BC, filed briefs responding to arguments from the State of Washington and the Confederated Tribes of the Colville Reservation that argue against a panel or en banc rehearing of a case decided on July 27 by the 9th Circuit Court in Teck's favour (ref: WSHDC-3558). In that case the Court decided that Teck was not liable under the US Superfund law for aerial deposition of pollutants in Washington State allegedly emanating from the smelter in BC. Securing an en banc review is typically difficult. If the Court denies a rehearing, the last recourse for the State and tribes would be a Supreme Court appeal.

### **Report on Waters Rule**

Senator Jim Inhofe (R-OK), chair of the Senate Environment and Public Works Committee, released a committee report asserting the Waters of the U.S. (WOTUS) rule would worsen regulation of waters and streams by the U.S. Army Corps of Engineers and Environmental Protection Agency. The report highlights specific issues with agricultural efforts, such as plowing on wet lands (not necessarily wetlands), as well as wetland designation, ecological function, and roads. The report maintains that Congress must act if the rule is not overturned by the Courts. Senator Inhofe sent the report to 10 Democrats and Senator Angus King (I-ME), all of whom voted down efforts to counter the rule (ref: WSHDC -2756) but called on the agencies to review and provide clearer guidance.

### **Wildlife Trafficking Bill Heads to Obama**

The U.S. House of Representatives passed the amended Senate version of the Eliminate, Neutralize and Disrupt Wildlife Trafficking Act (H.R. 2494) on Wednesday, September 21, sending it to President Obama for his signature. The bill passed both chambers by unanimous consent after bouncing back and forth. The original bill passed by the House contained a measure to elevate wildlife trafficking penalties to those equal to weapons and drug trafficking; however, the Senate removed that provision (ref: WSHDC-3617). The White House signaled its support for the bill.

### **Presidential Candidates' Surrogates Speak at Great Lakes Restoration Conference**

Republican Presidential Candidate Donald Trump and Democratic Presidential Candidate Hillary Clinton sent surrogates to speak at the Healing Our Waters-Great Lakes Coalition annual conference on September 22.

Mike Budzik, past Chief of the Ohio Division of Wildlife under former Ohio Governor Bob Taft (R) and member of the Ohio Sportsmen and Women for Trump team, spoke about the Great Lakes' importance to a strong economy and a healthy environment. Budzik highlighted the role of recreation in supporting the economy, roughly equal to oil profits, and the supporting jobs that can't be exported to another country. He emphasized Trump's support of maintaining public lands and the rights of states to maintain their public land base. He cited Trump's position that it is a basic right for all citizens to have access to safe drinking water, as well as the need for collaboration among governments, NGOs, and local citizens. Although Budzik did not specifically, in comments or in response to questions, say Trump would continue the Great Lakes Restoration Initiative, he did say that Trump believe the government needs to "step it up several notches" still on Great Lakes restoration, which is on the campaign's radar. Finally, Budzik referenced that his presence at the conference was evidence of the persuasiveness of the Healing Our Waters members.

David Hayes, former Deputy Secretary at the Department of the Interior, opened by stating who is President will determine whether Great Lakes restoration efforts remain "turbo charged", affirming that Clinton would keep those efforts going strong. Hayes referenced his roots in the Finger Lakes region of New York and his memories of Lake Ontario's closed beaches when young, as well as his time in school at Notre Dame. He also noted his role in the Great Lakes Restoration Initiative program under President Obama, especially with combatting the spread of Asian carp into the Great Lakes. Hayes focused his remarks around Clinton's policy initiatives on clean water and infrastructure, noting Clinton's belief, similar to Trump's, that clean water is a right of all Americans. Unlike Budzik, Hayes directly referenced Trump and his positions, noting Trump's position that climate change is a hoax. Just that morning, Clinton's campaign posted a position on the Great Lakes citing her specific support to continue the Great Lakes Restoration Initiative program.

## ENERGY

### Donald Trump Speaks at Shale Insight Conference

On September 22, Donald Trump spoke at the Marcellus Shale Coalition's Shale Insight conference in Pittsburgh PA, where he touched on several energy-related themes. He cited energy production as central to his economic plan, which would unlock shale oil & gas reserves and related technologies. His remarks included commitments to:

- Lift restrictions on U.S. energy production and streamline permitting processes;
- Eliminate all "unnecessary" regulations and implement a temporary moratorium on any new regulations "not compelled by congress or public safety";
- Put in place an "America first" energy plan that would open Federal lands and offshore areas for oil & gas production, and revoke restrictions on new exploration technologies;
- Rescind the moratorium on new federal coal mining leases;
- Direct the Department of the Interior to conduct a review of all the anti-coal regulations issued by the Obama Administration;
- Eliminate the U.S. Clean Water Rule, the Climate Action Plan and the Clean Power Plan; and
- Refocus the EPA on its core mission of ensuring clean air and drinking water.

He referenced an energy policy that would make full use of U.S. domestic sources, including both traditional and renewable: "We want everything."

### THIS WEEK'S E & E TWEETS ON CONNECT2CANADA

#### September 22:

Retweeted [Minister C. McKenna @ec\\_minister](#) (September 21)

Big honour for Canada! We're hosting World Environment Day 2017. [#WED2017](#)

<http://ow.ly/UM9Q304qC7A> [pic.twitter.com/XuiVePryu4](http://pic.twitter.com/XuiVePryu4)

[#ExploreCanada](#) in 2017! [@ParksCanada](#) is offering [#FreeEntry](#) to parks + sites to celebrate [#Canada150](#). [pic.twitter.com/CyNZn9pOn4](http://pic.twitter.com/CyNZn9pOn4)

[#Ontario university @uofg](#) uses simple idea to cut AC bill, carbon emissions

#### September 21:

Retweeted [David MacNaughton @AmbMacNaughton](#)

Pleased to welcome Lion Bus CEO Marc Bédard to [@CanEmbUSA](#). Proud of our innovative Canadian companies!

[#cleantech](#) <http://www.international.gouv.qc.ca/en/washington/actualites/16572> ...

Sustainable development & economic growth are not mutually exclusive - [@AmbMacNaughton](#)

The [#eLionBus](#) is a great example of innovative tech & cooperation between the U.S. & Canada, as many parts come from U.S. - [@AmbMacNaughton](#)

The [#eLionBus](#) is the only electric Type C School bus in North America! Learn more: <http://www.lionbuses.com/en/lion-store/> [#cleantech](#)

We're highlighting cost-effective ways to bring [#cleantech](#) to U.S. school districts today. Proud to welcome the [#eLionBus](#) to [@CanEmbUSA](#)!



**September 20:**

Retweeted [Natural Resources @NRCan](#)

Thrilled that [@twitter](#) has provided more space to ensure we can communicate even more natural resources info to Canadians [#TwitterSmarter](#)

**September 19:**

Retweeted [Rachel McCormick @CdaRachelM](#)

Ottawa declaration [@ArcticCouncil](#) signed 20 yrs ago. [@lloydaxworthy](#) profiles leadership in engaging indigenous people

The [@ArcticCouncil](#) was "the very first organization with the permanent participation of Aboriginal people."  
[@lloydaxworthy](#)

Happening now a fireside chat with [@AmbMacNaughton](#) and [@LloydAxworthy](#) to mark 20 yrs [@ArcticCouncil](#)

Indigenous voices are an important and unique part of the [@ArcticCouncil](#) [#AC20years](#)

The 20th anniversary of the [@ArcticCouncil](#) marks a proud moment for Canada. [@MinCanadaFA](#) <http://bit.ly/2cX8Qva>

**September 18:**

Retweeted: [Arctic Council @ArcticCouncil](#)

Joint statement from Ministers of the [#Arctic](#) States celebrating the Arctic Council's 20th anniversary.

<http://ow.ly/VrzU304kCjG> [#AC20years](#)

Retweeted [Arctic Council @ArcticCouncil](#)

DYK: [@ArcticCouncil](#) was established in Ottawa on Sept. 19, 1996, with the signature of the Ottawa Declaration?

**Drafted: WSHDC-EN \ Annable, Chesky, Stewart**

**Consulted: WSHDC-CIAS, WSHDC-PA**

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**Subject:** Democratic Party Platform Environment and Energy Sections

Yesterday, on July 25, the Democratic party adopted its 2016 platform. Platforms are not binding on the party candidate. That said, the platform is a good guide to current thinking and positioning of the party.

Below are the highlights of the environment and energy positions of the platform. Notably, the platform includes support for pricing the negative externalities of greenhouse gases. It promotes clean energies (solar and wind are specifically cited; hydro and nuclear are not) while restricting some fossil energy development, notably opposition to offshore drilling in the Arctic and Atlantic oceans, and to reducing fossil fuel development on federal lands.

**On climate change**, the platform states, "*Climate change is an urgent threat and a defining challenge of our time.*" the platform reiterates support for measures agreed to under the Paris Agreement, including limiting global temperature increases to two degrees with the aim of 1.5 degrees. Greenhouse gases should be priced to reflect their negative externalities. The platform commits to implement and extend currently policies including the Clean Power Plan, methane reductions, fuel economy standards for automobiles and heavy-duty vehicles, building codes and appliance standards, as well as to expanding clean energy research. Legislatively, the platforms calls for Congress to repeal Section 322 of the 2005 Energy Policy Act which prohibits EPA from regulating subsurface fracking. Additionally, the platform supports a Department of Justice investigation into "corporate fraud" misleading stakeholders and the public on the threats of climate change, a reference to the Exxon Mobil investigation currently underway by some state Attorneys General.

**On the environment**, the platform supports protection and public recreational access to public lands, including protecting the Arctic National Wildlife Refuge. For federal lands, the platform supports greater renewable energy development and less fossil fuel development. On the latter, the platform states, "*We will phase down extraction of fossil fuels from our public lands, starting with the most polluting sources*", presumably coal. The platform also includes a specific reference to supporting EPA's development of restrictions for the Pebble mine, though EPA has already used its authority to prevent the project from progressing. Likely in light of Flint, Michigan, where Democrats held a debate during the primary, the platform also references the need to address lead poisoning and water challenges.

**On energy**, the platform supports multiple efforts to promote and expand clean energy, with the goal of having 50% of electricity from clean energy sources within 10 years and the U.S. "running entirely on clean energy by mid-century." As part of this goal, the platform supports modifying the tax code to incentive renewables and energy efficiency while

eliminating tax breaks and subsidies for fossil fuels. The platform also calls out to traditional labor supporters, noting support for clean and efficient manufacturing as well as unions. On traditional energy sources, the platform oppose offshore drilling in the Arctic and Atlantic oceans.

***On TransCanada KXL***, the platform supports President Obama's rejection of the project.

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## Im, Sarah -NGA

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**From:** Sunderland, Meaghan -WSHDC -WS  
**Sent:** July-27-16 12:04 PM  
**To:** Morrison, David -NGM  
**Subject:** WSHDC-3480: Republican National Convention, July 18-21

**Summary:** U.S. political conventions are generally intended to project party unity, often operating as a coronation of sorts following what may have been a divisive primary process. The conventions are also intended to present the chosen candidate to the general electorate, elaborating upon their policies while emphasizing their relatability. This year's Republican National Convention held in Cleveland, Ohio July 18-21<sup>st</sup>, however, will most likely be remembered for its dark, fearful messaging and its struggles with party unity. Mr. Trump offered up little in the way of new policies or proposals, choosing instead to adhere to previously uttered positions on most issues including calls to strengthen the border, deport illegal immigrants, defeat Islamic terrorists, negotiate better trade deals, defend citizens' right to bear arms, and appoint conservative judges to the Supreme Court. Few convention speakers, which included well-known Republican legislators and lesser known celebrities, touted Mr. Trump's policy proposals, choosing instead to focus on his merits as a father, businessman and an outsider willing to take on the establishment, while blasting his general election opponent, Democratic presidential nominee Hillary Clinton. Despite the chorus of criticism hurled at Secretary Clinton and the legacy of President Obama, the convention endured several instances of disunity, particularly when Sen. Cruz (TX) refused to endorse Mr. Trump. At meetings on the margins of the convention, various Trump advisors acknowledged the (at times) mercurial nature of his thinking which they either attributed to the instantaneousness of the medium (e.g. twitter) or his background not as a politician but as a businessman focussed on getting the best deal. They were nevertheless sincere in their reassurance that a Trump presidency would be willing to engage with the international community, albeit in less traditional ways.

**2. Trump's address:** In accepting his party's nomination on the last day of the convention, Donald Trump delivered a long, [REDACTED] address that primarily focussed on an image of America as crime-ridden, poor, and not respected abroad. In regularly referring to the country's ills, Mr. Trump focussed on perceived failures of the Obama administration (whether on foreign policy, immigration, trade or crime), while putting himself forward as the "law and order" candidate, one who would lend voice to "the forgotten men and women of our country". His criticism of his Democratic opponent, Hillary Clinton, [REDACTED] "This is the legacy of Hillary Clinton: death, destruction, terrorism and weakness." Not only did he blame her for events that had unfolded either during or after her tenure as Secretary of State (e.g. Syria; ISIS; Benghazi; lifting of sanctions on Iran; etc.), [REDACTED] that she was to blame for the past fifteen years of foreign operations (which would include when Pres. George W. Bush was in office). Trump, however, elaborated [REDACTED] his own previous proposals, reiterating instead his vow to put American interests before any other ("Americanism, not globalism, will be our credo") and to move away from nation-building policies and regime change. He also reiterated his promise to renegotiate NAFTA, as well as his disdain for regional trade deals like the Trans-Pacific Partnership, calling instead for "individual deals with individual countries". He appeared to expand on his previous proposal to ban all Muslims from entering the United States, calling instead for the immediate suspension of immigration from "any nation that has been compromised by terrorism", and stoked fears with tales of the dangers posed by illegal immigrants and Syrian refugees.

**3. Convention themes:** While each night of the convention had a different theme to it ("Make America Safe Again"; "Make America Work Again"; "Make America First Again"; "Make America One Again"), it was the themes of an America made worse these last eight years and the need for improved safety and security that appeared to prevail most evenings, with several speakers using the opportunity not so much to tout Mr. Trump's policies as to critique Hillary Clinton's credentials and to denounce the Obama administration. This included fiery speeches from former NYC Mayor Rudy Giuliani and New Jersey Governor Chris Christie, the latter of which came across as a prosecutor's indictment of Secretary Clinton, with the audience repeatedly cheering "lock her up". Also prevalent at the convention were



testaments to the role of law enforcement (illustrated with regular references to “blue lives matter”) and denunciations of the Black Lives Matter movement (including by two African-American speakers).

**4. Party (dis)unity:** Although convention attendees were united in their disdain for Hillary Clinton, the party nevertheless remains fractured. This was most noticeable in the many prominent Republicans who chose not to attend the convention, including former Presidents George H.W. Bush and George W. Bush, former presidential candidates Sen. John McCain (AZ) and Gov. Mitt Romney, the host governor John Kasich, and many sitting Republican senators and members of Congress. Both House Speaker Paul Ryan (WI) and Senate Majority Leader Mitch McConnell (KY) addressed the convention, but their respective speeches were notable for how little they referenced their party’s nominee. There was a brief eruption of excitement on the convention floor on the Monday when critics of Mr. Trump made one last attempt to block his nomination when adopting the convention’s rules, but the matter was quickly quashed by party leaders. A more dramatic event unfolded a couple of days later when Texas Sen. Ted Cruz called on voters to “vote your conscience”, which resulted in the crowd booing him. Cruz’s unwillingness to endorse Mr. Trump, along with the distance that several legislators have chosen to put between themselves and Mr. Trump, is testament to the ongoing tensions between the nominee and various factions of the Republican party. This disunity was also on display along the margins of the convention, following Mr. Trump’s interview with the New York Times wherein he appeared to condition support for NATO allies on whether they had fulfilled commitments to the US. Party leaders swiftly disagreed with Mr. Trump, including Sen. McConnell who stated: “I want to reassure our NATO allies that if any of them get attacked, we’ll be there to defend them.” Speaker Ryan has also since expressed disagreement with Mr. Trump, referring to NATO as an “indispensable ally” that is “as important now” as ever. At a foreign policy panel on the margins of the convention, Rep. Kinzinger (R-IL), an up-and-coming congressman and former member of the US Air Force who served in Iraq and Afghanistan, stated that he did not agree with Trump’s position that countries with large US military contingents (such as Japan and South Korea) should pay more to support the US presence in their countries: “I’m offended by the idea that I’m some kind of protection racket that has to be paid to protect our allies, or I’m some kind of mercenary force.”

**6. Trump Advisors:** WSHDC and DTROT attended various events on the margins of the convention, several of which included key advisors to Mr. Trump and his campaign. While many of those advisors espoused Mr. Trump’s traditional positions, particularly on trade agreements, the expansion of energy development and the need for regulatory reform, there were several key figures who appeared to indicate a certain flexibility to or evolution of Mr. Trump’s more controversial positions, particularly those related to foreign policy and national security.



7. At a different event, **Newt Gingrich** (former Speaker of the House and another main contender for the VP nomination) spoke of Mr. Trump as “a candidate of the Kardashian era”, which allows him to connect with voters in a quicker, more effective and personal way. In Mr. Gingrich’s view, the immediacy and volume of Mr. Trump’s tweets allows him to quickly push past any negative news cycles. He was also of the view that because Mr. Trump is first and foremost a businessman and his positions are subject to change depending on who is advising him, when he enters into negotiations he does so ready to walk away if it’s not in his best interests. Mr. Gingrich also stated that approval of the Keystone XL pipeline was one of the first decisions that Mr. Trump should make as President. At another event with the diplomatic corps, Mr. **Sam Clovis**, one of Mr. Trump’s chief policy advisors, provided a more nuanced view of Mr. Trump’s trade policies, which he described as modern populism. In his view, Mr. Trump recognizes that the U.S. is part of the global community, that trade is not a zero sum game and that the U.S. can gain if it has partners “willing to work with us”, but those partners must play by the rules. Like Mr. Trump he spoke of bilateral trade deals rather than regional ones. Media also reported Mr. Clovis interpreting Mr. Trump’s NATO remarks as exploring an opportunity to “reinvest in NATO”.

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10. **GOP Platform:** Many of these same disagreements between the nominee and the party establishment are apparent in the platform that the party adopted at the convention. The platform, for example, essentially says that people can refuse to serve or employ LGBTQ people if it would go against their personal religious beliefs, and defines “marriage” as “between one man and one woman”, whereas Mr. Trump during his convention speech specifically referred to protecting America’s LGBTQ citizens (albeit from the “violence and oppression of a hateful foreign ideology”). The platform also states that transgender bathroom accommodations are “illegal, dangerous, and [ignore] privacy issues”, whereas Mr. Trump has expressed disagreement with state laws limiting which bathrooms can be used by the transgender community. The platform does, however, concede to Mr. Trump’s views on trade agreements. Unlike the 2012 platform which called on a Republican president to complete TPP negotiations, this year’s platform calls for “better negotiated agreements that put America first” and in a veiled reference to the TPP states that “significant trade agreements should not be rushed or undertaken in a Lame Duck Congress.” The platform also expresses support for building a wall along the border with Mexico, a provision that has not existed in past years. In a another break from Republican orthodoxy, the platform also calls for the reinstatement of the Glass-Steagall Act, which imposes a firewall between commercial and investment banking. There are a few specific references to Canada in the platform, including a reference to U.S. relations with Canada and Mexico being “based upon continuing cooperation and our mutually shared interests” which goes on to note: “Our attention to trade and environmental issues will contribute to strong economic growth and prosperity throughout the Americas.” In line with the party’s 2012 platform, which called for approval of the KXL pipeline, this year’s platform states it will reverse the Obama Administration’s decision to block the pipeline (although it notably does not include any sense of the nominee’s call for U.S. to get “a significant piece of the



profits"). (Reftel report from WSHDC/Connors on the platform's various energy and environment provisions.) There is also a brief reference to Canada in the section calling for the defence of international religious freedoms, which states "... even Canada threatens pastors for their preaching." No matter these convergences and divergences with the candidate, it is important to remember that a party's platform is not binding on a candidate and many of its provisions requiring legislative measures would face significant challenges from Democrats in Congress [REDACTED]

11. **Security:** Given the protests that have taken place at various Trump rallies these last number of months, city and state officials had prepared for potential unrest on the margins of the convention. Although demonstrators and others in the convention district were barred from possessing a range of items (e.g. from tennis balls to chains), there was no prohibition on the brandishing of firearms in the street as Ohio is an "open carry" state. WSHDC and DTROT officials saw few of these open carry individuals and the few protests that did occur (including one incident of a flag burning) were well controlled through significant police presence.

12. **Post-convention polls:** Given all of the attention focused on one candidate and one party, it is not uncommon for candidates to experience a bump in their polling numbers immediately following their party's convention. Sure enough, a newly-released CNN/ORC poll finds Donald Trump now leads Hillary Clinton in the presidential race 48% to 45%, a 6-point post-convention bump. A new Morning Consult poll also finds Trump leading 44% to Clinton's 40%, while a new CBS poll shows Trump and Clinton tied at 42%. Hillary Clinton is expected to receive a similar bump in the polls following this week's Democratic National Convention in Philadelphia, PA.

**Comment:** Now that he is officially the Republican presidential candidate, we expect more members of the party to continue to rally behind Mr. Trump. Any elements of disunity may have been on stark display last week, but the Republican National Convention was essentially the last opportunity for those Republicans who don't favour Mr. Trump to have their voices heard. The occasional member of the GOP establishment may still grab a headline or two when voicing their disagreement with their nominee and while many Republicans acknowledge some of Mr. Trump's more outlier positions, the "anybody but Clinton" element is likely to continue to unite Republicans. [REDACTED]

Drafted: WSHDC/Sunderland

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## **Im, Sarah -NGA**

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**From:** Lumsden, Laura -WSHDC -WS  
**Sent:** August-04-16 3:48 PM  
**To:** Morrison, David -NGM  
**Subject:** WSHDC-3494: Democratic National Convention, July 25-28, 2016

**Summary:** Hillary Clinton officially became the Democratic presidential nominee at the Democratic National Convention (DNC) held in Philadelphia, PA July 25-28<sup>th</sup>, marking the first time a woman will lead a major U.S. political party's presidential ticket. The DNC provided a stark contrast to the Republican Party's convention (RNC) held a week earlier in Cleveland (reftel WSHDC-3480). Not only did Democrats go out of their way to contrast the experience and values of their candidate with those of the Republican presidential candidate Donald Trump, but they also used the occasion to highlight a number of issues rarely (if ever) mentioned at the Republican convention, including women's rights, climate change, and gun violence. Many high-powered Democrats were in attendance, many of them taking to the stage to speak to Clinton's wealth of experience but also to question Mr. Trump's credentials and temperament to be commander in chief. Although there were a few instances of party disunity on display in Philadelphia, Clinton's key rival for the nomination, Sen. Bernie Sanders (VT), threw his full support behind the Democratic nominee and most of his supporters are expected to rally behind her. Strong appeals were also made to Independents and Republicans to support Clinton. Much of her success will now depend on a strong turnout from the Obama coalition of voters (notably women and minority voters), and an ability to stave off any decline in other demographics (e.g. college educated whites).

### **Report**

**2. Clinton's address:** In her acceptance speech, Clinton set out her rebuttal of the dark view painted by Mr. Trump a week earlier, presenting her own inclusive, optimistic vision of the nation's future, one made "stronger together" (her campaign's motto). Her speech not only served to reiterate her proposals for how to move the country forward (e.g. investments in infrastructure, comprehensive immigration reform, clean energy jobs, raising the minimum wage, profit sharing for workers, etc.), but also made the cause for how she was uniquely prepared to lead America in taking on its various challenges. In doing so, she drew sharp contrasts with her opponent, both on the substance [REDACTED] of his proposals and his temperament to hold office: "A man you can bait with a tweet is not a man we can trust with nuclear weapons." She also used her speech to reach out to others, particularly the Sanders supporters, promising to work with Sanders to make college tuition-free for middle class and debt-free for all. Perhaps more notable were Clinton's attempts to reach out to Republicans, discussing how Trump had taken the Republican party from 'Morning in America' (a Reagan reference) to 'Midnight in America', and going on to state how she would be "... a President for Democrats, Republicans and Independents. For the struggling, the striving and the successful. For those who vote for me and those who don't. For all Americans." She also made it clear that she will continue with many of the same foreign policy priorities as President Obama, including defeating ISIS, focussing on climate change, and upholding the Iran nuclear deal while also reassuring NATO allies that she will stand with them against any threat, including Russia.

**3. Convention themes:** While each night of the convention had a different theme ("United Together"; "A Lifetime of Fighting for Children and Families"; Working Together"; and "Stronger Together"), the event primarily came across as a forceful rebuke of the themes of fear and a declining America that had prevailed at the RNC, and a positioning of Secretary Clinton as possessing the necessary experience and temperament for the highest office in the land, particularly when compared with Mr. Trump's history as a businessman. Among those critiquing Mr. Trump's abilities to lead the country were the former Republican Mayor of New York City (now an independent), Michael Bloomberg, who questioned Mr. Trump's business acumen: "I'm a New Yorker and I know a con when I see one". There were also key figures from the security world who painted Mr. Trump as too volatile a figure to be trusted with the country's security. This included former Secretary of Defense and CIA Director, Mr. Leon Panetta ("We cannot afford an erratic finger on our nuclear weapons ... This is no time to gamble with our future.") and (ret.) four-star General John



Allen. Speaker after speaker rebutted Mr. Trump's campaign motto, arguing that "America is already great". In his address, President Obama forcefully pushed back on Mr. Trump's bleak message of an economically weak, crime-ridden America, outlining instead the progress made under his watch (e.g. declines in unemployment, federal deficit and uninsured) and milestones achieved (e.g. Iran nuclear deal, renewed relations with Cuba, international climate change agreement, legalization of gay marriage). President Obama acknowledged the changes that have taken place, but also spoke of the immutable values that make up the fabric of American society, values that will not allow "homegrown demagogues" to prevail. The DNC also offered a stark contrast from the RNC in the diversity of its audience and topics raised including the prevalence of gun violence in the U.S., inclusivity, women's rights, and the impact of climate change – issues seldom, if ever, mentioned at the RNC.

**4. Party (dis)unity:** The DNC, like its Republican counterpart, was not without its controversies. The convention was subject to some initial drama when it was revealed that WikiLeaks had released 20,000 emails from the Democratic National Committee, some of which showed the party attempting to boost Mrs. Clinton over her rival Sen. Sanders, forcing the Chair of the Committee to resign. Sanders supporters could often be heard interrupting speakers with their protests, but Mr. Sanders gracefully moved to nominate Secretary Clinton by acclamation, a symbolic move for party unity that Clinton herself deployed for Obama in 2008. In an attempt to court the remaining Sanders supporters, numerous speakers throughout the convention referred to Sanders' positive influence on the campaign, including Secretary Clinton who thanked him for bringing issues of economic and social justice to the forefront. While a die-hard group of Sanders supporters continue to insist they will not vote for Clinton, a recent report from the Pew Research Center indicates that overwhelming shares of Democratic and Democratic-leaning registered voters – including 90% of those who consistently supported Sanders for the nomination – back Clinton in the general election against Trump. Unlike the Republican National Convention, which was notable for the number of Republican party elites who chose not to attend, there was no shortage of Democratic party elites in Philadelphia, including President Obama, former President Bill Clinton, Vice-President Biden, First Lady Michelle Obama, members of President Obama's cabinet (current and former), as well as numerous sitting governors, senators, members of Congress and mayors.

**5. Clinton's credentials:** In addition to the various speakers who pushed back on Mr. Trump's credentials, many others focussed on Secretary Clinton's vast experience and leadership abilities. Former President Bill Clinton offered up reminiscences of their life together, which not only extolled Mrs. Clinton's commitment to public service ("she's the best darn change-maker"), but also served to render Mrs. Clinton (who admits to having difficulties with the public nature of politics) as a relatable person. Speaker after speaker referred to Clinton as the only candidate with the necessary experience, temperament and judgement to be commander in chief, including Mr. Panetta, Gen. Allen, Vice-President Biden, and Vice-Presidential nominee Sen. Tim Kaine. But perhaps the greatest endorsement came from President Obama when he said, "there has never been a man or woman more qualified than Hillary Clinton to serve as President of the United States of America". The President, who enjoys healthy and improving approval ratings, is expected to play a strong role throughout the campaign in order to motivate the same coalition of voters that turned out for him in 2008.

**6. Clinton's advisors:** WSHDC and CNGNY attended various events on the margins of the convention, several of which included key Clinton advisors who diligently reinforced her campaign's messages. **Mr. Gene Sperling**, former Director of the National Economic Council and one of Clinton's key advisors, repeatedly referred at various side events to Clinton's opposition to the TPP: "She's against the TPP now, she'll be against it in the lame duck, and she'll be against it as President". When pressed about whether the agreement would be abandoned or renegotiated ("could she find a way to yes?"), Sperling said, "it's in the rear view mirror". (Clinton's campaign chairman, Mr. John Podesta, also tweeted: "Hillary opposes the TPP BEFORE and AFTER the election. Period. Full stop.") Sperling reiterated Clinton's campaign proposals of tripling the resources devoted to trade enforcement, including the creation of a special trade prosecutor who would report directly to the President. Sperling acknowledged that trade agreements alone cannot bring back manufacturing, hence the need for changes in tax policy such as clawing back credits for companies that move out of the U.S. Sperling was more optimistic about investments in infrastructure, noting there was an emerging consensus given the needs and the ability to focus on "Make It in America". Former Deputy Secretary of State **Bill Burns** suggested that the current sentiments on globalization in America stem from bottom up pressure from those who have not seen its benefits. **Rep. Xavier Becerra (D-CA)**, Democratic House Caucus Chair, spoke of a reassessment of trade



agreements. In his view, other countries will want to do business with the US, even without TPP. When asked about renegotiating NAFTA, he discussed the need to reassess trade agreements but acknowledged "it's hard to undo an agreement". Both Becerra and **Ms. Neera Tanden**, President of the Center for American Progress, spoke of the need to address economic and social inequality as "key" to a Clinton administration, with Becerra adding this will be a "domestically focussed" administration.

7. Foreign policy expert **Nicholas Burns** acknowledged that TPP was a way to help build relationships in Asia but even without it, countries will still look to build a coalition as China remains a problem for many. In his view, the next president will face the most complex set of issues since World War II, including the Middle East, President Putin, Israel, Turkey, the Islamic State and China. According to Burns, a Clinton administration's foreign policy priorities will focus on defending the country in an age of terror, making progress on climate change, containing Putin, and supporting Latin American and African democracies – all issues on which Clinton "knows the issues cold". **Ms. Laura Rosenberger**, foreign policy advisor to Secretary Clinton (and former Chief of Staff to Deputy Secretary of State Tony Blinken), discussed the value of American allies as a force multiplier (e.g. Asian missile defence) and the need to reassure the world that "American leadership is here to stay". She spoke of a Clinton administration taking a principled approach to foreign policy from which priorities will then flow, recognizing that world events could interfere with those priorities. Among those principles, Ms. Rosenberger advocated making use of all tools to reduce the likelihood of conflict, which, in turn, would reduce the use of force in the world: "Smart power" is diplomacy backed by leverage. According to Ms. Rosenberger, the U.S. policy on China will be the most critical for the next century and the U.S. needs to enhance and increase its cooperation while managing competition. In this regard, the U.S. will want to work with allies to set conditions for the region in a cooperative system.

8. Former Undersecretaries of State for political affairs **Bill Burns** and **Wendy Sherman** referred to the Iran nuclear deal as an example of the effectiveness of "smart power", given its use of diplomacy, military, social media and direct engagement with people. In their view, foreign and domestic policy must be brought closer and they see little surprise in the anti-trade rhetoric prevalent this election given that domestic challenges such as wage inequality and stagnant wages haven't been addressed. They, too, spoke of the value of alliances, referring to NATO as a strategic investment, "not a protection racket", with Afghanistan serving as an example of this burden sharing. On Russia, they spoke of the need to work with them whenever possible, but also to challenge them when working with them is not possible. On the Middle East, Burns underscored that the credibility of the US in the region is a key issue and that the next President will need to develop a long term strategy for the region with a consistent focus.

9. **Mr. John Podesta**, Chairman of the Clinton campaign, spoke at a side event about what Clinton would look to accomplish in her first one hundred days in office, including: comprehensive immigration reform, investments to get the economy working focussed on jobs and the development of human capital, such as infrastructure funding and addressing college debt. When asked how these issues would be funded, he acknowledged that reforming the tax code would be one avenue but that savings could also be found elsewhere, including in prescription drug costs and reductions in spending under the Affordable Care Act. When asked how Clinton would make use of her executive authority, Podesta spoke of possible measures related to gun control and climate change including further reductions of emissions, increased use of renewables, energy efficiency measures and cutting oil use by a third. While he acknowledged it would be better to work with Congress, a President Clinton won't wait for that cooperation: "She wants to find common ground, but will stand her ground." As for whether her cabinet would be equally made up of men and women, Podesta would only say that it will be "diverse, inclusive, progressive and will deliver results."

10. **The party's appeal to others:** Throughout the convention, Democrats made great efforts to reach out to other voters (independents, republicans, suburban voters, etc.), with messaging that would give them "permission" to vote for Clinton. This was evidenced in speeches from independents like Michael Bloomberg, but also that of Vice-Presidential nominee Tim Kaine when he referenced his Republican father-in-law, former Virginia Governor Linwood Holton, noting "... he's voting for Democrats these days. Because any party that would nominate Donald Trump for president has moved too far away from the party of Lincoln. And if you are looking for that party of Lincoln, we've got a home for you right here in the Democratic Party." This outreach to different communities was also evident in the diversity of speakers who addressed the convention which included individuals from a variety of racial and ethnic



backgrounds, members of the military and law enforcement, veterans, members of the LGBTQ community, the disabled, etc.

**11. Party platform:** Although he may not have won the nomination, Bernie Sanders' influence on the Democratic Party has been evident throughout the campaign, often forcing Clinton to shift further to the left on many issues, and that influence can also be found in the party platform adopted at the convention. Sanders himself refers to it as "the most progressive" platform in the party's history. For the first time, the Democratic platform calls for a \$15-an-hour federal minimum wage, something that Sanders advocated for while he was on the campaign trail (Clinton supported a \$12-an-hour federal minimum wage during the primaries). Sanders was also successful in having the platform call for reinstating a new version of the Glass-Steagall Act, which would require that commercial banking and securities activities be separated. Other Sanders influences can be found in the platform's strong language on the investigation of law enforcement-related shootings, a vow to abolish the death penalty, and a new section which calls for the removal of marijuana from the "Schedule 1" list of federal controlled substances and a "reasoned pathway for future legalization" of marijuana. While there is no explicit opposition to the TPP, as fought for by Sanders, the platform does state that the TPP and all other trade deals must meet certain standards such as "strong and enforceable labor and environmental standards in their core text with streamlined and effective enforcement mechanisms." (In contrast, the 2012 platform had referred to the TPP as "a historic high-standard agreement".) The platform supports Obama's decision to reject the Keystone XL pipeline and states that "greenhouse gases should be priced to reflect their negative externalities," something that was not in the 2012 platform. (Reftel report from WSHDC/Connors on the platform's various energy and environmental provisions.) There are only two specific references to Canada in the platform, one of which would allow for the importation of prescription drugs and the other that mentions pursuing "strong, fruitful partnerships across the region, from Canada to Latin America and the Caribbean". It is important to remember that a party's platform is not binding on a candidate and many of its provisions requiring legislative measures would face significant challenges from Republicans in Congress.

**12. What the pundits were saying about Clinton's chances:** Clinton, like Trump, continues to have unfavourable ratings, but the consensus among many of the pundits who spoke along the margins of the convention is that she doesn't need to have a majority who see her as "trustworthy" in order to win the election (her husband was seen as "dishonest" and "untrustworthy" when he was elected). At a panel featuring campaign managers and political strategists such as **David Axelrod** (Chief Strategist for Barack Obama's presidential campaigns and former Senior Advisor to President Obama), **Patti Solis Doyle** (long time aid to Hillary Clinton and campaign manager for Clinton's '00 and '06 Senate election and re-election campaigns and '08 presidential campaign and then campaign chief of staff to Joe Biden in the '08 campaign) and **Stephanie Cutter** (deputy campaign manager for Obama's '12 re-election campaign), the panel noted, Clinton simply needs to be viewed as more trustworthy than Trump ("You only have to out run the bear"). Reassembling the "Obama coalition" of voters will be key. With her support from women and minorities, her voting bloc is bigger than Trump's and she may manage to attract some of Mitt Romney's supporters as well. Demographers and pollsters argued that Republicans have a big structural problem because they are dominated by white, working class voters, while college educated voters are alienated [REDACTED]. Panelists underscored that Democrats show recognition that the American electorate is changing, and according to pollster **Peter Hart**, are better positioned for this shift. Furthering this point, demographer and pollster **Matt Barreto** emphasised the sizeable impact Latino voters have, particularly in swing states (e.g. FL). According to Barreto, Latino votes tend to lean democrat; and with 70,000 Latino-Americans turning 18 every month, their influence will continue to expand. Panelists further argue that neither candidate, however, polls well with millennials and it is unclear if that demographic can be motivated to turn out to vote. According to the panel, millennials tend to view politicians of any stripe as corrupt and if Clinton doesn't find a way to "own" that critique, millennials could move to the third party candidacy of either Gary Johnson or Jill Stein but are unlikely to support Trump. The DNC's message of inclusivity however, along with proposals aimed at free post-secondary education for the middle class and reducing student debt, may go some way towards appealing to those voters. As any presidential election is decided by a handful of key states (e.g. Ohio, Pennsylvania, Florida, Virginia), it is expected that both the Democratic and Republican presidential campaigns will focus their attention on those states over the coming months (Clinton and Kaine just concluded a bus tour of Pennsylvania and Ohio). Panelists noted that surrogates can play a large role in helping to spread a candidate's message and in this regard the Democrats have "an embarrassment of riches", including President Obama and his healthy approval ratings,



whereas Mr. Trump only has a handful. The Democrats are also thought to have a much better ground game in those battleground states and more pathways to victory vis-à-vis the Electoral College. All that said, there was recognition of the unpredictability of this particular election and that nothing should be taken for granted.

**13. Post-convention polling:** In the wake of the convention, CBS polling shows Clinton benefited from her own post-convention bump and is now leading Trump by seven points, 46% to 39%. Following the Republican convention a week prior, CBS had the two tied at 42%. Clinton's bump is in line with those received by Barack Obama in 2008 (+3) and 2012 (+5). CNN/ORO's most recent poll gives Clinton a seven-point bounce post-convention, with Clinton now leading Trump 52% to 43% head-to-head (up from 48% to 45% the week prior). In a four-way match-up including third party candidates, Clinton maintains her lead on Trump, 45% to 37%. Public Policy Polling (PPP) also finds Clinton leading Trump 46% to 41%. PPP did not conduct a post-Republican convention poll.

**14. Security at the convention:** Learning from other large scale events held in Philadelphia in recent memory, local authorities appeared well prepared for any potential civil unrest during the convention. The estimated 13,000 demonstrators (a larger number than seen at the RNC the week prior) and police alike were good natured and restrained. The security situation also benefited from the geographic location of the convention, which was far from the city center and thus easier to contain.

**Comment:**

The convention reinforced that Clinton is concerned about American jobs but also on trade enforcement, a growing theme in American trade politics. Looking down the campaign trail, if Hillary Clinton can maintain or increase the lead she has received post-convention, Republicans down ticket may distance themselves from Trump (a "Republicans for Hillary" effort has already started, e.g. retiring Rep. Richard Hanna (R-NY) has recently endorsed Hillary Clinton). That said, if there is another email breach or another comparable action of scale (e.g. economic downturn, terrorist attack), the impacts could undermine any momentum gained as a result of the successful convention.

Drafted: WSHDC/Sunderland/Lumsden

Consulted: WSHDC/Baird/Barratt; CNGNY/Desrochers/Finn

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## Im, Sarah -NGA

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**From:** Sunderland, Meaghan -WSHDC -WS  
**Sent:** August-23-16 1:42 PM  
**To:** Beaulieu, Yves -SFRAN -GR; Caton, Jamie -DENVR -GR; Desrochers, Caroline -CNGNY -GR; Fisher, Dani -MNPLS -GR; Hupfau, Andrew -DTROT -GR; Khabayan, Vasken -DALAS -GR; McCook, Scott -CHCGO -GR; Morel-à-l'Huissier, Laurent -MIAMI -GR; Pischella, Jérôme -DENVR -TD; Rajasansi, Harkiran -SEATL -GR; Ruddock, Frank -BOSTN -GR; Taylor, Peter -ATNTA -GR; Nardocchio-Jones, Gavin -NGM; Connors, Paul -MNPLS -GR; Bachman, Weston -WSHDC -WS; Abele, Daniel -WSHDC -WS -PA  
**Cc:** \*North America-HOM/CDM; Boudreau, Wendy -WSHDC -WS; Barratt, Adam -WSHDC  
**Subject:** Consulate election input for weekly political updates

Dear Colleagues,

I trust you have all been enjoying a lovely summer. Alas, September is just around the corner and with it, a return to WSHDC's weekly political updates. Many of you will recall that Adam and I had mentioned on a FPDS Managers call some time back that consulates would be expected to report on key races taking place in their regions. We're thinking that the easiest and most succinct way to do such reporting (not to mention that which will be read by the largest number of people) would be to provide us with a few paragraphs for our weekly political update.

Since there are a number of you and we want the material to be as timely as possible, we've devised the following **schedule of reporting\***:

Week of Sept. 5 – Miami/Atlanta

Week of Sept. 12 – New York/Boston

Week of Sept. 19 – Denver/Dallas/Washington

Week of Sept. 26 – Detroit/Chicago/Minneapolis

Week of Oct. 3 – Los Angeles/San Francisco/Seattle

Grateful if you could please provide your input to Wendy Boudreau by noon Tuesday of that week.

\*If you have significant concerns with the proposed schedule (e.g. Ministerial visit happening at the same time), please let us know and we can look to shift things around. But since we're not expecting Congress to be around much this fall (and thus our political updates won't be so frequent), we do need to fit these reports into this 5-week time span.

We're generally looking for **4-5 key issues**, none of which needs to be too long:

- 1) How is the presidential race shaping up in your territory? If you're in battleground state territory, what are the latest polls from your region and what are those on the ground saying about the race?
- 2) Are there any key Congressional races to note? Most of these would be Senate races, but let us know if you think there's a key House race to discuss (e.g. is there a Committee chair facing a tough re-election?)
- 3) Any state-level races of note? Gubernatorial? Is the state legislature expected to switch control?
- 4) Any ballot initiatives of interest to Canada (e.g. legalization of marijuana? Measures that could impact Canadian industry, e.g. softwood? Oil sands?)

Please note any strong ties to Canada that possible victors may have.

Samples of reporting provided in 2008 are below.

Please don't hesitate to be in touch should you have any questions.

Sincerely,  
Meaghan



## ATNTA

### A) Region Overview – Presidential race:

John McCain holds a substantial lead over Barack Obama in five of the six states, with margins ranging from 8 points [Georgia, Mississippi] to 19 [Tennessee]. The one maybe-blue exception is North Carolina, where Obama holds a fingernail-thin 2-point lead. Democrats are heartened, however, by record turnout in the three early-voting states [Georgia and Tennessee as well as North Carolina], especially among African-Americans. In addition, Obama has picked up five editorial endorsements (Asheville, NC Citizen-Times; Atlanta Journal-Constitution; Chattanooga Times; Nashville Tennessean; Memphis Commercial Appeal) whereas no newspapers in the region have yet endorsed McCain.

B) Downballot Races: All incumbent US Senators are Republican, and of the seven currently up for re-election, four – Jeff Sessions [Alabama], Thad Cochran [Mississippi-A], Lindsey Graham [South Carolina] and Lamar Alexander [Tennessee] – will be returned with no difficulty. The remaining races are more interesting, in part because all three incumbents are polling in the under-50% political danger zone.

C) Georgia: Few results in 2008 would be as gratifying to state and national Democrats as for incumbent first-term Senator Saxby Chambliss [R] to lose his re-election bid to former state legislator Jim Martin. [It was Chambliss who unseated Max Cleland six years ago in a still-controversial campaign, and there's a strong aroma of "payback time" in the air.] Polls now show the two in a dead heat at 45% each; if the undecided 8% split evenly, the Libertarian candidate [2%] could be the kingmaker.

D) Mississippi: Republican incumbent Roger Wicker was appointed to the Senate after Trent Lott retired last year; this special election is for a four-year term to get the cycle back on track. Wicker's challenger is former Mississippi Governor [also Wicker's close friend and old college roommate] Ronnie Musgrove. Wicker currently leads by a skinny 49-47% margin, but Musgrove could benefit from a large African-American turnout on election day.

E) North Carolina: Incumbent first-term Senator Elizabeth Dole [R], once GOP royalty, has seen her poll numbers drop precipitously over the summer, and she now trails challenger Kay Hagan 49-44%. Dole has been hurt by a number of factors: the economy; a perception that she doesn't really live in the state and rarely even visits; and dwindling McCain coattails in North Carolina. High turnout among women and blacks will be central to a Hagan victory.

F) North Carolina Governor Mike Easley [D] is term-limited, and polling in the campaign to replace him has been all over the map between current Lieutenant Governor Bev Perdue [D] and Charlotte Mayor Pat McCrory [R], with sometimes one in the lead and sometimes the other. At the moment they are in a statistical dead heat (45-44% Perdue); this race is too close to call and is likely to remain so through election day.

## BOSTN

A) Regional Overview - Presidential race: As expected, Obama enjoys considerable leads in Massachusetts, Rhode Island, and Vermont. However, the states of Maine and New Hampshire continue to garner considerable attention from both campaigns. Despite Obama's lead state-wide in Maine, the McCain campaign is investing additional resources in the state's 2nd congressional district in the hopes of securing its one electoral vote. (ME is 1 of 2 states that split its electoral votes.) The McCain campaign is hoping recent visits by Palin and her husband will help win over blue-collar voters in the state's rural northern regions (home to McCain supporter Sen. Susan Collins). While Obama continues to lead by 8-10 pts in New Hampshire, he is not taking his lead for granted. The Obama campaign recently announced it was expanding its fulltime staff within the state and increasing television ads. Although McCain has enjoyed success in NH in the past, recent demographic shifts that include an increase in enrolled Democrats and left leaning Independents could mean an Obama victory. Both McCain and Palin visited NH in recent days.

B) Senate races: Recent polls show Susan Collins continues to lead Cong. Tom Allen (53-43) in Maine's Senate race, but Allen has managed to narrow the gap significantly in recent weeks. Voter turnout will impact results as Allen enjoys strong support among liberal Democrats in the south and college students and has recently picked up a number of endorsements from NGOs and other environmental organizations. The race between John Sununu and former NH Gov. Jeanne Shaheen is too close to call with polls showing Shaheen leading by 8-10pts. However, Shaheen held a similar lead days before the '04 election and lost by 4%. Sununu has name recognition and a strong base of supporters who vote, while it has been 6 years since Shaheen has had any state-wide profile and is unknown to many. A number of local

pundits (both Rep. and Dem) seem to think that Sununu will pull it off in the end. Polls show Rhode Island Senator Jack Reed leading his opponent Jack Tingle by over 50 points.

C) House Races: Given the liberal democratic leaning of voters in Maine's first Congressional district, former state legislator Chellie Pingree is expected to win. Polls show Pingree holding a 10 pt. lead (44-33) over former Snowe staffer and state legislator Charlie Summers. The race in NH's first congressional district is too tight to call with most polls showing incumbent Carol Shea-Porter leading her predecessor Jeb Bradley by less than 5 pts. The gap has continued to narrow with a 10/21 UNH poll showing Bradley 3pts. ahead. Much will depend on voter turnout in this formerly safe Republican district. Prior to his narrow loss during a Democratic sweep in '06, Bradley had won his previous elections with 63% of the vote. Paul Hodes has maintained a 6-7 pt. lead above opponent Jen Horn with some polls showing higher and is expected to win in the 2nd congressional district. The four MA congressmen facing opponents (Oliver, Frank, Tierney, Markey) and RI Congressmen Patrick Kennedy and Jim Langevin are all expected to retain their seats.

D) Vermont Gubernatorial race: Polls show incumbent Governor Jim Douglas leading by 48-53 points. The most recent Rasmussen poll (10/13) shows Independent Anthony Pollina ahead of Democrat Gaye Symington by 5 points. The real question will be whether Douglas will be able to capture the 50% necessary to win decisively. If not, the Democratic legislature will elect the next governor.

Meaghan Sunderland

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## **Im, Sarah -NGA**

**From:** Sunderland, Meaghan -WSHDC -WS  
**Sent:** September-01-16 3:16 AM  
**To:** Morrison, David -NGM  
**Subject:** WSHDC-3570: Donald Trump on Immigration

**Summary:** On August 31st, Republican presidential nominee Donald Trump delivered a much-anticipated speech in Phoenix, Arizona on the topic of immigration. After a week of mixed signals from both the candidate and his campaign that seemed to indicate his previous hardline stances on immigration could be shifting, Mr. Trump made it clear last evening that there would be no softening of his positions. Instead, Mr. Trump used his lengthy address to reiterate and elaborate upon many of the headline-grabbing stances that helped surge him to the Republican nomination. Drawing on his "America First" policy, which has inspired the candidate's previous economic and foreign policy speeches, Mr. Trump referred to illegal immigration as "one of the greatest challenges facing our country today" and went on to deliver a 10-point plan to address it. His speech was all the more noteworthy because it followed a meeting earlier in the day between Mr. Trump and Mexican President Enrique Peña Nieto, the candidate's first meeting with a foreign leader. Mr. Trump's antagonistic policies towards Mexico, which have included calling Mexicans who illegally come to the US "rapists" and vowing to make Mexico pay for the border wall, along with his hard-line stances on immigration, have been staples of his campaign. Despite acknowledging his "important and special" meeting with President Peña Nieto, Mr. Trump still led off his 10-point plan with his proposal to build a wall along the border with Mexico and have that country pay for it. His speech did not include any specific references to Canada or the northern border, and only passing references to NAFTA or TPP. In continuing to hold his hard line on these immigration and security issues,

### **2. Report:**

After a week of mixed signals from both the candidate and his campaign that appeared to indicate his previous hard-line stances could be shifting, last night Mr. Trump made it clear that he intends to stick with those positions. As he bluntly stated towards the end of his address: "You cannot obtain legal status or become a citizen of the United States by illegally entering our country." This will no doubt come as a great relief to his more ardent supporters who may have feared he was somehow "softening" on the issues, but is unlikely to garner him support from those who may be seeking a more tempered candidate.

3. The speech, which was already greatly publicized because of the candidate's potential shifts, became all the more noteworthy when it ended up taking place on the same day as Mr. Trump's meeting with Mexican President Peña Nieto. Although Mr. Trump began his address with a brief acknowledgement of his "thoughtful and substantive conversation" with Mexican President Peña Nieto earlier in the day and his desire to create a new but fair relationship with Mexico, when Mr. Trump finally got around to listing just what he would do to curb illegal immigration, Mr. Trump still led off his 10-point plan with his proposal to build a wall along the border with Mexico and have that country pay for it. (There were no references to Canada or the northern border in the speech.) Adding to the speech's hype were introductions from VP Mike Pence, Sen. Jeff Sessions, former NYC Mayor Rudy Giuliani, and Maricopa County Sheriff Joe Arpaio, a line-up of supporters not seen since the Republican National Convention a month earlier.

4. According to Mr. Trump, the current immigration system is one that serves "wealthy donors, political activists and powerful politicians" but not the American people. Echoing much of the raised in his speech at the Republican National Convention in July, Mr. Trump referred to the upcoming election as Americans' "last chance" to secure the border. Throughout the speech he attacked his rival Hillary Clinton's immigration proposals either as a continuation of the Obama administration or as having the potential to result in a constitutional crisis. In order to drive



home his point about securing the border, he spent much of his time focussing on the potential perils of illegal immigration, including examples of U.S. citizens who had lost loved ones to criminal acts committed by illegal immigrants. He indicated there were two million such criminals in the U.S. and his administration would adopt a "zero tolerance" approach towards them. His proposals would include ending "catch and release", such that anyone who is caught illegally crossing the border would be detained and deported; no funding for sanctuary cities; ensuring that countries take back their citizens who are being deported; as well as detaining and deporting any illegal immigrant already in the country who is arrested for a crime. (Mr. Trump did not indicate whether the latter would have their criminal cases adjudicated by a court of law before being deported, nor if those found innocent would still be deported.) In addition to raising concerns with immigrants who had committed crimes, Trump also referred to the additional pressures that illegal immigrants can create for U.S. citizens who might face additional competition for jobs, housing, benefits, etc. In a nod to his America First policy, Trump stated: "There is only one core issue in the immigration debate, and that core issue is the well-being of the American people".

5. As a means of putting those American workers first, Trump also discussed turning off the "jobs and benefits magnet" of the US. In this regard he proposes use of the e-verify system to ensure people are indeed eligible to work or receive benefits. Trump also proposed creating a new immigration commission to develop a set of reforms that would, *inter alia*, select immigrants based on their likelihood of success in U.S. society as measured by their merit, skills and proficiency. As part of this discussion on how to "serve the best interests of America and its workers", Mr. Trump reiterated his long-standing position on the need for trade deals that would bring back jobs, again referring to the Trans-Pacific Partnership as "one of the great disasters".

6. Perhaps one area where Mr. Trump's views may have evolved over the last few months is on the temporary ban on all Muslims entering the US that he first proposed following the San Bernardino shootings late last year. Instead of that ban, Mr. Trump spoke of suspending the issuance of visas from all those countries where "adequate" screenings cannot occur, at least until such time that "extreme vetting" can occur (with no indication of just what such "extreme vetting" might entail). This would include countries such as Syria and Libya. As for the plight of Syrian refugees, Mr. Trump spoke of establishing safe zones in regions closer to Syria. Mr. Trump appeared to prefer this solution for the cost savings it would provide, a cost that he nevertheless called on Gulf States to pay. While Mr. Trump may no longer raise the temporary Muslim ban, he does call for an "ideological certification" screening for new applicants which would somehow look to ensure that immigrants share American values.

7. [REDACTED] Trump was extremely critical of the Obama administration's approach to enforcing immigration laws, arguing the President (and often by extension, Secretary Clinton) had allowed hundreds of thousands of criminal aliens to walk free in the US or had "gutted" programs that would have allowed for the identification of criminal aliens. In this regard, Trump pledged to triple the number of Immigration and Customs Enforcement (ICE) deportation officers and to create a new deportation task force within ICE to identify the most dangerous criminal illegal immigrants; hire an additional 5,000 border patrol officers and expand the number of border patrol stations; and complete the biometric entry/exit tracking system. And he vowed to terminate executive orders issued by President Obama that have allowed approximately 5 million to remain in the US.

Comment: [REDACTED]

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## Im, Sarah -NGA

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**From:** Sunderland, Meaghan -WSHDC -WS  
**Sent:** September-09-16 2:21 PM  
**To:** Morrison, David -NGM  
**Subject:** WSHDC-3596: U.S. Elections Outlook

**Summary:** With Labour Day now behind us, the U.S. presidential election has moved into the homestretch [REDACTED]

[REDACTED] Most pundits are of the view that Secretary Clinton has a decent chance of beating Mr. Trump on November 8th, but more difficult to predict is the margin by which she may do so. Much will depend on the rate of voter turnout and with neither candidate particularly well-liked, turnout could be low. In addition to the presidential election, voters will also elect 435 members to the U.S. House of Representatives and 34 to the U.S. Senate. Most expect the House of Representatives to remain under Republican control, but many pundits are now giving the edge to Democrats when it comes to likely control of the Senate. Twelve states will hold gubernatorial elections and Republicans will look to expand their historically high number of governorships, but they also run a risk of losing control of some state chambers.

### The Numbers

2. Most general election polls show Clinton leading Trump, although the race has narrowed somewhat over the past few weeks. The Real Clear Politics polling average, for example, currently has Mrs. Clinton up by 2 points (41.2% to Trump's 39.1%) in a race that includes Libertarian candidate Gary Johnson (9.0%) and Green Party candidate Jill Stein (3.3%). These polling averages were showing Clinton with double that margin in early August, right after the Democratic Convention, and everyone will be watching closely to see if the gap between the candidates continues to narrow over the coming weeks.
3. As many will recall from the 2000 election, however, success in the national popular vote only gets a candidate so far. U.S. presidential elections are based on the electoral college system, where each state is assigned a specific number of electoral votes (equal to the combined total of its Senate membership and House of Representatives delegation). To win an election, a presidential candidate must capture at least 270 of the 538 electoral votes. While some may find Clinton's general election lead to be relatively modest, most analysts agree that her path to the 270 electoral votes is much wider and deeper than that of Trump's.
4. Democrats start with an electoral vote advantage, having won 18 states plus the District of Columbia (a total of 242 electoral votes) in the last six presidential elections – known as the “blue wall”. Mitt Romney won 206 electoral votes in 2012 and even if one starts from the presumption that Trump can win those same states (not a given), his path to 270 is not so evident. Trump and his campaign have tried to make inroads with a “Midwest Rust Belt state” strategy, but several polls show him trailing in places like Michigan and Wisconsin. And 2012 swing states like Virginia and Colorado have at times shown Clinton with double-digit leads, such that the Clinton campaign has decided to concentrate its advertising in other battleground states like New Hampshire, Nevada, North Carolina, Florida, Ohio, Pennsylvania and Iowa. The Trump campaign is also engaging those states, but it would require Trump carrying all of Romney's states and winning in the three largest swing states (OH, PA, FL) for him to win. While polls in many of those battleground states are competitive, Clinton is actually leading in all of the 26 states that Obama won in 2012 (a total of 332 electoral votes).

[REDACTED] A Washington Post / Survey Monkey poll out earlier this week shocked many when it listed Clinton and Trump as in a dead heat in the Republican stronghold of Texas. As one reputable pundit recently put it, “it would take something pretty major to enable Trump to overcome this [electoral vote] deficit”.



5. No matter the general election and swing state polls, both candidates continue to face record high unfavourable ratings. A recent Washington Post/ABC News Poll revealed that Hillary Clinton's favourability ratings have actually reached a record 25-year low, with only 41% of respondents having a favourable impression of the former Secretary of State, while 56% had an unfavourable one. Mr. Trump, however, has long been the more unpopular of the two and luckily for Mrs. Clinton, his favourability also remains low, with 35% viewing him favourably to 63% unfavourably. Also working in Secretary Clinton's favour are President Obama's approval ratings, which have been steadily improving (currently around 50%). A more popular President tends to provide less incentive for voters to punish the party in power.

Even Clinton's former rival for the Democratic nomination, Vermont Senator Bernie Sanders, is stumping for the candidate, trying to convince his supporters to cast a ballot for her.

6. A recent Pew Research Center survey found that 46% of Clinton supporters say theirs is a vote against Trump, while 53% of Trump supporters say theirs is primarily a vote against Clinton. (In both 2000 and 2008, more than half of each candidate's supporters said their vote was for their candidate.) This level of dislike has led to speculation on the level of voter turnout, with some arguing it could be historically low, although it won't be due to a lack of interest in the election: 80% of registered voters say they have given "quite a lot" of thought to the election, the highest share at this point in the campaign since 1992. Others argue that dislike for the other party's candidate may actually drive some voters to the polls. With early voting getting underway in some states towards the end of this month, there is little time left for the candidates to adjust their campaigns. Other than an extreme unexpected development (e.g. terrorist incident; market collapse), many will be watching the presidential debates scheduled to take place Sept. 26, Oct. 9 and Oct. 19 to see what if any impact they have on the race.

7. One factor, often overlooked, is the impact that third party candidates may be having on the presidential race. The historically high unfavorable ratings of the two main party candidates would appear to be causing some voters to look elsewhere as this year the third party vote is said to be "bigger than in any presidential election since 1992". Together, Libertarian nominee Gary Johnson and Green Party nominee Jill Stein are garnering over 12% in national polls, with Johnson hovering around 9% and Stein at 3%. (At this point in 2012, Johnson was averaging only 2%.) But little is known about the political leanings of the voters who support them and just what sort of impact their candidacies may be having on either Clinton's or Trump's overall support. A recent Morning Consult survey concluded that the inclusion of Stein and Johnson could cut into Clinton's lead in a number of states which could prove decisive, including Florida, New Hampshire, Ohio and Wisconsin, but would also tip the scales in her favour in states like New Mexico and Iowa. In recent elections, third party candidates have tended to lose support as Election Day neared, but Gary Johnson's support has remained relatively steady over the past month. Unfortunately for Johnson and Stein, however, neither is reaching the 15% threshold needed to participate in the upcoming presidential debates and as Election Day nears, voters may start to re-think their support for these third-party candidates knowing neither one has a chance of getting elected.

8. Interestingly, this could be the first election where Millennial and Gen X eligible voters outnumber voters from the Baby Boom and previous generations. Baby boomers and previous generations have cast the majority of votes in all elections since 1980, but thanks to the aging-in of Millennials and naturalizations among foreign-born adults, the Pew Research Group reports that eligible voters from those younger generations will now outnumber the older ones (126 million eligible voters compared to 98 million in the older generations). Admittedly, "eligible" voters don't necessarily translate into actual voters so the impact of these Millennials and Gen Xers will depend on the level of voter turnout. Millennials and Gen Xers tend to lean Democrat in their voting and if the Clinton campaign can somehow convince them to turn out to the same extent they did in 2012 (53.9%) or 2008 (56.6%), they may boost her chances.

9. There tend to be stark differences in candidate support across other demographic groups too. An NBC/Wall Street Journal poll in early August showed Clinton enjoying a significant advantage among women (51% to Trump's 35%), African-Americans (91% to 1%), all non-white voters (69% to 17%), young voters (46% to 34%), and white voters with a



college degree (47% to 40%). Trump led among white voters (45% to Clinton's 40%), seniors (46% to 43%), independents (36% to 32%) and white voters without a college degree (49% to 36%). The two candidates are running nearly even among men, with Clinton at 43% and Trump at 42%.

### **The Presidential Campaigns**

10. Following their respective party conventions in July, the presidential candidates were expected to spend the final one hundred days of their campaign engaging in traditional campaign tactics: fleshing out their policies with speeches, while trying to broaden their appeal to independents and the other party's moderates, particularly those in battleground states. The two main party candidates have indeed delivered key policy speeches on such issues as national security, immigration and taxation, but neither has shifted his/her position on matters of particular interest to Canada. They continue to express starkly differing views on such matters as climate change, immigration and foreign policy, but both have hewed to the protectionist sentiments that saw them through the primaries. Mr. Trump, whose positions on certain matters often lacked the same detail as Mrs. Clinton's (reftel WSHDC-3303: "Clinton's and Trump's platforms"), has used some of his addresses to flesh out a few of his proposals. More recently, this has included his proposals to expand the U.S. military, address the millions of undocumented immigrants currently in the U.S., and respond to ISIS (reftel WSHDC-3570; WSHDC-3589; WSDHC-3531).

11. Now that both candidates have transition teams in place, there is more talk of what each hopes to accomplish within his/her first 100 days in office. For Clinton, this is said to include putting in place a \$300 million infrastructure plan, ending tax loopholes that allow for corporate inversions, enforcing existing trade agreements (presumably with the appointment of her proposed chief trade prosecutor), and setting renewable energy goals. Some media also report that she may introduce immigration reform legislation in this period. Mr. Trump has also discussed trade enforcement, tax reform and changing immigration laws within his first 100 days, but he has also suggested lifting restrictions on energy production, repealing the Affordable Care Act, and nominating someone other than Merrick Garland to the Supreme Court. Most recently he has said that he would call on military leaders to present him with a plan for Daesh's destruction within 30 days.

12. Despite these attempts to present themselves to the general electorate through policy speeches, much of the last couple of months has been taken up with the two candidates attacking the other's temperament or fitness to hold office, rather than their rival's proposals for how to govern. Trump has been trying to cut into Clinton's margins of late with direct appeals to the African-American and Hispanic communities, arguing that those communities do not see their lots improve when Democrats are in power.

His polling with those communities remains low and several members of his Hispanic Advisory board actually resigned following his recent immigration speech where he reiterated his proposals to deport millions and build a wall along the border with Mexico.

A recent Washington Post survey, however, indicates that Trump continues to trail Clinton with this group across much of the country.

13. Clinton, however, is not without her own controversies. While surveys have found that a majority view her as more "personally qualified to be President" and possessing better judgment than Mr. Trump, many question her honesty and integrity. Revelations about her use of a private email server and foreign donations to the Clinton Foundation while she served as Secretary of State have done nothing to quell voters' concerns. Clinton has been regularly reaching out to moderate Republicans, rolling out their endorsements on a regular basis. She has also been aided in this regard by a number of senior Republicans who may not necessarily endorse her but who are against the notion of a Trump presidency (such as the fifty senior national security officials from Republican administrations who signed a letter in August declaring that Mr. Trump would be "the most reckless president in American history"). But appealing to moderate Republicans is only part of the equation. She must find a way to entice various constituencies, whether Sanders supporters, independents, the young, or non-whites, to see past their own dislike for her and at least cast a vote against Trump.



14. In an effort to further expand her support, it is reported that Clinton's campaign and her supportive super PAC have booked tens of millions of dollars' worth of TV ad time over these final weeks. Trump's campaign is reported to have made a smaller ad buy, and isn't thought to be supplemented by the same sorts of super PACs as various Republican donors opt to sit out this presidential campaign. In addition to having more cash on hand, Clinton's campaign is also better organized. She is said to have more than three times the number of campaign offices in critical states than does Trump and the Republican National Committee. Trump may point to his victories in the primaries as evidence that the traditional data-driven, on-the-ground campaign may not be necessary this year. But given the strong partisan divide that exists in the U.S., engagement of the few undecided and any remaining moderate voters has become that much more important and a campaign able to focus on targeted turnout may have the advantage. Mr. Trump has said that data is "overrated", while the Clinton campaign has spent years building on the data model that was so crucial in getting out the vote for Obama in 2008 and 2012.

### **Congress**

15. In addition to the presidential campaigns, there are a number of other important elections happening at other levels. All 435 seats in the House of Representatives, for instance, will also be up for election in November. Republicans currently hold their largest majority since 1928 with 246 seats to Democrats' 186 (and three vacancies). The increased voter turnout that usually occurs in presidential election years has often favoured Democrats and while they are expected to chip away at the Republican majority this year, possibly picking up 10-15 seats, few if any think Democrats will gain the thirty seats necessary to flip control of the House.

16. The real focus this year will be on the Senate, where Republicans currently enjoy a 54-46 majority over Democrats (includes two Independents who caucus with Democrats). Democrats must win 5 seats to regain the majority (4 if Clinton is elected President and the Vice-President provides the tie-breaking vote). Republicans are clearly the more vulnerable, with 24 seats up for re-election compared to 10 for Democrats, including 7 seats in states that President Obama won in 2012. In recent weeks, more and more analysts have been predicting that Democrats may have just enough of an advantage to re-take control of the Senate. Over the coming weeks the consulates will be providing more detail on those races, and others taking place in their regions, in WSHDC's weekly "U.S. National Political Updates". For now it is interesting to note that unlike the last few U.S. elections, which saw several GOP incumbents lose to far-right/Tea Party opponents in their primaries, establishment-aligned GOP candidates, such as Arizona Sen. John McCain and Florida Sen. Marco Rubio, managed to prevail this year against conservative primary challengers. So while Republican voters may have opted to place an "outsider" at the top of the ticket, they have been less prone to do away with establishment candidates elsewhere. Whether those incumbents ultimately prevail in the election, however, remains to be seen.

17. Given the strong partisan divide, the American electorate tends to vote for the same party up and down the ballot and instances of ticket-splitting (where a voter supports a candidate from one party for President, but another party's candidates for other positions) has become a rarity. But this year, with two unfavourable candidates seeking the presidency, there is more talk of potential ticket-splitting. Moderate Republicans who cannot fathom voting for ██████████ Mr. Trump may ultimately choose to support Secretary Clinton, but may continue to vote Republican down-ballot as a sort of "check" on their presidential choice. Some Republican candidates (e.g. Senators McCain and Rubio) have even adopted this line of argument as part of their campaign strategy. Conversely, if the presidential race tightens and a Clinton victory is not assured, ██████████ could incentivize swing voters to support a Democrat in the House or Senate.

### **2016 Gubernatorial Races**

18. Republicans currently hold 31 governorships, close to a historic high for the party, compared with 18 for Democrats and 1 for Independents. Of the twelve states that will hold gubernatorial elections in 2016, eight are held by Democrats which puts them at a higher risk of losing seats. Gubernatorial elections that coincide with a competitive presidential election usually elicit high voter turnout.

### **2016 State Legislative Races**



19. Of the 86 state legislative chambers with elections in 2016, twenty are considered partisan battlegrounds where a small number of seats could flip the majority control. Republicans control almost twice as many battleground chambers (13) as Democrats (7), which puts them at a greater risk of losing control of chambers. If key state legislatures flip, the results could shape the electoral landscape of future elections.

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# 2016 Democratic Party Platform

July 21, 2016

As Approved by the Democratic Platform Committee  
July 8-9, 2016 - Orlando, FL

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## 2016 DEMOCRATIC PARTY PLATFORM

### Preamble

In 2016, Democrats meet in Philadelphia with the same basic belief that animated the Continental Congress when they gathered here 240 years ago: Out of many, we are one.

Under President Obama's leadership, and thanks to the hard work and determination of the American people, we have come a long way from the Great Recession and the Republican policies that triggered it. American businesses have now added 14.8 million jobs since private-sector job growth turned positive in early 2010. Twenty million people have gained health insurance coverage. The American auto industry just had its best year ever. And we are getting more of our energy from the sun and wind, and importing less oil from overseas.

But too many Americans have been left out and left behind. They are working longer hours with less security. Wages have barely budged and the racial wealth gap remains wide, while the cost of everything from childcare to a college education has continued to rise. And for too many families, the dream of homeownership is out of reach. As working people struggle, the top one percent accrues more wealth and more power. Republicans in Congress have chosen gridlock and dysfunction over trying to find solutions to the real challenges we face. It's no wonder that so many feel like the system is rigged against them.

Democrats believe that cooperation is better than conflict, unity is better than division, empowerment is better than resentment, and bridges are better than walls.

It's a simple but powerful idea: we are stronger together.

Democrats believe we are stronger when we have an economy that works for everyone—an economy that grows incomes for working people, creates good-paying jobs, and puts a middle-class life within reach for more Americans. Democrats believe we can spur more sustainable economic growth, which will create good-paying jobs and raise wages. And we can have more economic fairness, so the rewards are shared broadly, not just with those at the top. We need an economy that prioritizes long-term investment over short-term profit-seeking, rewards the common interest over self-interest, and promotes innovation and entrepreneurship.

We believe that today's extreme level of income and wealth inequality—where the majority of the economic gains go to the top one percent and the richest 20 people in our country own more wealth than the bottom 150 million—makes our economy weaker, our communities poorer, and our politics poisonous.

And we know that our nation's long struggle with race is far from over. More than half a century after Rosa Parks sat and Dr. King marched and John Lewis bled, more than half a century after César Chávez, Dolores Huerta, and Larry Itliong organized, race still plays a significant role in determining who gets ahead in America and who gets left behind. We must face that reality and we must fix it.

We believe a good education is a basic right of all Americans, no matter what zip code they live in. We will end the school-to-prison pipeline and build a cradle-to-college pipeline instead, where every child can live up to his or her God-given potential.

We believe in helping Americans balance work and family without fear of punishment or penalty. We believe in at last guaranteeing equal pay for women. And as the party that created Social Security, we believe in protecting every American's right to retire with dignity.

We firmly believe that the greed, recklessness, and illegal behavior on Wall Street must be brought to an end. Wall Street must never again be allowed to threaten families and businesses on Main Street.

Democrats believe we are stronger when we protect citizens' right to vote, while stopping corporations' outsized influence in elections. We will fight to end the broken campaign finance system, overturn the disastrous *Citizens United* decision, restore the full power of the Voting Rights Act, and return control of our elections to the American people.

Democrats believe that climate change poses a real and urgent threat to our economy, our national security, and our children's health and futures, and that Americans deserve the jobs and security that come from becoming the clean energy superpower of the 21st century.

Democrats believe we are stronger and safer when America brings the world together and leads with principle and purpose. We believe we should strengthen our alliances, not weaken them. We believe in the power of development and diplomacy. We believe our military should be the best-trained, best-equipped fighting force in the world, and that we must do everything we can to honor and support our veterans. And we know that only the United States can mobilize common action on a truly global scale, to take on the challenges that transcend borders, from international terrorism to climate change to health pandemics.

Above all, Democrats are the party of inclusion. We know that diversity is not our problem—it is our promise. As Democrats, we respect differences of perspective and belief, and pledge to work together to move this country forward, even when we disagree. With this platform, we do not merely seek common ground—we strive to reach higher ground.

We are proud of our heritage as a nation of immigrants. We know that today's immigrants are tomorrow's teachers, doctors, lawyers, government leaders, soldiers, entrepreneurs, activists, PTA members, and pillars of our communities.

We believe in protecting civil liberties and guaranteeing civil rights and voting rights, women's rights and workers' rights, LGBT rights, and rights for people with disabilities. We believe America is still, as Robert Kennedy said, "a great country, an unselfish country, and a compassionate country."



These principles stand in sharp contrast to the Republicans, who have nominated as the standard-bearer for their party and their candidate for President a man who seeks to appeal to Americans' basest differences, rather than our better natures.

The stakes have been high in previous elections. But in 2016, the stakes can be measured in human lives—in the number of immigrants who would be torn from their homes; in the number of faithful and peaceful Muslims who would be barred from even visiting our shores; in the number of allies alienated and dictators courted; in the number of Americans who would lose access to health care and see their rights ripped away.

This election is about more than Democrats and Republicans. It is about who we are as a nation, and who we will be in the future.

Two hundred and forty years ago, in Philadelphia, we started a revolution of ideas and of action that continues to this day. Since then, our union has been tested many times, through bondage and civil war, segregation and depression, two world wars and the threat of nuclear annihilation. Generations of Americans fought and marched and organized to widen the circle of opportunity and dignity—and we are fighting still.

Despite what some say, America is and has always been great—but not because it has been perfect. What makes America great is our unerring belief that we can make it better. We can and we will build a more just economy, a more equal society, and a more perfect union—because we are stronger together.

### **Raise Incomes and Restore Economic Security for the Middle Class**

Democrats believe we must break down all the barriers holding Americans back and restore the basic bargain that built America's mighty middle class: If you work hard and play by the rules, you can get ahead and stay ahead. The system is not working when we have a rigged economy in which ordinary Americans work longer hours for lower wages, while most new income and wealth goes to the top one percent. Republican governors, legislatures, and their corporate allies have launched attack after attack on workers' fundamental rights to organize and bargain collectively. Too many Americans are living paycheck to paycheck, and hallmarks of a middle class life—owning a home, having access to affordable and quality childcare, retiring with dignity—feel out of reach. It is no wonder so many Americans feel like the deck is stacked against them. The Democratic Party believes that supporting workers through higher wages, workplace protections, policies to balance work and family, and other investments will help rebuild the middle class for the 21st century.

#### *Raising Workers' Wages*

Democrats believe that the current minimum wage is a starvation wage and must be increased to a living wage. No one who works full time should have to raise a family in poverty. We believe that Americans should earn at least \$15 an hour and have the right to form or join a union and will work in every way we can—in Congress and the federal government, in states and with the private sector—to reach this goal. We should raise the federal minimum wage to \$15 an hour



over time and index it, give all Americans the ability to join a union regardless of where they work, and create new ways for workers to have power in the economy so every worker can earn at least \$15 an hour. We applaud the approaches taken by states like New York and California. We also support creating one fair wage for all workers by ending the sub-minimum wage for tipped workers and people with disabilities.

Democrats support a model employer executive order or some other vehicle to leverage federal dollars to support employers who provide their workers with a living wage, good benefits, and the opportunity to form a union without reprisal. The one trillion dollars spent annually by the government on contracts, loans, and grants should be used to support good jobs that rebuild the middle class.

### *Protecting Workers' Fundamental Rights*

The Democratic Party believes that when workers are strong, America is strong. Democrats will make it easier for workers, public and private, to exercise their right to organize and join unions. We will fight to pass laws that direct the National Labor Relations Board to certify a union if a simple majority of eligible workers sign valid authorization cards, as well as laws that bring companies to the negotiating table. We support binding arbitration to help workers who have voted to join a union reach a first contract.

A major factor in the 40-year decline in the middle class is that the rights of workers to bargain collectively for better wages and benefits have been under attack at all levels. Donald Trump would make matters worse by creating a race to the bottom where the middle class is fighting over fewer and fewer good-paying jobs. In fact, Trump rejected some attempts by his own employees to unionize and has personally hired union-busting firms to undermine workers' rights.

Democrats believe so-called "right to work" laws are wrong for workers—such as teachers and other public employees who serve our communities every day—and wrong for America. We will continue to vigorously oppose those laws and other efforts that would eliminate dues check-off procedures, roll-back prevailing wage standards, abolish fair share requirements, restrict the use of voluntary membership payments for political purposes, attack seniority, restrict due process protections, and require annual recertification efforts. We oppose legislation and lawsuits that would strike down laws protecting the rights of teachers and other public employees. We will defend President Obama's overtime rule, which protects millions of workers by paying them fairly for their hard work.

The Democratic Party believes consumers, workers, students, retirees, and investors who have been mistreated should never be denied their right to fight for fair treatment under the law. That is why we will support efforts to limit the use of forced arbitration clauses in employment and service contracts, which unfairly strip consumers, workers, students, retirees, and investors of their right to their day in court.

### *Supporting Working Families*

We will fight to secure equal pay for women, which will benefit all women and their families, particularly women of color who are disproportionately impacted by discriminatory pay



practices, and against other factors that contribute to the wage gap. And we will combat the discrimination they face on and off the job. While Donald Trump thinks it is “dangerous” for women to leave the home and paid family leave hurts our economy, Democrats will make sure that the United States finally enacts national paid family and medical leave by passing a family and medical leave act that would provide all workers at least 12 weeks of paid leave to care for a new child or address a personal or family member’s serious health issue. We will fight to allow workers the right to earn at least seven days of paid sick leave. We will also encourage employers to provide paid vacation.

Our work and family policies must also help family caregivers. We will ensure that family caregivers have the support, respite care, and training they need to support their loved ones. We will create a strong stable paid caregiving workforce to help meet families' needs, by raising wages, improving access to training, and giving workers the opportunity to come together to make their voices heard in support of a stronger system. We will address the conditions that make it hard for workers with unpredictable or inflexible schedules to meet caregiving responsibilities. We will take steps to expand and strengthen the home care workforce. We will increase investments to make quality childcare more affordable, boost wages for childcare workers, and support the millions of people paying for, coordinating, or providing care for aging relatives or those with disabilities.

#### *Helping More Workers Share in Near-Record Corporate Profits*

Corporate profits are at near-record highs, but workers have not shared through rising wages. Profit-sharing is linked to higher pay and productivity. That is why, working with business, labor, and other stakeholders, we will incentivize companies to share profits with their employees on top of wages and pay increases, while targeting the workers and businesses that need profit-sharing the most.

#### *Expanding Access to Affordable Housing and Homeownership*

Whereas the Republican Presidential nominee rooted for the housing crisis, Democrats will continue to fight for those families who suffered the loss of their homes. We will help those who are working toward a path of financial stability and will put sustainable home ownership into the reach of more families. Democrats will also combat the affordable housing crisis and skyrocketing rents in many parts of the country, which is leading too many families and workers to be pushed out of communities where they work.

We will preserve and increase the supply of affordable rental housing by expanding incentives to ease local barriers to building new affordable rental housing developments in areas of economic opportunity. We will substantially increase funding for the National Housing Trust Fund to construct, preserve, and rehabilitate millions of affordable housing rental units. Not only will this help address the affordable housing crisis, it will also create millions of good-paying jobs in the process. Democrats believe that we should provide more federal resources to the people struggling most with unaffordable housing: low-income families, people with disabilities, veterans, and the elderly.

We will expand efforts to address the lingering effects of the foreclosure crisis through programs like the federal Neighborhood Stabilization Program. We will also expand programs to prevent



displacement of existing residents, especially in communities of color; create affordable and workforce housing; and preserve neighborhood-serving nonprofit organizations and small businesses. We will reinvigorate housing production programs, repair public housing, and increase funding for the housing choice voucher program and other rental assistance programs. And we will fight for robust funding to end homelessness in our cities and counties once and for all, through targeted investments to provide the necessary outreach, social services, and housing options for all populations experiencing homelessness. We will engage in a stronger, more coordinated, and better funded partnership among federal, state, and local governments to end chronic homelessness for millions of Americans. We will build on and expand President Obama's promising initiatives to end veteran and family homelessness in our country.

We must make sure that everyone has a fair shot at homeownership. We will keep the housing market robust and inclusive by supporting more first-time homebuyers and putting more Americans into the financial position to become sustainable homeowners; preserving the 30-year fixed rate mortgage; modernizing credit scoring; clarifying lending rules; expanding access to housing counseling; defending and strengthening the Fair Housing Act; and ensuring that regulators have the clear direction, resources, and authority to enforce those rules effectively. We will prevent predatory lending by defending the Consumer Financial Protection Bureau (CFPB). These steps are especially important because over the next decade most new households will be formed by families in communities of color, which typically have less generational wealth and fewer resources to put towards a down payment.

#### *Protecting and Expanding Social Security*

Democrats are proud to be the party that created Social Security, one of the nation's most successful and effective programs. Without Social Security, nearly half of America's seniors would be living in poverty. Social Security is more than just a retirement program. It also provides important life insurance to young survivors of deceased workers and provides disability insurance protection. We will fight every effort to cut, privatize, or weaken Social Security, including attempts to raise the retirement age, diminish benefits by cutting cost-of-living adjustments, or reducing earned benefits. Democrats will expand Social Security so that every American can retire with dignity and respect, including women who are widowed or took time out of the workforce to care for their children, aging parents, or ailing family members. The Democratic Party recognizes that the way Social Security cost-of-living adjustments are calculated may not always reflect the spending patterns of seniors, particularly the disproportionate amount they spend on health care expenses. We are committed to exploring alternatives that could better and more equitably serve seniors.

We will make sure Social Security's guaranteed benefits continue for generations to come by asking those at the top to pay more, and will achieve this goal by taxing some of the income of people above \$250,000. The Democratic Party is also committed to providing all necessary financial support for the Social Security Administration so that it can provide timely benefits and high-quality service for those it serves. Our plan contrasts starkly with Donald Trump. He has referred to Social Security as a "Ponzi scheme" and has called for privatizing it as well as increasing the retirement age.



### *Ensuring a Secure and Dignified Retirement*

Democrats believe it should be easier for Americans to save for retirement and prepare for unforeseen risks and expenses. We will defend the right of workers to collect their defined benefit pensions and make sure workers get priority and protection when pension plans are in distress. Democrats will also fight to enact legislation to make sure that the earned pension benefits of Americans will not be cut, and will pay for it by closing tax loopholes that benefit millionaires and billionaires. We will fight against any attempt by Republicans in Congress or on Wall Street to roll back the Conflict of Interest Rule, which requires that retirement advisors put the best interests of their clients above their own financial gain.

Seniors should not have to choose between putting food on the table, keeping a roof over their heads, or buying the medication that they need to stay healthy. We strongly support the Older Americans Act, which funds critical programs to help seniors remain independent in their own homes and communities. We are also committed to fighting the immense problem of elder abuse, neglect, and exploitation.

### *Revitalizing Our Nation's Postal Service*

The United States Postal Service (USPS) is a national treasure. That is why Democrats embrace a vibrant, public Postal Service that offers universal service, and reject any effort to privatize or marginalize it. We are committed to eliminating the unsustainable mandate to “pre-fund” retiree health costs. And we will work to restore service to appropriate levels, including overnight delivery of first-class mail and periodicals within the same metropolitan area, maintaining six-day and door-to-door delivery, and appointing members to the Board of Governors and the Postal Regulatory Commission who champion a strong public Postal Service. Democrats also advocate for expanding postal services. This includes offering basic financial services such as paycheck cashing and removing statutory restraints on services the USPS may offer. It also includes promoting vote-by-mail to increase voter participation and to help address the scourge of voter suppression.

## **Create Good-Paying Jobs**

Democrats know that nothing is more important than creating good-paying jobs that can support a middle-class life—from nurses, firefighters, and teachers to construction workers, factory workers, and small business owners. That is why we are committed to doing everything we can to build a full-employment economy, where everyone has a job that pays enough to raise a family and live in dignity with a sense of purpose. Democrats will build strong, sustained, shared economic growth. We know that when Americans come together, we can do amazing things. In the last century, our leaders came together across the aisle to electrify the nation, build the Interstate Highway System, support groundbreaking research in medicine, science, and communications, and send a man to the moon. When we are bold and ambitious, we can do big things and make our economy stronger for decades to come.

### *Building 21st Century Infrastructure*

If we are serious about reversing the decline of the middle class, we need major federal investments to rebuild our crumbling infrastructure and put millions of Americans back to work



in decent paying jobs in both the public and private sectors. The climate emergency and the need to expand the middle class demand that we make the most ambitious investment in American infrastructure since President Eisenhower created the interstate highway system. We will put Americans to work updating and expanding our roads, bridges, public transit, airports, and passenger and freight rail lines. We will build 21st century energy and water systems, modernize our schools, and continue to support the expansion of high-speed broadband networks. We will protect communities from the impact of climate change and help them to mitigate its effects by investing in green and resilient infrastructure. We will address the backlog of deferred maintenance in our four key public land management agencies. And we will protect public health and safety by modernizing drinking and wastewater systems. These investments will create secure, good-paying middle-class jobs today and will substantially increase demand for American-made steel and other products manufactured in the United States. And by boosting economic growth in a fair and equitable way, and strengthening our long-term competitiveness, these investments will create many more jobs in the years to come.

Democrats will also create an independent, national infrastructure bank that will support critical infrastructure improvements. This bank will provide loans and other financial assistance for investments in energy, water, broadband, transportation, and multi-modal infrastructure projects. Democrats will continue to support the interest tax exemption on municipal bonds and will work to establish a permanent version of Build America Bonds as an additional tool to encourage infrastructure investment by state and local governments.

Furthermore, Democrats will fight to ensure resources and programs are adequately targeted to provide economic development, job training, and critical infrastructure investment in areas of the greatest need.

#### *Fostering a Manufacturing Renaissance*

Democrats believe one of the best ways to innovate, prosper, and create good-paying jobs is to make more in America, which is why we firmly support American manufacturing with a "Make it in America" plan. We must revitalize hard-hit manufacturing communities; create thriving hubs of manufacturing and innovation throughout the country; and claw back tax breaks for companies that ship jobs overseas, using the proceeds to reinvest in communities and workers at home instead. Democrats are proud of rescuing the auto industry from collapse, which saved more than a million jobs, and led the auto industry, which is at the heart of American manufacturing, to record sales. Democrats will defend the Export-Import Bank, which supports good-paying jobs across the country and allows American workers and manufacturers to compete on a level playing field. Donald Trump may talk tough, but he has consistently outsourced his own products. American workers deserve better.

#### *Creating Good-Paying Clean Energy Jobs*

We must help American workers and businesses compete for jobs and investments in global clean energy, high-tech products, internet technology products, and advanced manufacturing and vehicles. We must make American manufacturing more internationally competitive by making it the greenest and most efficient in the world, including by investing in industrial energy efficiency.



*Pursuing Our Innovation Agenda: Science, Research, Education, and Technology*

Democrats support ambitious public and private investments in science, technology, and research. We are focused on creating good jobs in communities across America. Entrepreneurship and innovation are fundamental to our future economic growth—in the information technology (IT) industry as well as energy, manufacturing, transportation, health, retail, services, and countless other sectors. We will nurture the next generation of scientists, engineers, and entrepreneurs, especially women and people of color, to make sure America continues to out-compete and out-innovate the rest of the world with our bold innovation agenda.

New technologies are already transforming our economy, and they have the power to generate trillions in economic output. We must harness these forces so that they create higher-paying jobs across the country, bring more people into the workforce, and reduce inequality. To do this, we need to educate our people and train our workforce; support entrepreneurship and promote inclusion in the digital economy; attract and retain talented people from all over the world; and invest in research and development, innovation hubs, as well as in getting ideas to market. We also need to ensure that all students have the opportunity to learn computer science by the time they graduate from high school.

Democrats believe we must harness the promise of technological innovation to promote community participation and enhance opportunities to achieve greater economic self-sufficiency for people with disabilities. We will encourage technology transfer, entrepreneurship, and small business creation throughout the country and in all types of innovation sectors.

High-speed internet connectivity is not a luxury; it is a necessity for 21st century economic success, social mobility, education, health care, and public safety. Despite considerable progress and private investment in the last eight years to close the digital divide, there is more work to do. Democrats will finish the job of connecting every household in America to high-speed broadband, increase internet adoption, and help hook up anchor institutions so they can offer free WiFi to the public. We will take action to help America widely deploy 5G technology—the next generation wireless service that will not only bring faster internet connections to underserved areas, but will enable the Internet of Things and a host of transformative technologies.

Democrats support a free and open internet at home and abroad, and will oppose any effort by Republicans to roll back the historic net neutrality rules that the Federal Communications Commission enacted last year.

Democrats value American innovation and believe it is one of our country's great strengths. We will protect the intellectual property rights of artists, creators, and inventors at home and abroad. The entire nation prospers when we promote the unique and original artistic and cultural contributions of the women and men who create and preserve our nation's heritage.

Democrats will fight against unfair theft of intellectual property and trade secrets. We will increase access to global markets for American intellectual property and other digital trade by opposing quotas, discriminatory measures, and data localization requirements.



Pushing beyond the boundaries of what we know is core to who we are as Americans. Democrats are immensely proud of all that the National Aeronautics and Space Administration (NASA) has done—through its achievements in science, technology and exploration—to better understand our place in the universe and inspire and educate generations of young people in this country to pursue careers in science. Space exploration is a reminder that our capacity for curiosity is limitless, and may be matched only by our ability to achieve great things if we work together. Democrats believe in continuing the spirit of discovery that has animated NASA's exploration of space over the last half century. We will strengthen support for NASA and work in partnership with the international scientific community to launch new missions to space.

#### *Supporting America's Small Businesses*

The Democratic Party will make it easier to start and grow a small business in America, unlike Donald Trump, who has often stifled small businesses—nearly bankrupting some—with his deceptive and reckless corporate practices. By supporting small business and entrepreneurship, we can grow jobs faster in America. We will cut the red tape that holds back small businesses and entrepreneurs. We will open up access to credit because we know that small businesses are some of the best job creators in our country. We will provide tax relief and tax simplification. And we will expand access to new markets because every American small business should be able to tap new markets — whether across their city, across their state, or around the world. Democrats will provide targeted funding and support for entrepreneurship and small business growth in underserved communities. Democrats also realize the critical importance of small businesses as engines of opportunity for women, people of color, tribes, and people in rural America, and will work to nurture entrepreneurship.

#### *Creating Jobs for America's Young People*

Democrats will make investments to spur the creation of millions of jobs for our young people. Roughly one in ten Americans between the ages of 16 and 24 is unemployed, more than twice the national average. The unemployment rates for African American, Latino, Asian American and Pacific Islander (AAPI), and American Indian teenagers and youth with disabilities are far too high. That is why Democrats will provide direct federal funding for a range of local programs that will put young people to work and create new career opportunities.

### **Fight for Economic Fairness and Against Inequality**

Democrats believe that today's extreme levels of income and wealth inequality are bad for our people, bad for our businesses, and bad for our economy. Our country depends on a thriving middle class to drive economic growth, but the middle class is shrinking. Meanwhile, the top one-tenth of one percent of Americans now own almost as much wealth as the bottom 90 percent combined. These trends create problems beyond insulting our sense of basic fairness. Social mobility is far lower than most believe it to be. Children who are born to families in the lowest fifth of earnings are more than 10 times more likely to remain there as adults than they are to earn as much as those in the top fifth. Unless we invest in building a level playing field, we all lose.



### *Reining in Wall Street and Fixing our Financial System*

To restore economic fairness, Democrats will fight against the greed and recklessness of Wall Street. Wall Street cannot be an island unto itself, gambling trillions in risky financial instruments and making huge profits, all the while thinking that taxpayers will be there to bail them out again. We must tackle dangerous risks in big banks and elsewhere in the financial system. We must make Wall Street work for the job-creating, productive economy—including by making loans more affordable for small- and medium-sized businesses. We need to prohibit Wall Street from picking and choosing which credit agency will rate its products as well as from imposing excessive fees on consumers. And we must hold both individuals and corporations accountable when they break the law. Democrats believe that no bank can be too big to fail and no executive too powerful to jail. Democrats will support stronger criminal laws and civil penalties for Wall Street criminals who prey on the public trust. We also support extending the statute of limitations for prosecuting major financial fraud, and providing the Department of Justice, the Securities and Exchange Commission, and the Commodity Futures Trading Commission more resources to prosecute wrongdoing. “Equal Justice Under Law” will not just be words engraved on the entrance of the Supreme Court. It will be the standard that applies to Wall Street and all Americans.

We will also vigorously implement, enforce, and build on President Obama’s landmark Dodd-Frank financial reform law, and we will stop dead in its tracks every Republican effort to weaken it. We will stop Republican efforts to hamstring our regulators through budget cuts, and we will ensure they have the resources and independence to fully enforce the law and hold both individuals and corporations accountable when they break the rules. We will also continue to protect consumers and defend the CFPB from Republican attacks. We oppose any efforts to change the CFPB’s structure from a single director to a partisan, gridlocked Commission and likewise oppose any efforts to remove the Bureau’s independent funding and subject it to the appropriations process. Democrats will also continue to support the CFPB in enforcing foundational civil rights laws protecting against discrimination in consumer lending. Democrats condemn predatory payday lending, and will protect consumers by defending the CFPB and implementing strong new regulations.

Our goal must be to create a financial system and an economy that works for all Americans, not just a handful of billionaires. We support a financial transactions tax on Wall Street to curb excessive speculation and high-frequency trading, which has threatened financial markets. We acknowledge that there is room within our party for a diversity of views on a broader financial transactions tax.

Democrats will not hesitate to use and expand existing authorities as well as empower regulators to downsize or break apart financial institutions when necessary to protect the public and safeguard financial stability, including new authorities to go after risky shadow-banking activities. Banks should not be able to gamble with taxpayers’ deposits or pose an undue risk to Main Street. Democrats support a variety of ways to stop this from happening, including an updated and modernized version of Glass-Steagall as well as breaking up too-big-to-fail financial institutions that pose a systemic risk to the stability of our economy.



We believe that personnel is policy. We will nominate and appoint regulators and officials who are not beholden to the industries they regulate—people with a track record of standing up to power and safeguarding the public trust. We will crack down on the revolving door between the private sector—particularly Wall Street—and the federal government. We will ban golden parachutes for those taking government jobs. We will limit conflicts of interest by requiring bank and corporate regulators to recuse themselves from official work on particular matters that would directly benefit their former employers. And we will bar financial service regulators from lobbying their former colleagues for at least two years.

We will protect and defend the Federal Reserve's independence to carry out the dual mandate assigned to it by Congress—for both full employment and low inflation—against threats from new legislation. We will also reform the Federal Reserve to make it more representative of America as a whole, and we will fight to enhance its independence by ensuring that executives of financial institutions are not allowed to serve on the boards of regional Federal Reserve banks or to select members of those boards.

At a time when many of the largest banks have shunned communities across America, Democrats believe that we need to give Americans affordable banking options, including by empowering the United States Postal Service to facilitate the delivery of basic banking services.

#### *Promoting Competition by Stopping Corporate Concentration*

Large corporations have concentrated their control over markets to a greater degree than Americans have seen in decades—further evidence that the deck is stacked for those at the top. Democrats will take steps to stop corporate concentration in any industry where it is unfairly limiting competition. We will make competition policy and antitrust stronger and more responsive to our economy today, enhance the antitrust enforcement arms of the Department of Justice (DOJ) and the Federal Trade Commission (FTC), and encourage other agencies to police anti-competitive practices in their areas of jurisdiction.

We support the historic purpose of the antitrust laws to protect competition and prevent excessively consolidated economic and political power, which can be corrosive to a healthy democracy. We support reinvigorating DOJ and FTC enforcement of antitrust laws to prevent abusive behavior by dominant companies, and protecting the public interest against abusive, discriminatory, and unfair methods of commerce. We support President Obama's recent Executive Order, directing all agencies to identify specific actions they can take in their areas of jurisdiction to detect anticompetitive practices—such as tying arrangements, price fixing, and exclusionary conduct—and to refer practices that appear to violate federal antitrust law to the DOJ and FTC.

#### *Making the Wealthy Pay Their Fair Share of Taxes*

At a time of massive income and wealth inequality, we believe the wealthiest Americans and largest corporations must pay their fair share of taxes. Democrats will claw back tax breaks for companies that ship jobs overseas, eliminate tax breaks for big oil and gas companies, and crack down on inversions and other methods companies use to dodge their tax responsibilities. We will make sure that our tax code rewards businesses that make investments and provide good-paying jobs here in the United States, not businesses that walk out on America. We will end deferrals so



that American corporations pay United States taxes immediately on foreign profits and can no longer escape paying their fair share of U.S. taxes by stashing profits abroad. We will then use the revenue raised from fixing the corporate tax code to reinvest in rebuilding America and ensuring economic growth that will lead to millions of good-paying jobs.

We will ensure those at the top contribute to our country's future by establishing a multimillionaire surtax to ensure millionaires and billionaires pay their fair share. In addition, we will shut down the "private tax system" for those at the top, immediately close egregious loopholes like those enjoyed by hedge fund managers, restore fair taxation on multimillion dollar estates, and ensure millionaires can no longer pay a lower rate than their secretaries. At a time of near-record corporate profits, slow wage growth, and rising costs, we need to offer tax relief to middle-class families—not those at the top.

Democrats believe that no one should be able avoid paying their fair share by hiding money abroad, and that corrupt leaders and terrorists should not be able to use the system of international finance to their advantage. We will work to crack down on tax evasion and promote transparency to fight corruption and terrorism. And we will make sure that law-abiding Americans living abroad are not unfairly penalized by finding the right solutions for them to the requirements under the Foreign Account Tax Compliance Act (FATCA) and Report of Foreign Bank and Financial Accounts (FBAR).

We will offer tax relief to hard working, middle-class families for the cost squeeze they have faced for years from rising health care, childcare, education, and other expenses. Donald Trump and the Republican Party would do the opposite and provide trillions in tax cuts for millionaires, billionaires, and corporations at the expense of working families, seniors, and the health of our economy.

#### *Promoting Trade That is Fair and Benefits American Workers*

Democrats acknowledge that for millions of Americans, global trade has failed to live up to its promise—with too many countries breaking the rules and too many corporations outsourcing jobs at the expense of American workers and communities.

Over the past three decades, America has signed too many trade deals that have not lived up to the hype. Trade deals often boosted the profits of large corporations, while at the same time failing to protect workers' rights, labor standards, the environment, and public health. We need to end the race to the bottom and develop trade policies that support jobs in America. That is why Democrats believe we should review agreements negotiated years ago to update them to reflect these principles. Any future trade agreements must make sure our trading partners cannot undercut American workers by taking shortcuts on labor policy or the environment. They must not undermine democratic decision-making through special privileges and private courts for corporations, and trade negotiations must be transparent and inclusive.

Democrats' priority is to significantly strengthen enforcement of existing trade rules and the tools we have, including by holding countries accountable on currency manipulation and significantly expanding enforcement resources. China and other countries are using unfair trade practices to tilt the playing field against American workers and businesses. When they dump

cheap products into our markets, subsidize state-owned enterprises, devalue currencies, and discriminate against American companies, our middle class pays the price. That has to stop. Democrats will use all our trade enforcement tools to hold China and other trading partners accountable—because no country should be able to manipulate their currencies to gain a competitive advantage.

While we believe that openness to the world economy is an important source of American leadership and dynamism, we will oppose trade agreements that do not support good American jobs, raise wages, and improve our national security. We believe any new trade agreements must include strong and enforceable labor and environmental standards in their core text with streamlined and effective enforcement mechanisms. Trade agreements should crack down on the unfair and illegal subsidies other countries grant their businesses at the expense of ours. It should promote innovation and access to lifesaving medicines. And it should protect a free and open internet. We should never enter into a trade agreement that prevents our government, or other governments, from putting in place rules that protect the environment, food safety, or the health of American citizens or others around the world.

These are the standards Democrats believe must be applied to all trade agreements, including the Trans-Pacific Partnership (TPP).

### **Bring Americans Together and Remove Barriers to Opportunities**

Democrats believe that everyone deserves the chance to live up to his or her God-given potential. We know that there are barriers standing in the way of that goal, from the enduring scourge of systemic racism to our deeply broken immigration system to discrimination against people on the basis of sexual orientation or gender identity—and we are committed to facing those problems and fixing them. Being stronger together means reaching communities that have been left out and left behind for too long, from coal country to Indian Country to neighborhoods held back by multigenerational poverty. In America, we do not tear each other down—we lift each other up.

#### *Ending Systemic Racism*

Democrats will fight to end institutional and systemic racism in our society. We will challenge and dismantle the structures that define lasting racial, economic, political, and social inequity. Democrats will promote racial justice through fair, just, and equitable governing of all public-serving institutions and in the formation of public policy. Democrats support removing the Confederate battle flag from public properties, recognizing that it is a symbol of our nation's racist past that has no place in our present or our future. We will push for a societal transformation to make it clear that black lives matter and that there is no place for racism in our country.

#### *Closing the Racial Wealth Gap*

America's economic inequality problem is even more pronounced when it comes to racial and ethnic disparities in wealth and income. It is unacceptable that the median wealth for African Americans and Latino Americans is roughly one-tenth that of white Americans. These disparities are also stark for American Indians and certain Asian American subgroups, and may become



even more significant when considering other characteristics such as age, disability status, sexual orientation, or gender identity.

The racial wealth and income gaps are the result of policies that discriminate against people of color and constrain their ability to earn income and build assets to the same extent as other Americans. It has accumulated over time and is made worse by ongoing policies and practices. For example, African Americans and Latinos lost more than half of their net worth as a result of the housing crisis and the Great Recession, because they lost jobs at a much faster rate than white workers and because they were disproportionately targeted for subprime, predatory, and fraudulent mortgages during the run-up to the housing crisis.

Democrats believe it is long past time to close this racial wealth gap. Disparities in wealth cannot be solved by the free market alone, but instead, the federal government must play a role in eliminating systemic barriers to wealth accumulation for different racial groups and improving opportunities for people from all racial and ethnic backgrounds to build wealth. Federal policies must remove barriers to achieving sustainable homeownership, provide for greater diversity in federal and state contracting practices, incentivize and expand access to retirement investment programs, increase opportunities for quality jobs and education, and challenge the deeply rooted structures that perpetuate and exacerbate current disparities and ultimately stagnate the nation's economic growth and security.

#### *Reforming our Criminal Justice System*

Democrats are committed to reforming our criminal justice system and ending mass incarceration. Something is profoundly wrong when almost a quarter of the world's prison population is in the United States, even though our country has less than five percent of the world's population. We will reform mandatory minimum sentences and close private prisons and detention centers. Research and evidence, rather than slogans and sound bites, must guide criminal justice policies.

We will rebuild the bonds of trust between law enforcement and the communities they serve. Across the country, there are police officers inspiring trust and confidence, honorably doing their duty, deploying creative and effective strategies, and demonstrating that it is possible to prevent crime without relying on unnecessary force. They deserve our respect and support, and we should learn from those examples and build on what works.

We will work with police chiefs to invest in training for officers on issues such as de-escalation and the creation of national guidelines for the appropriate use of force. We will encourage better police-community relations, require the use of body cameras, and stop the use of weapons of war that have no place in our communities. We will end racial profiling that targets individuals solely on the basis of race, religion, ethnicity, or national origin, which is un-American and counterproductive. We should report national data on policing strategies and provide greater transparency and accountability. We will require the Department of Justice to investigate all questionable or suspicious police-involved shootings, and we will support states and localities who help make those investigations and prosecutions more transparent, including through reforming the grand jury process. We will assist states in providing a system of public defense that is adequately resourced and which meets American Bar Association standards. And we will

reform the civil asset forfeiture system to protect people and remove perverse incentives for law enforcement to “police for a profit.”

Instead of investing in more jails and incarceration, we need to invest more in jobs and education, and end the school-to-prison pipeline. We will remove barriers to help formerly incarcerated individuals successfully re-enter society by “banning the box,” expanding reentry programs, and restoring voting rights. We think the next President should take executive action to ban the box for federal employers and contractors, so applicants have an opportunity to demonstrate their qualifications before being asked about their criminal records.

The “war on drugs” has led to the imprisonment of millions of Americans, disproportionately people of color, without reducing drug use. Whenever possible, Democrats will prioritize prevention and treatment over incarceration when tackling addiction and substance use disorder. We will build on effective models of drug courts, veterans’ courts, and other diversionary programs that seek to give nonviolent offenders opportunities for rehabilitation as opposed to incarceration.

Because of conflicting federal and state laws concerning marijuana, we encourage the federal government to remove marijuana from the list of “Schedule 1” federal controlled substances and to appropriately regulate it, providing a reasoned pathway for future legalization. We believe that the states should be laboratories of democracy on the issue of marijuana, and those states that want to decriminalize it or provide access to medical marijuana should be able to do so. We support policies that will allow more research on marijuana, as well as reforming our laws to allow legal marijuana businesses to exist without uncertainty. And we recognize our current marijuana laws have had an unacceptable disparate impact in terms of arrest rates for African Americans that far outstrip arrest rates for whites, despite similar usage rates.

We will abolish the death penalty, which has proven to be a cruel and unusual form of punishment. It has no place in the United States of America. The application of the death penalty is arbitrary and unjust. The cost to taxpayers far exceeds those of life imprisonment. It does not deter crime. And, exonerations show a dangerous lack of reliability for what is an irreversible punishment.

We have been inspired by the movements for criminal justice that directly address the discriminatory treatment of African Americans, Latinos, Asian Americans and Pacific Islanders, and American Indians to rebuild trust in the criminal justice system.

#### *Fixing our Broken Immigration System*

The United States was founded as, and continues to be, a country of immigrants from throughout the world. It is no coincidence that the Statue of Liberty is one of our most profound national symbols. And that is why Democrats believe immigration is not just a problem to be solved, it is a defining aspect of the American character and our shared history.

The Democratic Party supports legal immigration, within reasonable limits, that meets the needs of families, communities, and the economy as well as maintains the United States’ role as a beacon of hope for people seeking safety, freedom, and security. People should come to the



United States with visas and not through smugglers. Yet, we recognize that the current immigration system is broken.

More than 11 million people are living in the shadows, without proper documentation. The immigration bureaucracy is full of backlogs that result in U.S. citizens waiting for decades to be reunited with family members, and green card holders waiting for years to be reunited with their spouses and minor children. The current quota system discriminates against certain immigrants, including immigrants of color, and needs to be reformed to the realities of the 21st century. And there are real questions about our detention and deportation policies that must be addressed.

Democrats believe we need to urgently fix our broken immigration system—which tears families apart and keeps workers in the shadows—and create a path to citizenship for law-abiding families who are here, making a better life for their families and contributing to their communities and our country. We should repeal the 3-year, 10-year and permanent bars, which often force persons in mixed status families into the heartbreaking dilemma of either pursuing a green card by leaving the country and their loved ones behind, or remaining in the shadows. We will work with Congress to end the forced and prolonged expulsion from the country that these immigrants endure when trying to adjust their status.

We must fix family backlogs and defend against those who would exclude or eliminate legal immigration avenues and denigrate immigrants. Those immigrants already living in the United States, who are assets to their communities and contribute so much to our country, should be incorporated completely into our society through legal processes that give meaning to our national motto: *E Pluribus Unum*.

And while we continue to fight for comprehensive immigration reform, we will defend and implement President Obama's Deferred Action for Childhood Arrivals and Deferred Action for Parents of Americans executive actions to help DREAMers, parents of citizens, and lawful permanent residents avoid deportation. We will build on these actions to provide relief for others, such as parents of DREAMers. We will support efforts by states to make DREAMers eligible for driver's licenses and in-state college tuition. We will invest in culturally-appropriate immigrant integration services, expand access to English language education, and promote naturalization to help the millions of people who are eligible for citizenship take that last step.

We believe immigration enforcement must be humane and consistent with our values. We should prioritize those who pose a threat to the safety of our communities, not hardworking families who are contributing to their communities. We will end raids and roundups of children and families, which unnecessarily sow fear in immigrant communities. We disfavor deportations of immigrants who served in our armed forces, and we want to create a faster path for such veterans to citizenship.

We should ensure due process for those fleeing violence in Central America and work with our regional partners to address the root causes of violence. We must take particular care with children, which is why we should guarantee government-funded counsel for unaccompanied children in immigration courts. We should consider all available means of protecting these individuals from the threats to their lives and safety—including strengthening in-country and



third-country processing, expanding the use of humanitarian parole, and granting Temporary Protected Status.

We will promote best practices among local law enforcement, in terms of how they collaborate with federal authorities, to ensure that they maintain and build trust between local law enforcement and the communities they serve. We will also vigorously oversee any programs put in place, to make sure that there are no abuses and no arbitrary deportation programs. We will establish an affirmative process for workers to report labor violations and to request deferred action. We will work to ensure that all Americans—regardless of immigration status—have access to quality health care. That means expanding community health centers, allowing all families to buy into the Affordable Care Act exchanges, supporting states that open up their public health insurance programs to all persons, and finally enacting comprehensive immigration reform. And we will expand opportunities for DREAMers to serve in the military and to then receive expedited pathways to citizenship.

We will fight to end federal, state, and municipal contracts with for-profit private prisons and private detention centers. In order to end family detention, we will ensure humane alternatives for those who pose no public threat. We recognize that there are vulnerable communities within our immigration system who are often seeking refuge from persecution abroad, such as LGBT families, for whom detention can be unacceptably dangerous.

We reject attempts to impose a religious test to bar immigrants or refugees from entering the United States. It is un-American and runs counter to the founding principles of this country.

Finally, Democrats will not stand for the divisive and derogatory language of Donald Trump. His offensive comments about immigrants and other communities have no place in our society. This kind of rhetoric must be rejected.

#### *Guaranteeing Civil Rights*

Democrats will always fight to end discrimination on the basis of race, ethnicity, national origin, language, religion, gender, age, sexual orientation, gender identity, or disability. We need to promote civility and speak out against bigotry and other forms of intolerance that have entered our political discourse. It is unacceptable to target, defame, or exclude anyone because of their race, ethnicity, national origin, language, religion, gender, age, sexual orientation, gender identity, or disability. While freedom of expression is a fundamental constitutional principle, we must condemn hate speech that creates a fertile climate for violence. We condemn Donald Trump's demonization of prisoners of war, women, Muslims, Mexicans, and people with disabilities; his playing coy with white supremacists; and the climate of bigotry he is creating. We also condemn the recent uptick in other forms of hate speech, like anti-Semitism and Islamophobia.

#### *Guaranteeing Women's Rights*

We are committed to ensuring full equality for women. Democrats will fight to end gender discrimination in the areas of education, employment, health care, or any other sphere. We will combat biases across economic, political, and social life that hold women back and limit their opportunities and also tackle specific challenges facing women of color. After 240 years, we will



finally enshrine the rights of women in the Constitution by passing the Equal Rights Amendment. And we will urge U.S. ratification of the Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination Against Women.

#### *Guaranteeing Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual, and Transgender Rights*

Democrats applaud last year's decision by the Supreme Court that recognized that LGBT people—like other Americans—have the right to marry the person they love. But there is still much work to be done. LGBT kids continue to be bullied at school, restaurants can refuse to serve transgender people, and same-sex couples are at risk of being evicted from their homes. That is unacceptable and must change. Democrats will fight for the continued development of sex discrimination law to cover LGBT people. We will also fight for comprehensive federal non-discrimination protections for all LGBT Americans, to guarantee equal rights in areas such as housing, employment, public accommodations, credit, jury service, education, and federal funding. We will oppose all state efforts to discriminate against LGBT individuals, including legislation that restricts the right to access public spaces. We support a progressive vision of religious freedom that respects pluralism and rejects the misuse of religion to discriminate. We will combat LGBT youth homelessness and improve school climates. We will support LGBT elders, ensure access to necessary health care, and protect LGBT people from violence—including ending the crisis of violence against transgender Americans. We will also promote LGBT human rights and ensure America's foreign policy is inclusive of LGBT people around the world.

#### *Guaranteeing Rights for People with Disabilities*

No one should face discrimination based on disability status. Democrats are committed to realizing the full promise of the Americans with Disabilities Act. We will protect and expand the right of Americans with disabilities to get the accommodations and support they need to live in integrated community settings. We will improve access to meaningful and gainful employment for people with disabilities. We will provide tax relief to help the millions of families caring for aging relatives or family members with chronic illnesses or disabilities. And we will continue to fight for ratification of the Convention on the Rights of Persons with Disabilities.

#### *Respecting Faith and Service*

Democrats know that our nation, our communities, and our lives are made vastly stronger and richer by faith in many forms and the countless acts of justice, mercy, and tolerance it inspires. We believe in lifting up and valuing the good work of people of faith and religious organizations and finding ways to support that work where possible.

We believe in the power of national service to solve problems and break down barriers by bringing people of all backgrounds together in common purpose. National service expands opportunity for people across America, strengthening our communities and our country. And those who serve earn education awards that they can use for college while building valuable work skills. We will support and strengthen AmeriCorps with the goal that every American who wants to participate in full-time national service will have the opportunity to do so.



### *Investing in Rural America*

We will work to build a stronger rural and agricultural economy. Democrats will increase funding to support the next generation of farmers and ranchers, with particular attention given to promoting environmentally sustainable agricultural practices. We will encourage programs to protect and enhance family farms, a cherished way of life for millions of Americans. We will expand local food markets and regional food systems and provide a focused safety net to assist family operations that need support during challenging times. And we will promote clean energy leadership and collaborative stewardship of our natural resources, while expanding opportunities in rural communities across America. While the EPA's new Agricultural Worker Protection Standard goes a long way to protect farmworkers from harmful pesticides and herbicides, we recognize there is a lot more we can do. The Democratic Party supports stronger agricultural worker protections including regulation of work hours, elimination of child labor, ensuring adequate housing for migrant workers, and sanitary facilities in the field.

Democrats will spur investment to power the rural economy. We support strengthening rural water, sewer, and broadband infrastructure to make rural businesses more competitive. We will expand access to equity capital for businesses and expand the New Markets Tax Credit to better serve rural small businesses. We will promote collaborative stewardship of our natural resources, while developing clean fuels that will grow our economy, lower our energy bills, combat climate change, and make America the clean energy superpower of the 21st century. We will provide assistance to producers who conserve and improve natural resources on their farms and double loan guarantees that support the bio-based economy's dynamic growth.

### *Ending Poverty and Investing in Communities Left Behind*

We reaffirm our commitment to eliminate poverty. Democrats will develop a national strategy, coordinated across all levels of government, to combat poverty. We will direct more federal resources to lifting up communities that have been left out and left behind, such as the 10-20-30 model, which directs 10 percent of program funds to communities where at least 20 percent of the population has been living below the poverty line for 30 years or more. We will also focus on communities that suffer from persistent poverty, including empowerment zones and areas that targeted government data indicate are in persistent poverty.

In the richest country in the world, no one, especially our children, should go hungry. This is why Democrats will protect proven programs like the Supplemental Nutrition Assistance Program (SNAP)—our nation's most important anti-hunger program—that help struggling families put food on the table. We will also help people grow their skills through jobs and skills training opportunities. The Earned Income Tax Credit (EITC) program should be expanded for low-wage workers not raising children, including extending the credit to young workers starting at age 21. The Child Tax Credit (CTC) should be expanded, for example, by making more of it refundable, or indexed to inflation to stem the erosion of the credit.

Democrats will also do more to invest in our most distressed communities—from our cities to coal country to the Rust Belt. We will create good-paying jobs and enhance opportunities by investing in small business, youth employment, and reentry programs for formerly incarcerated people. We will expand and make permanent the New Markets Tax Credit. We will improve



safety by repairing crumbling infrastructure in communities that need it most as well as on tribal lands. And we will make investments in affordable housing near good jobs and good schools.

#### *Building Strong Cities and Metro Areas*

Democrats have a comprehensive agenda to invest in America's cities, grounded on the premise that local leaders are best equipped to create a better future for their residents—but need the resources and flexibility to get the job done. We also recognize there is no easy way to build strong neighborhoods and strong cities, but rather we must address the challenge across many interconnected fronts—from housing, to schools, to jobs, to transportation, to health.

We will dramatically increase federal infrastructure funding for our cities—making significant new investments in roads and bridges, public transit, drinking and wastewater systems, broadband, schools, and more. Democrats also will revitalize communities being dragged down by physical decay by building on programs like the Neighborhood Stabilization Program and the Hardest Hit Fund, which have helped cities across the country begin to address these challenges. We will provide resources to help overcome blight, expand Community Development Block Grant funds, provide more housing support to high-poverty communities, and build more affordable rental housing units.

We will support entrepreneurship and small business growth in cities by providing mentoring and training to entrepreneurs and small business owners in underserved communities as well as expanding federal funding for the New Markets Tax Credit, community development financial institutions, and the State Small Business Credit Initiative.

#### *Promoting Arts and Culture*

Democrats are proud of our support for arts funding and education. We are committed to continuing the policies and programs that have already done so much for our creative arts industry and economy. Investment in the arts strengthens our communities and contributes to our nation's rich cultural heritage. We will continue to support public funding for the National Endowment for the Arts, for the National Endowment for the Humanities, and for programs providing art and music education in primary and secondary schools. The entire nation prospers when we protect and promote the unique artistic and cultural contributions of the women and men who create and preserve our nation's heritage.

#### *Honoring Indigenous Tribal Nations*

We have a profound moral and legal responsibility to the Indian tribes—throughout our history we have failed to live up to that trust. That is why the Democratic Party will fulfill, honor, and strengthen to the highest extent possible the United States' fundamental trust responsibility, grounded in the Constitution, treaties, and case law to American Indian and Alaska Native tribes.

We recognize the inherent sovereignty of Indian nations and will work to enact laws and policies that strengthen, not reduce, the powers of Indian nations over people who interact with them in Indian Country. We will work on a government-to-government basis to continue to empower Indian nations, and to provide sufficient and meaningful resources to Indian tribes to bolster economic development and self-determination. As Democrats, we will constantly seek to ensure that American Indian communities are safe, healthy, educated, innovative, and prosperous.



We will restore tribal lands by continuing to streamline the land-into-trust process and recognize the right of all tribes to protect their lands, air, and waters. We will continue to work on a government-to-government basis to address chronic underfunding, and provide meaningful resources and financial investments that will empower American Indian tribes through increased economic development and infrastructure improvements on tribal lands.

We will strengthen the operation of tribal housing programs, and reauthorize the Indian Housing Block Grant Program. We will increase affordable and safe housing and fight to significantly reduce homelessness on and off Indian reservations, especially among Native youth and veterans.

We will invest in Indian education from early childhood through higher education. We will fully fund the Bureau of Indian Education (BIE), strengthen self-determination to enable culturally-tailored learning unique to each tribal nation, and help to recruit and retain qualified teachers for Native learners. Democrats will continue to support President Obama's Generation Indigenous initiative that has made important strides in promoting new investments and increased engagement with American Indian youth, including by continuing efforts to reform the BIE to provide students attending BIE-funded schools with a world-class culturally-based education. We also support the elimination of school and sports mascots that reflect derogatory stereotypes and that perpetuate racism.

We will strengthen tribal sovereignty and tribal jurisdiction by enacting laws and policies that enhance the ability of Indian nations to govern their territories, keep their communities safe, and prosecute crimes committed on tribal lands. We will build on the important provisions in the Violence Against Women Reauthorization Act of 2013, which reaffirmed the right of Indian tribes to prosecute perpetrators regardless of race who commit domestic violence on tribal lands. Democrats will continue to work to address criminal justice gaps that undermine the safety of tribal communities. And we will back these efforts through robust investments in effective tribal law enforcement and tribal courts.

We believe that health care is a core federal trust responsibility, and we support a robust expansion of the health care provided by the Indian Health Service. We will work to fully fund the Indian Health Service, Tribal, and Urban Indian health care system and to ensure that all American Indians have adequate, safe, and affordable access to primary care providers, including oral health, mental health practitioners, and substance abuse treatment options.

We acknowledge the past injustices and the misguided, harmful federal and state policies and actions based on outdated and discredited values and beliefs that resulted in the destruction of the Indian nations' economies, social, and religious systems, the taking of their lands, and the creation of intergenerational trauma that exists to this day. We believe that we have a moral and profound duty to honor, respect, and uphold our sacred obligation to the Indian nations and Indian peoples.

We will manage for tribal sacred places, and empower tribes to maintain and pass on traditional religious beliefs, languages, and social practices without fear of discrimination or suppression.



We also believe that Native children are the future of tribal nations and that the Indian Child Welfare Act is critical to the survival of Indian culture, government, and communities and must be enforced with the statutory intent of the law.

We will strengthen Indian voting rights, including improved access to polling locations. We will build on federal programs to reduce the disproportionate incarceration of American Indian and Alaska Native men and women, reduce disparities in prison sentencing, protect the religious rights of Native prisoners, reduce barriers to prisoner reentry, and offer access to housing and employment upon reentry.

We are committed to principles of environmental justice in Indian Country and we recognize that nature in all its life forms has the right to exist, persist, maintain, and regenerate its vital cycles. We call for a climate change policy that protects tribal resources, protects tribal health, and provides accountability through accessible, culturally appropriate participation and strong enforcement. Our climate change policy will cut carbon emission, address poverty, invest in disadvantaged communities, and improve both air quality and public health. We support the tribal nations efforts to develop wind, solar, and other clean energy jobs.

We will engage in meaningful and productive consultation with Tribal Leaders, and will host a White House Tribal Nations Conference annually bringing together cabinet and senior level federal officials to gather input from Tribal Nations when formulating federal policy impacting tribes. Democrats believe that American Indian/Alaska Natives shall be represented in the federal government to properly reflect their needs and will work to appoint American Indian/Alaska Natives to key positions, including retaining a senior level policy position in the White House Domestic Policy Council. We will strengthen the White House Council on Native American Affairs. Democrats will increase engagement with American Indians/Alaska Natives living outside of tribal communities.

Democrats also support efforts for self-governance and self-determination of Native Hawaiians. Native Hawaiians are the indigenous, aboriginal people of Hawai'i whose values and culture are the foundation of the Hawaiian Islands. We support proactive actions by the federal government to enhance Native Hawaiian culture, health, language, and education. We recognize and honor the contributions and sacrifices made in service to our country by Native Hawaiians.

#### *Fighting for the People of Puerto Rico*

And we are committed to addressing the extraordinary challenges faced by our fellow citizens in Puerto Rico. Many stem from the fundamental question of Puerto Rico's political status. Democrats believe that the people of Puerto Rico should determine their ultimate political status from permanent options that do not conflict with the Constitution, laws, and policies of the United States. Democrats are committed to promoting economic opportunity and good-paying jobs for the hardworking people of Puerto Rico. We also believe that Puerto Ricans must be treated equally by Medicare, Medicaid, and other programs that benefit families. Puerto Ricans should be able to vote for the people who make their laws, just as they should be treated equally. All American citizens, no matter where they reside, should have the right to vote for the President of the United States. Finally, we believe that federal officials must respect Puerto



Rico's local self-government as laws are implemented and Puerto Rico's budget and debt are restructured so that it can get on a path towards stability and prosperity.

### *Honoring the People of the Territories*

We also recognize and honor the contributions and the sacrifices made in service of our country by the Americans living in the territories of Guam, American Samoa, the U.S. Virgin Islands, and the Commonwealth of the Northern Mariana Islands. We support self-government and self-determination for the people of the territories, and their right to decide their future status. All Americans should be able to vote for the people who make their laws, just as they should be treated equally. And all American citizens, no matter where they reside, should have the right to vote for the President of the United States. We will work as partners to the people of Guam on military matters, believe veterans from Guam and the Virgin Islands should have access to timely and quality Department of Veterans Affairs (VA) care, and take seriously the unique health care challenges that Pacific Island communities face. And we support reviewing the feasibility of extending the ACA to all the territories and increasing the Medicaid cap. For all those who live under our flag, we support strong economic development and will work towards fair and equitable treatment under federal programs.

### **Protect Voting Rights, Fix Our Campaign Finance System, and Restore Our Democracy**

Democrats know that Americans' right to vote is sacred and fundamental. We believe that we must protect Americans' right to vote, while stopping corporations' outsized influence in elections. We must rectify the Supreme Court decision gutting the Voting Rights Act, which is a profound injustice. We will stop efforts by Republican governors and legislatures to disenfranchise people of color, low-income people, and young people, and prevent these voters from exercising their right to vote through onerous restrictions. We will ensure that election officials comply with voting protections, including provisions mandating bilingual materials and voter assistance. And we will fight to reform our broken campaign finance system, which gives outsized influence to billionaires and big corporations. It's time we give back control of our elections to those to whom it belongs—the American people.

### *Protecting Voting Rights*

The Democratic Party was founded on the promise of an expanded democracy. The right to vote is at the heart of our national vision. It is a core principle of the Democratic Party to maximize voter participation for all Americans. Our democracy suffers when nearly two thirds of our citizens do not or cannot participate, as in the last midterm elections. Democrats believe we must make it easier to vote, not harder.

We must restore the full protections of the Voting Rights Act. We will bring our democracy into the 21st century by expanding early voting and vote-by-mail, implementing universal automatic voter registration and same day voter registration, ending partisan and racial gerrymandering, and making Election Day a national holiday. We will restore voting rights for those who have served their sentences. And we will continue to fight against discriminatory voter identification laws, which disproportionately burden young voters, diverse communities, people of color, low-income families, people with disabilities, the elderly, and women.



We support fully funding the Help America Vote Act and will work to fulfill the promise of election reform, including fighting to end long lines at voting booths and ensuring that all registration materials, voting materials, polling places, and voting machines are truly accessible to seniors, Americans with disabilities, and citizens with limited English proficiency. We will support local, county, and state governments in their efforts to upgrade old voting equipment and machines with modern systems, including voter-verified paper ballots, to ensure that all voters are able to exercise this sacred right in the quickest, most convenient, secure and accurate manner possible.

Republicans have enacted various voter suppression tactics from Ohio to Florida, and even though some federal courts have already found that these measures go too far, Democrats will continue to fight these laws to preserve the fundamental right to vote. We support efforts to defeat ill-motivated voter suppression tactics. We also support Ohio's proposed Voters Bill of Rights amendment, North Carolina's Moral Monday movement, and similar initiatives to permanently safeguard this inalienable right.

#### *Fixing Our Broken Campaign Finance System*

Democrats believe we must fight to preserve the essence of the longest standing democracy in the world: a government that represents the American people, not just a handful of powerful and wealthy special interests. We will fight for real campaign finance reform now. Big money is drowning out the voices of everyday Americans, and we must have the necessary tools to fight back and safeguard our electoral and political integrity.

Democrats support a constitutional amendment to overturn the Supreme Court's decisions in *Citizens United* and *Buckley v. Valeo*. We need to end secret, unaccountable money in politics by requiring, through executive order or legislation, significantly more disclosure and transparency—by outside groups, federal contractors, and public corporations to their shareholders. We need to amplify the voices of the American people through a small donor matching public financing system. We need to overhaul and strengthen the Federal Election Commission so that there is real enforcement of campaign finance laws. And we need to fight to eliminate super PACs and outside spending abuses.

Our vision for American democracy is a nation in which all people, regardless of their income, can participate in the political process and can run for office without needing to depend on large contributions from the wealthy and the powerful.

#### *Appointing Judges*

We will appoint judges who defend the constitutional principles of liberty and equality for all, and will protect a woman's right to safe and legal abortion, curb billionaires' influence over elections because they understand that *Citizens United* has fundamentally damaged our democracy, and believe the Constitution protects not only the powerful, but also the disadvantaged and powerless.



### *Securing Statehood for Washington, D.C.*

Restoring our democracy also means finally passing statehood for the District of Columbia, so that the American citizens who reside in the nation's capital have full and equal congressional rights as well as the right to have the laws and budget of their local government respected without Congressional interference.

### *Strengthening Management of Federal Government*

Democrats understand responsible fiscal stewardship is key to American democracy and to the country's long-term economic prosperity. We believe that by making those at the top and the largest corporations pay their fair share we can pay for ambitious progressive investments that create good-paying jobs and offer security to working families without adding to the debt. This stands in contrast to Donald Trump, whose plans could add more than \$30 trillion to the debt and who casually suggests defaulting on America's debt, ending more than 200 years in which the full faith and credit of the United States has been sacrosanct.

We will also ensure that new spending and tax cuts are offset so that they do not add to the nation's debt over time. We will tackle waste, fraud, and abuse to make sure government dollars are spent wisely and efficiently. Democrats believe that we should not be contracting, outsourcing, or privatizing work that is inherently governmental in nature, including postal services, school services, and state and local government services. We are committed to a strong, effective, accountable civil service, delivering the quality public services Americans have every right to expect.

Democrats believe that, in general, the most effective way to identify problems facing our country and develop good solutions is by enacting evidence-based public policy. We recognize the value of data in allowing us to count and carefully consider the needs of different communities. That is why we will preserve and enhance the integrity and accuracy of the census and the American Community Survey (ACS). We will equip the Census Bureau with the resources needed to prepare for and conduct a cost effective, complete and accurate census, as well as improve counting segments of the population that are historically and persistently undercounted, specifically communities of color, immigrants, LGBT people, young children, those with disabilities, and rural and low-income populations. We will also maintain the legal requirement for the public to participate and be counted.

Democrats also believe that government services should be culturally and linguistically appropriate and that data should be disaggregated for those communities, like Asian Americans and Pacific Islanders, where it is necessary to fully understand and address their needs.

Finally, Democrats will make government simpler and more user-friendly. The federal government too often operates with websites designed from another era that are too complicated, too hard to use, and rarely designed for mobile phones or tablets. We will build on the creation of the United States Digital Service (USDS) and give it the resources it needs to transform and digitize the top 25 federal government programs that directly serve citizens. We will eliminate internal barriers to government modernization. And we will use technology to improve outcomes and government accountability by embracing prioritized goal setting and performance tracking for the federal government.



## **Combat Climate Change, Build a Clean Energy Economy, and Secure Environmental Justice**

Climate change is an urgent threat and a defining challenge of our time. Fifteen of the 16 hottest years on record have occurred this century. While Donald Trump has called climate change a “hoax,” 2016 is on track to break global temperature records once more. Cities from Miami to Baltimore are already threatened by rising seas. California and the West have suffered years of brutal drought. Alaska has been scorched by wildfire. New York has been battered by superstorms, and Texas swamped by flash floods. The best science tells us that without ambitious, immediate action across our economy to cut carbon pollution and other greenhouse gases, all of these impacts will be far worse in the future. We cannot leave our children a planet that has been profoundly damaged.

Democrats share a deep commitment to tackling the climate challenge; creating millions of good-paying middle class jobs; reducing greenhouse gas emissions more than 80 percent below 2005 levels by 2050; and meeting the pledge President Obama put forward in the landmark Paris Agreement, which aims to keep global temperature increases to “well below” two degrees Celsius and to pursue efforts to limit global temperature increases to 1.5 degrees Celsius. We believe America must be running entirely on clean energy by mid-century. We will take bold steps to slash carbon pollution and protect clean air at home, lead the fight against climate change around the world, ensure no Americans are left out or left behind as we accelerate the transition to a clean energy economy, and be responsible stewards of our natural resources and our public lands and waters. Democrats reject the notion that we have to choose between protecting our planet and creating good-paying jobs. We can and we will do both.

### *Building a Clean Energy Economy*

We are committed to getting 50 percent of our electricity from clean energy sources within a decade, with half a billion solar panels installed within four years and enough renewable energy to power every home in the country. We will cut energy waste in American homes, schools, hospitals, and offices through energy efficient improvements; modernize our electric grid; and make American manufacturing the cleanest and most efficient in the world. These efforts will create millions of new jobs and save families and businesses money on their monthly energy bills. We will transform American transportation by reducing oil consumption through cleaner fuels, vehicle electrification increasing the fuel efficiency of cars, boilers, ships, and trucks. We will make new investments in public transportation and build bicycle and pedestrian infrastructure across our urban and suburban areas. Democrats believe the tax code must reflect our commitment to a clean energy future by eliminating special tax breaks and subsidies for fossil fuel companies as well as defending and extending tax incentives for energy efficiency and clean energy.

Democrats believe that carbon dioxide, methane, and other greenhouse gases should be priced to reflect their negative externalities, and to accelerate the transition to a clean energy economy and help meet our climate goals. Democrats believe that climate change is too important to wait for climate deniers and defeatists in Congress to start listening to science, and support using every tool available to reduce emissions now. Democrats are committed to defending, implementing, and extending smart pollution and efficiency standards, including the Clean Power Plan, fuel



economy standards for automobiles and heavy-duty vehicles, building codes and appliance standards. We are also committed to expanding clean energy research and development.

Democrats recognize the importance of climate leadership at the local level and know that achieving our national clean energy goals requires an active partnership with states, cities, and rural communities where so much of our country's energy policy is made. We will ensure that those taking the lead on clean energy and energy efficiency have the tools and resources they need to succeed. The federal government should lead by example, which is why we support taking steps to power the government with 100 percent clean electricity.

Democrats are committed to closing the Halliburton loophole that stripped the Environmental Protection Agency (EPA) of its ability to regulate hydraulic fracturing, and ensuring tough safeguards are in place, including Safe Drinking Water Act provisions, to protect local water supplies. We believe hydraulic fracturing should not take place where states and local communities oppose it. We will reduce methane emissions from all oil and gas production and transportation by at least 40 to 45 percent below 2005 levels by 2025 through common-sense standards for both new and existing sources and by repairing and replacing thousands of miles of leaky pipes. This will both protect our climate and create thousands of good-paying jobs.

We will work to expand access to cost-saving renewable energy by low-income households, create good-paying jobs in communities that have struggled with energy poverty, and oppose efforts by utilities to limit consumer choice or slow clean energy deployment. We will streamline federal permitting to accelerate the construction of new transmission lines to get low-cost renewable energy to market, and incentivize wind, solar, and other renewable energy over the development of new natural gas power plants.

We support President Obama's decision to reject the Keystone XL pipeline. As we continue working to reduce carbon dioxide, methane, and other greenhouse gas emissions, we must ensure federal actions do not "significantly exacerbate" global warming. We support a comprehensive approach that ensures all federal decisions going forward contribute to solving, not significantly exacerbating, climate change.

Democrats believe that our commitment to meeting the climate challenge must also be reflected in the infrastructure investments we make. We need to make our existing infrastructure safer and cleaner and build the new infrastructure necessary to power our clean energy future. To create good-paying middle class jobs that cannot be outsourced, Democrats support high labor standards in clean energy infrastructure and the right to form or join a union, whether in renewable power or advanced vehicle manufacturing. During the clean energy transition, we will ensure landowners, communities of color, and tribal nations are at the table.

#### *Securing Environmental and Climate Justice*

Democrats believe clean air and clean water are basic rights of all Americans. Yet as we saw in Flint, Michigan, low-income communities and communities of color are disproportionately home to environmental justice "hot spots," where air pollution, water pollution, and toxic hazards like lead increase health and economic hardship. The impacts of climate change will also disproportionately affect low-income and minority communities, tribal nations, and Alaska



Native villages—all of which suffer the worst losses during extreme weather and have the fewest resources to prepare. Simply put, this is environmental racism.

Democrats believe we must make it a national priority to eradicate lead poisoning, which disproportionately impacts low-income children and children of color and can lead to lifelong health and educational challenges. We will prioritize hiring and training workers from affected communities to clean up toxic brownfields and expand clean energy, energy efficiency, and resilient infrastructure.

The fight against climate change must not leave any community out or behind—including the coal communities who kept America's lights on for generations. Democrats will fight to make sure these workers and their families get the benefits they have earned and the respect they deserve, and we will make new investments in energy-producing communities to help create jobs and build a brighter and more resilient economic future. We will also oppose threats to the public health of these communities from harmful and dangerous extraction practices, like mountaintop removal mining operations.

All corporations owe it to their shareholders to fully analyze and disclose the risks they face, including climate risk. Those who fail to do so should be held accountable. Democrats also respectfully request the Department of Justice to investigate allegations of corporate fraud on the part of fossil fuel companies accused of misleading shareholders and the public on the scientific reality of climate change.

#### *Protecting Our Public Lands and Waters*

Democrats believe in the conservation and collaborative stewardship of our shared natural heritage: the public lands and waterways, the oceans, Everglades, Great Lakes, the Arctic, and all that makes America's great outdoors priceless. As a nation, we need policies and investments that will keep America's public lands public, strengthen protections for our natural and cultural resources, increase access to parks and public lands for all Americans, protect native species and wildlife, and harness the immense economic and social potential of our public lands and waters.

Democrats will work to establish an American Parks Trust Fund to help expand local, state, and national recreational opportunities, rehabilitate existing parks, and enhance America's great outdoors—from our forests and coasts to neighborhood parks—so “America's Best Idea” is held in trust for future generations, and all Americans can access and enjoy natural spaces. Democrats are committed to doubling the size of the outdoor economy, creating nearly hundreds of billions of dollars in new economic activity and millions of new jobs.

Democrats will approach conservation of our public lands and waters in a way that reflects the diversity of our country, by actively engaging all Americans in the great outdoors and protecting natural landscapes and cultural sites that tell the story of America's complex history. To help meet these goals, we will work to build a diverse workforce in agencies that manage America's public lands, waters, and cultural sites.

We oppose drilling in the Arctic and off the Atlantic coast, and believe we need to reform fossil fuel leasing on public lands. We will phase down extraction of fossil fuels from our public lands,



starting with the most polluting sources, while making our public lands and waters engines of the clean energy economy and creating jobs across the country. Democrats will work to expand the amount of renewable energy production on federal lands and waters, from wind in Wyoming to solar in Nevada.

Democrats oppose efforts to undermine the effectiveness of the Endangered Species Act to protect threatened and endangered species.

Because the Bristol Bay drainages of Alaska produce the world's largest salmon fisheries, we support efforts by the EPA under the Clean Water Act to establish proactively science-based restrictions on discharges of dredged or fill material associated with a potential Pebble mine and urge that such restrictions must apply to potential mines at other metallic sulfide deposits in those drainages.

Agricultural lands account for nearly half of the total land area in America and our agricultural practices have a significant impact on our water, land, oceans, and the climate. Therefore, we believe that in order to be effective in keeping our air and water clean and combating climate change, we must enlist farmers as partners in promoting conservation and stewardship.

### **Provide Quality and Affordable Education**

Democrats know that every child, no matter who they are, how much their families earn, or where they live, should have access to a high-quality education, from preschool through high school and beyond. But the United States still lags behind other advanced economies in providing high-quality, universal preschool programs to help all of our kids get a strong start to their educations. Our schools are more segregated today than they were when *Brown v. Board of Education* was decided, and we see wide disparities in educational outcomes across racial and socioeconomic lines. A college degree or another form of post-secondary education is increasingly required for jobs that pay a middle-class wage, but graduation rates have stagnated for low-income students. And the high cost of college has required too many Americans to take out staggering student loans or put a degree out of reach entirely. We are selling our children and our young people short. Democrats are committed to making good public schools available to every child, no matter what zip code they live in, and at last making debt-free college a reality for all Americans.

#### *Making Debt-Free College a Reality*

Democrats believe that in America, if you want a higher education, you should always be able to get one: money should never stand in the way. Cost should not be a barrier to getting a degree or credential, and debt should not hold you back after you graduate. Bold new investments by the federal government, coupled with states reinvesting in higher education and colleges holding the line on costs, will ensure that Americans of all backgrounds will be prepared for the jobs and economy of the future. Democrats are unified in their strong belief that every student should be able to go to college debt-free, and working families should not have to pay any tuition to go to public colleges and universities.



We will also make community college free, while ensuring the strength of our Historically Black Colleges and Universities and Minority-Serving Institutions. The federal government will push more colleges and universities to take quantifiable, affirmative steps in increasing the percentages of racial and ethnic minority, low-income, and first-generation students they enroll and graduate. Achieving these goals depends on state and federal investment in both students and their teachers. Whether full-time or adjunct, faculty must be supported to make transformative educational experiences possible.

*Providing Relief from Crushing Student Debt*

As we make college affordable for future students, we will not forget about the millions of borrowers with unsustainable levels of student debt, who need help right now. Democrats will allow those who currently have student debt to refinance their loans at the lowest rates possible. We will simplify and expand access to income-based repayment so that no student loan borrowers ever have to pay more than they can afford. And we will significantly cut interest rates for future undergraduates because we believe that making college more affordable is more important than the federal government making billions of dollars in profit off those loans. Democrats will also fight for a student borrower bill of rights to ensure borrowers get adequate information about options to avoid or get out of delinquency or default. We will hold lenders and loan servicers to high standards to help borrowers in default rehabilitate and repay their debts. We will continue the important Public Service Loan Forgiveness and loan discharge programs begun by the Obama Administration. Finally, Democrats will restore the prior standard in bankruptcy law to allow borrowers with student loans to be able to discharge their debts in bankruptcy as a measure of last resort. To make progress toward these goals, the government should offer a moratorium on student loan payments to all federal loan borrowers so they have the time and get the resources they need to consolidate their loans, enroll in income-based repayment programs, and take advantage of opportunities to reduce monthly payments and fees.

*Supporting Historically Black Colleges and Universities and Minority-Serving Institutions*

We will strengthen our nation's public and private Historically Black Colleges and Universities, Predominantly Black Institutions, Hispanic-Serving Institutions, Asian American and Native American Pacific Islander-Serving Institutions, Tribal Colleges and Universities, Alaska Native and Native Hawaiian-Serving Institutions, Native American-Serving Nontribal Institutions, and minority-serving institutions. Many of these schools educate disproportionate percentages of growing populations of Americans: students who are racial and ethnic minorities, low-income students, and first-generation students. As the nation is grappling with how to expand educational access and increase success, especially for communities of color and low-income students and families, there is evidence that the nation's HBCUs and Minority Serving Institutions have honed promising models for educating these students to prepare them for high- and critical-need positions while containing costs. We will create a robust and historic dedicated fund to keep costs down, provide quality education, and ensure dedicated support to improve student outcomes and completion rates. We will provide further assistance to students at these schools, as well as other students across the country, by restoring year-round Pell funding so that low- and middle-income students from all backgrounds can get the support they need to make progress toward a college degree throughout the year.



### *Cracking Down on Predatory For-Profit Schools*

We will continue to crack down on for-profit schools that take millions in federal financial aid—often as their principal source of revenue—and then exploit students and burden them with debt rather than educating them. That is why we will strengthen the gainful employment rule to ensure that for-profit schools enable students to complete their degrees and prepare them for work. We will go after for-profits that engage in deceptive marketing, fraud, and other illegal practices. We will also exercise our responsibility in oversight over the Department of Education to carry out their obligation to close down those for-profit schools that consistently engage in fraudulent and illegal conduct. It is unacceptable that for-profit schools with low graduation rates keep encouraging their students to take out federal loans they will have trouble paying back. Therefore, to the maximum extent possible, we will also encourage widespread relief and the forgiveness of debt to those students harmed by the practices of fraudulent institutions.

### *Guaranteeing Universal Preschool and Good Schools for Every Child*

Democrats believe we must have the best-educated population and workforce in the world. That means making early childhood education and universal preschool a priority, especially in light of new research showing how much early learning can impact life-long success. Democrats will invest in early childhood programs like Early Head Start and provide every family in America with access to high-quality childcare and high-quality preschool programs. We support efforts to raise wages for childcare workers, and to ensure that early childhood educators are experienced and high-quality.

We will ensure there are great schools for every child no matter where they live. Democrats know the federal government must play a critical role in making sure every child has access to a world-class education. We believe that a strong public education system is an anchor of our democracy, a propeller of the economy, and the vehicle through which we help all children achieve their dreams. Public education must engage students to be critical thinkers and civic participants while addressing the wellbeing of the whole child.

We also support increased investments in afterschool and summer learning programs, which help working families, keep kids safe, and inspire learning at a time when many students are left unsupervised. We must find ways to encourage mentoring programs that support students in reaching their full potential. Mentoring is a strategy to ensure that children living in poverty have the encouragement and support to aim high and enter the middle class. We will focus on group mentoring, which is a low-cost, high-yield investment that offers the benefit of building a supportive network of peers who push one another towards success.

Democrats believe all students should be taught to high academic standards. Schools should have adequate resources to provide programs and support to help meet the needs of every child. We will hold schools, districts, communities, and states accountable for raising achievement levels for all students—particularly low-income students, students of color, English Language Learners, and students with disabilities.

We must fulfill our national commitment to provide a meaningful education to students with disabilities, and work towards full funding of the Individuals with Disabilities Education Act so that students with disabilities can receive the extra resources and services they need. With an



appropriate educational foundation, children with disabilities can thrive and become adults with greater opportunities and more meaningful life experiences.

We are also deeply committed to ensuring that we strike a better balance on testing so that it informs, but does not drive, instruction. To that end, we encourage states to develop a multiple measures approach to assessment, and we believe that standardized tests must be reliable and valid. We oppose high-stakes standardized tests that falsely and unfairly label students of color, students with disabilities and English Language Learners as failing; the use of standardized test scores as basis for refusing to fund schools or to close schools; and the use of student test scores in teacher and principal evaluations, a practice which has been repeatedly rejected by researchers. We support enabling parents to opt their children out of standardized tests without penalty for either the student or their school.

Democrats recognize and honor all the professionals who work in public schools to support students' education—teachers, education support professionals, and specialized staff. We know that good teachers are essential to improving student learning and helping all students to meet high academic standards. Democrats will launch a national campaign to recruit and retain high-quality teachers. We will ensure that teachers receive the tools and ongoing professional development they need to succeed in the classroom and provide our children with a world-class education. We also must lift up and trust our educators, continually build their capacity, and ensure that our schools are safe, welcoming, collaborative, and well-resourced places for our students, educators, and communities.

We will invest in high-quality STEAM classes, community schools, computer science education, arts education, and expand link learning models and career pathways. We will end the school-to-prison pipeline by opposing discipline policies which disproportionately affect African Americans and Latinos, Native Americans and Alaska Natives, students with disabilities, and youth who identify as LGBT. We will support the use of restorative justice practices that help students and staff resolve conflicts peacefully and respectfully while helping to improve the teaching and learning environment. And we will work to improve school culture and combat bullying of all kinds.

The Democratic Party is committed to eliminating opportunity gaps—particularly those that lead to students from low-income communities arriving on day one of kindergarten several years behind their peers. This means advocating for labor and public assistance laws that ensure poor parents can spend time with their children. This means raising household incomes in poor communities. It means ensuring children have health care, stable housing free of contaminants, and a community free of violence in order to minimize the likelihood of cognitive delays. It means enriching early childhood programming to prepare children in areas such as literacy, numeracy, civic engagement, and emotional intelligence. It means supporting equitable and adequate state funding for public education, and expanding Title I funding for schools that serve a large number or high concentration of children in poverty. It means ending curriculum gaps that maintain and exacerbate achievement gaps.

We support policies that motivate rather than demoralize our educators. We are committed to ensuring that schools that educate children in poverty are not treated unfairly, which is why we



will end the test-and-punish version of accountability that does no more than reveal the many opportunity gaps facing students from low-income communities.

Democrats are committed to providing parents with high-quality public school options and expanding these options for low-income youth. We support democratically governed, great neighborhood public schools and high-quality public charter schools, and we will help them disseminate best practices to other school leaders and educators. Democrats oppose for-profit charter schools focused on making a profit off of public resources. We believe that high-quality public charter schools should provide options for parents, but should not replace or destabilize traditional public schools. Charter schools must reflect their communities, and thus must accept and retain proportionate numbers of students of color, students with disabilities and English Language Learners in relation to their neighborhood public schools. We support increased transparency and accountability for all charter schools.

### **Ensure the Health and Safety of All Americans**

Democrats have been fighting to secure universal health care for the American people for generations, and we are proud to be the party that passed Medicare, Medicaid, and the Affordable Care Act (ACA). Being stronger together means finally achieving that goal. We are going to fight to make sure every American has access to quality, affordable health care. We will tackle the problems that remain in our health care system, including cracking down on runaway prescription drug prices and addressing mental health with the same seriousness that we treat physical health. We will fight Republican efforts to roll back the clock on women's health and reproductive rights, and stand up for Planned Parenthood. And we will tackle the epidemics of substance abuse and gun violence, which each claim tens of thousands of lives every year.

#### *Securing Universal Health Care*

Democrats believe that health care is a right, not a privilege, and our health care system should put people before profits. Thanks to the hard work of President Obama and Democrats in Congress, we took a critically important step toward the goal of universal health care by passing the Affordable Care Act, which has covered 20 million more Americans and ensured millions more will never be denied coverage because of a pre-existing condition. Democrats will never falter in our generations-long fight to guarantee health care as a fundamental right for every American. As part of that guarantee, Americans should be able to access public coverage through a public option, and those over 55 should be able to opt in to Medicare. Democrats will empower the states, which are the true laboratories of democracy, to use innovation waivers under the ACA to develop unique locally tailored approaches to health coverage. This will include removing barriers to states which seek to experiment with plans to ensure universal health care to every person in their state. By contrast, Donald Trump wants to repeal the ACA, leaving tens of millions of Americans without coverage.

For too many of us, health care costs are still too high, even for those with insurance. And medical debt is a problem for far too many working families, with one-quarter of Americans reporting that they or someone in their household had problems or an inability to pay medical bills in the past year. Democrats will also work to end surprise billing and other practices that



lead to out-of-control medical debt that place an unconscionable economic strain on American households. We will repeal the excise tax on high-cost health insurance and find revenue to offset it because we need to contain the long-term growth of health care costs, but should not risk passing on too much of the burden to workers. Democrats will keep costs down by making premiums more affordable, reducing out-of-pocket expenses, and capping prescription drug costs. And we will fight against insurers trying to impose excessive premium increases.

Democrats will fight any attempts by Republicans in Congress to privatize, voucherize, or “phase out” Medicare as we know it. And we will oppose Republican plans to slash funding and block grant Medicaid and SNAP, which would harm millions of Americans.

We will keep fighting until the ACA’s Medicaid expansion has been adopted in every state. Nineteen states have not yet expanded Medicaid. This means that millions of low-income Americans still lack health insurance and are not getting the care they need. Additionally, health care providers, clinics, hospitals, and taxpayers are footing a higher bill when people without insurance visit expensive emergency rooms.

Democrats believe your zip code or census tract should not be a predictor of your health, which is why we will make health equity a central part of our commitment to revitalizing communities left behind. Democrats believe that all health care services should be culturally and linguistically appropriate, and that neither fear nor immigration status should be barriers that impede health care access.

#### *Supporting Community Health Centers*

We must renew and expand our commitment to Community Health Centers, as well as community mental health centers and family planning centers. These health centers provide critically important, community-based prevention and treatment in underserved communities, prevent unnecessary and expensive trips to emergency rooms, and are essential to the successful implementation of the ACA. We will fight for a comprehensive system of primary health care, including dental, mental health care, and low-cost prescription drugs by doubling of funding for federally qualified community health centers over the next decade, which currently serve 25 million people.

Democrats also know that one of the key ingredients to the success of these health centers is a well-supported and qualified workforce in community-based settings. We will fight to train and support this workforce, encourage providers to work with underserved populations through the National Health Service Corps, and create a comprehensive strategy to increase the pool of primary health care professionals.

#### *Reducing Prescription Drug Costs*

It is unacceptable that the United States pays, by far, the highest prices in the world for prescription drugs and that too many Americans between the ages of 18 and 64 cannot afford to fill their prescriptions. A lifesaving drug is no good if it is unaffordable to the very people who need it most. And many drug companies are spending more on advertising than on research. The largest pharmaceutical companies are making billions of dollars per year in profits at higher margins compared to other industries while many stash their profits in offshore tax havens.



Meanwhile, they charge Americans thousands of dollars for new drugs—often at much higher costs than in other developed nations. Democrats are committed to investing in the research, development, and innovation that creates lifesaving drugs and lowers overall health costs, but the profiteering of pharmaceutical companies is simply unacceptable.

We will crack down on price gouging by drug companies and cap the amount Americans have to pay out-of-pocket every month on prescription drugs. We will prohibit anti-competitive “pay for delay” deals that keep generic drugs off the market, and we will allow individuals, pharmacists, and wholesalers to import prescription drugs from licensed pharmacies in Canada and other countries with appropriate safety protections. Democrats will also fight to make sure that Medicare will negotiate lower prices with drug manufacturers.

#### *Enabling Cutting-Edge Medical Research*

Democrats believe we must accelerate the pace of medical progress, ensuring that we invest more in our scientists and give them the resources they need to invigorate our fundamental studies in the life sciences in a growing, stable, and predictable way. We must make progress against the full range of diseases, including Alzheimer’s, HIV and AIDS, cancer, and other diseases, especially chronic ones. We recognize the critical importance of a fully-funded National Institutes of Health to accelerate the pace of medical progress.

#### *Combating Drug and Alcohol Addiction*

We must confront the epidemic of drug and alcohol addiction, specifically the opioid crisis and other drugs plaguing our communities, by vastly expanding access to prevention and treatment, supporting recovery, helping community organizations, and promoting better practices by prescribers. The Democratic Party is committed to assisting the estimated 20 million people struggling with addiction in this country to find and sustain healthy lives by encouraging full recovery and integration into society and working to remove common barriers to gainful employment, housing, and education. We will continue to fight to expand access to care for addiction services, and ensure that insurance coverage is equal to that for any other health conditions. We think it is time for the Department of Health and Human Services (HHS), the Department of Labor, and state regulatory agencies to fully implement the protections of the Mental Health Parity and Addictions Equity Act of 2008—which means that American medical insurers, including the federal government, will need to disclose how they make their medical management decisions.

We should also do more to educate our youth, as well as their families, teachers, coaches, mentors, and friends, to intervene early to prevent drug and alcohol abuse and addiction. We should help state and local leaders establish evidence-based, age-appropriate, and locally-tailored prevention programs. These programs include school-based drug education programs that have been shown to have meaningful effects on risky behavior; community-based peer mentorship and leadership programs; and after-school activities that deter drug use and encourage life skills.

#### *Treating Mental Health*

We must treat mental health issues with the same care and seriousness that we treat issues of physical health, support a robust mental health workforce, and promote better integration of the behavioral and general health care systems. Recognizing that maintaining good mental health is



critical to all people, including young people's health and development, we will work with health professionals to ensure that all children have access to mental health care. We must also expand community-based treatment for substance abuse disorders and mental health conditions and fully enforce our parity law. And we should create a national initiative around suicide prevention across the lifespan—to move toward the HHS-promoted Zero Suicide commitment.

#### *Supporting Those Living with Autism and their Families*

Democrats believe that our country must make supporting the millions of individuals with autism and those diagnosed in the future and their families a priority. We will conduct a nationwide early screening outreach campaign to ensure that all children, and in particular children from underserved backgrounds, can get screened for autism. We will expand services and support for adults and individuals transitioning into adulthood, including employment and housing assistance. And we will push states to require health insurance coverage for autism services in private insurance plans as well as state marketplaces so that people with autism are not denied care.

#### *Securing Reproductive Health, Rights, and Justice*

Democrats are committed to protecting and advancing reproductive health, rights, and justice. We believe unequivocally, like the majority of Americans, that every woman should have access to quality reproductive health care services, including safe and legal abortion—regardless of where she lives, how much money she makes, or how she is insured. We believe that reproductive health is core to women's, men's, and young people's health and wellbeing. We will continue to stand up to Republican efforts to defund Planned Parenthood health centers, which provide critical health services to millions of people. We will continue to oppose—and seek to overturn—federal and state laws and policies that impede a woman's access to abortion, including by repealing the Hyde Amendment. We condemn and will combat any acts of violence, harassment, and intimidation of reproductive health providers, patients, and staff. We will defend the ACA, which extends affordable preventive health care to women, including no-cost contraception, and prohibits discrimination in health care based on gender.

We will address the discrimination and barriers that inhibit meaningful access to reproductive health care services, including those based on gender, sexuality, race, income, disability, and other factors. We recognize that quality, affordable comprehensive health care, evidence-based sex education and a full range of family planning services help reduce the number of unintended pregnancies and thereby also reduce the need for abortions.

And we strongly and unequivocally support a woman's decision to have a child, including by ensuring a safe and healthy pregnancy and childbirth, and by providing services during pregnancy and after the birth of a child, including adoption and social support services, as well as protections for women against pregnancy discrimination. We are committed to creating a society where children are safe and can thrive physically, emotionally, educationally, and spiritually. We recognize and support the importance of civil structures that are essential to creating this for every child.



### *Ensuring Long-Term Care, Services, and Supports*

Our country faces a long-term care crisis that prevents too many seniors and people with disabilities from being able to live with dignity at home or in their communities. The vast majority of people who are aging or living with a disability want to do so at home, but face challenges finding and affording the support they need to do so. Programs that emphasize independence rather than institutionalization must be better structured to support them. Democrats will take steps to strengthen and expand the home care workforce, give seniors and people with disabilities access to quality, affordable long-term care, services, and supports, and ensure that all of these resources are readily available at home or in the community.

### *Protecting and Promoting Public Health*

Investment in our nation's crumbling public health infrastructure is critical to ensuring preparedness for emerging threats; for preventing disease, illness, and injury in communities; and for promoting good health and wellbeing. Inadequate access to public health services has a disparate impact on poor, rural, and minority communities where public health services are a significant source of health care. Democrats will fight for increased investments in public health to better address emerging threats and the needs across our country. To further that end, the Democratic Party will continue to oppose Republican attempts to cut public health services and funding. We will ensure adequate funding of public health education at the undergraduate, graduate, and medical school levels as well as adequate funding of residency training programs in public health, preventive medicine, and its subspecialties.

We must take a number of proactive steps so that all Americans—regardless of location, income or history—have the opportunity to live full, healthy lives. Democrats will fight for increased investments and coordination in public health to better address emerging threats as well as persistent needs across our country. Health equity among Americans remains elusive—higher income is strongly associated with longer life expectancy and the gap in life expectancy between the richest and poorest Americans is increasing. We continue to see unacceptable differences in health outcomes by race, ethnicity, and sexual orientation. A growing body of research demonstrates the link between social factors—such as poverty, unemployment, experience of discrimination, and housing instability—and poor health. Democrats will continue to pursue policies addressing these social factors and empowering communities to respond to their most pressing health needs.

### *Ending Violence Against Women*

Democrats are committed to ending the scourge of violence against women wherever it occurs—whether in our homes, streets, schools, military, or elsewhere. We will continue to support the Violence Against Women Act to provide law enforcement with the tools it needs to combat this problem. We will support comprehensive services for survivors of violence and increase prevention efforts in our communities and on our campuses. Democrats will fight to bring an end to sexual assault—wherever it occurs, including on campuses—because everyone deserves a safe environment where they can learn and thrive, not live in fear. We will provide comprehensive support to survivors, and ensure a fair process for all on-campus disciplinary proceedings and in the criminal justice system. We will increase sexual violence prevention education programs that cover issues like consent and bystander intervention, not only in college, but also in secondary school.



### *Preventing Gun Violence*

With 33,000 Americans dying every year, Democrats believe that we must finally take sensible action to address gun violence. While responsible gun ownership is part of the fabric of many communities, too many families in America have suffered from gun violence. We can respect the rights of responsible gun owners while keeping our communities safe. To build on the success of the lifesaving Brady Handgun Violence Prevention Act, we will expand and strengthen background checks and close dangerous loopholes in our current laws; repeal the Protection of Lawful Commerce in Arms Act (PLCAA) to revoke the dangerous legal immunity protections gun makers and sellers now enjoy; and keep weapons of war—such as assault weapons and large capacity ammunition magazines (LCAM's)—off our streets. We will fight back against attempts to make it harder for the Bureau of Alcohol, Tobacco, Firearms, and Explosives to revoke federal licenses from law breaking gun dealers, and ensure guns do not fall into the hands of terrorists, intimate partner abusers, other violent criminals, and those with severe mental health issues. There is insufficient research on effective gun prevention policies, which is why the U.S. Centers for Disease Control and Prevention must have the resources it needs to study gun violence as a public health issue.

### **Principled Leadership**

Democrats believe that America must lead in the world to grow our economy, protect our interests and values, and make our country safer and more prosperous. We cannot walk away from our position of global leadership and allow other countries to make decisions about our lives, jobs, and safety.

Democrats further believe that when America leads, it must be as a principled force for peace and prosperity in the world. We believe all people deserve to live in dignity and have their rights respected. We believe protecting rights and opportunities for women and girls is essential for security and economic growth. We believe providing access to education and employment for young people and safeguarding the rights of minorities is important to ensuring stability. We believe the smart use of diplomacy, development, and economic statecraft can prevent crises, foster stability, and make us safer. And we believe that we are stronger when we work with our partners and allies, rather than try to go it alone. Our global network of alliances is not a burden—it is a source of tremendous strategic advantage.

We believe that while our military must be the strongest in the world, it should only be sent into combat when the terms of engagement are clearly presented to the American people and our troops have what they need to fulfill their mission. We believe that war must always be the last resort, never the first choice.

These principles have underpinned important progress in the last eight years. When President Obama and Vice President Biden assumed office, the world economy was in the worst crisis since the Great Depression, our alliances were strained, Osama bin Laden remained at large, Iran was racing toward a nuclear weapon, and we were mired in two costly wars. We brought bin Laden to justice, crippled al Qaeda's core leadership, saved America from a second Great



Depression, repaired our alliances, reestablished relations with Cuba while pressing for reforms, and—without firing a shot, dropping a bomb, or putting a single American soldier in harm's way—blocked Iran's ability to pursue a nuclear weapon. America is stronger abroad and safer at home because of this principled leadership.

But there is much more to do to keep our country prosperous and safe. From defeating terrorism and combating climate change to managing China's rise and strengthening our nation's cybersecurity, the next Democratic administration will confront the complex challenges that lie ahead by staying true to our principles and core values.

Donald Trump has a different approach. There has never been a major party candidate less qualified or less fit for the office of President of the United States or to be Commander-in-Chief than Donald Trump. He wants more countries to have nuclear weapons. He thinks our military should engage in war crimes. He wants to build walls and keep people—including Americans—from entering the country based on their race, religion, ethnicity, and national origin. He has no strategy for dealing with key threats facing our country, including climate change and ISIS. He wants to abandon our allies and empower our adversaries. His dangerous, incoherent policies would undo the progress we have made.

Donald Trump believes America is weak and an embarrassment. We believe America is unlike any other nation on earth. Our ingenuity is unparalleled, our military unrivaled, our economy the largest, most dynamic, and innovative, and our values an enduring source of strength and inspiration the world over. We are not a country that cowers behind walls. We lead with purpose. With American leadership, guided by our principles and in concert with our allies and partners, the coming years can be the most stable, secure, and prosperous time we and the world have ever known.

### **Support Our Troops and Keep Faith with Our Veterans**

Democrats believe America must continue to have the strongest military in the world. Donald Trump has called our military “a disaster.” We reject that view of our brave men and women in serving in the Army, Marine Corps, Navy, Air Force, and Coast Guard. They perform admirably while sacrificing immeasurably.

#### *Defense Spending*

We support a smart, predictable defense budget that meets the strategic challenges we face, not the arbitrary cuts that the Republican Congress enacted as part of sequestration. We must prioritize military readiness by making sure our Active, Reserve, and National Guard components remain the best trained and equipped in the world. We will seek a more agile and flexible force and rid the military of outdated Cold War-era systems.

We must end waste in the defense budget. We will audit the Pentagon, launch a high-level commission to review the role of defense contractors, and take greater action against those who have been involved in fraud. And we will ensure that the Department of Defense invests its budget wisely.



### *Veterans and Service Members*

Our country has a sacred, moral responsibility to keep faith with all our veterans and wounded warriors. We must take care of those who have put their lives on the line to defend us. That is why we will push for more educational benefits and job training, end chronic homelessness and combat suicide, and protect and preserve the post-9/11 GI Bill for future generations. We will also ensure that reservists and Guard members are treated fairly when it comes to employment, health, education benefits, deployment, and reintegration.

We are outraged by the systemic problems plaguing the Department of Veterans Affairs (VA). We will fight for every veteran to have timely access to high-quality health care and timely processing of claims and appeals. We must also look for more ways to make certain the VA provides veteran-centric care, such as providing women with full and equal treatment, including reproductive health services; expanding mental health programs; continuing efforts to identify and treat invisible, latent, and toxic wounds of war; treating post-traumatic stress; and expanding the post-9/11 veteran's caregiver program to include all veterans. We reject attempts by Republicans to sell out the needs of veterans by privatizing the VA. We believe that the VA must be fully resourced so that every veteran gets the care that he or she has earned and deserves, including those suffering from sexual assault, mental illness and other injuries or ailments.

### *Military Families*

Democrats honor the sacrifice of military families who serve alongside our service members. We recognize the unique concerns and challenges they face, especially after 15 years of continuous deployments. We will support military families with jobs, education, childcare, and health care. We will promote family-friendly policies and champion efforts to care for our military family members, especially for the spouses and children who have to rebuild their lives after the loss of a loved one or life-altering injury or disability.

### *A Strong Military*

Democrats welcome and honor all Americans who want to serve and will continue to fight for their equal rights and recognition. We are proud of the repeal of Don't Ask, Don't Tell and we commit ourselves to insuring fair treatment for LGBT veterans, including by proactively reviewing and upgrading discharge records for veterans who were discharged because of their sexual orientation. We are also proud of the opening of combat positions to women. Our military is strongest when people of all races, religions, sexual orientations, and gender identities are honored for their service to our country.

Democrats are committed to addressing the scourge of military sexual assault. We must increase efforts to prevent sexual assault and rape, and aggressively investigate and prosecute allegations. And we must make sure victims receive timely, appropriate and comprehensive treatment for physical, emotional, and psychological trauma resulting from sexual assault.



## Confront Global Threats

Democrats will protect our country. We will strengthen our homeland security, deal wisely and firmly with those who seek to imperil America or our partners, deter aggression, and promote peace. We will use all the tools of American power, especially diplomacy and development, to confront global threats and ensure war is the last resort.

### *Terrorism*

We must defeat ISIS, al Qaeda, and their affiliates, and prevent other groups from emerging in their place. Democrats will continue to lead a broad coalition of allies and partners to destroy ISIS' stronghold in Iraq and Syria. We will press those in the region, especially the Gulf countries and local forces on the ground, to carry their weight in prosecuting this fight. We will dismantle the global network of terror, which supplies terrorists with money, arms, and fighters, and stop them from recruiting and inspiring potential radicals. We will improve our intelligence capabilities, with appropriate safeguards here at home, and ensure that the intelligence community and law enforcement is prepared to deal effectively with the threats we face. We will harden our defenses as well as those of our partners against external and homegrown threats. We will secure the homeland, investing more resources to improve mass transit, aviation, infrastructure, and port security. And we will remain a resilient nation, always coming together to stand up to terror.

Democrats will seek an updated Authorization for Use of Military Force (AUMF) that is more precise about our efforts to defeat ISIS and that does not involve large-scale combat deployment of American troops.

As we prosecute the fight against terrorism, Democrats will repudiate vile tactics that would do us harm. We reject Donald Trump's vilification of Muslims. It violates the religious freedom that is the bedrock of our country and feeds into ISIS' nefarious narrative. It also alienates people and countries who are crucial to defeating terrorism; the vast majority of Muslims believe in a future of peace and tolerance. We reject Donald Trump's suggestion that our military should engage in war crimes, like torturing prisoners or murdering civilian family members of suspected terrorists. These tactics run counter to American principles, undermine our moral standing, cost innocent lives, and endanger Americans. We also firmly reject Donald Trump's willingness to mire tens of thousands of our combat troops in another misguided ground war in the Middle East, which would only further embolden ISIS. There is nothing smart or strong about such an approach.

### *Syria*

The Syrian crisis is heartbreaking and dangerous, and its impact is threatening the region, Europe, and beyond. Donald Trump would inflame the conflict by alienating our allies, inexplicably allowing ISIS to expand in Syria, and potentially starting a wider war. This is a reckless approach. Democrats will instead root out ISIS and other terrorist groups and bring together the moderate Syrian opposition, international community, and our regional allies to reach a negotiated political transition that ends Assad's rule. Given the immense scale of human suffering in Syria, it is also imperative that we lead the international community in providing greater humanitarian assistance to the civilian victims of war in Syria and Iraq, especially displaced refugees.



### *Afghanistan*

In Afghanistan, we will work with the NATO-led coalition of partners to bolster the democratically-elected government as it assumes a primary role in tackling terrorism, forges a more secure future for the country, and safeguards advances, like securing women's rights. Democrats will continue to push for an Afghan-led peace process and press both Afghanistan and Pakistan to deny terrorists sanctuary on either side of the border. We support President Obama's decision to maintain a limited troop presence in Afghanistan into 2017 and ensure that Afghanistan never again serves as a haven for terrorists to plan and launch attacks on our homeland.

### *Iran*

We support the nuclear agreement with Iran because, as it is vigorously enforced and implemented, it verifiably cuts off all of Iran's pathways to a bomb without resorting to war. We reject Donald Trump's view that we should have walked away from a deal that peacefully dismantles Iran's nuclear program. We will continue the work of this administration to ensure that Iran never acquires a nuclear weapon and will not hesitate to take military action if Iran races towards one.

Democrats will also address the detrimental role Iran plays in the region and will robustly enforce and, if necessary, strengthen non-nuclear sanctions. Iran is the leading state sponsor of terrorism. It violates the human rights of its population, denies the Holocaust, vows to eliminate Israel, and has its fingerprints on almost every conflict in the Middle East. Democrats will push back against Iran's destabilizing activities including its support for terrorist groups like Hamas and Hezbollah, counter Iran's ballistic missile program, bolster the capabilities of our Gulf partners, and ensure that Israel always has the ability to defend itself. Finally, Democrats recognize that the Iranian people seek a brighter future for their country and greater engagement with the international community. We will embrace opportunities for cultural, academic and other exchanges with the Iranian people.

### *North Korea*

North Korea is perhaps the most repressive regime on the planet, run by a sadistic dictator. It has conducted several nuclear tests and is attempting to develop the capability to put a nuclear warhead on a long-range missile that could directly threaten the United States. The regime is also responsible for grave human rights abuses against the North Korean people. Yet Donald Trump praises North Korea's dictator; threatens to abandon our treaty allies, Japan and South Korea; and encourages the proliferation of nuclear weapons in the region. This approach is incoherent and rather than solving a global crisis, would create a new one. Democrats will protect America and our allies, press China to restrain North Korea, and sharpen the choices for Pyongyang to compel it to abandon its illegal nuclear and missile programs.

### *Russia*

Russia is engaging in destabilizing actions along its borders, violating Ukraine's sovereignty and attempting to recreate spheres of influence that undermine American interests. It is also propping up the Assad regime in Syria, which is brutally attacking its own citizens. Donald Trump would overturn more than 50 years of American foreign policy by abandoning NATO partners—



countries who help us fight terrorism every day—and embracing Russian President Vladimir Putin instead. We believe in strong alliances and will deter Russian aggression, build European resilience, and protect our NATO allies. We will make it clear to Putin that we are prepared to cooperate with him when it is in our interest—as we did on reducing nuclear stockpiles, ensuring Iran could not obtain a nuclear weapon, sanctioning North Korea, and resupplying our troops in Afghanistan—but we will not hesitate to stand up to Russian aggression. We will also continue to stand by the Russian people and push the government to respect the fundamental rights of its citizens.

#### *Cybersecurity and Online Privacy*

Democrats will protect our industry, infrastructure, and government from cyberattacks. We will strengthen our cybersecurity, seek to establish global norms in cyberspace, and impose consequences on those who violate the rules. We will do this while protecting the privacy and civil liberties of the American people. We will also ensure a coherent strategy across federal agencies by building on the Obama Administration's Cybersecurity National Action Plan, especially the empowerment of a federal Chief Information Security Officer, the modernization of federal information technology, and upgrades to government-wide cybersecurity.

Democrats reject the false choice between privacy interests and keeping Americans safe. We need liberty and security, and each makes the other possible. We will protect the privacy and civil liberties of the American people—standing firm against the type of warrantless surveillance of American citizens that flourished during the Bush Administration. We support recent reforms to government bulk data collection programs so the government is not collecting and holding millions of files on innocent Americans.

We will support a national commission on digital security and encryption to bring together technology and public safety communities to address the needs of law enforcement, protect the privacy of Americans, assess how innovation might point to new policy approaches, and advance our larger national security and global competitiveness interests.

#### *Non-Proliferation of Nuclear, Chemical, and Biological Weapons*

Democrats are committed to preventing the spread of nuclear, chemical, and biological weapons and to eventually ridding the planet of these catastrophic weapons. We believe America will be safer in a world with fewer weapons of mass destruction. Donald Trump encourages the spread of nuclear weapons across Asia and the Middle East, which would weaken the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons (NPT), and he is unwilling to rule out using a nuclear weapon against ISIS.

Democrats want to reduce the number of nuclear, chemical, and biological weapons around the world, as well as their means of delivery, while retaining a strong deterrent as long as others maintain nuclear strike capabilities. We will strengthen the NPT, push for the ratification of the Comprehensive Nuclear-Test-Ban Treaty, and stop the spread of loose nuclear material. Democrats will be informed by a new Nuclear Posture Review in determining continued ways to appropriately shape our nuclear deterrent, with the aim of reducing our reliance on nuclear weapons while meeting our national security obligations. Democrats will also seek new opportunities for further arms control and avoid taking steps that create incentives for the



expansion of existing nuclear weapons programs. To this end, we will work to reduce excessive spending on nuclear weapons-related programs that are projected to cost \$1 trillion over the next 30 years.

### *Global Climate Leadership*

Climate change poses an urgent and severe threat to our national security, and Democrats believe it would be a grave mistake for the United States to wait for another nation to take the lead in combating the global climate emergency. According to the military, climate change is a threat multiplier that is already contributing to new conflicts over resources, catastrophic natural disasters, and the degradation of vital ecosystems across the globe. While Donald Trump says that climate change is a “hoax” created by and for the Chinese, Democrats recognize the catastrophic consequences facing our country, our planet, and civilization.

We believe the United States must lead in forging a robust global solution to the climate crisis. We are committed to a national mobilization, and to leading a global effort to mobilize nations to address this threat on a scale not seen since World War II. In the first 100 days of the next administration, the President will convene a summit of the world’s best engineers, climate scientists, policy experts, activists, and indigenous communities to chart a course to solve the climate crisis. Our generation must lead the fight against climate change and we applaud President Obama's leadership in forging the historic Paris climate change agreement. We will not only meet the goals we set in Paris, we will seek to exceed them and push other countries to do the same by slashing carbon pollution and rapidly driving down emissions of potent greenhouse gases like hydrofluorocarbons. We will support developing countries in their efforts to mitigate carbon pollution and other greenhouse gases, deploy more clean energy, and invest in climate resilience and adaptation.

As a proud Arctic nation, we are against putting the region at risk through drilling in the Arctic Ocean or the Arctic National Wildlife Refuge. Instead, while protecting our strategic interests, we will seek collaborative, science-based approaches to be good stewards of the rapidly changing Arctic region.

## **Protect Our Values**

Our values of inclusion and tolerance inspire hope around the world and make us safer at home. The world will be more secure, stable, and peaceful when all people are able to reach their God-given potential and live in freedom and dignity. We strive to ensure that the values upon which our country was built, including our belief that all people are created equal, are reflected in everything our nation does. That is why we will promote peacebuilding, protect democracy, and champion human rights defenders. And we will seek to safeguard vulnerable minorities, including LGBT people and people with disabilities.

### *Women and Girls*

We believe the United States must continue to be a strong advocate for the rights and opportunities of women and girls around the world. Elevating their status is not just the right thing to do—it is also a strategic imperative that advances American interests in prosperity and



stability. When women and girls are healthy, educated, and able to participate economically, their families and communities prosper, poverty decreases, and economies grow. And when women participate in conflict resolution and post-conflict processes, it improves the likelihood of securing sustainable peace. Democrats are committed to advancing the rights and opportunities of women and girls as a central focus of American diplomacy, development, and defense efforts and will continue to support the United States National Action Plan on Women, Peace, and Security. We will work to end the epidemic of gender-based violence around the world. We will urge ratification of the Convention for the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination Against Women.

We will support sexual and reproductive health and rights around the globe. In addition to expanding the availability of affordable family planning information and contraceptive supplies, we believe that safe abortion must be part of comprehensive maternal and women's health care and included as part of America's global health programming. Therefore, we support the repeal of harmful restrictions that obstruct women's access to health care information and services, including the "global gag rule" and the Helms Amendment that bars American assistance to provide safe, legal abortion throughout the developing world.

#### *Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual, and Transgender People*

Democrats believe that LGBT rights are human rights and that American foreign policy should advance the ability of all persons to live with dignity, security, and respect, regardless of who they are or who they love. We applaud President Obama's historic Presidential Memorandum on International Initiatives to Advance the Human Rights of Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual, and Transgender Persons, which combats criminalization, protects refugees, and provides foreign assistance. We will continue to stand with LGBT people around the world, including fighting efforts by any nation to infringe on LGBT rights or ignore abuse.

#### *Trafficking and Modern Slavery*

We will stop the scourge of human trafficking and modern slavery of men, women, boys, and girls. We will use the full force of the law against those who engage in modern-day forms of slavery, including the commercial sexual exploitation and forced labor of men, women, and children. Building on the accomplishments of the Victims of Trafficking and Violence Protection Act of 2000, we call for increased diplomatic efforts with foreign governments to root out complicit public officials who facilitate or perpetrate this evil. We will also work to increase the provision of services and protections for trafficking survivors.

#### *Young People*

The majority of the developing world is under the age of 30. These countries will be more prosperous and stable if young people have access to education and employment opportunities. Democrats will promote the rights of young people and nurture young leaders. We will work with people around the world who seek greater opportunities, including by promoting job creation, expanding education and health care, and fostering partnerships between peoples.



### *Religious Minorities*

We are horrified by ISIS' genocide and sexual enslavement of Christians and Yezidis and crimes against humanity against Muslims and others in the Middle East. We will do everything we can to protect religious minorities and the fundamental right of freedom of religion.

### *Refugees*

The world is experiencing a major refugee crisis with more than 60 million people displaced as a result of conflicts in the Middle East, Africa, and Eastern Europe. We support President Obama's call for an international summit to address this crisis so that every country assumes its responsibility to meet this humanitarian challenge. While Donald Trump proposes banning Muslim refugees, we will look for ways to help innocent people who are fleeing persecution while ensuring rigorous screening and vetting.

### *Civil Society*

Democrats support progress toward more accountable governance and universal rights. As autocrats and strongmen around the world crack down on civil society and imprison those who speak out to demand greater freedom, we will continue to bolster groups and individuals who fight for fundamental human rights, democracy, and rule of law. We will support strong legislatures, independent judiciaries, free press, vibrant civil society, honest police forces, religious freedom, and equality for women and minorities. We will bolster the development of civil society and representative institutions that can protect fundamental human rights and improve the quality of life for all citizens, including independent and democratic unions. In non-democratic countries, we will work with international partners to assist the efforts of those struggling to promote peaceful political reforms.

Democrats will protect Americans citizens abroad. We condemn the practice of unlawful detentions or imprisonment, especially of journalists and civil rights activists.

### *Anti-Corruption*

Democrats believe that we need to end corruption worldwide and increase transparency. We will fight corruption, promote good governance, and support the rule of law. We will also seek to close offshore tax havens, which corrupt rulers, individuals, and corporations exploit to shelter ill-gotten gains or avoid paying taxes at home.

### *Torture*

We will always seek to uphold our values at home and abroad, not just when it is easy, but when it is hard. That is why President Obama banned torture without exception in his first week in office and why Democrats condemn Donald Trump's statements that he would engage in torture and other war crimes. We agree with military and national security experts who acknowledge that torture is not an effective interrogation technique.

### *Closing Guantánamo Bay*

The Democratic Party remains committed to closing the detention facility at Guantánamo Bay and ending indefinite detention without trial or conviction. Keeping the facility open is a blemish on our record, serves as a recruiting tool for extremists, and undermines our standing in the world.



### *Development Assistance*

We believe that development assistance is an essential instrument of American power. It can prevent threats, enhance stability, and reduce the need for military force. With less than one percent of the federal budget, our development assistance has helped cut extreme poverty in half, drastically decreased maternal and child mortality, reduced global hunger, provided food security, countered deadly pandemics, promoted education, and put an AIDS-free generation within reach. This investment reflects the best of America and makes us safer. We need to continue this work and make more progress on important global goals like ending extreme poverty and hunger.

We will support local development efforts, recognizing the self-determination of the peoples and countries we assist to direct their own futures. We will also learn from recent conflicts to improve civilian capacity for conflict prevention and stabilization.

### *Global Health*

America has made critical investments in global health, including in the areas of maternal and child health, HIV and AIDS, tuberculosis, and malaria. It is vital that we continue this work—which has saved millions of lives around the world and is essential to our nation's health security. While the Republican Party refuses to fund important measures that could contain and address the Zika pandemic, Democrats are ready to limit the reach of Zika—just as we did with Ebola—and support funding for diagnostic tests for the virus, vaccine, and treatment. We will also prepare for potential pandemics, like avian influenza and H1N1, by working with first responders and health officials to reduce the risks associated with unintentional or deliberate outbreaks of infectious diseases.

### *HIV and AIDS*

Democrats believe an AIDS-free generation is within our grasp. But today far too many Americans living with HIV are without access to quality care and too many new infections occur each year. That is why we will implement the National HIV and AIDS Strategy; increase research funding for the National Institutes of Health; cap pharmaceutical expenses for people living with HIV and AIDS; reform HIV criminalization laws; and expand access for harm reduction programs and HIV prevention medications, particularly for the populations most at risk of infection. Abroad, we will continue our commitment to the President's Emergency Plan for AIDS Relief and increase global funding for HIV and AIDS prevention and treatment. Democrats will always protect those living with HIV and AIDS from stigma and discrimination.

### *International Labor*

Democrats believe that a key element of American leadership is growing our economy and protecting American jobs. We also believe that the world will be safer when there is greater prosperity. That is why we will prioritize and strongly enforce provisions on decent work and worker's rights in all American diplomatic, trade, and programmatic efforts. We think it is wrong for workers in the United States to have to compete against poverty-wage, child, or slave labor.

Democrats will fight to end child labor. We will promote broad-based economic growth across the world, pursuing a global economic agenda that promotes rising wages and invests in quality



public services, workers' rights, and environmental protections. We believe that we need to coordinate our economic actions with other countries to address economic insecurity, specifically youth un- and underemployment, gender inequality, the digital transformation, and the transition towards green jobs.

### **A Leader in the World**

American leadership is essential to keeping us safe and our economy growing in the years ahead. It would be a dangerous mistake for America to abandon our responsibilities. We cannot, as Donald Trump suggests, cede the mantle of leadership for global peace and security to others who will not have our best interests in mind.

#### *Asia-Pacific*

From the Asia Pacific to the Indian Ocean, we will deepen our relationships in the region with Australia, Japan, New Zealand, the Philippines, South Korea, and Thailand. We will honor our historic commitment to Japan. We will continue to invest in a long-term strategic partnership with India—the world's largest democracy, a nation of great diversity, and an important Pacific power. We will build on the historic opening with Burma and advocate for greater human rights protections and national reconciliation among Burma's many different ethnic groups. We will help Pakistan stabilize its polity and build an effective relationship with the predominantly young population of this strategically located, nuclear-armed country. We will also work with our allies and partners to fortify regional institutions and norms as well as protect freedom of the seas in the South China Sea.

Democrats will push back against North Korean aggression and press China to play by the rules. We will stand up to Beijing on unfair trade practices, currency manipulation, censorship of the internet, piracy, and cyberattacks. And we will look for areas of cooperation, including on combatting climate change and nuclear proliferation. We will promote greater respect for human rights, including the rights of Tibetans. We are committed to a "One China" policy and the Taiwan Relations Act and will continue to support a peaceful resolution of Cross-Strait issues that is consistent with the wishes and best interests of the people of Taiwan.

#### *Middle East*

In the Middle East, Democrats will push for more inclusive governance in Iraq and Syria that respects the equal rights of all citizens; provide support and security for Lebanon and Jordan, two countries that are hosting a disproportionate number of refugees; maintain our robust security cooperation with Gulf countries; and stand by the people of the region as they seek greater economic opportunity and freedom. A strong and secure Israel is vital to the United States because we share overarching strategic interests and the common values of democracy, equality, tolerance, and pluralism. That is why we will always support Israel's right to defend itself, including by retaining its qualitative military edge, and oppose any effort to delegitimize Israel, including at the United Nations or through the Boycott, Divestment, and Sanctions Movement.

We will continue to work toward a two-state solution of the Israeli-Palestinian conflict negotiated directly by the parties that guarantees Israel's future as a secure and democratic



Jewish state with recognized borders and provides the Palestinians with independence, sovereignty, and dignity. While Jerusalem is a matter for final status negotiations, it should remain the capital of Israel, an undivided city accessible to people of all faiths. Israelis deserve security, recognition, and a normal life free from terror and incitement. Palestinians should be free to govern themselves in their own viable state, in peace and dignity.

### *Europe*

Europe remains America's indispensable partner and a cornerstone of global security. Democrats will stand with our European allies and partners to deter Russian aggression, address security challenges to Europe's south, and deal with unprecedented economic and social challenges. We will maintain our steadfast commitment to the special relationship with United Kingdom and the transatlantic partnership with the European Union. We will seek to strengthen our strategic partnership with Turkey while pushing for reforms, end the division of Cyprus, and continue to support a close relationship with states that seek to strengthen their ties to NATO and Europe, such as Georgia and Ukraine.

We reject Donald Trump's threats to abandon our European and NATO allies, all while he praises Putin. When the United States was attacked on September 11, 2001, our NATO allies invoked Article 5 of the North Atlantic Treaty, stating that an attack against one is an attack against all—for the first and only time in its history. Our NATO allies fought alongside us in Afghanistan and are still there today. We will maintain our Article 5 collective security commitments to NATO because we are stronger when we have our allies at our side. And we will continue to push NATO members to contribute their fair share.

### *Americas*

The Americas are a region of singular strategic, economic, and cultural importance and opportunity for the United States. Democrats reject Donald Trump's proposal to build a wall on our southern border and alienate Mexico, a valuable partner. We will instead embrace our neighbors and pursue strong, fruitful partnerships across the region, from Canada to Latin America and the Caribbean. We will bolster democratic institutions, promote economic opportunity and prosperity, and tackle the rise of drugs, transnational crime, and corruption. We will strengthen the U.S.-Caribbean regional relationship through economic development and comprehensive immigration reform. And we will build on our long-term commitment to Colombia and work with Central American countries to stabilize the Northern Triangle.

In Cuba, we will build on President Obama's historic opening and end the travel ban and embargo. We will also stand by the Cuban people and support their ability to decide their own future and to enjoy the same human rights and freedoms that people everywhere deserve. In Venezuela, we will push the government to respect human rights and respond to the will of its people. And in Haiti, we will support local and international efforts to bolster the country's democratic institutions and economic development. We will also help more Haitians take advantage of Temporary Protected Status. Finally, we will close the School of the Americas, now known as the Western Hemisphere Institute for Security Cooperation, because we believe that military and police forces should support democracy, not subvert it.



### *Africa*

Africa is home to many of the fastest growing economies in the world. Democrats will strengthen our partnership and collaboration with the African Union, emphasizing trade while increasing development assistance to bolster the continent's domestic economies. We will engage our African partners on the full range of global challenges and opportunities, and we will continue to strengthen democratic institutions and human rights, fair trade and investment, development, and global health. We will help our African partners improve their capacity to respond to crises and protect citizens, especially women and girls. And we will work to end the reign of terror promulgated by Boko Haram, al-Shabaab, AQIM, and ISIS.

Democrats applaud President Obama's National Strategy for Combating Wildlife Trafficking, and his commitment to preserving the earth's natural beauty for future generations. Democrats support science-based management of iconic wildlife in Africa, including stronger regulations banning the importation into the United States of hunting trophies that are not supported by current science-based evidence and are related to or funded by non-scientific special interests.

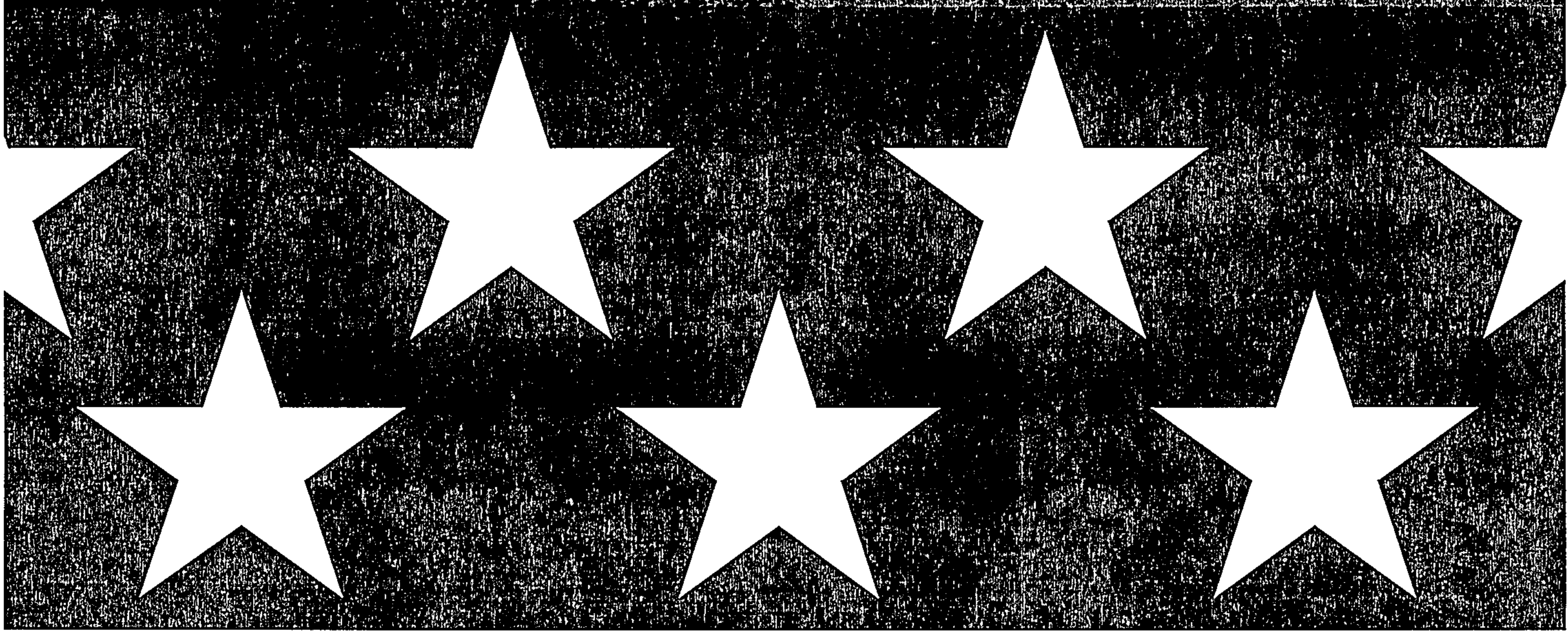
### *Global Economy and Institutions*

Democrats will protect and grow the global economy. While Donald Trump wants to default on our debt, which would lead to a disastrous global economic crisis, we believe we must be responsible stewards and work with our partners to prevent another worldwide financial crisis.

Democrats believe that global institutions—most prominently the United Nations—and multilateral organizations have a powerful role to play and are an important amplifier of American strength and influence. Many of these organizations need reform and updating, but it would be reckless to follow Donald Trump and turn our back on the international system that our country built. It has provided decades of stability and economic growth for the world and for America.



REPUBLICAN  
PLATFORM  
2016





*We dedicate this platform with admiration and gratitude*



To all who stand strong in the face of danger  
So that the American people may be protected against it —  
The men and women of our military,  
of our law enforcement, and the first responders  
of every community in our land —  
And to their families.



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# Preamble

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With this platform, we the Republican Party reaffirm the principles that unite us in a common purpose.

We believe in American exceptionalism.

We believe the United States of America is unlike any other nation on earth.

We believe America is exceptional because of our historic role — first as refuge, then as defender, and now as exemplar of liberty for the world to see.

We affirm — as did the Declaration of Independence: that all are created equal, endowed by their Creator with inalienable rights of life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness.

We believe in the Constitution as our founding document.

We believe the Constitution was written not as a flexible document, but as our enduring covenant.

We believe our constitutional system — limited government, separation of powers, federalism, and the rights of the people — must be preserved uncompromised for future generations.

We believe political freedom and economic freedom are indivisible.

When political freedom and economic freedom are separated — both are in peril; when united, they are invincible.

We believe that people are the ultimate resource — and that the people, not the government, are the best stewards of our country's God-given natural resources.

As Americans and as Republicans we wish for peace — so we insist on strength. We will make America safe. We seek friendship with all peoples and all nations, but we recognize and are prepared to deal with evil in the world.

Based on these principles, this platform is an invitation and a roadmap. It invites every American to join us and shows the path to a stronger, safer, and more prosperous America.

This platform is optimistic because the

American people are optimistic.

This platform lays out — in clear language — the path to making America great and united again.

For the past 8 years America has been led in the wrong direction.

Our economy has become unnecessarily weak with stagnant wages. People living paycheck to paycheck are struggling, sacrificing, and suffering.

Americans have earned and deserve a strong and healthy economy.

Our standing in world affairs has declined significantly — our enemies no longer fear us and our friends no longer trust us.

People want and expect an America that is the most powerful and respected country on the face of the earth.

The men and women of our military remain the world's best. They have been shortchanged in numbers, equipment, and benefits by a Commander in Chief who treats the Armed Forces and our veterans as a necessary inconvenience.

The President and the Democratic party have dismantled Americans' system of healthcare. They have replaced it with a costly and complicated scheme that limits choices and takes away our freedom.

The President and the Democratic party have abandoned their promise of being accountable to the American people.

They have nearly doubled the size of the national debt.

They refuse to control our borders but try to control our schools, farms, businesses, and even our religious institutions. They have directly attacked the production of American energy and the industry-related jobs that have sustained families and communities.



• REPUBLICAN PLATFORM 2016 •

The President has been regulating to death a free market economy that he does not like and does not understand. He defies the laws of the United States by refusing to enforce those with which he does not agree. And he appoints judges who legislate from the bench rather than apply the law.

We, as Republicans and Americans, cannot allow this to continue. That is why the many sections of this platform affirm our trust in the people, our faith in their judgment, and our determination to help them take back their country.

This means removing the power from unelected, unaccountable government.

This means relieving the burden and expense of punishing government regulations.

And this means returning to the people and the states the control that belongs to them. It is the control and the power to make their own decisions about what's best for themselves and their families and communities.

This platform is many things: A handbook for returning decision-making to the people. A guide to the constitutional rights of every American. And a manual for the kind of sustained growth that will bring opportunity to all those on the sidelines of our society.

Every time we sing, "God Bless America," we are asking for help. We ask for divine help that our country can fulfill its promise. We earn that help by recommitting ourselves to the ideas and ideals that are the true greatness of America.



*Mary Fallin*

**Governor Mary Fallin**  
CO-CHAIR



*John Barrasso*

**Senator John Barrasso**  
CHAIRMAN



*Virginia Foxx*

**Representative Virginia Foxx**  
CO-CHAIR



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# Restoring the American Dream



## **Rebuilding the Economy and Creating Jobs**

We are the party of a growing economy that gives everyone a chance in life, an opportunity to learn, work, and realize the prosperity freedom makes possible.

Government cannot create prosperity, though government can limit or destroy it. Prosperity is the product of self-discipline, enterprise, saving and investment by individuals, but it is not an end in itself. Prosperity provides the means by which citizens and their families can maintain their independence from government, raise their children by their own values, practice their faith, and build communities of cooperation and mutual respect. It is also the foundation for our nation's global leadership, for it is the vigor of our economy which makes possible our military strength and our national security.

Pundits and Democrats tell us that we should accept the new normal of a slow-growing economy. The consequences are too dire to ever accept that:

President Obama and his party will set a record of being the first modern president ever to leave office without a single calendar year of three percent economic growth. As a result, the number of Americans living in poverty has increased by 7 million, our nation's economy has lost nearly \$8 trillion of cumulative output compared with an average recovery, and the economic growth shortfall has left a cumulative real after-tax per person personal income shortfall of nearly \$17,000 compared with an average recovery.

Under President Obama and the Democrats, new private-sector jobs are three million below where they should have been with just average modern post-recession growth. Our labor force participation rate has plunged to at or below 63 percent for far too long, lows last seen two gen-

erations ago before President Reagan was elected in 1980. Business closures have exceeded business startups throughout the Obama Presidency. Strong growth, more jobs, increasing incomes, and expanding opportunity are all in short supply under President Obama and the Democrats.

We repudiate the absurd idea this is the best America can do. The American people rejected that nonsense the last time it was offered, in the historic election of 1980, and we ask them to join us now to again repudiate the false gospel of America's diminishment and retreat. We offer instead our vision of an opportunity society based on the economics of inclusion.

## **Fair and Simple Taxes for Growth**

Republicans consider the establishment of a pro-growth tax code a moral imperative. More than any other public policy, the way government raises revenue — how much, at what rates, under what

circumstances, from whom, and for whom — has the greatest impact on our economy's performance. It powerfully influences the level of economic growth and job creation, which translates into the level of opportunity for those who would otherwise be left behind. Getting our tax system right will be the most important factor in driving the entire economy back to prosperity.

The current tax code is rightly the object of both anger and mockery. Its length is exceeded only by its complexity. We must start anew. That will be an enormous undertaking and, if it is to succeed, it must command the attention and approval of the American people. It cannot be engineered from the top down, but must have a common sense approach, and be simplified.

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Republicans consider the establishment of a pro-growth tax code a moral imperative.

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Our proposal is straightforward. Wherever tax rates penalize thrift or discourage investment, they must be lowered. Wherever current provisions of the code are disincentives for economic growth, they must be changed. We will not divide the American people into winners and losers. We will eliminate as many special interest provisions and loopholes as possible and curb corporate welfare, especially where their erosion of the tax base has created pressure for higher rates. We will be mindful of the burdens on families with children and the impact on an aging population. We will seek simplicity and clarity so that every taxpayer can understand how much of their income is consumed by the federal government.

We will welcome all to this enterprise — to discuss, debate, challenge, and amend — so that together we can restore economic growth for the American people and, even more important, renew their faith in the future.

#### **Our Tax Principles**

To ensure that past abuses will not be repeated, we assert these fundamental principles. We oppose retroactive taxation. We condemn attempts by activist judges at any level of government to seize the power of the purse from the people's elected representatives by ordering higher taxes.

We oppose tax policies that deliberately divide Americans or promote class warfare. Because of the vital role of religious organizations, charities, and fraternal benevolent societies in fostering generosity and patriotism, they should not be subject to taxation and donations to them should remain deductible. To guard against hypertaxation of the American people in any restructuring of the federal tax system, any value added tax or national sales tax must be tied to the simultaneous repeal of the Sixteenth Amendment, which established the federal income tax.

#### **A Competitive America**

Competitiveness equals jobs. That equation governs our policies regarding U.S. corporations in the global economy. Private investment is a key driver of economic growth and job creation. After falling dramatically during the recession, private investment has recovered at a disappointing pace due

in part to high corporate tax rates and increasing regulatory burdens and uncertainty.

American businesses now face the world's highest corporate tax rates. That's like putting lead shoes on your cross-country team. It reduces companies' ability to compete overseas, encourages them to move abroad, lessens their investment, cripples job creation here at home, lowers American wages, and fosters the avoidance of tax liability — without actually increasing tax revenues. A more damaging policy is hard to imagine. We propose to level the international playing field by lowering the corporate tax rate to be on a par with, or below, the rates of other industrial nations. We endorse the recommendation of the National Commission on Fiscal Responsibility and Reform, as well as the current Administration's Export Council, to switch to a territorial system of taxation so that profits earned and taxed abroad may be repatriated for job-creating investment here at home. We believe American companies should be headquartered in America. We should reduce barriers to accomplishing that goal.

#### **A Winning Trade Policy**

International trade is crucial for all sectors of America's economy. Massive trade deficits are not. We envision a worldwide multilateral agreement among nations committed to the principles of open markets, what has been called a "Reagan Economic Zone," in which free trade will truly be fair trade for all concerned.

We need better negotiated trade agreements that put America first. When trade agreements have been carefully negotiated with friendly democracies, they have resulted in millions of new jobs here at home supported by our exports. When those agreements do not adequately protect U.S. interests, U.S. sovereignty, or when they are violated with impunity, they must be rejected.

We cannot allow foreign governments to limit American access to their markets while stealing our designs, patents, brands, know-how, and technology. We cannot allow China to continue its currency manipulation, exclusion of U.S. products from government purchases, and subsidization of Chinese companies to thwart American imports. The current Administration's way of dealing with these vio-



• R E P U B L I C A N P L A T F O R M 2 0 1 6 •

lations of world trade standards has been a virtual surrender.

Republicans understand that you can succeed in a negotiation only if you are willing to walk away from it. A Republican president will insist on parity in trade and stand ready to implement countervailing duties if other countries refuse to cooperate.

At the same time, we look to broaden our trade agreements with countries which share our values and commitment to fairness, along with transparency in our commercial and business practices. In pursuing that objective, the American people demand transparency, full disclosure, protection of our national sovereignty, and tough negotiation on the part of those who are supposed to advance the interests of U.S. workers. Significant trade agreements should not be rushed or undertaken in a Lame Duck Congress.

### **Freeing Financial Markets**

The Republican vision for American banking calls for establishing transparent, efficient markets where consumers can obtain loans they need at reasonable rates based on market conditions. Unfortunately, in response to the financial institutions crisis of 2008-2009, the Democratic-controlled Congress enacted the Wall Street Reform and Consumer Protection Act, otherwise known as Dodd-Frank. They did not let the crisis go to waste but used it as an excuse to establish unprecedented government control over the nation's financial markets. The consequences have been bad for everyone except federal regulators.

Rather than address the cause of the crisis — the government's own housing policies — the new law extended government control over the economy by creating new unaccountable bureaucracies. Predictably, central planning of our financial sector has not created jobs, it has killed them. It has not limited risks, it has created more. It has not encouraged economic growth, it has shackled it.

Since the enactment of Dodd-Frank, the number of community banks has significantly declined, and the cost and complexity of complying with the law has created impediments to the remaining banks' ability to support the customers they serve. From 13,000 community banks in 1985, only 1,900 remain. Still, the majority of agricultural loans and

small business loans are made by community banks. From start-ups foregone to home loans not made, Dodd-Frank's excessive regulation and burdensome requirements have helped contribute to the slow economy we all endure today under President Obama and the Democrats.

Community banks are essential to ensuring small businesses have easy and affordable access to the capital they need to grow and prosper. Community banks should be relieved of excessive regulations. We support removing roadblocks and regulations that prevent access to capital.

The worst of Dodd-Frank is the Consumer Financial Protection Bureau, deliberately designed to be a rogue agency. It answers to neither Congress nor the executive, has its own guaranteed funding outside the appropriations process, and uses its slush fund to steer settlements to politically favored groups.

Its Director has dictatorial powers unique in the American Republic. Its regulatory harassment of local and regional banks, the source of most home mortgages and small business loans, advantages big banks and makes it harder for Americans to buy a home. Its one-size-fits-all approach to every issue threatens the diversity of the country's financial system and would leave us with just a few enormous institutions, as in many European countries.

If the Bureau is not abolished, it should be subjected to congressional appropriation. In that way, consumer protection in the financial markets can be advanced through measures that are both effective and constitutional. Any settlements arising from statutory violations by financial institutions must be used to make whole the harmed consumers, with any remaining proceeds given to the general Treasury. Diversion of settlement funds to politically-connected parties should be a criminal offense.

Republicans believe that no financial institution is too big to fail. We support legislation to ensure that the problems of any financial institution can be resolved through the Bankruptcy Code. We endorse prudent regulation of the banking system to ensure that FDIC-regulated banks are properly capitalized and taxpayers are protected against bailouts. We will end the government's use of disparate impact theory in enforcing anti-discrimination laws with regard to lending.



### **Responsible Homeownership and Rental Opportunities**

Homeownership expands personal liberty, builds communities, and helps Americans create wealth. “The American Dream” is not a stale slogan. It is the lived reality that expresses the aspirations of all our people. It means a decent place to live, a safe place to raise kids, a welcoming place to retire. It bespeaks the quiet pride of those who work hard to shelter their family and, in the process, create caring neighborhoods.

The Great Recession devastated the housing market. U.S. taxpayers paid billions to rescue Freddie Mac and Fannie Mae, the latter managed and controlled by senior officials from the Carter and Clinton Administrations, and to cover the losses of the poorly-managed Federal Housing Administration. Millions lost their homes, millions more lost value in their homes.

More than six million households had to move from homeownership to renting. Rental costs escalated so that today nearly 12 million families spend more than 50 percent of their incomes just on rent. The national homeownership rate has sharply fallen and the rate for minority households and young adults has plummeted. So many remain unemployed or underemployed, and for the lucky ones with jobs, rising rents make it harder to save for a mortgage.

There is a growing sense that our national standard of living will never be as high as it was in the past. We understand that pessimism but do not share it, for we believe that sound public policies can restore growth to our economy, vigor to the housing market, and hope to those who are now on the margins of prosperity.

Our goal is to advance responsible homeownership while guarding against the abuses that led to the housing collapse. We must scale back the federal role in the housing market, promote responsibility on the part of borrowers and lenders, and avoid future taxpayer bailouts. Reforms should provide clear and prudent underwriting standards and guidelines on predatory lending and acceptable lending practices. Compliance with regulatory standards should constitute a legal safe harbor to guard against opportunistic litigation by trial lawyers.

We call for a comprehensive review of federal

regulations, especially those dealing with the environment, that make it harder and more costly for Americans to rent, buy, or sell homes.

For nine years, Fannie Mae and Freddie Mac have been in conservatorship and the current Administration and Democrats have prevented any effort to reform them. Their corrupt business model lets shareholders and executives reap huge profits while the taxpayers cover all losses. The utility of both agencies should be reconsidered as a Republican administration clears away the jumble of subsidies and controls that complicate and distort home-buying.

The Federal Housing Administration, which provides taxpayer-backed guarantees in the mortgage market, should no longer support high-income individuals, and the public should not be financially exposed by risks taken by FHA officials. We will end the government mandates that required Fannie Mae, Freddie Mac, and federally-insured banks to satisfy lending quotas to specific groups. Discrimination should have no place in the mortgage industry.

Zoning decisions have always been, and must remain, under local control. The current Administration is trying to seize control of the zoning process through its Affirmatively Furthering Fair Housing regulation. It threatens to undermine zoning laws in order to socially engineer every community in the country. While the federal government has a legitimate role in enforcing non-discrimination laws, this regulation has nothing to do with proven or alleged discrimination and everything to do with hostility to the self-government of citizens.

### **America on the Move**

Our country's investments in transportation and other public construction have traditionally been non-partisan. Everyone agrees on the need for clean water and safe roads, rail, bridges, ports, and airports. President Eisenhower established a tradition of Republican leadership in this regard by championing the creation of the interstate highway system. In recent years, bipartisan cooperation led to major legislation improving the nation's ports and waterways.

Our Republican majority ended the practice of earmarks, which often diverted transportation



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spending to politically favored projects. In the current Congress, Republicans have secured the longest reauthorization of the Highway Trust Fund in a decade and are advancing a comprehensive reform of the Federal Aviation Administration to make flying easier and more secure.

The current Administration has a different approach. It subordinates civil engineering to social engineering as it pursues an exclusively urban vision of dense housing and government transit. Its ill-named Livability Initiative is meant to “coerce people out of their cars.” This is the same mentality that once led Congress to impose by fiat a single maximum speed limit for the entire nation, from Manhattan to Montana. Our 1980 Republican Platform pledged to repeal that edict. After the election of Ronald Reagan, we did.

Now we make the same pledge regarding the current problems in transportation policy. We propose to remove from the Highway Trust Fund programs that should not be the business of the federal government.

More than a quarter of the Fund’s spending is diverted from its original purpose. One fifth of its funds are spent on mass transit, an inherently local affair that serves only a small portion of the population, concentrated in six big cities. Additional funds are used for bike-share programs, sidewalks, recreational trails, landscaping, and historical renovations. Other beneficiaries of highway money are ferry boats, the federal lands access program, scenic byways, and education initiatives. These worthwhile enterprises should be funded through other sources.

We propose to phase out the federal transit program and reform provisions of the National Environmental Policy Act which can delay and drive up costs for transportation projects. We renew our call for repeal of the Davis-Bacon law, which limits employment and drives up construction and maintenance costs for the benefit of unions. Recognizing that, over time, additional revenue will be needed to expand the carrying capacity of roads and bridges,

we will remove legal roadblocks to public-private partnership agreements that can save the taxpayers’ money and bring outside investment to meet a community’s needs. With most of the states increasing their own funding for transportation, we oppose a further increase in the federal gas tax.

Although unionization has never been permitted in any government agency concerned with national security, the current Administration has reversed that policy for the Transportation Security Administration. We will correct that mistake. Americans understand that, with the threat of terrorism, their travel may encounter delays, but unacceptably long lines at security checks can have the same impact as a collapsed bridge or washed

out highway. TSA employees should always be seen as guardians of the public’s safety, not as just another part of the federal workforce.

Amtrak is an extremely expensive railroad for the American taxpayers, who must subsidize every ticket. The federal government should allow private ventures to provide passenger service in the northeast corridor. The same holds true with regard to high-speed and intercity rail across the country. We reaffirm our intention to end

federal support for boondoggles like California’s high-speed train to nowhere.

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We envision  
government at all  
levels as a partner  
with individuals  
and industries  
in technological  
progress, not a  
meddlesome monitor.

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### **Building the Future: Technology**

The digital revolution has transformed how we work, learn, sell, shop, socialize — in short, how we live. Technological change drives our positions with regard to STEM education, business and corporate involvement with educational certifications, workforce issues, privacy, cyber and national security, energy development, regulation, and other elements of our campaign for growth and jobs. It is why we propose to simplify the tax code, reduce corporate rates, transition to a territorial system, and create incentives for investment and innovation.

We envision government at all levels as a partner with individuals and industries in technologi-



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cal progress, not a meddling monitor. We want to create a business climate that rewards risk and promotes innovation, a learning system that gives Americans the skills needed to seize the opportunities of the 21st century, and an international order that maintains a fair and open global market for America's goods and services. We intend to advance policies that protect data privacy while fostering innovation and growth and ensuring the free flow of data across borders.

Together, broadband and good ideas have become the 21st century engines of American ingenuity. Innovation, by its nature, is disruptive. In challenging legacy forms of business, innovation creates new jobs, gives access to new markets, opens opportunity to underserved populations, and expands consumer choice. Government must give America's innovators the freedom to create and, on their merits, succeed or fail.

Our agenda includes balanced protections for intellectual property, explained elsewhere in this document. We intend to facilitate access to spectrum by paving the way for high-speed, next-generation broadband deployment and competition on the internet and for internet services. We want government to encourage the sharing economy and on-demand platforms to compete in an open market, and we believe public policies should encourage the innovation and competition that are essential for an Internet of Things to thrive.

Government must keep pace with the technology deployed in the private sector. There is an urgent need to modernize the federal government's legacy systems and to recruit the skilled technical personnel who can advance the adoption of innovation in the public sector. At the cost of billions, the current Administration has done little to advance our goal of universal broadband coverage. That hurts rural America, where farmers, ranchers, and small business people need connectivity to operate in real time with the world's producers. Almost ten million Americans have given up wired broadband connections in just the last two years alone, and millions more have never been connected in the first place.

We encourage public-private partnerships to provide predictable support for connecting rural

areas so that every American can fully participate in the global economy.

The public-private partnerships between NASA, the Department of Defense, and commercial companies have given us technological progress that has reduced the cost of accessing space and extended America's space leadership in the commercial, civil, and national security spheres. The entrepreneurship and innovation culture of the free market is revitalizing the nation's space capabilities, saving taxpayer money, and advancing technology critical to maintain America's edge in space and in other fields.

To protect our national security interests and foster innovation and competitiveness, we must sustain our preeminence in space by launching more scientific missions, guaranteeing unfettered access, and ensuring that our space-related industries remain a source of scientific leadership and education.

#### **Building the Future: America's Electric Grid**

Our nation's interstate electric transmission system has long been a catalyst for developing and delivering low cost energy while spurring economic growth throughout the United States. The grid is aging, vulnerable to cyber and terrorist threats, and unprepared to serve our energy needs of tomorrow. It should not take seven to ten years to plan and construct a transmission line. We support expedited siting processes and the thoughtful expansion of the grid so that consumers and businesses continue to have access to affordable and reliable electricity.

#### **Start-up Century: Small Business and Entrepreneurship**

A central reason why the 20th century came to be called the American Century was the ability of individuals to invent and create in a land of free markets. Back then they were called risk-takers, dreamers, and small business owners. Today they are the entrepreneurs, independent contractors, and small business men and women of our new economy. Their innovation drives improvement and forces long-established institutions to adapt or fade away. Many of them are so young they remember little if anything of the last century because dy-



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dynamic progress does not look back. As in the past, they still create most new jobs and form the commercial network that holds communities together. Their enterprise is the lifeblood of our economy, but it is weakening.

More businesses are closing in our country than are starting. Older firms are an increasing proportion of companies. Productivity growth has slowed. This is not the way to jumpstart a new era of growth. We need to consider the effect of capital gains rates on the availability of venture capital, as well as the positive impact of expensing on start-up firms.

We should reduce the occupational licensing laws that shut untold millions of potential workers out of entrepreneurial careers. We must overturn the regulatory nightmare, created by the Dodd-Frank law, for the community banks and savings and loans that provide nearly half of all small-business loans and over three-quarters of all agricultural loans. Indeed, the world of the app economy cries out for the comprehensive regulatory reform proposed elsewhere in this platform. We must challenge established interests and traditional business patterns to facilitate market entry of new business models, including inventive means of transport, delivery, and communication.

As incubators of unconventional thinking, our country's existing research infrastructure — the National Labs, the National Institutes of Health, NASA, and elements of the Defense Department — have the potential to form partnerships with small businesses to create an American Start-Up Century.

### **The Federal Reserve**

Because the Federal Reserve's monetary policy decisions affect job creation, upward mobility for workers, and equitable prosperity, they should be transparent. Similarly, the Federal Reserve's important role as a lender of last resort should also be carried out in a more transparent manner. The Republican Party will advance legislation that brings transparency and accountability to the Federal Reserve, the Federal Open Market Committee, and the Federal Reserve's dealing with foreign banks.

The first step is through an annual audit of the Federal Reserve's activities. Such an audit would need to be carefully implemented so that

the Federal Reserve remains insulated from political pressures and its decisions are based on sound economic principles and sound money rather than political pressures for easy money and loose credit.

Determined to crush the double-digit inflation that was part of the Carter Administration's economic legacy, President Reagan, shortly after his inauguration, established a commission to consider the feasibility of a metallic basis for U.S. currency. In 2012, facing the task of cleaning up the wreckage of the current Administration's policies, we proposed a similar commission to investigate ways to set a fixed value for the dollar.

With Republican leadership, the House of Representatives has passed legislation to set up just such a commission. We recommend its enactment by the full Congress and the commission's careful consideration of ways to secure the integrity of our currency.

### **Workplace Freedom for a 21st Century Workforce**

The greatest asset of the American economy is the hard-working American. That is why our first priority is getting people back to work by fostering the kind of growth that creates jobs. That overarching goal unites all the sections of this platform. It runs through our commitments on education and workforce development. It underlies our approach to welfare reform, regulatory reform, and our determination to advance the kind of trade agreements that multiply opportunities for workers here at home. It also impels us to challenge the anachronistic labor laws that limit workers' freedom and lock them into the workplace rules of their great-grandfathers.

Instead of facilitating change, the current Administration and its agents at the National Labor Relations Board are determined to reverse it. They are attacking the franchise model of business development, which is essential to the flexibility and creativity of the new economy. They are wielding provisions of the Fair Labor Standards Act from the 1930s, designed to fit a manufacturing workplace, to deny flexibility to both employers and employees. They have repealed union transparency rules that allowed members to discover what was being



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done with their dues. They have outlawed alternatives to unions even when they were favored by the workers.

Their Project Labor Agreements discriminate against the overwhelming majority of workers by barring them from jobs on taxpayer-funded projects. Their patronizing and controlling approach leaves workers in a form of peonage to the NLRB. We intend to restore fairness and common sense to that agency.

Technology has already created jobs that did not exist fifteen years ago, and today's workers need flexibility and family-friendly options to make the most of them, especially portability in pension plans and health insurance.

We intend to encourage those trends by bringing labor law into the 21st century. It should encourage cooperation between management and workers, not conflict. All workers, including union members, must be free to accept raises and rewards without veto power from union officials. All unionized workers should be able to find out what is going on in their union trust funds and in their executive compensation. We support the right of states to enact Right-to-Work laws and call for a national law to protect the economic liberty of the modern workforce.

All Americans deserve the opportunity to pursue their American dream free from discrimination. Clear nondiscrimination policies ensure all employees have the chance to succeed based solely on their merits. These policies are vital to creating an inclusive, innovative, and competitive workforce.

Republicans believe that the employer-employee relationship of the future will be built upon employee empowerment and workplace flexibility. We therefore endorse employee stock ownership plans that enable workers to become capitalists, expand the realm of private property,

and energize a free enterprise economy.

Minimum wage is an issue that should be handled at the state and local level.

### **A Federal Workforce Serving the People**

The federal workforce is larger and more highly paid than ever. The taxpayers spend an average of \$35,000 a year per employee on non-cash benefits, triple the average non-cash compensation of the average worker in the private sector. Federal employees receive extraordinary pension benefits and vacation time wildly out of line with those of the private sector.

We urge Congress to bring federal compensation and benefits in line with the standards of most American employees. A Republican administration should streamline personnel procedures to expedite the firing of bad workers, tax cheats, and scammers. The unionization of the federal workforce, first permitted by Democrat presidents in the 1960s, should be reviewed by the appropriate congressional committees to examine its effects on the cost, quality, and performance of the civil service. Union representatives in the federal workforce should not be paid to conduct union business on the public's time.

### **Reducing the Federal Debt**

Our national debt is a burden on our economy and families. The huge increase in the national debt demanded by and incurred during the current Administration has placed a significant burden on future generations. We must impose firm caps on future debt, accelerate the repayment of the trillions we now owe in order to reaffirm our principles of responsible and limited government, and remove the burdens we are placing on future generations.

A strong economy is one key to debt reduction, but spending restraint is a necessary component that must be vigorously pursued.



# A Rebirth of Constitutional Government



## **We the People**

We are the party of the Declaration of Independence and the Constitution. The Declaration sets forth the fundamental precepts of American government: That God bestows certain inalienable rights on every individual, thus producing human equality; that government exists first and foremost to protect those inalienable rights; that man-made law must be consistent with God-given, natural rights; and that if God-given, natural, inalienable rights come in conflict with government, court, or human-granted rights, God-given, natural, inalienable rights always prevail; that there is a moral law recognized as “the Laws of Nature and of Nature’s God”; and that American government is to operate with the consent of the governed. We are also the party of the Constitution, the greatest political document ever written. It is the solemn compact built upon principles of the Declaration that enshrines our God-given individual rights and ensures that all Americans stand equal before the law, defines the purposes and limits of government, and is the blueprint for ordered liberty that makes the United States the world’s freest and most prosperous nation.

We reaffirm the Constitution’s fundamental principles: limited government, separation of powers, individual liberty, and the rule of law. We denounce bigotry, racism, anti-Semitism, ethnic prejudice, and religious intolerance. Therefore, we oppose discrimination based on race, sex, religion, creed, disability, or national origin and support statutes to end such discrimination. As the Party of Abraham Lincoln, we must continue to foster solutions to America’s difficult challenges when it comes to race relations today. We continue to encourage equality for all citizens and access to the American Dream. Merit and hard work should determine advancement in our society, so we reject unfair preferences, quotas, and set-asides as forms

of discrimination. Our ranks include Americans from every faith and tradition, and we respect the right of each American to follow his or her deeply held beliefs.

Our Constitution is in crisis. More than 90 percent of federal requirements are now imposed by regulatory agencies, without any vote of the House or Senate or signature of the President. The current Administration has exceeded its constitutional authority, brazenly and flagrantly violated the separation of powers, sought to divide America into groups and turn citizen against citizen. The President has refused to defend or enforce laws he does not like, used executive orders to enact national policies in areas constitutionally reserved solely to Congress, made unconstitutional “recess” appointments to Senate-confirmed positions, directed regulatory agencies to overstep their statutory authority, and failed to consult Congress regarding military action overseas. He has changed what John Adams called “a government of laws and not of men” into just the opposite.

Democrats in Congress have enabled, supported, and defended each of these breaches. They have applauded the President’s efforts to do an end-run around Congress and stymied Republican efforts to restrain executive lawlessness. Democrats in Congress have also endorsed an anti-constitutional agenda of their own. Forty-eight Democratic senators, for instance, voted to amend the Bill of Rights to give government officials control over political speech. Democrats in Congress have likewise proposed bills that would limit religious liberty, undermine property rights, and eviscerate the Second Amendment.

In a free society, the primary role of government is to protect the God-given, inalienable rights of its citizens. These constitutional rights are not negotiable for any American. We affirm that all legislation, regulation, and official actions must



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conform to the Constitution's original meaning as understood at the time the language was adopted.

Our most urgent task as a Party is to restore the American people's faith in their government by electing a president who will enforce duly enacted laws, honor constitutional limits on executive authority, and return credibility to the Oval Office. We need a Republican president who will end abuses of power by departments and agencies, like the IRS and the EPA, and by the White House itself. Safeguarding our liberties requires a president who will respect the Constitution's separation of powers, including the authority of Congress to write legislation and define agency authority. Americans also deserve a president who will speak for our nation's history and values, not apologize for them to our enemies.

### **The Judiciary**

The rule of law is the foundation of our Republic. A critical threat to our country's constitutional order is an activist judiciary that usurps powers properly reserved to the people through other branches of government. Only a Republican president will appoint judges who respect the rule of law expressed within the Constitution and Declaration of Independence, including the inalienable right to life and the laws of nature and nature's God, as did the late Justice Antonin Scalia. We are facing a national crisis in our judiciary. We understand that only by electing a Republican president in 2016 will America have the opportunity for up to five new constitutionally-minded Supreme Court justices appointed to fill vacancies on the Court. Only such appointments will enable courts to begin to reverse the long line of activist decisions — including *Roe*, *Obergefell*, and the Obamacare cases — that have usurped Congress's and states' lawmaking authority, undermined constitutional protections, expanded the power of the judiciary at the expense of the people and their elected representatives, and stripped the people of their power to govern themselves. We believe in the constitutional checks and balances and that the Founders intended the judiciary to be the weakest branch. We encourage Congress to use the check of impeachment for judges who unconstitutionally usurp Article I

powers. In tandem with a Republican Senate, a new Republican president will restore to the Court a strong conservative majority that will follow the text and original meaning of the Constitution and our laws.

The legitimate powers of government are rooted in the consent of the American people. Judicial activism that includes reliance on foreign law or unratified treaties undermines American sovereignty. Foreign laws and precedents should not be used to interpret our Constitution or laws, nor should foreign sources of law be used in state courts' adjudication of criminal or civil matters.

We also affirm the wisdom of President George Washington's warning to avoid foreign entanglements and unnecessary alliances. We therefore oppose the adoption or ratification of treaties that would weaken or encroach upon American sovereignty or that could be construed by courts to do so. We will not recognize as binding upon the United States any international agreement forged without the constitutionally required assent of two-thirds of the United States Senate.

### **Administrative Law**

Article I of the Constitution directs that "All legislative Powers herein granted shall be vested in a Congress of the United States..." For more than a century, however, Congress has delegated increasing amounts of legislative authority to executive departments, agencies, and commissions, laying the foundation for today's vast administrative state. Unelected bureaucrats in the executive branch now write countless rules with the force of law and arbitrarily punish individuals who disobey those rules. The Constitution makes clear that these powers were granted to Congress by the people and must therefore remain solely with the people's elected representatives. We call on Congress to begin reclaiming its constitutional powers from the bureaucratic state by requiring that major new federal regulations be approved by Congress before they can take effect, such as through the Regulation Freedom Amendment. We further affirm that courts should interpret laws as written by Congress rather than allowing executive agencies to rewrite those laws to suit administration priorities.



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**Defending Marriage Against an Activist Judiciary**

Traditional marriage and family, based on marriage between one man and one woman, is the foundation for a free society and has for millennia been entrusted with rearing children and instilling cultural values. We condemn the Supreme Court's ruling in *United States v. Windsor*, which wrongly removed the ability of Congress to define marriage policy in federal law. We also condemn the Supreme Court's lawless ruling in *Obergefell v. Hodges*, which in the words of the late Justice Antonin Scalia, was a "judicial Putsch" — full of "silly extravagances" — that reduced "the disciplined legal reasoning of John Marshall and Joseph Storey to the mystical aphorisms of a fortune cookie." In *Obergefell*, five unelected lawyers robbed 320 million Americans of their legitimate constitutional authority to define marriage as the union of one man and one woman. The Court twisted the meaning of the Fourteenth Amendment beyond recognition. To echo Scalia, we dissent. We, therefore, support the appointment of justices and judges who respect the constitutional limits on their power and respect the authority of the states to decide such fundamental social questions.

**The First Amendment: Religious Liberty**

The Bill of Rights lists religious liberty, with its rights of conscience, as the first freedom to be protected. Religious freedom in the Bill of Rights protects the right of the people to practice their faith in their everyday lives. As George Washington taught, "religion and morality are indispensable supports" to a free society. Similarly, Thomas Jefferson declared that "No provision in our Constitution ought to be dearer to man than that which protects the rights of conscience against the enterprises of the civil authority." Ongoing attempts to compel individuals, businesses, and institutions of faith to transgress their beliefs are part of a

misguided effort to undermine religion and drive it from the public square. As a result, many charitable religious institutions that have demonstrated great success in helping the needy have been barred from receiving government grants and contracts. Government officials threaten religious colleges and universities with massive fines and

seek to control their personnel decisions. Places of worship for the first time in our history have reason to fear the loss of tax-exempt status merely for espousing and practicing traditional religious beliefs that have been held across the world for thousands of years, and for almost four centuries in America. We value the right of America's religious leaders to preach, and Americans to speak freely, according to their faith. Republicans believe the federal government, specifically the IRS, is constitutionally prohibited from policing or

censoring speech based on religious convictions or beliefs, and therefore we urge the repeal of the Johnson Amendment.

We pledge to defend the religious beliefs and rights of conscience of all Americans and to safeguard religious institutions against government control. We endorse the First Amendment Defense Act, Republican legislation in the House and Senate which will bar government discrimination against individuals and businesses for acting on the belief that marriage is the union of one man and one woman. This Act would protect the non-profit tax status of faith-based adoption agencies, the accreditation of religious educational institutions, the grants and contracts of faith-based charities and small businesses, and the licensing of religious professions — all of which are under assault by elements of the Democratic Party. We encourage every state to pass similar legislation. We likewise endorse the efforts of Republican state legislators and governors who have defied intimidation from corporations and the media in defending religious liberty. We support laws to confirm the longstanding

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American tradition that religious individuals and institutions can educate young people, receive government benefits, and participate in public debates without having to check their religious beliefs at the door.

Our First Amendment rights are not given to us by the government but are rights we inherently possess. The government cannot use subsequent amendments to limit First Amendment rights. The Free Exercise Clause is both an individual and a collective liberty protecting a right to worship God according to the dictates of conscience. Therefore, we strongly support the freedom of Americans to act in accordance with their religious beliefs, not only in their houses of worship, but also in their everyday lives.

We support the right of the people to conduct their businesses in accordance with their religious beliefs and condemn public officials who have proposed boycotts against businesses that support traditional marriage. We pledge to protect those business owners who have been subjected to hate campaigns, threats of violence, and other attempts to deny their civil rights.

We support the public display of the Ten Commandments as a reflection of our history and our country's Judeo-Christian heritage and further affirm the rights of religious students to engage in voluntary prayer at public school events and to have equal access to school facilities. We assert the First Amendment right of freedom of association for religious, private, service, and youth organizations to set their own membership standards.

**The First Amendment:  
Constitutionally Protected Speech**

The rights of citizenship do not stop at the ballot box. Freedom of speech includes the right to devote resources to whatever cause or candidate one supports. We oppose any restrictions or conditions that would discourage citizens from participating in the public square or limit their ability to promote their ideas, such as requiring private organizations to publicly disclose their donors to the government. Limits on political speech serve only to protect the powerful and insulate incumbent officeholders. We support repeal of federal restrictions on political

parties in McCain-Feingold, raising or repealing contribution limits, protecting the political speech of advocacy groups, corporations, and labor unions, and protecting political speech on the internet. We likewise call for an end to the so-called Fairness Doctrine, and support free-market approaches to free speech unregulated by government.

We believe the forced funding of political candidates through union dues and other mandatory contributions violates the First Amendment. Just as Americans have a First Amendment right to devote resources to favored candidates or views, they have a First Amendment right not to be forced to individually support individuals or ideologies that they oppose. We agree with Thomas Jefferson that "To compel a man to furnish contributions of money for the propagation of opinions which he disbelieves and abhors is sinful and tyrannical."

**The Second Amendment:  
Our Right to Keep and Bear Arms**

We uphold the right of individuals to keep and bear arms, a natural inalienable right that predates the Constitution and is secured by the Second Amendment. Lawful gun ownership enables Americans to exercise their God-given right of self-defense for the safety of their homes, their loved ones, and their communities.

We salute the Republican Congress for defending the right to keep and bear arms by preventing the President from installing a new liberal majority on the Supreme Court. The confirmation to the Court of additional anti-gun justices would eviscerate the Second Amendment's fundamental protections. Already, local officials in the nation's capital and elsewhere are defying the Court's decisions upholding an individual right to bear arms as affirmed by the Supreme Court in *Heller* and *McDonald*. We support firearm reciprocity legislation to recognize the right of law-abiding Americans to carry firearms to protect themselves and their families in all 50 states. We support constitutional carry statutes and salute the states that have passed them. We oppose ill-conceived laws that would restrict magazine capacity or ban the sale of the most popular and common modern rifle. We also oppose any effort to deprive



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individuals of their right to keep and bear arms without due process of law.

We condemn frivolous lawsuits against gun manufacturers and the current Administration's illegal harassment of firearm dealers. We oppose federal licensing or registration of law-abiding gun owners, registration of ammunition, and restoration of the ill-fated Clinton gun ban. We call for a thorough investigation — by a new Republican administration — of the deadly "Fast and Furious" operation perpetrated by Department of Justice officials who approved and allowed illegal sales of guns to known violent criminals.

**The Fourth Amendment:  
Liberty and Privacy**

Affirming the Fourth Amendment "right of the people to be secure in their houses, papers, and effects, against unreasonable searches and seizures," we call for strict limitations on the use of aerial surveillance on U.S. soil, with the exception of patrolling our national borders for illegal entry and activity. We oppose any attempts by government to require surveillance devices in our daily lives, including tracking devices in motor vehicles.

In recent years, technology companies have responded to market demand for products and services that protect the privacy of customers through increasingly sophisticated encryption technology. These increased privacy protections have become crucial to the digital economy. At the same time, however, such innovations have brought new dangers, especially from criminals and terrorists who seek to use encryption technology to harm us. No matter the medium, citizens must retain the right to communicate with one another free from unlawful government intrusion. It will not be easy to balance privacy rights with the government's legitimate need to access encrypted information. This issue is too important to be left to the courts. A Republican president and a Republican Congress must listen to the American people and forge a consensus solution.

The Foreign Account Tax Compliance Act (FATCA) and the Foreign Bank and Asset Reporting Requirements result in government's warrantless seizure of personal financial information without

reasonable suspicion or probable cause. Americans overseas should enjoy the same rights as Americans residing in the United States, whose private financial information is not subject to disclosure to the government except as to interest earned. The requirement for all banks around the world to provide detailed information to the IRS about American account holders outside the United States has resulted in banks refusing service to them. Thus, FATCA not only allows "unreasonable search and seizures" but also threatens the ability of overseas Americans to lead normal lives. We call for its repeal and for a change to residency-based taxation for U.S. citizens overseas.

**The Fifth Amendment:  
Protecting Human Life**

The Constitution's guarantee that no one can "be deprived of life, liberty or property" deliberately echoes the Declaration of Independence's proclamation that "all" are "endowed by their Creator" with the inalienable right to life. Accordingly, we assert the sanctity of human life and affirm that the unborn child has a fundamental right to life which cannot be infringed. We support a human life amendment to the Constitution and legislation to make clear that the Fourteenth Amendment's protections apply to children before birth.

We oppose the use of public funds to perform or promote abortion or to fund organizations, like Planned Parenthood, so long as they provide or refer for elective abortions or sell fetal body parts rather than provide healthcare. We urge all states and Congress to make it a crime to acquire, transfer, or sell fetal tissues from elective abortions for research, and we call on Congress to enact a ban on any sale of fetal body parts. In the meantime, we call on Congress to ban the practice of misleading women on so-called fetal harvesting consent forms, a fact revealed by a 2015 investigation. We will not fund or subsidize healthcare that includes abortion coverage.

We support the appointment of judges who respect traditional family values and the sanctity of innocent human life. We oppose the non-consensual withholding or withdrawal of care or treatment,



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including food and water, from individuals with disabilities, newborns, the elderly, or the infirm, just as we oppose euthanasia and assisted suicide.

We affirm our moral obligation to assist, rather than penalize, women who face an unplanned pregnancy. In order to encourage women who face an unplanned pregnancy to choose life, we support legislation that requires financial responsibility for the child be equally borne by both the mother and father upon conception until the child reaches adulthood. Failure to require a father to be equally responsible for a child places an inequitable burden on the mother, creating a financial and

social hardship on both mother and child. We celebrate the millions of Americans who open their hearts, homes, and churches to mothers in need and women fleeing abuse. We thank and encourage providers of counseling, medical services, and adoption assistance for empowering women experiencing an unintended pregnancy to choose life. We support funding for ultrasounds and adoption assistance. We salute the many states that now protect women and girls through laws requiring informed consent, parental consent, waiting periods, and clinic regulation. We condemn the Supreme Court's activist decision in *Whole Woman's Health v. Hellerstedt* striking down commonsense Texas laws providing for basic health and safety standards in abortion clinics.

We applaud the U.S. House of Representatives for leading the effort to add enforcement to the Born-Alive Infant Protection Act by passing the Born-Alive Abortion Survivors Protection Act, which imposes appropriate civil and criminal penalties on healthcare providers who fail to provide treatment and care to an infant who survives an abortion, including early induction delivery whether the death of the infant is intended. We strongly oppose infanticide. Over a dozen states have passed Pain-

Capable Unborn Child Protection Acts prohibiting abortion after twenty weeks, the point at which current medical research shows that unborn babies can feel excruciating pain during abortions, and we call on Congress to enact the federal version. Not only is it good legislation, but it enjoys the support of a majority of the American people. We support state and federal efforts against the cruelest forms of abortion, especially dismemberment abortion procedures, in which unborn babies are literally torn apart limb from limb.

We call on Congress to ban sex-selection abortions and abortions based on disabilities — discrimination in its most lethal form. We oppose embryonic stem cell research. We oppose federal funding of embryonic stem cell research. We support adult stem cell research and urge the restoration of the national placental stem cell bank created by President George H.W. Bush but abolished by his Democrat successor, President Bill Clinton. We oppose federal funding for harvesting embryos and call for a ban on human cloning.

The Democratic Party is extreme on abortion. Democrats' almost limitless support for abortion, and their strident opposition to even the most basic restrictions on abortion, put them dramatically out of

step with the American people. Because of their opposition to simple abortion clinic safety procedures, support for taxpayer-funded abortion, and rejection of pregnancy resource centers that provide abortion alternatives, the old Clinton mantra of "safe, legal, and rare" has been reduced to just "legal." We are proud to be the party that protects human life and offers real solutions for women.

**The Fifth Amendment:  
Protecting Private Property**

The Framers of our government knew, from history and experience, that when private property is not secure, freedom is at risk. That is why the Fifth

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Amendment declares that private property may not be “taken for public use without just compensation.” The Supreme Court’s *Kelo* decision undermined this safeguard by allowing local governments to seize a person’s home or land not only for vital public use, but also for “public purpose,” which thus allowed the government to seize it for transfer to private developers or other private entities. We call on any state legislatures that have not already done so to nullify the impact of *Kelo* within their jurisdiction by legislation or state constitutional amendments declaring that private property may be taken only for true public use, and we join House Republicans in supporting the Private Property Rights Protection Act.

The government at every level must always pay just compensation whenever it takes private property to achieve a compelling public use, with the money coming from the budget of the agency performing the taking. This includes the taking of water rights and the taking of property by environmental regulations that destroy or diminish the property’s value.

Civil asset forfeiture was originally intended as a way to cripple organized crime through the seizure of property used in a criminal enterprise. Regrettably, it has become a tool for unscrupulous law enforcement officials, acting without due process, to profit by destroying the livelihood of innocent individuals, many of whom never recover the lawful assets taken from them. When the rights of the innocent can be so easily violated, no one’s rights are safe. We call on Congress and state legislatures to enact reforms to protect law-abiding citizens against abusive asset forfeiture tactics.

**The Fifth Amendment:  
Intellectual Property Rights**

Private property includes not only physical property such as lands and homes, but also intellectual property like books and patents. Article 1, section 8 of the Constitution gives Congress the power to safeguard intellectual property rights for “Authors and Inventors.” By protecting the proprietary rights of creators and innovators, the Constitution promotes the general welfare by providing incentives for investment in all sorts of technology and artistic works. Intellectual property

is a driving force in today’s global economy of constant innovation. It is the wellspring of American economic growth and job creation. With the rise of the digital economy, it has become even more critical that we protect intellectual property rights and preserve freedom of contract rather than create regulatory barriers to creativity, growth, and innovation.

Protecting intellectual property is also a national security issue. We must guard against counterfeit parts that can compromise the reliability of our weapons systems and the safety of military personnel. Today, the worst offenses against intellectual property rights come from abroad, especially in China. We call for strong action by Congress and a new Republican president to enforce intellectual property laws against all infringers, whether foreign or domestic.

**The Ninth Amendment:  
The People’s Retained Rights**

The Ninth Amendment to the Constitution declares that “[t]he enumeration in the Constitution of certain rights shall not be construed to deny or disparage others retained by the people.” This provision codifies the principle that our national government derives its power from the governed and that all powers not delegated to the government are retained by the people. We call upon legislators to give full force to this fundamental principle. We welcome to our ranks all citizens who are determined to reclaim the rights of the people that have been ignored or usurped by the federal and intrusive state governments.

**The Tenth Amendment: Federalism  
as the Foundation of Personal Liberty**

Federalism is a cornerstone of our constitutional system. Every violation of state sovereignty by federal officials is not merely a transgression of one unit of government against another; it is an assault on the liberties of individual Americans. Hence the promise of the Tenth Amendment: “The powers not delegated to the United States by the Constitution, nor prohibited by it to the states, are reserved to the States respectively, or to the people.” The Constitution gives the federal government very few powers, and they are specifically enumerated;



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the states and the people retain authority over all unenumerated powers. In obedience to that principle, we condemn the current Administration's unconstitutional expansion into areas beyond those specifically enumerated, including bullying of state and local governments in matters ranging from voter identification (ID) laws to immigration, from healthcare programs to land use decisions, and from forced education curricula to school restroom policies. We pledge to restore the proper balance and vertical separation of powers between the federal government and state governments — the governments closest to, and most reflective of, the American people. We encourage states to reinvigorate their traditional role as the laboratories of democracy, propelling the nation forward through local and state innovation.

Big government undermines federalism through more than 1,100 grants-in-aid programs that consume more than one-sixth of the federal budget for matters that should be the exclusive responsibility of the states. Through these programs, money originating from state taxpayers is returned to the states, usually greatly reduced, with myriad strings attached. These grants turn state and local elected officials into agents of the federal government. The web of conditions and regulations — especially the requirement of matching funds that comes with federal grants — transforms recipients into appendages of the Washington bureaucracy. We call upon Congress to help a Republican president to reduce and ultimately eliminate this system of conditioned grants so that state and local taxpayers can decide for themselves what is best for their own communities.

### **Honest Elections and the Electoral College**

We oppose the National Popular Vote Interstate Compact and any other scheme to abolish or distort the procedures of the Electoral College. An unconstitutional effort to impose National Popular Vote would be a grave threat to our federal system and a guarantee of corruption, as every ballot box in every state would offer a chance to steal the

presidency. We urge state legislatures that have voted for this proposal to rescind their approval.

### **Honest Elections and the Right to Vote**

Honest elections are the foundation of representative government. We pledge to protect the voting rights of every citizen, as well as their rights of conscience when they are harassed or denied a job because of their contributions to a candidate or a cause. We support state efforts to ensure ballot access for the elderly, the handicapped, military personnel, and all legitimate voters. We urge state and local officials to take all appropriate steps to allow voters to cast their ballots in a timely manner. We are concerned, however, that some voting procedures may be open to abuse. For this reason, we support legislation to require proof of citizenship when registering to vote and secure photo ID when voting. We strongly oppose litigation against states exercising their sovereign authority to enact such laws. In addition, to guarantee that everyone's vote is counted, we urge that electronic voting systems have a voter-verified paper audit trail. We urge every state to join the Interstate Voter Registration Cross Check Program to keep voter rolls accurate and to prevent people from voting in more than one state in the same election. To guard against foreign involvement in our elections, we call for vigilance regarding online credit card contributions to candidates and campaigns.

The members of our Armed Forces must not be denied the basic rights that they are defending for others. Our troops, wherever stationed, must be allowed to vote in a timely manner. We call upon the entire military chain of command to ensure the voting rights of our citizen soldiers.

The Constitution gives Congress authority to conduct the decennial census "in such Manner as they shall by Law direct." In order to preserve the principle of one person, one vote, we urge our elected representatives to ensure that citizenship, rather than mere residency, be made the basis for the apportionment of representatives among the states.



# America's Natural Resources: Agriculture, Energy, and the Environment



We are the party of America's growers, producers, farmers, ranchers, foresters, miners, commercial fishermen, and all those who bring from the earth the crops, minerals, energy, and the bounties of our seas that are the lifeblood of our economy. Their labor and ingenuity, their determination in bad times and love of the land at all times, powers our economy, creates millions of jobs, and feeds billions of people around the world. Only a few years ago, a bipartisan consensus in government valued the role of extractive industries and rewarded their enterprise by minimizing its interference with their work. That has radically changed. We look in vain within the Democratic Party for leaders who will speak for the people of agriculture, energy and mineral production.

## **Abundant Harvests**

Agricultural production and exports are central to the Republican agenda for jobs, growth, expanded trade, and prosperity. Because our farmers and ranchers care for the land, the United States does not depend on foreign imports for sustenance. Americans spend a smaller percentage of their income on food than any other nation. On average, one American farm produces enough food to feed 155 people. No other nation has been as generous with food aid to the needy. We have good reason to celebrate our domestic security in food.

We are the largest agricultural exporter in the world, and our exports are vital for other sectors of our economy. Those exports drive additional economic growth as each dollar of agricultural exports generates another \$1.27 in business activity. That is why we remain committed to expanding trade opportunities and opening new markets for agriculture. Under a Republican president, America's trade negotiators will insist that our global trading partners adhere to science-based standards with

regard to food and health regulations. We will not tolerate the use of bogus science and scare tactics to bar our products from foreign markets, nor will we allow insufficient health and safety standards for products imported for our consumption.

We must also ensure that domestic policies do not compromise our global competitiveness through overregulation and undue interference in the marketplace. There is growing recognition that federal dairy policies, crafted during the Great Depression, are increasingly an impediment to the ability of our dairy producers to meet the expected doubling in global demand coming by 2030. We oppose the policies pushed by special interest groups seeking to stop or make more expensive our current system of safe, efficient, and humane production of meat. Congress has repeatedly had to block the current Administration's draconian rules concerning the marketing of poultry and livestock. This regulatory impulse must be curbed, not on a case-by-case basis, but through a fundamental restructuring of the regulatory process. In the meantime, the intrusive and expensive federal mandates on food options and menu labeling should be ended as soon as possible by a Republican Congress. We oppose the mandatory labeling of genetically modified food, which has proven to be safe, healthy, and a literal life-saver for millions in the developing world.

The Democratic Administration's sustained support for additional regulation of agriculture has directly resulted in higher costs of production for those who produce the food we eat. This federal regulatory overreach has resulted and will continue to result in higher food prices for Americans. These higher food costs are particularly challenging for those Americans struggling to make ends meet.

Like the rest of the economy, agriculture has suffered through eight years of the Democrats'



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regulatory juggernaut, particularly from the Environmental Protection Agency (EPA). States, not Washington bureaucrats, are best equipped to engage farmers and ranchers to develop sound farm oversight policies. The EPA's Waters of the United States (WOTUS) rule, issued jointly with the Army Corps of Engineers, is a travesty. It extends the government's jurisdiction over navigable waters into the micro-management of puddles and ditches on farms, ranches, and other privately-held property. Ditches, dry creek beds, stock ponds, prairie potholes, and other non-navigable wet areas are already regulated by the states. WOTUS is now subject to judicial review and must be invalidated, but that will not be sufficient. Unelected bureaucrats must be stopped from furthering the Democratic Party's political agenda through regulatory demands forced upon citizens and businesses beyond that which is required by law. We must never allow federal agencies to seize control of state waters, watersheds, or groundwater. State waters, watersheds, and groundwater must be the purview of the sovereign states.

Farmers and ranchers are among this country's leading conservationists. Modern farm practices and technologies, supported by programs from the Department of Agriculture, have led to reduced erosion, improved water and air quality, increased wildlife habitat, all the while maintaining improved agricultural yields. This stewardship of the land benefits everyone, and we remain committed to conservation policies based on the preservation, not the restriction, of working lands. For this reason, ranching on public lands must be fostered, developed, and encouraged. This includes providing for an abundant water supply for America's farmers, ranchers, and their communities.

Farming and ranching remain high-risk endeavors, and they cannot be isolated from market forces. No segment of agriculture can expect treatment so favorable that it seriously disadvantages workers in other trades. Federal programs to assist farmers in managing risk must be as cost-effective as they are functional, offering tools that can improve producers' ability to operate when times are tough while remaining affordable to the taxpayers. Even so, the expansion of agricultural exports through the vigorous opening of new

markets around the world is the surest path to farm security.

While uncertainty about natural weather and markets is a risk farmers and ranchers always face, government should not add to their uncertainty by inaction and delay. Thanks in large part to a lack of leadership from the current Administration and congressional Democrats, the last Farm Bill took far too long to enact, creating instability about farm policy for nearly two years. Republicans are dedicated to leading this country forward, which includes getting things done on time, including the next Farm Bill.

The Democrats play politics with farm security. Much of the Democrats' delay had nothing to do with the vital role of American agriculture. It concerned their efforts to expand welfare through the Supplemental Nutrition Assistance Program (SNAP), which now comprises more than 70 percent of all farm bill spending. During the last eight years of a Democratic Administration, nearly all the work requirements for able-bodied adults, instituted by our landmark welfare reform of 1996, have been removed. We will restore those provisions and, to correct a mistake made when the Food Stamp program was first created in 1964, separate the administration of SNAP from the Department of Agriculture.

Like all other sectors of our society, agriculture is directly impacted by the constant advance in technology. Agriculture now faces a revolution in the generation of "Big Data" — information produced not only through public oversight of regulations and programs, but also from private business records of farming and ranching operations. In the interest of protecting the safety of our farmers and ranchers, we will advance policies to protect the security, privacy, and most of all, the private ownership of individual farmers' and ranchers' data.

The U. S. Forest Service, within the Department of Agriculture, controls around 200 million acres of land with enormous natural resources, especially timber, a renewable resource providing jobs for thousands of workers that should be used to the best economic potential for the nation. Many of our national forests are in worsening health with the threat of invasive species, insect mortality, and the severe risk of wildfire. The increase in



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catastrophic wildfires has been needlessly killing millions of animals and destroying homes and watersheds for decades in the western states. The expense to suppress wildfires related to failed federal forest policies continues to increase. When timber is managed properly, the renewable crops will result in fewer wildfires and, at the same time, produce jobs in the timber industry for countless families. We believe in promoting active, sustainable management of our forests and that states can best manage our forests to improve forest health and keep communities safe.

**A New Era in Energy**

Our country has greater energy resources than any other place on earth. Our engineers and miners, the men and women whose labor taps the forces of nature, are the best in the world. Together, the people of America's energy sector provide us with power that is clean, affordable, secure, and abundant. Their work can guarantee the nation's energy security for centuries to come if, instead of erecting roadblocks, government facilitates the creation of an all-of-the-above energy strategy.

We applaud congressional Republicans for doing just that through far-sighted legislation.

Both Houses have passed bills that will modernize pipelines and the electric grid, protect the grid from disruption, expedite energy exports, and lower energy costs. A Republican administration will build on those policies to find new ways to store electricity, a breakthrough of extraordinary import.

Planning for our energy future requires us to first determine what resources we have in reserve. Thirty years ago, the world's estimated reserves of oil were 645 billion barrels. Today, that figure is 1.65 trillion barrels. The more we know what we will have in the future, the better we can decide how to use it. That is why we support the opening of public lands and the outer continental shelf to exploration and responsible production, even if these resources will

not be immediately developed. Because we believe states can best promote economic growth while protecting the environment, Congress should give authority to state regulators to manage energy resources on federally controlled public lands within their respective borders.

The Democratic Party's energy policy can be summed up in a slogan currently popular among its activists: "keep it in the ground." Keeping energy in the earth will keep jobs out of reach of those who need them most. For low-income Americans, expensive energy means colder homes in the winter and hotter homes in the summer, less mobility in employment, and higher food prices. The current Administration, and particularly its EPA, seems

not to care. Its Clean Power Plan — the centerpiece of the President's war on coal — has been stayed by the Supreme Court. We will do away with it altogether. The Democratic Party does not understand that coal is an abundant, clean, affordable, reliable domestic energy resource. Those who mine it and their families should be protected from the Democratic Party's radical anti-coal agenda.

The Democratic Party's campaign to smother the U.S. energy industry takes many forms, but the permitting

process may be its most damaging weapon. It takes an average of 30 days for states to permit an oil or gas well. It takes the federal government longer than seven months. Three decades ago, the Bureau of Land Management (BLM) leased 12.2 million acres. In 2014, it leased only one-tenth of that number. Our nuclear industry, cleanly generating almost 20 percent of our electricity from its 99 plants, has a remarkable safety record, but only a handful of plants have been permitted in over three decades. Permitting for a safe, non-polluting hydroelectric facility, even one that is being relicensed, can take many years because of the current President's hostility to dams. The Keystone Pipeline has become a symbol of everything wrong with the

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Our country has greater energy resources than any other place on earth. Our engineers and miners, the men and women whose labor taps the forces of nature, are the best in the world.

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current Administration's ideological approach. After years of delay, the President killed it to satisfy environmental extremists. We intend to finish that pipeline and others as part of our commitment to North American energy security.

Government should not play favorites among energy producers. The taxpayers will not soon forget the current Administration's subsidies to companies that went bankrupt without producing a kilowatt of energy. The same Administration now requires the Department of Defense, operating with slashed budgets during a time of expanding conflict, to use its scarce resources to generate 25 percent of its electricity from renewables by 2025. Climate change is far from this nation's most pressing national security issue. This is the triumph of extremism over common sense, and Congress must stop it.

We support the development of all forms of energy that are marketable in a free economy without subsidies, including coal, oil, natural gas, nuclear power, and hydropower. A federal judge has struck down the BLM's rule on hydraulic fracturing and we support upholding this decision. We respect the states' proven ability to regulate the use of hydraulic fracturing, methane emissions, and horizontal drilling, and we will end the Administration's disregard of the Nuclear Waste Policy Act with respect to the long-term storage of nuclear waste. We encourage the cost-effective development of renewable energy sources — wind, solar, biomass, biofuel, geothermal, and tidal energy — by private capital. The United States is overwhelmingly dependent on China and other nations for rare earth and other hardrock minerals. These minerals are critical to advanced technology, renewable energy, and defense manufacturing. We support expediting the permitting process for mineral production on public lands. We support lifting restrictions to allow responsible development of nuclear energy, including research into alternative processes like thorium nuclear energy.

We oppose any carbon tax. It would increase energy prices across the board, hitting hardest at the families who are already struggling to pay their bills in the Democrats' no-growth economy. We urge the private sector to focus its resources on the development of carbon capture and sequestration technology still in its early stages here and overseas.

American energy producers should be free to export their product to foreign markets. This is particularly important because of international demand for liquefied natural gas, and we must expedite the energy export terminals currently blocked by the Administration. Energy exports will create high paying jobs throughout the United States, reduce our nation's trade deficit, grow our economy, and boost the energy security of our allies and trading partners. We remain committed to aggressively expanding trade opportunities and opening new markets for American energy through multilateral and

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We support the development of all forms of energy that are marketable in a free economy without subsidies, including coal, oil, natural gas, nuclear power, and hydropower.

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bilateral agreements, whether current, pending, or negotiated in the future.

Energy is both an economic and national security issue. We support the enactment of policies to increase domestic energy production, including production on public lands, to counter market manipulation by OPEC and other nationally-owned oil companies. This will reduce America's vulnerability to energy price volatility.

### **Environmental Progress**

Conservation is inherent in conservatism. As the pioneer of environmentalism a century ago, the Republican Party reaffirms the moral obligation to be good stewards of the God-given natural beauty and resources of our country. We believe that people are the most valuable resources and that human health and safety are the proper measurements of a policy's success. We assert that private ownership has been the best guarantee of conscientious stewardship, while some of the worst instances of degradation have occurred under government



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control. Poverty, not wealth, is the gravest threat to the environment, while steady economic growth brings the technological advances which make environmental progress possible.

The environment is too important to be left to radical environmentalists. They are using yesterday's tools to control a future they do not comprehend. The environmental establishment has become a self-serving elite, stuck in the mindset of the 1970s, subordinating the public's consensus to the goals of the Democratic Party. Their approach is based on shoddy science, scare tactics, and centralized command-and-control regulation. Over the last eight years, the Administration has triggered an avalanche of regulation that wrecks havoc across our economy and yields minimal environmental benefits.

The central fact of any sensible environmental policy is that, year by year, the environment is improving. Our air and waterways are much healthier than they were a few decades ago. As a nation, we have drastically reduced pollution, mainstreamed recycling, educated the public, and avoided ecological degradation. Even if no additional controls are added, air pollution will continue to decline for the next several decades due to technological turnover of aging equipment. These successes become a challenge for Democratic Party environmental extremists, who must reach farther and demand more to sustain the illusion of an environmental crisis. That is why they routinely ignore costs, exaggerate benefits, and advocate the breaching of constitutional boundaries by federal agencies to impose environmental regulation. At the same time, the environmental establishment looks the other way when environmental degradation is caused by the EPA and other federal agencies as was the case during the Animas River spill.

Our agenda is high on job creation, expanding opportunity and providing a better chance at life for everyone willing to work for it. Our modern approach to environmentalism is directed to that end, and it starts with dramatic change in official Washington. We propose to shift responsibility for environmental regulation from the federal bureaucracy to the states and to transform the EPA into an independent bipartisan commission, similar to the Nuclear Regulatory Commission, with

structural safeguards against politicized science. We will strictly limit congressional delegation of rule-making authority, and require that citizens be compensated for regulatory takings.

We will put an end to the legal practice known as "sue and settle," in which environmental groups sue federal agencies whose officials are complicit in the litigation so that, with the taxpayers excluded, both parties can reach agreement behind closed doors. That deceit betrays the public's trust; it will no longer be tolerated. We will also reform the Equal Access to Justice Act to cap and disclose payments made to environmental activists and return the Act to its original intent.

We will enforce the original intent of the Clean Water Act, not its distortion by EPA regulations. We will likewise forbid the EPA to regulate carbon dioxide, something never envisioned when Congress passed the Clean Air Act. We will restore to Congress the authority to set the National Ambient Air Quality Standards and modernize the permitting process under the National Environmental Policy Act so it can no longer invite frivolous lawsuits, thwart sorely needed projects, kill jobs, and strangle growth.

The federal government owns or controls over 640 million acres of land in the United States, most of which is in the West. These are public lands, and the public should have access to them for appropriate activities like hunting, fishing, and recreational shooting. Federal ownership or management of land also places an economic burden on counties and local communities in terms of lost revenue to pay for things such as schools, police, and emergency services. It is absurd to think that all that acreage must remain under the absentee ownership or management of official Washington. Congress shall immediately pass universal legislation providing for a timely and orderly mechanism requiring the federal government to convey certain federally controlled public lands to states. We call upon all national and state leaders and representatives to exert their utmost power and influence to urge the transfer of those lands, identified in the review process, to all willing states for the benefit of the states and the nation as a whole. The residents of state and local communities know best how to protect the land where they work and live. They practice boots-on-



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the-ground conservation in their states every day. We support amending the Antiquities Act of 1906 to establish Congress' right to approve the designation of national monuments and to further require the approval of the state where a national monument is designated or a national park is proposed.

There is certainly a need to protect certain species threatened worldwide with extinction. However, the Endangered Species Act (ESA) should not include species such as gray wolves and other species if these species exist elsewhere in healthy numbers in another state or country. To upset the economic viability of an area with an unneeded designation costs jobs and hurts local communities. We must ensure that this protection is done effectively, reasonably, and without unnecessarily impeding the development of lands and natural resources. The ESA should ensure that the listing of endangered species and the designation of critical habitats are based upon sound science and balance the protection of endangered species with the costs of compliance and the rights of property owners. Instead, over the last few decades, the ESA has stunted economic development, halted the construction of projects, burdened landowners, and has been used to pursue policy goals inconsistent with the ESA — all with little to no success in the actual recovery of species. For example, we oppose the listing of the lesser prairie chicken and the potential listing of the sage grouse. Neither species has been shown to be in actual danger and the listings threaten to devastate farmers, ranchers, and oil and gas production. While species threatened with extinction must be protected under the ESA, any such protection must be done in a reasonable and transparent manner with stakeholder input and

in consideration of the impact on the development of lands and natural resources.

Information concerning a changing climate, especially projections into the long-range future, must be based on dispassionate analysis of hard data. We will enforce that standard throughout the executive branch, among civil servants and presidential appointees alike. The United Nations' Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change is a political mechanism, not an unbiased scientific institution. Its unreliability is reflected in its intolerance toward scientists and others who dissent from its orthodoxy. We will evaluate its recommendations accordingly. We reject the agendas of both the Kyoto Protocol and the Paris Agreement, which represent only the personal commitments of their signatories; no such agreement can be binding upon the United States until it is submitted to and ratified by the Senate.

We demand an immediate halt to U.S. funding for the U.N.'s Framework Convention on Climate Change (UNFCCC) in accordance with the 1994 Foreign Relations Authorization Act. That law prohibits Washington from giving any money to "any affiliated organization of the United Nations" which grants Palestinians membership as a state. There is no ambiguity in that language. It would be illegal for the President to follow through on his intention to provide millions in funding for the UNFCCC and hundreds of millions for its Green Climate Fund.

We firmly believe environmental problems are best solved by giving incentives for human ingenuity and the development of new technologies, not through top-down, command-and-control regulations that stifle economic growth and cost thousands of jobs.



# Government Reform



## **Making Government Work for the People**

Founding Father and Constitution Framer James Wilson declared that in America, “the people are the masters of government,” but that in other countries, “the government is master of the people.” We pledge to make government work for the people, rather than the other way around. Much of what the federal government does can be improved, much should be replaced, and much needs to be done away with or returned to the states. It is long past time for just tinkering around the edges of a bloated and unresponsive bureaucratic state. Its poorly managed programs, some begun generations ago, are ill-suited to meet present needs and future requirements. Its credit card budgets impose massive indebtedness on every American today and on children yet unborn. The more it intrudes into every aspect of American life the more it alienates the citizens who work, pay taxes, and wonder what has happened to the country they love. We agree with Thomas Jefferson that “[t]he multiplication of public offices, increase of expense beyond income, growth and entailment of a public debt, are indications soliciting the employment of the pruning knife.”

## **Balancing the Budget**

The federal fiscal burden threatens the security, liberty, and independence of our nation. The current Administration’s refusal to work with Republicans took our national debt from \$10 trillion to nearly \$19 trillion today. Left unchecked, it will hit \$30 trillion by 2026. At the same time, the Administration’s policies systematically crippled economic growth and job creation, driving up government costs and driving down revenues. When Congressional Republicans tried to reverse course, the Administration manufactured fiscal crises — phony government shutdowns — to demand excessive spending. The Administration’s

demands have focused on significantly expanding government spending and benefits for its preferred groups, paid for through loans that our children and grandchildren will have to pay. This is the path to bankrupting the next generation.

The Republican path to fiscal sanity and economic expansion begins with a constitutional requirement for a federal balanced budget. We will fight for Congress to adopt, and for the states to ratify, a Balanced Budget Amendment which imposes a cap limiting spending to the appropriate historical average percentage of our nation’s gross domestic product while requiring a super-majority for any tax increase, with exceptions only for war or legitimate emergencies. Only a constitutional safeguard such as this can prevent deficits from mounting to government default.

Republican budgets will prioritize thrift over extravagance and put taxpayers first. We support the following test: Is a particular expenditure within the constitutional scope of the federal government? If not, stop it. Has it been effective in the past and is it still absolutely necessary? If not, end it. Is it so important as to justify borrowing, especially foreign borrowing, to fund it? If not, kill it.

## **Preserving Medicare and Medicaid**

More than 100 million Americans depend on Medicare or Medicaid for their healthcare; with our population aging, that number will increase. To preserve Medicare and Medicaid, the financing of these important programs must be brought under control before they consume most of the federal budget, including national defense. The good news is that it can be done, and it can be done without endangering the elderly and the needy who depend on those programs. We intend to save Medicare by modernizing it, empowering its participants, and putting it on a secure financial footing. We will preserve the promise of Medicaid as well by making



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that program, designed for 1965 medicine, a vehicle for good health in an entirely new era.

Medicare's long-term debt is in the trillions, and it is funded by a workforce that is shrinking relative to the size of future beneficiaries. Obamacare worsened the situation — and imperiled seniors — by imposing hundreds of billions of dollars in cuts to Medicare providers to pay for its new spending. When a vital program is so clearly headed for a train wreck, it's time to put it on a more secure track. That is why we propose these reforms: Impose no changes for persons 55 or older. Give others the option of traditional Medicare or transition to a premium-support model designed to strengthen patient choice, promote cost-saving competition among providers, and better guard against the fraud and abuse that now diverts billions of dollars every year away from patient care. Guarantee to every enrollee an income-adjusted contribution toward a plan of their choice, with catastrophic protection. Without disadvantaging present retirees or those nearing retirement, set a more realistic age for eligibility in light of today's longer life span.

This is an agenda to improve healthcare, not just to manage its costs. We reject the Democrats' approach of rationing inherent in Obamacare. We recognize the de facto rationing of healthcare caused by reduced access to doctors who increasingly opt out of participating in Medicare and Medicaid. We will not accept that or any other approach which denies care — or lowers its quality — for America's elderly.

Medicaid presents related, but somewhat different challenges. As the dominant force in the health market with regard to long-term care, births, and persons with mental illness, it is the next frontier of welfare reform. It is simply too big and too flawed to be administered from Washington. Most of the vaunted expansion of health insurance coverage under Obamacare actually has been an unprecedented expansion of the Medicaid rolls in many states. We applaud the Republican governors and state legislators who have undertaken the hard work of modernizing Medicaid. We will give them a free hand to do so by block-granting the program without strings. Their initiatives — whether premium supports for purchasing insurance, refundable tax credits, alternatives to hospitalization for chronic

patients, disease prevention activities, and other innovations — are the best strategy for preserving Medicaid for those who need it the most. Block granting Medicaid is particularly needed to address mental health care. Mental illness affects people from all walks of life, but there has been little success in developing effective system-wide medical models for addressing mental health. For a variety of unique reasons, government is often the first frontier for people experiencing mental health problems — from first responders who deal with crises to publicly funded mental health facilities and prisons where large numbers of inmates suffer from mental illnesses. Using block grants would allow states to experiment with different systems to address mental health and develop successful models to be replicated in states across the nation. The current federally dictated mental health care regime is wasteful and ineffective, and moving to a block grant approach would allow for state and local governments to create solutions for individuals and families in desperate need of help in addressing mental illness. We respect the states' authority and flexibility to exclude abortion providers from federal programs such as Medicaid and other healthcare and family planning programs so long as they continue to perform or refer for elective abortions or sell the body parts of aborted children.

### **Saving Social Security**

We reject the old maxim that Social Security is the "Third Rail" of American politics, deadly for anyone who would change it. The Democratic Party still treats it that way, even though everyone knows that its current course will lead to a financial and social disaster. Younger Americans have lost all faith in the program and expect little return for what they are paying into it. As the party of America's future, we accept the responsibility to preserve and modernize a system of retirement security forged in an old industrial era beyond the memory of most Americans. Current retirees and those close to retirement can be assured of their benefits. Of the many reforms being proposed, all options should be considered to preserve Social Security. As Republicans, we oppose tax increases and believe in the power of markets to create wealth and to



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help secure the future of our Social Security system. Saving Social Security is more than a challenge. It is our moral obligation to those who trusted in the government's word.

### **Protecting Internet Freedom**

The survival of the internet as we know it is at risk. Its gravest peril originates in the White House, the current occupant of which has launched a campaign, both at home and internationally, to subjugate it to agents of government. The President ordered the chair of the supposedly independent Federal Communications Commission to impose upon the internet rules devised in the 1930s for the telephone monopoly. He has unilaterally announced America's abandonment of the international internet by surrendering U.S. control of the root zone of web names and addresses. He threw the internet to the wolves, and they — Russia, China, Iran, and others — are ready to devour it.

We salute the Congressional Republicans who have legislatively impeded his plans to turn over the Information Freedom Highway to regulators and tyrants. That fight must continue, for its outcome is in doubt. We will consistently support internet policies that allow people and private enterprise to thrive, without providing new and expanded government powers to tax and regulate so that the internet does not become the vehicle for a dramatic expansion of government power. The internet's independence is its power. It has unleashed innovation, enabled growth, and inspired freedom more rapidly and extensively than any other technological advance in human history. We will therefore resist any effort to shift control toward governance by international or other intergovernmental organizations. We will ensure that personal data receives full constitutional protection from government overreach. The only way to safeguard or improve these systems is through the private sector. The internet's free market needs to be free and open to all ideas and competition without the government or service providers picking winners and losers.

### **Immigration and the Rule of Law**

Our party is the natural home for those who come in search of freedom and justice. We welcome all to the Great Opportunity Party.

The greatest asset of the American economy is the American worker. Our immigration system must protect American working families and their wages, for citizens and legal immigrants alike, in a way that will improve the economy. Just as immigrant labor helped build our country in the past, today's legal immigrants are making vital contributions in every aspect of national life. Their industry and commitment to American values strengthens our economy, enriches our culture, and enables us to better understand and more effectively compete with the rest of the world.

We are particularly grateful to the thousands of new legal immigrants, many of them not yet citizens, who are serving in the Armed Forces and among first responders. Their patriotism should encourage all to embrace the newcomers legally among us, assist their journey to full citizenship, and

help their communities avoid isolation from the mainstream of society. We are also thankful for the many legal immigrants who continue to contribute to American society. To that end, we both encourage the preservation of heritage tongues and support English as the nation's official language, a unifying force essential for the advancement of immigrant communities and our nation as a whole.

America's immigration policy must serve the national interest of the United States, and the interests of American workers must be protected over the claims of foreign nationals seeking the same jobs. With all our fellow citizens, we have watched, in anger and disgust, the mocking of our immigration laws by a president who made himself superior to the will of the nation. We stand with the victims of his policies, especially the families of murdered innocents. Illegal immigration endangers everyone, exploits the taxpayers, and insults all who aspire to enter America legally. We oppose any form of amnesty for those who, by breaking the law, have disadvantaged those who have obeyed

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it. The executive amnesties of 2012 and 2014 are a direct violation of federal law and usurp the powers of Congress as outlined in Article I of the Constitution. These unlawful amnesties must be immediately rescinded by a Republican president. In a time of terrorism, drug cartels, human trafficking, and criminal gangs, the presence of millions of unidentified individuals in this country poses grave risks to the safety and sovereignty of the United States. Our highest priority, therefore, must be to secure our borders and all ports of entry and to enforce our immigration laws.

That is why we support building a wall along our southern border and protecting all ports of entry. The border wall must cover the entirety of the southern border and must be sufficient to stop both vehicular and pedestrian traffic. We insist upon workplace enforcement of verification systems so that more jobs can be available to all legal workers. Use of the E-verify program — an internet-based system that verifies the employment authorization and identity of employees — must be made mandatory nationwide. We reaffirm our endorsement of the SAVE program — Systematic Alien Verification for Entitlements — to ensure that public funds are not given to persons not legally present in this country. We demand tough penalties against those who engage in identity theft, deal in fraudulent documents, and traffic in human beings. The Department of Homeland Security must use its authority to keep dangerous aliens off our streets and to expedite expulsion of criminal aliens. Gang membership should be a deportable offense. Any previously deported illegal alien who continues to show a lack of respect for our borders and rule of law must be penalized. This is why we support stiffer penalties, such as a mandatory minimum sentence of five years, for any illegal alien who illegally re-enters our nation after already having been deported.

Because “sanctuary cities” violate federal law and endanger their own citizens, they should not be eligible for federal funding. Using state licenses to reward people in the country illegally is an affront to the rule of law and must be halted.

In light of both current needs and historic practice, we urge the reform of our guest worker

programs to eliminate fraud, improve efficiency and ensure they serve the national interest. In light of the alarming levels of unemployment and underemployment in this country, it is indefensible to continue offering lawful permanent residence to more than one million foreign nationals every year. The Supreme Court has correctly recognized that states have the constitutional authority to take steps to reduce illegal immigration. We condemn the Obama Administration’s lawsuits against states that are seeking to reinforce federal law. We support the right of the states to enact laws deterring illegal aliens from residing within their states.

From its beginning, our country has been a haven of refuge and asylum. That should continue — but with major changes. Asylum should be limited to cases of political, ethnic or religious persecution. As the Director of the FBI has noted, it is not possible to vet fully all potential refugees. To ensure our national security, refugees who cannot be carefully vetted cannot be admitted to the country, especially those whose homelands have been the breeding grounds for terrorism.

### **Reforming the Treaty System**

We intend to restore the treaty system specified by the Constitution: The president negotiates agreements, submits them to the Senate, with ratification requiring two-thirds of the senators present and voting. This was good enough for George Washington but is too restrictive for the current chief executive, who presumes to bind this country to bilateral and multilateral agreements of his devising. His media admirers portray his personal commitments — whether on climate change, Iranian weapons, or other matters — as done deals. They are not, and a new Republican executive will work with the Congress to reestablish constitutional order in America’s foreign relations. All international executive agreements and political arrangements entered into by the current Administration must be deemed null and void as mere expressions of the current president’s preferences. Those which are in the national interest but would traditionally have been made by treaty must be abrogated, renegotiated as treaties, and transmitted to the Senate for its advice and consent as required by



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the Constitution. The United States will withdraw from all agreements and arrangements failing those standards.

### **Internal Revenue Service**

Many good civil servants work at the IRS, but the agency itself is toxic. Its leadership employs known tax delinquents, rehires workers previously fired for misconduct, spends user fees without congressional oversight, and awards bonuses for customer service that would put any private company out of business. Worst of all, the IRS has become an ideological attack dog for the worst elements of today's Democratic Party. It systematically targets conservative, pro-life, and libertarian organizations, harassing them with repeated audits and denying their tax exempt status. Its commissioner has lied to Congress, hidden evidence, and stonewalled investigations. He should be impeached by the House of Representatives and convicted by the Senate. We value the right of America's churches, pastors, and religious leaders to preach and speak freely according to their faith. Republicans believe the federal government, specifically the IRS, is constitutionally prohibited from policing or censoring the speech of America's churches, pastors, and religious leaders. We support repeal of the Johnson Amendment, which restricts First Amendment freedoms of all nonprofit organizations by prohibiting political speech. We also support making the federal tax code so simple and easy to understand that the IRS becomes obsolete and can be abolished.

### **Audit the Pentagon**

No major part of the Department of Defense has ever passed an audit. Republican leaders in Congress have called for a full financial audit of the Pentagon to ensure that every dollar spent is truly benefitting our national security. Every taxpayer must be prepared to pass an audit, and we urge Congress to demand the same level of accountability from the Pentagon and the Department of Defense.

### **Improving the Federal Workforce**

We recognize the dedication of most employees of the federal government and thank them for their service, with special praise for the whistleblow-

ers who risk their careers to expose waste, fraud, and misuse of power. None of them should ever be compelled to join a union or pay dues to it. In fairness to their fellow workers, union representatives should not be allowed to engage in union-related activities while on the public's time. The inability of federal managers to discipline and, if necessary, dismiss problem staff members is an affront to every conscientious worker, as is the misuse of funds for lavish conferences and routine bonuses. The appointees of a Republican president will work with career managers to end those abuses and enforce high standards for all federal employees. We reaffirm the existing protections that provide all employees of the federal government the opportunity to pursue their desire to serve their country free from discrimination.

We call for renewed efforts to reduce, rather than expand, government responsibilities, and we urge particular attention to the bloated public relations budgets of the departments and agencies. The federal government spends too much of the people's money telling the people what they should do.

### **Advancing Term Limits**

Our national platform has repeatedly endorsed term limits for Members of Congress. In response, the GOP Leadership in 1996 brought to a vote, in both the House and Senate, a constitutional amendment. It failed to secure the necessary two-thirds vote in the House, where 80 percent of Republicans voted for it and 80 percent of Democrats voted against it. Every Senate Republican voted to allow a vote on term limits, but the Democrats killed it by a filibuster. Blocked by that opposition, Republicans sought other ways to modernize the national legislature. They set term limits for their own committee chairs and leadership positions, and by law they required Congress to live by the same rules it imposes on others. To make further progress, to advance a constitutional amendment for consideration by the states, we must expand the current Republican majorities in both chambers.

### **Regulation: The Quiet Tyranny**

Over-regulation is the quiet tyranny of the "Nanny State." It hamstring American businesses



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and hobbles economic growth. The Great Recession may be over, but in the experience of most Americans, the economy is still sick. The federal regulatory burden has been a major contributor to that stagnation.

The ability of the American people to govern themselves has been undermined by a vast array of agencies with sweeping power to regulate every aspect of American life. They legislate as if they were Congress. They decide guilt and issue penalties as if they were courts. They collectively impose many billions of dollars in costs to the economy. The current President and his allies on Capitol Hill have used those agencies as a super-legislature, disregarding the separation of powers, to declare as law what they could not push through the Congress.

The Environmental Protection Agency has rewritten laws to advance the Democrats' climate change agenda. The Department of Health and Human Services has ignored the enacted text of the Affordable Care Act to do whatever it wants in healthcare. Both the Department of Labor and National Labor Relations Board have scrapped decades of labor law to implement the agenda of big labor. The Dodd-Frank law, the Democrats' legislative Godzilla, is crushing small and community banks and other lenders. The Federal Communications Commission is imperiling the freedom of the internet. We support reinstating the Glass-Steagall Act of 1933 which prohibits commercial banks from engaging in high-risk investment.

Sensible regulations can be compatible with a vibrant economy. They can prevent the strong from exploiting the weak. Right now, the regulators are exploiting everyone. We are determined to make regulations minimally intrusive, confined to their legal mandate, and respectful toward the creation of new and small businesses. We will revisit existing laws that delegate too much authority to regulatory agencies and review all current regulations for possible reform or repeal. We endorse Republican legislation, already passed by the House, to require approval by both houses of Congress for any rule or regulation that would impose significant costs on the American people. Further, Congress should work towards legislation that requires removal of

a regulation of equal or greater economic burden when a new regulation is enacted.

Because regulations are just another tax on the consumers, Congress should consider a regulatory budget that would cap the costs federal agencies could impose on the economy in any given year.

### **Crony Capitalism and Corporate Welfare**

Cronyism is inherent in the progressive vision of the administrative state. When government uses taxpayer funding and resources to give special advantages to private companies, it distorts the free market and erodes public trust in our political system. By enlarging the scope of government and placing enormous power in the hands of bureaucrats, it multiplies opportunities for corruption and favoritism. It is the enemy of reform in education, the workplace, and healthcare. It gives us financial regulation that protects the large at the cost of the small. It is inherent in every part of the current healthcare law, which is packed with corporate welfare. Crony capitalism gives us special interest tax breaks, custom-designed regulations, and special exemptions for favored parties. The Solyndra debacle is a perfect example. It creates both subsidies and restrictions to tilt the market one way or the other. By putting the weight of government behind the status quo, it leads to economic stagnation. We applaud the Republican Members of Congress who have taken the lead in fighting crony capitalism and urge others to rally to their cause.

### **Honoring Our Relationship with American Indians**

Based on both treaty and other law, the federal government has a unique government-to-government relationship with and trust responsibility for Indian Tribal Governments, American Indians, and Alaska Natives. These obligations have not been sufficiently honored. The social and economic problems that plague Indian country have grown worse over the last several decades; we must reverse that trend. Ineffective federal programs deprive American Indians of the services they need, and long-term failures threaten to undermine tribal sovereignty itself.

American Indians have established elected



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tribal governments to carry out the public policies of the tribe, administer services to its tribal member constituents, and manage relations with federal, state, and local governments. We respect the tribal governments as the voice of their communities and encourage federal, state, and local governments to heed those voices in developing programs and partnerships to improve the quality of life for American Indians and their neighbors in their communities.

Republicans believe that economic self-sufficiency is the ultimate answer to the challenges confronting Indian country. We believe that tribal governments and their communities, not Washington bureaucracies, are best situated to craft solutions that will end systemic problems that create poverty and disenfranchisement. Just as the federal government should not burden states with regulations, it should not stifle the development of resources within the reservations, which need federal assistance to advance their commerce nationally through roads and technology. Federal and state regulations that thwart job creation must be withdrawn or redrawn so that tribal governments acting on behalf of American Indians are not disadvantaged. It is especially egregious that the Democratic Party has persistently undermined tribal sovereignty in order to provide advantage to union bosses in the tribal workplace. Native communities should have the same authority as state governments in labor matters, so that union bosses and the National Labor Relations Board (NLRB) cannot undermine the authority of tribal governments.

Republicans recognize that each tribe has the right of consultation before any new regulatory policy is implemented on tribal land. To the extent possible, such consultation should take place in Indian country with the tribal government and its members. Before promulgating and imposing any new laws or regulations affecting trust land or members, the federal government should encourage Indian tribes to develop their own policies to achieve program objectives, and should defer to tribes to develop their own standards, or standards in conjunction with state governments.

Republicans reject a one-size-fits-all approach to federal-tribal-state partnerships and will work to expand local autonomy where tribal governments seek it. Better partnerships will help us to expand

economic opportunity, deliver top-flight education to future generations, modernize and improve the Indian Health Service to make it more responsive to local needs, and build essential infrastructure in Indian country in cooperation with tribal neighbors. Our approach is to empower American Indians, through tribal self-determination and self-governance policies, to develop their greatest assets, human resources and the rich natural resources on their lands, without undue federal interference.

Like all Americans, American Indians want safe communities for their families; but inadequate resources and neglect have, over time, allowed criminal activities to plague Indian country. To protect everyone — and especially the most vulnerable: children, women, and elders — the legal system in tribal communities must provide stability and protect property rights. Everyone's due process and civil rights must be safeguarded.

We support efforts to ensure equitable participation in federal programs by American Indians, including Alaska Natives and Native Hawaiians, and to preserve their culture and languages that we consider to be national treasures. Lastly, we recognize that American Indians have responded to the call for military service in percentage numbers far greater than have other groups of Americans. We honor that commitment, loyalty, and sacrifice of all American Indians serving in the military today and in years past and will ensure that all veterans and their families receive the care and respect they have earned through their loyal service to America.

#### **Americans in the Territories**

Throughout the history of our nation, the patriotism exhibited by our brothers and sisters in the territories of Guam, the Commonwealth of the Northern Mariana Islands, American Samoa, the U.S. Virgin Islands, and Puerto Rico has often gone unacknowledged. Year after year, the citizens quietly, without fanfare, send their sons and daughters into the U.S. Armed Services. We honor the extraordinary sacrifices of the men and women of the territories who protect our freedom through their service in the U.S. Armed Forces. Geographically, the territories and commonwealths, especially those in the Pacific, are of vital importance to our national secu-



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rity as the outermost line of defense and gateway to America against potential encroachment by foreign powers. We welcome their greater participation in all aspects of the political process and affirm their right to seek the full extension of the Constitution with all the rights and responsibilities that entails.

We recognize the challenges facing all the U.S. territories in an era of dramatic global economic change. They need venture capital to retain existing industries and develop new ones. A stronger private sector can reduce dependence on public employment and lead toward self-sufficiency. Their development of local energy options will be crucial to reduce dependence on costly imported fuel.

The territories' economic stability and potential for growth must be considered in any trade agreements between the United States and other Pacific nations. They should be given flexibility or exemption from laws that increase costs for their populations, such as the minimum wage and the Jones Act concerning shipping. All unreasonable impediments to their prosperity should be removed, including unreasonable U.S. customs practices. Territories such as American Samoa should be able to properly develop their resources, including fishing, when jobs and the economy depend on it.

We call for the appointment of a commonwealth and territories advisory committee consisting of representatives from all five U.S. territories. The committee will be integrated into the president's transition team and be tasked with performing a holistic review of all federal regulations affecting the territories and commonwealths. We further call for the appointment of a Special Assistant to the President responsible for day-to-day interaction with the territories and commonwealths. This position will be the direct connection for the Office of Insular Affairs, the citizens of the territories and commonwealths, and the White House.

### **The Territory of Puerto Rico**

We support the right of the United States citizens of Puerto Rico to be admitted to the Union as a fully sovereign state. We further recognize the historic significance of the 2012 local referendum in which a 54 percent majority voted to end Puerto Rico's current status as a U.S. territory, and 61 percent chose statehood over options for sovereign

nationhood. We support the federally sponsored political status referendum authorized and funded by an Act of Congress in 2014 to ascertain the aspirations of the people of Puerto Rico. Once the 2012 local vote for statehood is ratified, Congress should approve an enabling act with terms for Puerto Rico's future admission as the 51st state of the Union.

### **Preserving the District of Columbia**

The nation's capital city is a special responsibility of the federal government because it belongs both to its residents and to all Americans, millions of whom visit it every year. Congressional Republicans have fostered homeownership and open access to higher education for Washington residents. Against the opposition of the current President and leaders of the Democratic Party, they have established and expanded the D.C. Opportunity Scholarship Program, through which thousands of low-income children have been able to attend a school of their choice and receive a quality education.

Republicans have been in the forefront of combating chronic corruption among the city's top Democratic officials. We call for congressional action to enforce the spirit of the Home Rule Act, assuring minority representation on the City Council. That council, backed by the current mayor, is attempting to seize from the Congress its appropriating power over all funding for the District. The illegality of their action mirrors the unacceptable spike in violent crime and murders currently afflicting the city. We expect Congress to assert, by whatever means necessary, its constitutional prerogatives regarding the District.

Since the Supreme Court's decisions affirming the Second Amendment rights of its citizens, city officials have engaged in a campaign of massive resistance by denying virtually all applications for gun ownership. The Republican Congress should be prepared, upon the inauguration of a Republican president, to enact legislation allowing law-abiding Washingtonians to own and carry firearms.

Statehood for the District can be advanced only by a constitutional amendment. Any other approach would be invalid. A statehood amendment was soundly rejected by the states when last proposed in 1976 and should not be revived.



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# Great American Families, Education, Healthcare, and Criminal Justice



## **American Values**

We are the party of independent individuals and the institutions they create together — families, schools, congregations, neighborhoods — to advance their ideals and make real their dreams. Those institutions, standing between the citizen and the power of government, are the pillars of a free society. They create spaces where the power of government should not intrude. They allow Americans to work together to solve most of the problems facing their communities. They thus reduce the need for intervention by government in the form of more and bigger programs or a larger public workforce. They minimize decision-making by those who hold or are appointed to office. That is precisely why today's progressives distrust and seek to control them — because this is more than a conflict of ideas. It is a struggle for power.

Our society is at a crossroads. For several generations, an expansive federal regime has marginalized and supplanted the institutions holding our society together. No wonder, then, that so much seems to be coming apart now. The question is whether we are going to reinvigorate the private-sector institutions under citizen control or allow their continued erosion by the forces of centralized social planning. In that divide, the Republican Party stands with the people.

## **Marriage, Family, and Society**

Foremost among those institutions is the American family. It is the foundation of civil society, and the cornerstone of the family is natural marriage, the union of one man and one woman. Its daily lessons — cooperation, patience, mutual respect, responsibility, self-reliance — are fundamental to the order and progress of our Republic. Strong families, depending upon God and one another, advance the cause of liberty by lessening the need for government in their daily lives. Conversely, as

we have learned over the last five decades, the loss of faith and family life leads to greater dependence upon government. That is why Republicans formulate public policy, from taxation to education, from healthcare to welfare, with attention to the needs and strengths of the family.

It is also why everyone should be concerned about the state of the American family today, not because of ideology or doctrine, but because of the overwhelming evidence of experience, social science, and common sense. All of which give us these truths about traditional marriage: Children raised in a two-parent household tend to be physically and emotionally healthier, more likely to do well in school, less likely to use drugs and alcohol, engage in crime or become pregnant outside of marriage. We oppose policies and laws that create a financial incentive for or encourage cohabitation. Moreover, marriage remains the greatest antidote to child poverty. The 40 percent of children who now are born outside of marriage are five times more likely to live in poverty than youngsters born and raised by a mother and father in the home. Nearly three-quarters of the \$450 billion government annually spends on welfare goes to single-parent households. This is what it takes for a governmental village to raise a child, and the village is doing a tragically poor job of it.

The data and the facts lead to an inescapable conclusion: Every child deserves a married mom and dad. The reality remains that millions of American families do not have the advantages that come with that structure. We honor the courageous efforts of those who bear the burdens of parenting alone and embrace the principle that all Americans should be treated with dignity and respect. But respect is not enough. Our laws and our government's regulations should recognize marriage as the union of one man and one woman and actively promote married family life as the basis of a stable and prosperous



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society. For that reason, as explained elsewhere in this platform, we do not accept the Supreme Court's redefinition of marriage and we urge its reversal, whether through judicial reconsideration or a constitutional amendment returning control over marriage to the states. We oppose government discrimination against businesses or entities which decline to sell items or services to individuals for activities that go against their religious views about such activities.

Families formed or enlarged by adoption strengthen our communities and ennoble our nation. Private entities which facilitate adoptions enrich our communities. We support measures such as the First Amendment Defense Act to ensure these entities do not face government discrimination because of their views on marriage and family. We applaud the Republican initiatives which have led to an increase in adoptions, an achievement which should be recognized in any restructuring of the federal tax code. While the number of children in foster care has stabilized, teens who age out of that setting often are abruptly left to face the world on their own. We urge states and community groups to help these young adults become independent.

Thirty years ago, President Reagan commissioned a Special Working Group on the Family to study how government at all levels could be more supportive of family life. We urge marriage penalties to be removed from the tax code and public assistance programs. We invite all who care about children to join us in this proposal to ensure that all federal programs, in the words of President Kennedy, "stress the integrity and preservation of the family unit."

### **A Culture of Hope**

We have been fighting the War on Poverty for 50 years and poverty is winning. Our social safety net — about 80 separate means-tested programs costing over \$1 trillion every year — is designed to help people born into or falling into poverty. It rarely lifts them out. Its apologists judge success by the amount of money spent to keep people in the system. That is a cruel measurement. Republicans propose to evaluate a poverty program by whether it actually reduces poverty and increases the personal independence of its participants. The

results are damning: intergenerational poverty has persisted and worsened since 1966.

This year marks another important anniversary; it has been 20 years since the landmark Republican welfare reform of 1996 broke away from the discredited Great Society model. By making welfare a benefit instead of an entitlement, it put millions of recipients on a transition from dependence to independence. Welfare rolls declined by half as recipients and prospective recipients discovered a better way to reach their goals. Best of all, about 3 million children moved out of poverty. Today that progress has been lost. Defying the law as it was plainly written, the current Administration has nullified any meaningful work requirement and made TANF a mockery of the name we gave it: Temporary Assistance for Needy Families. This decision ensures that those families will remain needy and cut off from the economic mainstream of American society.

This is the progressive pathology: Keeping people dependent so that government can redistribute income. The result is 45.8 million people on food stamps and 77 million on Medicaid, plus another 5.7 million in the Children's Health Insurance Program. This is the false compassion of the status quo. We propose instead the dynamic compassion of work requirements in a growing economy, where opportunity takes the place of a hand-out, where true self-esteem can grow from the satisfaction of a job well done.

We call for removal of structural impediments which progressives throw in the path of poor people: Over-regulation of start-up enterprises, excessive licensing requirements, needless restrictions on formation of schools and day-care centers serving neighborhood families, and restrictions on providing public services in fields like transport and sanitation that close the opportunity door to all but a favored few. We will continue our fight for school choice until all parents can find good, safe schools for their children. To protect religious liberty we will ensure that faith-based institutions, especially those that are vital parts of underserved neighborhoods, do not face discrimination by government. We propose new partnerships between those who manage federal programs and those who are on the front lines of fighting poverty on the ground. We must



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encourage their efforts to reclaim their communities from the culture of poverty. To advance this process, we urge greater state and local responsibility for, and control over, public assistance programs.

**Education: A Chance for Every Child**

Education is much more than schooling. It is the whole range of activities by which families and communities transmit to a younger generation, not just knowledge and skills, but ethical and behavioral norms and traditions. It is the handing over of a cultural identity. That is why American education has, for the last several decades, been the focus of constant controversy, as centralizing forces from outside the family and community have sought to remake education in order to remake America. They have done immense damage. The federal government should not be a partner in that effort, as the Constitution gives it no role in education. At the heart of the American Experiment lies the greatest political expression of human dignity: The self-evident truth that “all men are created equal, that they are endowed by their Creator with certain unalienable rights, that among these are Life, Liberty, and the Pursuit of Happiness.”

That truth rejects the dark view of the individual as human capital — a possession for the creation of another’s wealth.

Parents are a child’s first and foremost educators, and have primary responsibility for the education of their children. Parents have a right to direct their children’s education, care, and upbringing. We support a constitutional amendment to protect that right from interference by states, the federal government, or international bodies such as the United Nations. We reject a one-size-fits-all approach to education and support a broad range of choices for parents and children at the state and local level. We likewise repeat our long-standing opposition to the imposition of national standards and assessments, encourage the parents

and educators who are implementing alternatives to Common Core, and congratulate the states which have successfully repealed it. Their education reform movement calls for choice-based, parent-driven accountability at every stage of schooling. It affirms higher expectations for all students and rejects the crippling bigotry of low expectations. It recognizes the wisdom of local control of our schools and it wisely sees consumer rights in education — choice — as the most important driving force for renewing education. It rejects excessive testing and “teaching to the test” and supports the need for strong assessments to serve as a tool so teachers can tailor teaching to meet student needs.

We applaud America’s great teachers, who should be protected against frivolous lawsuits and should be able to take reasonable actions to maintain discipline and order in the classroom. Administrators need flexibility to innovate and to hold accountable all those responsible for student performance. A good understanding of the Bible being indispensable for the development of an educated citizenry, we encourage state legislatures to offer the Bible in a literature curriculum as an elective in America’s high

schools. We urge school districts to make use of teaching talent in the business community, STEM fields, and the military, especially among our returning veterans. Rigid tenure systems should be replaced with a merit-based approach in order to attract the best talent to the classroom. All personnel who interact with school children should pass background checks and be held to the highest standards of personal conduct.

**Academic Excellence for All**

Maintaining American preeminence requires a world-class system of education in which all students can reach their potential. Republicans are leading the effort to create it. Since 1965, the federal government, through more than 100 programs in

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the Department of Education, has spent \$2 trillion on elementary and secondary education with little substantial improvement in academic achievement or high school graduation rates. The United States spends an average of more than \$12,000 per pupil per year in public schools, for a total of more than \$620 billion. That represents more than 4 percent of GDP devoted to K-12 education in 2011-2012. Of that amount, federal spending amounted to more than \$57 billion. Clearly, if money were the solution, our schools would be problem-free.

More money alone does not necessarily equal better performance. After years of trial and error, we know the policies and methods that have actually made a difference in student advancement: Choice in education; building on the basics; STEM subjects and phonics; career and technical education; ending social promotions; merit pay for good teachers; classroom discipline; parental involvement; and strong leadership by principals, superintendents, and locally elected school boards. Because technology has become an essential tool of learning, it must be a key element in our efforts to provide every child equal access and opportunity. We strongly encourage instruction in American history and civics by using the original documents of our founding fathers.

### **Choice in Education**

We support options for learning, including home-schooling, career and technical education, private or parochial schools, magnet schools, charter schools, online learning, and early-college high schools. We especially support the innovative financing mechanisms that make options available to all children: education savings accounts (ESAs), vouchers, and tuition tax credits. Empowering families to access the learning environments that will best help their children to realize their full potential is one of the greatest civil rights challenges of our time. A young person's ability to succeed in school must be based on his or her God-given talent and motivation, not an address, ZIP code, or economic status. We propose that the bulk of federal money through Title I for low-income children and through IDEA for children with special needs should follow the child to whatever school the family thinks will work best for them.

In sum, on the one hand enormous amounts of money are being spent for K-12 public education with overall results that do not justify that spending level. On the other hand, the common experience of families, teachers, and administrators forms the basis of what does work in education. In Congress and in the states, Republicans are bridging the gap between those two realities. Congressional Republicans are leading the way forward with major reform legislation advancing the concept of block grants and repealing numerous federal regulations which have interfered with state and local control of public schools. Their Workplace Innovation and Opportunity Act — modernizing workforce programs, repealing mandates, and advancing employment for persons with disabilities — is now law. Their legislation to require transparency in unfunded mandates imposed upon our schools is advancing. Their D.C. Opportunity Scholarship Program should be expanded as a model for the rest of the country. We deplore the efforts of Congressional Democrats and the current President to eliminate this successful program for disadvantaged students in order to placate the leaders of the teachers' unions.

To ensure that all students have access to the mainstream of American life, we support the English First approach and oppose divisive programs that limit students' ability to advance in American society. We renew our call for replacing "family planning" programs for teens with sexual risk avoidance education that sets abstinence until marriage as the responsible and respected standard of behavior. That approach — the only one always effective against premarital pregnancy and sexually-transmitted disease — empowers teens to achieve optimal health outcomes. We oppose school-based clinics that provide referral or counseling for abortion and contraception and believe that federal funds should not be used in mandatory or universal mental health, psychiatric, or socio-emotional screening programs. The federal government has pushed states to collect and share vast amounts of personal student and family data, including the collection of social and emotional data. Much of this data is collected without parental consent or notice. This is wholly incompatible with the American Experiment and our inalienable rights.



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### **Title IX**

We emphatically support the original, authentic meaning of Title IX of the Education Amendments of 1972. It affirmed that “no person in the United States shall, on the basis of sex, be excluded from participation in, be denied the benefits of, or be subjected to discrimination under any education program or activity receiving Federal financial assistance.” That language opened up for girls and women a world of opportunities that had too often been denied to them. That same provision of law is now being used by bureaucrats — and by the current President of the United States — to impose a social and cultural revolution upon the American people by wrongly redefining sex discrimination to include sexual orientation or other categories. Their agenda has nothing to do with individual rights; it has everything to do with power. They are determined to reshape our schools — and our entire society — to fit the mold of an ideology alien to America’s history and traditions. Their edict to the states concerning restrooms, locker rooms, and other facilities is at once illegal, dangerous, and ignores privacy issues. We salute the several states which have filed suit against it.

Sexual assault is a terrible crime. We commend the good-faith efforts by law enforcement, educational institutions, and their partners to address that crime responsibly. Whenever reported, it must be promptly investigated by civil authorities and prosecuted in a courtroom, not a faculty lounge. Questions of guilt or innocence must be decided by a judge and jury, with guilt determined beyond a reasonable doubt. Those convicted of sexual assault should be punished to the full extent of the law. The Administration’s distortion of Title IX to micromanage the way colleges and universities deal with allegations of abuse contravenes our country’s legal traditions and must be halted before it further muddles this complex issue and prevents the proper authorities from investigating and prosecuting sexual assault effectively with due process.

### **Improving Higher Education**

Our colleges, universities, and trade schools, large and small, public and private, form the world’s greatest assemblage of learning. They drive much of the research that keeps America competitive and,

by admitting large numbers of foreign students, convey our values and culture to the world. Their excellence is undermined by an ideological bias deeply entrenched within the current university system. Whatever the solution may be in private institutions, in state schools the trustees have a responsibility to the taxpayers to ensure that their enormous investment is not abused for political indoctrination. We call on state officials to preserve our public colleges, universities, and trade schools as places of learning and the exchange of ideas, not zones of intellectual intolerance or “safe zones,” as if college students need protection from the free exchange of ideas. A student’s First Amendment rights do not end at the schoolhouse gates. Colleges, universities, and trade schools must not infringe on their freedom of speech and association in the name of political correctness. We condemn the campus-based BDS (Boycott, Divestment, and Sanctions) campaign against Israel. It is anti-Semitism and should be denounced by advocates of academic freedom.

### **College Costs**

The cost of a college education has long been on an unsustainable trajectory, rising year by year far ahead of inflation. Nationwide, student debt now exceeds credit card debt with average debt levels per student totaling roughly \$27,000. Delinquency rates on student loans are now as high as they were on subprime mortgages during the housing crisis. Over half of recent college grads are unemployed or underemployed, working at jobs for which their expensive educations gave them no preparation. We need new systems of learning to compete with traditional four-year schools: Technical institutions, online universities, life-long learning, and work-based learning in the private sector. Public policy should advance their affordability, innovation, and transparency and should recognize that a four-year degree from a brick-and-mortar institution is not the only path toward a prosperous and fulfilling career.

The federal government should not be in the business of originating student loans. In order to bring down college costs and give students access to a multitude of financing options, private sector participation in student financing should be restored. Any regulation that increases college costs



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must be challenged to balance its worth against its negative economic impact on students and their families.

In order to encourage new modes of higher education delivery to enter the market, accreditation should be decoupled from federal financing, and states should be empowered to allow a wide array of accrediting and credentialing bodies to operate. This model would foster innovation, bring private industry into the credentialing market, and give students the ability to customize their college experience.

### **Restoring Patient Control and Preserving Quality in Healthcare**

Any honest agenda for improving healthcare must start with repeal of the dishonestly named Affordable Care Act of 2010: Obamacare. It weighs like the dead hand of the past upon American medicine. It imposed a Euro-style bureaucracy to manage its unworkable, budget-busting, conflicting provisions. It has driven up prices for all consumers. Their insurance premiums have dramatically increased while their deductibles have risen about eight times faster than wages in the last ten years. It drove up drug prices by levying a \$27 billion tax on manufacturers and importers and, through mandated price cuts for drugs under Medicare and Medicaid, forced pharmaceutical companies to raise prices for everyone else. Its "silver plans," the most common option on the government insurance exchanges, limit people's access to their own doctor through narrow networks and restrict drug coverage, forcing many patients to pay for extremely costly medicines for their chronic diseases.

We agree with the four dissenting judges of the Supreme Court: "In our view, the entire Act before us is invalid in its entirety." It must be removed and replaced with an approach based on genuine competition, patient choice, excellent care, wellness, and timely access to treatment. To that end, a Republican president, on the first day in office, will use legitimate waiver authority under the law to halt its advance and then, with the unanimous support of Congressional Republicans, will sign its repeal. The Supreme Court upheld Obamacare based on Congress' power to tax. It is time to repeal

Obamacare and give America a much-needed tax cut.

In its place we must combine what worked best in the past with changes needed for the future. We must recover the traditional patient-physician relationship based on mutual trust, informed consent, and confidentiality. To simplify the system for both patients and providers, we will reduce mandates and enable insurers and providers of care to increase healthcare options and contain costs. Our goal is to ensure that all Americans have improved access to affordable, high-quality healthcare, including those struggling with mental illness.

We will return to the states their historic role of regulating local insurance markets, limit federal requirements on both private insurance and Medicaid, and call on state officials to reconsider the costly medical mandates, imposed under their own laws, that price millions of low-income families out of the insurance market. To guarantee first-rate care for the needy, we propose to block grant Medicaid and other payments and to assist all patients, including those with pre-existing conditions, to obtain coverage in a robust consumer market. Through Obamacare, the current Administration has promoted the notion of abortion as healthcare. We, however, affirm the dignity of women by protecting the sanctity of human life. Numerous studies have shown that abortion endangers the health and well-being of women, and we stand firmly against it.

To ensure vigorous competition in healthcare, and because cost-awareness is the best guard against over-utilization, we will promote price transparency so consumers can know the cost of treatments before they agree to them. We will empower individuals and small businesses to form purchasing pools in order to expand coverage to the uninsured. We believe that individuals with preexisting conditions who maintain continuous coverage should be protected from discrimination. We applaud the advance of technology in electronic medical records while affirming patient privacy and ownership of personal health information.

Consumer choice is the most powerful factor in healthcare reform. Today's highly mobile workforce needs portability of insurance coverage that can go



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with them from job to job. The need to maintain coverage should not dictate where families have to live and work. We propose to end tax discrimination against the individual purchase of insurance and allow consumers to buy insurance across state lines. In light of that, we propose repealing the 1945 McCarran-Ferguson Act which protects insurance companies from anti-trust litigation. We look to the growth of Health Savings Accounts and Health Reimbursement Accounts that empower patients and advance choice in healthcare.

Our aging population must have access to safe and affordable care. Because most seniors desire to age at home, we will make homecare a priority in public policy and will implement programs to protect against elder abuse.

#### **Protecting Individual Conscience in Healthcare**

America's healthcare professionals should not be forced to choose between following their faith and practicing their profession. We respect the rights of conscience of healthcare professionals, doctors, nurses, pharmacists, and organizations, especially the faith-based groups which provide a major portion of care for the nation and the needy. We support the ability of all organizations to provide, purchase, or enroll in healthcare coverage consistent with their religious, moral, or ethical convictions without discrimination or penalty. We support the right of parents to determine the proper medical treatment and therapy for their minor children. We support the right of parents to consent to medical treatment for their minor children and urge enactment of legislation that would require parental consent for their daughter to be transported across state lines for abortion. Providers should not be permitted to unilaterally withhold services because a patient's life is deemed not worth living. American taxpayers should not be forced to fund abortion. As Democrats abandon this four decade-old bipartisan consensus, we call for codification of the Hyde Amendment and its application across the government, including Obamacare. We call for a permanent ban on federal funding and subsidies for abortion and healthcare plans that include abortion coverage.

#### **Better Care and Lower Costs: Tort Reform**

Medical malpractice lawsuits have ballooned the cost of healthcare for everyone by forcing physicians to practice defensive medicine through tests and treatments which otherwise might be optional. Rural America is especially affected as obstetricians, surgeons, and other providers move to urban settings or retire in the face of escalating insurance premiums. Many Republican Governors have advanced the legal reforms necessary to reverse that trend. We support state and federal legislation to cap non-economic damages in medical malpractice lawsuits, thereby relieving conscientious providers of burdens that are not rightly theirs and addressing a serious cause of higher medical bills.

#### **Advancing Research and Development in Healthcare**

American medicine is poised to enter a new era of technological advance. Federal and private investment in basic and applied biomedical research holds enormous promise, especially with diseases and disorders like autism, Alzheimer's, and Parkinson's. Just as we today take for granted wonders that seemed impossible a few decades ago — MRIs and CAT scans, robotic surgery, and in utero treatment — patients a decade hence will have care and treatment that will make much of today's medicine look primitive. Modern miracles involving genetics, the immune system, cures for deadly diseases, and more are in the research pipeline. This is the consequence of marrying significant investment, both public and private, with the world's best talent, a formula that has for a century given the American people the world's best healthcare. We are determined that it should continue to do so, especially as we confront new dangers like Ebola, Zika, Chikungunya, and antibiotic-resistant pathogens.

To continue our headway against breast and prostate cancer, diabetes, and other killers, research must consider the needs of formerly neglected demographic groups. We call for expanded support for the stem cell research that now offers the greatest hope for many afflictions — through adult stem cells, umbilical cord blood,



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and cells reprogrammed into pluripotent stem cells — without the destruction of embryonic human life. We urge a ban on human cloning for research or reproduction, and a ban on the creation of, or experimentation on, human embryos for research. We applaud Congress' ban on the FDA approval of research involving three-parent embryos. We believe the FDA's approval of Mifeprex, a dangerous abortifacient formerly known as RU-486, threatens women's health, as does the agency's endorsement of over-the-counter sales of powerful contraceptives without a physician's recommendation. We support cutting federal and state funding for entities that endanger women's health by performing abortions in a manner inconsistent with federal or state law.

**Putting Patients First: Reforming the FDA**

The United States has led life sciences and medical innovation for decades, bringing millions of high-paying jobs to our country and helping Americans and people around the world live longer, healthier lives. Unfortunately, the continuously increasing burden of governmental regulation and red tape is taking its toll on our innovative companies, and their pipeline of new life-saving devices and drugs to our nation's patients is slowing and diminishing. The FDA has slowly but relentlessly changed into an agency that more and more puts the public health at risk by delaying, chilling, and killing the development of new devices, drugs and biologics that can promote our lives and our health. The FDA needs leadership that can reform the agency for our century and fix the lack of predictability, consistency, transparency and efficiency at the agency. The FDA needs to return to its traditional emphasis on hard science and approving new breakthrough medicines, rather than divert its attention and consume its resources trying to overregulate electronic health records or vaping. We pledge to restore the FDA to its position as the premier scientific health agency, focused on both promoting and protecting the public health in equal measure, so we can ensure that Americans live longer, healthier lives, that the United States remains the world leader in life sciences and medical innovation, that millions of high-paying, cutting-edge device and drug jobs stay in the United States, that U.S. patients benefit first

and most from new devices and drugs, and that the FDA no longer wastes U.S. taxpayer and innovators' resources through bureaucratic red tape and legal uncertainty. We commend those states that have passed Right to Try legislation, allowing terminally ill patients the right to try investigational medicines not yet approved by the FDA. We urge Congress to pass federal legislation to give all Americans with terminal illnesses the right to try.

**Advancing Americans with Disabilities**

Under the last two Republican presidents, landmark civil rights legislation affirmed the inherent rights of persons with disabilities. Republicans want to support those rights by guaranteeing access to education and the tools necessary to compete in the mainstream of society. This is not just a moral obligation to our fellow Americans with disabilities. It is our duty to our country's future to tap this vast pool of talented individuals who want to work and contribute to the common good. For that reason, Republican leadership led to enactment of the ABLE Act (Achieving a Better Life Experience) and the Steve Gleason Act. The former, for the first time, lets people with disabilities maintain access to services while saving to develop assets. The latter, bearing the name of the former NFL player with ALS, provides access to speech-generating devices. In addition, our Workforce Innovation and Opportunity Act will make it easier for students with disabilities to pursue competitive employment.

Persons with disabilities are nearly twice as likely to be self-employed as the general population. To encourage their entrepreneurship, it makes sense to include them in the Small Business Administration's 8(a) certification program, which opens up federal contracting for emerging businesses. Any restructuring of the tax code should consider ways in which companies can benefit from the talent and energy of their disabled employees.

The Individuals with Disabilities Education Act (IDEA) has opened up unprecedented opportunities for many students. Congressional Republicans will lead in its reauthorization, as well as renewal of the Higher Education Act, which can offer students with disabilities increased access to the general curriculum. Our TIME Act (Transition to Integrated and Meaningful Employment) will modernize the



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Fair Labor Standards Act to encourage competitive employment for persons with disabilities. We affirm our support for its goal of minimizing the separation of children with disabilities from their peers. We endorse efforts like Employment First that replace dependency with jobs in the mainstream of the American workforce.

We oppose the non-consensual withholding of care or treatment from people with disabilities, including newborns, the elderly, and infirm, just as we oppose euthanasia and assisted suicide, which endanger especially those on the margins of society. We urge the Drug Enforcement Administration to restore its ban on the use of controlled substances for physician-assisted suicide.

**Ensuring Safe Neighborhoods:  
Criminal Justice and Prison Reform**

The men and women of law enforcement — whether patrolling our neighborhoods or our borders, fighting organized crime or guarding against domestic terror — deserve our gratitude and support. Their jobs are never easy, especially in crisis situations, and should not be made more difficult by politicized second-guessing from federal officials. The current Administration's lack of respect for them, from White House intervention in local arrests to the Attorney General's present campaign of harassment against police forces around the country, has been unprecedented. With all Americans, we mourn those whom we have lost to violence and hatred. To honor their sacrifice, we recommit ourselves, as individuals and as a party, to the rule of law and the pursuit of justice.

The conduct of the Department of Justice has included refusal to enforce laws, stonewalling congressional committees, destroying evidence, reckless dealing with firearms that led to several deaths on both sides of our border, and defying a citation for contempt. It has urged leniency for rioters while turning a blind eye to mob attacks on peaceful citizens exercising their political rights. A new administration must ensure the immediate dismissal and, where appropriate, prosecution of any Department officials who have violated their oath of office.

The next president must restore the public's trust in law enforcement and civil order by first

adhering to the rule of law himself. Additionally, the next president must not sow seeds of division and distrust between the police and the people they have sworn to serve and protect. The Republican Party, a party of law and order, must make clear in words and action that every human life matters.

Two grave problems undermine the rule of law on the federal level: Over-criminalization and over-federalization. In the first case, Congress and federal agencies have increased the number of criminal offenses in the U.S. Code from 3,000 in the early 1980s to more than 4,500 today. That does not include an estimated 300,000 regulations containing criminal penalties. No one, including the Department of Justice, can come up with accurate numbers. That recklessness is bad enough when committed by Congress, but when it comes from the unelected bureaucrats of the federal agencies, it is intolerable. The power of career civil servants and political appointees to criminalize behavior is one of the worst violations of constitutional order perpetrated by the administrative state.

To deal with this morass, we urge caution in the creation of new "crimes" and a bipartisan presidential commission to purge the Code and the body of regulations of old "crimes." We call for mens rea elements in the definition of any new crimes to protect Americans who, in violating a law, act unknowingly or without criminal intent. We urge Congress to codify the Common Law's Rule of Lenity, which requires courts to interpret unclear statutes in favor of a defendant.

The over-federalization of criminal justice is one of many ways in which the government in Washington has intruded beyond its proper jurisdiction. The essential role of federal law enforcement personnel in protecting federal property and combating interstate crime should not be compromised by diversion to matters properly handled by state and local authorities.

We applaud the Republican Governors and legislators who have been implementing criminal justice reforms like those proposed by our 2012 platform. Along with diversion of first-time, nonviolent offenders to community sentencing, accountability courts, drug courts, veterans treatment courts, and guidance by faith-based institutions with proven track records of



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rehabilitation, our platform emphasized restorative justice to make the victim whole and put the offender on the right path. As variants of these reforms are undertaken in many states, we urge the Congress to learn from what works. In the past, judicial discretion about sentences led to serious mistakes concerning dangerous criminals. Mandatory minimum sentencing became an important tool for keeping them off the streets. Modifications to it should be targeted toward particular categories, especially nonviolent offenders and persons with drug, alcohol, or mental health issues, and should require disclosure by the courts of any judicial departure from the state's sentencing requirements.

The constitutionality of the death penalty is firmly settled by its explicit mention in the Fifth Amendment. With the murder rate soaring in our great cities, we condemn the Supreme Court's erosion of the right of the people to enact capital punishment in their states. In solidarity with those who protect us, we call for mandatory prison time for all assaults involving serious injury to law enforcement officers.

We call on the Congress to make the federal courts a model for the rest of the country in protecting the rights of victims and their families. They should be told all relevant information about their case, allowed to be present for its trial, assured a voice in sentencing and parole hearings, given access to social and legal services, and benefit from the Crime Victims Fund established under President Reagan for that sole purpose.

Public officials must regain control of their correctional institutions, some of which have become ethnic and racial battlegrounds. Persons jailed for whatever cause should be protected against cruel or degrading treatment by other inmates. Courts should not tie the hands of prison officials in dealing with these problems. We encourage states to offer opportunities for literacy and vocational education to prepare prisoners for release to the community. Breaking the cycle of crime begins with the children of those who are prisoners. Deprived of a parent through no fault of their own, youngsters from these families should be a special concern of our schools, social services, and religious institutions.

The internet must not become a safe haven for predators. Pornography, with its harmful effects, especially on children, has become a public health crisis that is destroying the lives of millions. We encourage states to continue to fight this public menace and pledge our commitment to children's safety and well-being. We applaud the social networking sites that bar sex offenders from participation. We urge energetic prosecution of child pornography, which is closely linked to human trafficking.

### **Combatting Drug Abuse**

The progress made over the last three decades against drug abuse is eroding, whether for cultural reasons or for lack of national leadership. In many jurisdictions, marijuana is virtually legalized despite its illegality under federal law. At the other end of the drug spectrum, heroin use nearly doubled from 2003 to 2013, while deaths from heroin have quadrupled. All this highlights the continuing conflicts and contradictions in public attitudes and public policy toward illegal substances. Congress and a new administration should consider the long-range implications of these trends for public health and safety and prepare to deal with the problematic consequences.

The misuse of prescription painkillers — opioids — is a related problem. Heroin and opioid abuse touches our communities, our homes, and our families in ways that have grave effects on Americans in every community. With a quadrupling of both their sales and their overdose deaths, the opioid crisis is ravaging communities all over the country, often hitting rural areas harder than urban. Because over-prescription of drugs is such a large part of the problem, Republican legislation now allows Medicare Part D and Medicare Advantage plans to limit patients to a single pharmacy. Congressional Republicans have also called upon the Centers for Medicare and Medicaid Services to ensure that no physician will be penalized for limiting opioid prescriptions. We look for expeditious agreement between the House and Senate on the Comprehensive Addiction and Recovery Act, which addresses the opioid epidemic from both the demand and supply sides of the problem.



# America Resurgent



## A Dangerous World

Alexander Hamilton wrote in Federalist 23 that the first of the “principal” constitutional obligations of the federal government is to provide for the “common defense” of the United States, and President George Washington wisely reminded us that “To be prepared for war is one of the most effectual means of preserving peace.”

After nearly eight years of a Democratic Commander-in-Chief who has frequently placed strategic and ideological limitations and shackles on our military, our enemies have been emboldened and our national security is at great risk. Our country faces a national security crisis, and only by electing a Republican to the White House will we restore law and order to our land and safety to our citizens.

We are the party of peace through strength. We believe that American exceptionalism — the notion that our ideas and principles as a nation give us a unique place of moral leadership in the world — requires the United States to retake its natural position as leader of the free world.

Tyranny and injustice thrive when America is weakened. The oppressed have no greater ally than a confident and determined United States, backed by the strongest military on the planet.

Quite simply, the Republican Party is committed to rebuilding the U.S. military into the strongest on earth, with vast superiority over any other nation or group of nations in the world. We face a dangerous world, and we believe in a resurgent America.

In all of our country’s history, there is no parallel to what President Obama and his former Secretary of State have done to weaken our nation. Our aging

naval capabilities are inadequate for their job. The Air Force fields the smallest and oldest force of combat aircraft in its history. The Marines have only two-thirds the number of battalions they have historically needed to meet day to day operational demands. The Army is at its lowest troop levels since before World War II. Our U.S. Ambassador and American personnel were left without adequate security or backup halfway across the world in Benghazi. In summary, we have returned to the hollow force days of Jimmy Carter.

Also neglected are our strategic forces, especially the development and deployment of ballistic missile defenses. The Ground-Based Midcourse Defense system has been delayed and underfunded. To curry favor with Russia, defense installations in Poland and the Czech Republic have been neutralized and the number of planned interceptors in Alaska has been reduced. A New START agreement (Strategic Arms Reduction Treaty), so weak in verification

and definitions that it is virtually impossible to prove a violation, has allowed Russia to build up its nuclear arsenal while reducing ours. Meanwhile Moscow has repeatedly violated the Intermediate-Range Nuclear Forces (INF) Treaty (a treaty agreeing to the elimination of land-based mid-range nuclear missiles) with impunity, covertly testing missiles banned under that agreement.

In the international arena, a weak Administration has invited aggression. The results of the Administration’s unilateral approach to disarmament are already clear: An emboldened China in the South China Sea, a resurgent Russia occupying parts of Ukraine and threatening

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neighbors from the Baltic to the Caucasus, and an aggressive Islamist terror network in the Middle East. We support maintaining and, if warranted, increasing sanctions, together with our allies, against Russia unless and until Ukraine's sovereignty and territorial integrity are fully restored. We also support providing appropriate assistance to the armed forces of Ukraine and greater coordination with NATO defense planning. All our adversaries heard the message in the Administration's cutbacks: America is weaker and retreating. Concomitantly, we honor, support, and thank all law enforcement, first responders, and emergency personnel for their service.

### **Confronting the Dangers**

In the face of these threats, the first order of business for a Republican president and Congress will be to restore our nation's military might. Republicans continue to support American military superiority which has been the cornerstone of a strategy that seeks to deter aggression or defeat those who threaten our vital national security interests. We must rebuild troop numbers and readiness and confirm their mission: Protecting the nation, not nation building. The United States should meet the Reagan model of "peace through strength" by a force that is capable of meeting any and all threats to our vital national security. We will no longer tolerate a President whose rules of engagement put our own troops in harm's way or commanders who tell their soldiers that their first duty is to fight climate change.

A Republican administration will begin at once to undo the damage of the last eight years. We must move from a budget-based strategy to one that puts the security of our nation first. This means that our Republican president's strategic vision will include the development of a balanced force to meet the diverse threats facing our nation. Special Operations Forces are simply not intended to deal with the full spectrum of threats. We need a Reagan-era force that can fight and win two-and-one-half wars ranging from counterterrorism to deterring major power aggressors.

We should abandon arms control treaties that benefit our adversaries without improving our national security. We must fund, develop, and

deploy a multi-layered missile defense system. We must modernize nuclear weapons and their delivery platforms, end the policy of Mutually Assured Destruction, and rebuild relationships with our allies, who understand that as long as the U.S. nuclear arsenal is their shield, they do not need to engage in nuclear proliferation.

While immigration is addressed in more detail elsewhere, we cannot ignore the reality that border security is a national security issue, and that our nation's immigration and refugee policies are placing Americans at risk. To keep our people safe, we must secure our borders, enforce our immigration laws, and properly screen refugees and other immigrants entering from any country. In particular we must apply special scrutiny to those foreign nationals seeking to enter the United States from terror-sponsoring countries or from regions associated with Islamic terrorism. This was done successfully after September 11, 2001, under the National Security Entry-Exit Registration System, which should be renewed now.

### **Supporting Our Troops: Resources to do Their Job**

We owe it to the American people and to those who fight our wars that we remain the strongest military on earth and be prepared to defeat any adversary under any circumstances on any battlefield, including land, air, sea, or cyber. Successive years of cuts to our defense budget have put an undue strain on our men and women in uniform. This is especially harmful at a time when we are asking our military to do more in an increasingly dangerous world. The U.S. defense budget has suffered a 25 percent cut in real dollars in the five years since sequestration. We support lifting the budget cap for defense and reject the efforts of Democrats to hold the military's budget hostage for their domestic agenda. Congress and the Administration should work together to approve military spending at the level necessary to defend our country. We must not be encumbered by decades-old, legacy procurement processes. America's incredible talent and ingenuity must be unleashed by modernizing the military procurement system and embracing competition among traditional and non-traditional suppliers. Competitive acquisition



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and maintenance of weapon systems, including the sustainment and support of such systems, will benefit the U.S. economy, U.S. taxpayers, and most important, the American warfighter. Increased competition will enable new Department of Defense suppliers, particularly small businesses, to participate in the defense sector. That will promote new demand for skilled-labor jobs, while making the Department's procurement more cost-efficient. The increased agility and effectiveness will ensure that our troops are equipped with the right resources more quickly than our current procurement systems allow.

**Supporting Our Troops:  
Standing by Our Heroes**

With Republican leadership, the Congress recently passed legislation that begins to reverse America's military decline. The National Defense Authorization Act of 2016 begins to correct the shortfalls in our military readiness by reversing troop cuts, increasing investments in training and maintenance, and rebuilding facilities. It gives our troops the full pay raise to which they are entitled under the law and gives the next administration the ability to review operations and funding, make adjustments, and ask for more money if necessary. All this represents a sound start in supporting those who put their lives on the line in defense of our country, while protecting our national security in a dangerous world.

Military families must be assured of the pay, healthcare, housing, education, and overall support they have earned. In recent years, they have been carrying the burden of budgetary restraint more than any other Americans through cuts in their pay, health benefits, and retirement plans. About 75 percent of enlistees come from military families. We cannot expect that level of patriotic commitment to continue among young people who have experienced the way their families have been treated.

We must ensure that the nation keeps its commitments to those who signed on the dotted line of enlistment. The repeated troop deployments during conflicts in the Middle East have been unusually hard on all members of their households, worsening unemployment and underemployment

among spouses. In many cases, they and their children have been at war for 14 years. We must strengthen existing programs that offer families readjustment information and counseling, and we urge states to help by providing job programs, license reciprocity, one-stop service centers, and education.

The burden of our country's extended military involvement in the Middle East has taken a toll on our service personnel. Suicides among our military — active duty troops, reservists, National Guardsmen, and veterans — are at shocking levels, while post-service medical conditions, including addiction and mental illness, require more and more assistance. More than ever, our government must work with the private sector to advance opportunities and provide assistance to those wounded in spirit as well as in body, whether through experimental efforts like the PAWS (Puppies Assisting Wounded Servicemen) program for service dogs or through the faith-based institutions that have traditionally been providers of counseling and aid.

We support the rights of conscience of military chaplains of all faiths to practice their faith free from political interference. We reject attempts by the Obama Administration to censure and silence them, particularly Christians and Christian chaplains. We support an increase in the size of the Chaplain Corps. A Republican commander-in-chief will protect the religious freedom of all military members, especially chaplains, and will not tolerate attempts to ban Bibles or religious symbols from military facilities. A Republican commander-in-chief will also encourage education regarding the religious liberties of military personnel under both the First Amendment of the U.S. Constitution and the current National Defense Authorization Act.

Our country's all-volunteer force has been a success. We oppose the reinstatement of the draft, except in dire circumstances like world war, whether directly or through compulsory national service. We support the all-volunteer force and oppose unnecessary policy changes, including compulsory national service and Selective Service registration of women for a possible future draft. We reiterate our support for both the advancement of women in the military and their exemption from direct ground combat units and infantry battalions. We affirm the



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cultural values that encourage selfless service and superiority in battle, and we oppose anything which might divide or weaken team cohesion, including intra-military special interest demonstrations. In particular, we warn against modification or lessening of standards in order to satisfy a non-military agenda imposed by the White House. We call for an objective review of the impact on readiness of the current Administration's ideology-based personnel policies, and will correct problems with appropriate administrative, legal, or legislative action. We reject the use of the military as a platform for social experimentation and will not accept or continue attempts to undermine military priorities and mission readiness. We believe that our nation is most secure when the president and the administration prioritize readiness, recruitment, and retention rather than using the military to advance a social or political agenda. Military readiness should not be sacrificed on the altar of political correctness. We oppose legislative attempts to modify the system of military justice that would undermine its fairness and due process rights for all concerned, both the accuser and the accused.

**Citizen Soldiers:**

**National Guard and Reserves**

Our Reserve and National Guard forces are national assets that must be nurtured in a manner commensurate with their role as America's sentinels. Their historic mission as citizen-soldiers is a proud tradition linking every town and city across America to liberty's cause. Since September 11, 2001, the National Guard has transformed from a strategic reserve to a fully integrated operational fighting force. The Guard has bled on missions in Iraq, Afghanistan, the Balkans, and the Sinai. Today, more than fifty percent of our Guardsmen have combat experience. The Guard has demonstrated its value to the nation not only in war but during emergencies

here at home such as Hurricane Katrina and Super Storm Sandy.

To avoid the overextension of our military, we support a larger active force and oppose the current Administration's cuts to the National Guard and Reserves. Those reductions are dangerous and counter-productive because the men and women of the Guard and Reserve tend to be older and more experienced than their active duty counterparts.

Guard and Reserve forces are currently deployed at historically high rates. The Army Reserve alone has soldiers in 30 countries. To its credit, the Republican Congress, by passing the National Defense Authorization Act, has moved to ensure these troops have what they need. That provision has triggered another veto threat from the Commander-in-Chief, even though the bill passed with overwhelming bipartisan support in both the House and Senate. He would have the members of the

Reserve and Guard train on, and potentially be deployed with, equipment that is no longer used by their active duty comrades. We cannot tolerate this endangerment of both our troops and our national security. Therefore, we recommend a permanent line item for National Guard affairs, one that is not eliminated by the President and reinstated by Congress. The guard is too essential to our national defense to be a secondary decision.

**Honoring and Supporting Our Veterans:  
A Sacred Obligation**

Our nation's veterans have been our nation's strength and remain a national resource. Their service to their country — as community leaders, volunteers, mentors, educators, problem solvers, and public officials — continues long after they leave the military. In the same way, our obligation to the one percent who defend the other ninety-nine percent does not end when they take off the uniform. America has a sacred trust with our veterans, and we are committed to ensuring them

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America has a sacred trust with our veterans, and we are committed to ensuring them and their families' care and dignity.

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and their families' care and dignity. The work of the Department of Veterans Affairs (VA) is essential to meet our commitments to them: Providing health, education, disability, survivor, and home loan benefits, and arranging memorial services upon death. We heed Abraham Lincoln's command "to care for him who bore the battle." To care, as well, for the families of those who have made the ultimate sacrifice, who must be assured of meaningful financial assistance, remains our solemn duty.

As shown by recent controversies at the Department, senior leaders must be held accountable for ensuring that their subordinates are more responsive to veterans' needs. The VA has failed those who have sacrificed the most for our freedom. The VA must move from a sometimes adversarial stance to an advocacy relationship with vets. To that end, we will empower the Secretary to hold all VA employees accountable and will seek fundamental change in the VA's senior leadership structure by placing presidential appointees, rather than careerists, in additional positions of significant responsibility. We cannot allow an unresponsive bureaucracy to blunt our national commitment. The VA must strengthen and improve its efforts through partnerships with private enterprises, veteran service organizations, technology and innovation, and competitive bidding to enable the VA to better provide both quality and timely care along with all earned benefits to our nation's veterans and their families. This will allow the VA to reduce the backlog and save immense resources all at the same time. Therefore, let us look to innovative solutions that allow higher quality VA care, reduce backlogs, and save immense resources all at the same time.

Our wounded warriors, whether still in service or discharged, deserve the best medical care the country can provide. We must make military and veterans' medicine the gold standard for mental health, traumatic brain injury, multiple traumas, loss of limbs, and post-traumatic stress disorder (PTSD). Those injuries require a new commitment of targeted resources and personnel for treatment and care to advance recovery. That includes allowing veterans to choose to access care in the community and not just in VA facilities, because the best care in the world is not effective if it is not accessible. We

will seek to consolidate the VA's existing community care authorities to make a single program that will be easily understood by both veterans and VA healthcare providers.

Like the rest of American medicine, the VA faces a critical shortage of primary care and mental health physicians. That's why there are long waiting times to see a doctor and why doctors are often frustrated by the limited time they have with their patients. This is especially the case with mental health care, which often amounts to prescribing drugs because there are not enough psychologists and psychiatrists to do anything else. Inadequate treatment of PTSD drives other problems like suicide, homelessness, and unemployment. This situation may not be quickly reversed, but a Republican administration will begin, on day one, to undertake the job.

As a nation, we honor the sacrifice of our fallen service members at the graves where we lay them to rest in national, state, and veterans' cemeteries around the world. In doing so, we make it clear that their ultimate sacrifice and service to our country will never be forgotten. As a party, we seek to honor their sacrifice and comfort their families by ensuring all veterans' cemeteries are adequately equipped and a standard of care established, using Arlington Cemetery as a guide, that is befitting their service.

The level of financial distress and homelessness among vets is a shame to the nation. For a veteran, a job is more than a source of income. It is a new mission, with a new status, and the transition can be difficult. We urge the private sector to make hiring vets a company policy and commend the organizations that have proven programs to accomplish this. We will retain the preference given to veterans when they seek federal employment. We urge closer coordination with the state offices for veterans' affairs, particularly with regard to expediting disability claims, since those closest to an individual can often best diagnose a problem and apply a remedy. We will halt the current Administration's unconstitutional automatic denial of gun ownership to returning members of our Armed Forces who have had representatives appointed to manage their financial affairs. We urge state education officials to promote the hiring



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of qualified veterans as teachers in our public schools. Their proven abilities and life experiences will make them more successful instructors and role models for students than would any teaching certification.

Over-prescription of opioids has become a nationwide problem hindering the treatment of veterans suffering from mental health issues. We therefore support the need to explore new and broader ranges of options, including faith-based programs, that will better serve the veteran and reduce the need to rely on drugs as the sole treatment.

### **America: The Indispensable Nation**

For the last several generations, our country's two major political parties were dedicated to the nation's security and the advance of freedom around the world. Both had learned from mistakes of the past and realized that a weak America invited aggression. Both recognized the need to stand with friends and oppose those who wished us evil. Whatever their disagreements, both the Republican and Democratic parties stood for peace through strength — and strength meant American military superiority.

This bipartisan commitment has tragically changed. The leadership of the Democratic Party, both those in office and those who seek it, no longer see America as a force for good in the world. They do not stand by allies or stand strong against our foes. They pander to world opinion and neglect the national interest. They cannot be trusted to advance either the cause of liberty or our national security in the dangerous years in which we live.

We affirm our party's tradition of world leadership established by President Eisenhower and followed by every Republican president since. It stands for enormous power — and the prudence to use it sparingly, precisely, and only in grave necessity. It stands for involvement, not intervention. It requires consultation, not permission to act. It leads from the front — and ensures all others do their parts as well. It embraces American exceptionalism and rejects the false prophets of decline and diminution. It is, in sum, the way we will lead the world into a new century of greater peace and prosperity — another American Century.

### **Challenges of a Changing Middle East**

The Middle East is more dangerous now than at any time since the Second World War. Whatever their disagreements, presidents of both parties had always prioritized America's national interests, the trust of friendly governments, and the security of Israel. That sound consensus was replaced with impotent grandstanding on the part of the current President and his Secretaries of State. The results have been ruinous for all parties except Islamic terrorists and their Iranian and other sponsors.

We consider the Administration's deal with Iran, to lift international sanctions and make hundreds of billions of dollars available to the Mullahs, a personal agreement between the President and his negotiating partners and non-binding on the next president. Without a two-thirds endorsement by the Senate, it does not have treaty status. Because of it, the defiant and emboldened regime in Tehran continues to sponsor terrorism across the region, develop a nuclear weapon, test-fire ballistic missiles inscribed with "Death to Israel," and abuse the basic human rights of its citizens. A Republican president will not be bound by it. We must retain all options in dealing with a situation that gravely threatens our security, our interests, and the survival of our friends.

Over the last four years we have seen the rise of a murderous fanaticism in the form of ISIS, the so called Islamic State. Its reach now extends far beyond the Middle East to virtually every continent. ISIS has brought ancient butchery into the 21st century. Nations are imploding, erasing long-established borders. The Obama Administration and its Secretary of State so mishandled the Arab Spring that it destabilized the entire region. The hope some saw in the Arab Spring has transformed into disappointment. The dictator of Syria, Bashar Assad, has murdered hundreds of thousands of his own people and created millions of refugees, and an American president has been unable to rally the world against him. Understandably, our allies fear for their future in a region far more dangerous than it was eight years ago.

A Republican administration will restore our nation's credibility. We must stand up for our friends, challenge our foes, and destroy ISIS. Hezbollah, controlling over 100,000 missiles in Lebanon, must be isolated and Lebanon's independence restored.



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We will support the transition to a post-Assad Syrian government that is representative of its people, protects the rights of all minorities and religions, respects the territorial integrity of its neighbors, and contributes to peace and stability in the region. The Iraqi people have been on the front lines in the fight against terror. Hundreds of thousands have been killed, and the attacks against them continue, even in Baghdad. Our partnership with them should continue as long as ISIS and others like it survive in the region. We are deeply concerned that, in the face of genocide against them, Christian communities in cities like Erbil are receiving no financial support from either the U.S. government or the UN to help with displaced persons and urban refugees. Their survival is sustained only by private charities. This must change immediately. Defeating ISIS means more than pushing back its fighters while abandoning its victims. It must mean aiding those who have suffered the most — and doing so before they starve. It means supporting the long-term survival of indigenous religious and ethnic communities, punishing the perpetrators of crimes against humanity, and conditioning humanitarian and military assistance to governments on their observable commitment to human rights.

We continue to support the Kurdish people, whose bravery and cooperation with our forces merit our respect and their autonomy. Many countries in the region have given, and continue to give, substantial assistance to the United States because they understand that our struggle against terrorism is not an ethnic or religious fight. They consider violent extremists to be abusers of their faith, not its champions. We applaud their courage and value their counsel. The U.S. government, together with its global partners, should mobilize its political, economic, and military assets to support the creation of a safe haven in northern Iraq to protect those ethnic and religious minorities continuing to face genocide at the hands of ISIS.

### **Our Unequivocal Support for Israel**

Like the United States of America, the modern state of Israel is a country born from the aspiration for freedom and stands out among the nations as a beacon of democracy and humanity. Beyond our mutual strategic interests, Israel is likewise an exceptional country that shares our most essential values. It is the only country in the Middle East where freedom of speech and freedom of religion are found. Therefore, support for Israel is an expression of Americanism, and it is the responsibility of our government to advance policies that reflect Americans' strong desire for a relationship with no daylight between America and Israel. We recognize Jerusalem as the eternal and indivisible capital of the Jewish state and call for the American embassy to be moved there in fulfillment of U.S. law.

We reaffirm America's commitment to Israel's security and will ensure that Israel maintains a qualitative military edge over any and all adversaries. We support Israel's right and obligation to defend itself against terror attacks upon its people and against alternative forms of warfare being waged upon it legally, economically, culturally, and otherwise. We reject the false notion that Israel is an occupier and specifically recognize that the Boycott, Divestment, and Sanctions Movement

(BDS) is anti-Semitic in nature and seeks to destroy Israel. Therefore, we call for effective legislation to thwart actions that are intended to limit commercial relations with Israel, or persons or entities doing business in Israel or in Israeli-controlled territories, in a discriminatory manner.

The United States seeks to assist in the establishment of comprehensive and lasting peace in the Middle East, to be negotiated among those living in the region. We oppose any measures intended to impose an agreement or to dictate borders or other terms, and we call for the immediate termination of all U.S. funding of any entity that attempts to do so. Our party is proud to stand with Israel now and always.

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It is the responsibility of our government to advance policies that reflect Americans' strong desire for a relationship with no daylight between America and Israel.

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**U.S. Leadership in the Asian Pacific**

We are a Pacific nation with economic, military, and cultural ties to all the countries of the oceanic rim and treaty alliances with Japan, South Korea, Australia, the Philippines, and Thailand. With them, we look toward the establishment of human rights for the people of North Korea. We urge the government of China to recognize the inevitability of change in the Kim family's slave state and, for everyone's safety against nuclear disaster, to hasten positive change on the Korean peninsula. The United States will continue to demand the complete, verifiable, and irreversible dismantlement of North Korea's nuclear weapons program with full accounting of its proliferation activities. We also pledge to counter any threats from the North Korean regime.

We salute the people of Taiwan, with whom we share the values of democracy, human rights, a free market economy, and the rule of law. Our relations will continue to be based upon the provisions of the Taiwan Relations Act, and we affirm the Six Assurances given to Taiwan in 1982 by President Reagan. We oppose any unilateral steps by either side to alter the status quo in the Taiwan Straits on the principle that all issues regarding the island's future must be resolved peacefully, through dialogue, and be agreeable to the people of Taiwan. If China were to violate those principles, the United States, in accord with the Taiwan Relations Act, will help Taiwan defend itself. We praise efforts by the new government in Taipei to continue constructive relations across the Taiwan Strait and call on China to reciprocate. As a loyal friend of America, Taiwan has merited our strong support, including free trade agreement status, the timely sale of defensive arms including technology to build diesel submarines, and full participation in the World Health Organization, International Civil Aviation Organization, and other multilateral institutions.

China's behavior has negated the optimistic language of our last platform concerning our future relations with China. The liberalizing policies of recent decades have been abruptly reversed, dissent brutally crushed, religious persecution heightened, the internet crippled, a barbaric population control two-child policy of forced abortions and forced sterilizations continued, and the cult of Mao revived.

Critics of the regime have been kidnapped by its agents in foreign countries. To distract the populace from its increasing economic problems and, more importantly, to expand its military might, the government asserts a preposterous claim to the entire South China Sea and continues to dredge ports and create landing fields in contested waters where none have existed before, ever nearer to U.S. territories and our allies, while building a navy far out of proportion to defensive purposes. The complacency of the Obama regime has emboldened the Chinese government and military to issue threats of intimidation throughout the South China Sea, not to mention parading their new missile, "the Guam Killer," down the main streets of Beijing, a direct shot at Guam as America's first line of defense. Meanwhile, cultural genocide continues in Tibet and Xinjiang, the promised autonomy of Hong Kong is eroded, the currency is manipulated, our technology is stolen, and intellectual property and copyrights are mocked in an economy based on piracy. In business terms, this is not competition; it is a hostile takeover. For any American company to abet those offenses, especially governmental censorship and tracking of dissenters, is a disgrace.

The return to Maoism by China's current rulers is not reason to disengage with the Chinese people or their institutions. We welcome students, tourists, and investors, who can see for themselves our vibrant American democracy and how real democracy works. We caution, however, against academic or cultural operations under the control of the Chinese government and call upon American colleges to dissociate themselves from this increasing threat to academic freedom and honest research.

Most of the nations of Southeast Asia have set aside crippling ideologies and sought material progress in free enterprise and democracy. We congratulate the people of Burma on their emergence from authoritarian rule and urge their respect for the rights of their country's minority populations. Our improved relations with Vietnam — including arms sales — must advance efforts to obtain an accounting for, and repatriation of the remains of, Americans who gave their lives in the cause of Vietnamese freedom. We cannot overlook the continued repression of fundamental rights and



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religious freedom, as well as retribution against ethnic minorities and others who assisted U.S. forces during the conflict there.

India is our geopolitical ally and a strategic trading partner. The dynamism of its people and the endurance of their democratic institutions are earning their country a position of leadership not only in Asia but throughout the world. We encourage the Indian government to permit expanded foreign investment and trade, the key to rising living standards for those left out of their country's energetic economy. For all of India's religious communities, we urge protection against violence and discrimination. Republicans note with pride the contributions to our country that are made by our fellow citizens of Indian ancestry.

Conflicts in the Middle East have created special political and military challenges for the people of Pakistan. Our working relationship is a necessary, though sometimes difficult, benefit to both, and we look toward the strengthening of historic ties that have frayed under the weight of international conflict. This process cannot progress as long as any citizen of Pakistan can be punished for helping the War on Terror. Pakistanis, Afghans, and Americans have a common interest in ridding the region of the Taliban and securing Pakistan's nuclear arsenal. That goal has been undermined by the current Administration's feckless treatment of troop commitments and blatant disregard of advice from commanders on the ground, particularly with regard to Afghanistan. A Republican president will work with all regional leaders to restore mutual trust while insisting upon progress against corruption and the narcotic trade that fuels insurgency.

#### **Renewing the European Alliance**

With bipartisan support, President Truman forged the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) as an alliance of the western democracies. Its continued effectiveness is vital, especially in light of recent military challenges in Eastern Europe. With the American people spending on defense, per capita, four times the amount spent by Europeans, we demand, as we have in the past, that our fellow members of NATO fulfill their commitments and meet their need for greater investment in their armed forces.

Our historic ties to the peoples of Europe have been based on shared culture and values, common interests and goals. Their endurance cannot be taken for granted, especially in light of the continent's economic problems and demographic changes. We recognize with regret the increasing trend among many of our allies to move away from rights and liberties that Americans hold dear, especially freedom of speech. It would be a tragic irony if the nations of Europe which withstood Soviet repression were to now impose a form of it upon themselves.

We honor our special relationship with the people of the United Kingdom and are grateful for their staunch support in the fight against terrorism. We respect their decision concerning their nation's relationship to the European Union and pledge that, however much other international relationships may change, those who were first to our side in our hour of loss will always rank first in our policies and our esteem.

We thank the several nations of Europe that have contributed to a united effort in Iraq, Afghanistan, and elsewhere. Their support and sacrifice in the fight against Islamic terrorism will not be forgotten. We applaud the ongoing reconciliation in Northern Ireland and hope that its success might be replicated in Cyprus. We urge greater coordination in economic and security affairs between the United States and the republics of Eastern Europe. We urge that Poland be granted visa waiver status and we support placement of NATO troops in Poland.

For the people of Russia, we affirm our respect and our determination to maintain a friendship beyond the reach of those who wish to divide us. We have common imperatives: Ending terrorism, combating nuclear proliferation, promoting trade, and more. We also have a common problem: The continuing erosion of personal liberty and fundamental rights under the current officials in the Kremlin. Repressive at home and reckless abroad, their policies imperil the nations which regained their self-determination upon the collapse of the Soviet Union. We will meet the return of Russian belligerence with the same resolve that led to the collapse of the Soviet Union. We will not accept any territorial change in Eastern Europe imposed



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by force, in Ukraine, Georgia, or elsewhere, and will use all appropriate constitutional measures to bring to justice the practitioners of aggression and assassination.

We urge greater attention in U.S. diplomacy, trade, and strategic planning, to the nations of Eurasia, formerly parts of the Soviet Empire. Caught between their two authoritarian neighbors, their path toward democratic institutions has been uncertain. We urge our government and our allies to work toward the integration of the Central Asian republics into the global economy through foreign investment, which can bring with it market and political reforms and a firmer establishment of the rule of law. Those developments will not only improve the living conditions throughout that vast area but are likely to reduce the lure of the radical ideologies that already threaten the region.

#### **Family of the Americas**

Our future is intimately tied to the future of the Americas. Family, language, culture, environment, and trade link us closely with both Canada and Mexico. Our relations with both of these friends will be based upon continuing cooperation and our mutually shared interests. Our attention to trade and environmental issues will contribute to strong economic growth and prosperity throughout the Americas.

We thank our neighbors in Mexico and Canada who have been our partners in the fight against terrorism and the war on drugs. The Mexican people deserve our assistance as they bravely resist the drug cartels that traffic in death on both sides of our border. Their rich cultural and religious heritage, shared by many millions of our fellow citizens, should foster greater understanding and cooperation between our countries.

Our Canadian neighbors can count on our cooperation and respect. To advance North America's energy independence, we intend to reverse the current Administration's blocking of the Keystone XL Pipeline. Apart from its economic value, that project has become a symbol in the contest between the public's desire for economic development and the government's hostility to growth. We stand with the people.

We express our solidarity with all the peoples

of the Western Hemisphere. Their aspirations for economic betterment and political liberty have deserved better from our government than its policies of the last eight years. The current Administration has abandoned America's friends and rewarded its enemies. A Republican president will never embrace a Marxist dictator, in Venezuela or anywhere else. The current chief executive has allowed that country to become a narco-terrorist state, an Iranian outpost threatening Central America, and a safe haven for the agents of Hezbollah. Now, with their country ruined by socialism and on the verge of chaos, the Venezuelan people are fighting to restore their democracy and regain their rights. When they triumph, as they surely will, the United States will stand ready to help them restore their country to the family of the Americas.

We affirm our friendship and admiration for the people of Colombia and call on the Republican Congress to express its solidarity with their decades-long fight against the terrorist FARC. Their sacrifice and suffering must not be betrayed by the accession to power of murderers and drug lords.

We want to welcome the people of Cuba back into our hemispheric family — after their corrupt rulers are forced from power and brought to account for their crimes against humanity. We stand with the Women in White and all the victims of the loathsome regime that clings to power in Havana. We do not say this lightly: They have been betrayed by those who are currently in control of U.S. foreign policy. The current Administration's "opening to Cuba" was a shameful accommodation to the demands of its tyrants. It will only strengthen their military dictatorship. We call on the Congress to uphold current U.S. law which sets conditions for the lifting of sanctions on the island: Legalization of political parties, an independent media, and free and fair internationally-supervised elections. We call for a dedicated platform for the transmission of Radio and TV Martí and for the promotion of internet access and circumvention technology as tools to strength Cuba's pro-democracy movement. We support the work of the Commission for Assistance to a Free Cuba and affirm the principles of the Cuban Adjustment Act of 1966, recognizing the rights of Cubans fleeing Communism.



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### **Africa: The Promise and the Challenge**

We recognize Africa's extraordinary potential. Both the United States and our many African allies will become stronger through investment, trade, and promotion of the democratic and free market principles that have brought prosperity around the world. We pledge to be the best partner of all African nations in their pursuit of economic freedom and human rights. The Republican Congress has extended to 2025 the African Growth and Opportunity Act, and President George W. Bush's health initiatives — AIDS relief under PEPFAR and the Global Fund to Fight AIDS, Tuberculosis, and Malaria — continue to save millions of lives. Peace Corps volunteers and U.S. Seabees teach and build in villages that know firsthand our country's idealism.

We stand in solidarity with those African countries now under assault by the forces of radical Islam: Boko Haram, al-Shabaab, and others like them. Their terror falls on both Muslims and Christians, on anyone who will not submit to their savage ideology. We urge governments throughout the continent to recognize this threat to their own people. We support closer cooperation in both military and economic matters with those on the front lines of civilization's battle against the forces of evil.

### **Sovereign American Leadership in International Organizations**

There is no substitute for principled American leadership. Since the end of World War II, the United States, through the founding of the United Nations and NATO, has participated in a number of international organizations which can, but sometimes do not, serve the cause of peace and prosperity. While acting through them our country must always reserve the right to go its own way. We must not be silent about our country's cause. That is why we have long supported our country's international broadcasting to Eastern Europe, the Middle East, and Asia.

Our continued participation in the United Nations should be contingent upon the enactment of long-overdue changes in the way that institution functions. American taxpayers, the chief funders of the U.N., deserve full transparency in the financial

operations of its overpaid bureaucrats. We should no longer tolerate its managerial scandals, its Human Rights Council composed of some of the world's worst tyrants, and its treatment of Israel as a pariah state. The U.N.'s Population Fund has, from its origin, been rooted in no-growth policies that limit economic development in the countries needing it most. Its complicity in China's barbaric program of forced abortion led President Reagan to set a wall of separation — his Mexico City Policy, which prohibits the granting of federal monies to non-governmental organizations that provide or promote abortion. We affirm his position and, in light of plummeting birth rates around the world, suggest a reevaluation of the U.N.'s record on economic progress.

Precisely because we take our country's treaty obligations seriously, we oppose ratification of international agreements whose long-range implications are ominous or unclear. We do not support the U.N. Convention on Women's Rights, the Convention on the Rights of the Child, the Convention on the Rights of Persons with Disabilities, and the U.N. Arms Trade Treaty, as well as various declarations from the U.N. Conference on Environment and Development. Because of our concern for American sovereignty, domestic management of our fisheries, and our country's long-term energy needs, we have deep reservations about the regulatory, legal, and tax regimes inherent in the Law of the Sea Treaty. We emphatically reject U.N. Agenda 21 as erosive of U.S. sovereignty, and we oppose any form of Global Tax.

To shield members of our Armed Forces and others in service to America from ideological prosecutions overseas, the Republican Party does not accept the jurisdiction of the International Criminal Court. We support statutory protection for U.S. personnel and officials as they act abroad to meet our global security requirements, and we deplore the current inaction of the Administration in that regard. Our service members must be subject only to American law.

### **Defending International Religious Freedom**

The U.S. Commission on International Religious Freedom, an initiative of Congressional Republicans, has been neglected by the current



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Administration at a time when its voice more than ever needs to be heard. Religious minorities across the Middle East have been driven from their ancient homelands, and thousands, there and in Africa, have been slaughtered for their faith in what the State Department has, belatedly, labeled genocide. The United States must stand with leaders, like President Sisi of Egypt who has bravely protected the rights of Coptic Christians in Egypt, and call on other leaders across the region to ensure that all religious minorities, whether Yazidi, Bahai, Orthodox, Catholic or Protestant Christians, are free to practice their religion without fear of persecution. At a time when China has renewed its destruction of churches, Christian home-schooling parents are jailed in parts of Europe, and even Canada threatens pastors for their preaching, a Republican administration will return the advocacy of religious liberty to a central place in its diplomacy, will quickly designate the systematic killing of religious and ethnic minorities a genocide, and will work with the leaders of other nations to condemn and combat genocidal acts.

**America's Generosity: International Assistance that Makes a Difference**

Foreign aid must serve America's interests first. In today's world of complex challenges, international assistance is a critical tool for advancing America's security and economic interests by preventing conflict, building stability, opening markets for private investment, and responding to suffering and need with the compassion that is at the heart of our country's values. A strong commitment to international development and diplomacy, alongside defense, was a key component of President Reagan's "peace through strength" strategy. It can sometimes serve as an alternative means of keeping the peace, far less costly both in dollars and in human lives than military engagement. The Millennium Challenge Corporation, spearheaded by the last Republican Administration, has established a new model of foreign assistance that helps ensure taxpayer dollars are spent on projects that are effective, results-driven, transparent, and accountable. We must embrace this model throughout our foreign assistance programs and efforts as a catalyst for private sector investment to combat corruption, strengthen the rule of law, and open new markets

for American goods and services in a competitive global economy. Foreign assistance programs must not only project the best of American values, but must work to create self-sustainability and leverage the resources and capacity of the private sector. Even more important is the overseas assistance — billions of dollars and volunteer hours — provided by America's foundations, educational institutions, faith-based groups, and charitable individuals. Their essential role in international development should be weighed in any revision of the tax code.

The advance of political freedom and entrepreneurial capitalism drives economic growth, catalyzes private sector development, and is the only sustainable solution to poverty. Over the last 50 years, the level of private investment overseas from the United States has eclipsed aid many times over. Our development strategy must build on recent Republican efforts to use foreign assistance to catalyze private sector investment and expertise in addressing global challenges that can build a more stable world and advance America's national security and economic interests.

The integrity of our country's foreign assistance program has been compromised by the current Administration's attempt to impose on foreign recipients, especially the peoples of Africa, its own radical social agenda while excluding faith-based groups — the sector with the best track record in promoting development — because they will not conform to that agenda. We pledge to reverse this course, encouraging more involvement by the most effective aid organizations and trusting developing peoples to build their futures through their own values.

**Advancing Human Rights**

To those who stand in the darkness of tyranny, America has always been a beacon of hope, and so it must remain. Radical Islamic terrorism poses an existential threat to personal freedom and peace around the world. We oppose its brutal assault on all human beings, all of whom have inherent dignity. The Republican Party stands united with all victims of terrorism and will fight at home and abroad to destroy terrorist organizations and protect the lives and fundamental liberties of all people. Republicans have led the way in promoting initiatives that have protected and rescued millions of the world's



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most vulnerable and persecuted. Standing up for repressed religious groups, prisoners of conscience, women trafficked into sexual slavery, and those suffering from disease or starvation is not just consistent with American values. It advances important security and economic interests as well. A Republican administration will never say, as Hillary Clinton did as Secretary of State in 2009, that raising human rights concerns “can’t interfere with the global economic crisis, the global climate change crisis, and the security crisis.”

The United States needs a radical rethinking of our human rights diplomacy. A Republican administration will adopt a “whole of government” approach to protect fundamental freedoms globally, one where pressing human rights and rule of law issues are integrated at every appropriate level of our bilateral relationships and strategic decision-making. Republican policy will reflect the fact that the health of the U.S. economy and environment, the safety of our food and drug supplies, the security of our investments and personal information in cyberspace, and the stability and security of the oceans will increasingly depend on allowing the free flow of news and information and developing an independent judiciary and civil society in countries with repressive governments such as China, Russia, and many nations in the Middle East and Africa.

**Liberty to Captives:  
Combatting Human Trafficking**

As an estimated 21 million people worldwide are trapped in modern day slavery, we are reminded to be vigilant against human trafficking in whatever form it appears. We will use the full force of the law against those who engage in commercial sexual exploitation and forced or bonded labor of men, women, or children; involuntary domestic servitude; trafficking in persons for the purpose of organ removal; and the illegal recruitment and use of child soldiers. Building on the accomplishments of the last Republican administration in implementing the Trafficking Victims Protection Act of 2000, we call for increased diplomatic efforts and accountability for foreign governments to prosecute traffickers, including penalties for any public officials who may be complicit in this devastating crime. We will highlight the need to stop slave labor, taking steps

to prevent overseas labor contractors who exploit foreign workers from supporting military bases abroad or exporting goods to the United States. A Republican administration will strategize with partners around the world to prevent the demand for trafficking victims that makes exploitation lucrative and will prosecute sex tourists and domestic buyers to the fullest extent of the law. We will work at home and abroad to ensure that trafficking victims are identified among migrants, refugees, and our own citizens so they receive the rehabilitative care needed to heal and thrive.

America’s continuing participation in the international campaign against human trafficking merits our support. The goal of our domestic anti-trafficking programs should be the rescue and safe return of victims to their homes, not creating a long-term dependency upon public support. We call for greater scrutiny of overseas labor contractors to prevent abuses against temporary foreign workers brought to the United States. The horrific deaths of smuggled workers on our southwestern border at the hands of drug cartels and other gangs highlight the need for total security in that region.

**Facing 21st Century Threats:**

**Cybersecurity in an Insecure World**

Cyber attacks against our businesses, institutions, and the government itself have become almost routine. They will continue until the world understands that an attack will not be tolerated — that we are prepared to respond in kind and in greater magnitude. Despite their promises to the contrary, Russia and China see cyber operations as a part of a warfare strategy during peacetime. Our response should be to cause diplomatic, financial, and legal pain, curtailing visas for guilty parties, freezing their assets, and pursuing criminal actions against them. We should seek to weaken control over the internet by regimes that engage in cyber crimes. We must stop playing defense and go on offense to avoid the cyber-equivalent of Pearl Harbor.

The Republican Congress has passed important legislation to advance information-sharing among entities endangered by cyber attacks. We will explore the possibility of a free market for Cyber-Insurance and make clear that users have a self-



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defense right to deal with hackers as they see fit. It is critical that we protect the cyber supply chain to ensure against contamination of components made all over the world, sometimes in offending countries. Our own cyber workforce should be expanded with the assistance of the military, business, and hacker communities to better protect our country.

### **Protection Against an Electromagnetic Pulse**

A single nuclear weapon detonated at high altitude over this country would collapse our electrical grid and other critical infrastructures and endanger the lives of millions. With North Korea in possession of nuclear missiles and Iran close to having them, an EMP is no longer a theoretical concern — it is a real threat. Moreover, China and Russia include sabotage as part of their warfare planning. Nonetheless, hundreds of electrical utilities in the United States have not acted to protect themselves from EMP, and they cannot be expected to do so voluntarily since homeland security is a government responsibility. The President, the Congress, the Department of Homeland Security, the Department of Defense, the States, the utilities, and the private sector should work together on an urgent basis to enact Republican legislation, pending in both chambers, to

protect the national grid and encourage states to take the initiative to protect their own grids expeditiously.

### **Confronting Internet Tyranny**

Internet firewall circumvention and anti-censorship technology must become a national priority in light of the way authoritarian governments such as China, Cuba, and Iran restrict free press and isolate their people limiting political, cultural, and religious freedom. Leaders of authoritarian governments argue that governments have the same legal right to control internet access as they do to control migrant access. A focus on internet freedom is a cost-effective means of peacefully advancing fundamental freedoms in closed and authoritarian societies. But it is also an important economic interest, as censorship constitutes a trade barrier for U.S. companies operating in societies like China with advanced firewall protection policies.

A Republican administration will champion an open and free internet based on principles of free expression and universal values and will pursue policies to empower citizens and U.S. companies operating in authoritarian countries to circumvent internet firewalls and gain accurate news and information online.



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