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## Background Information on Senator Alex Simmons

### Biography

The lives of Senator Simmons’s parents were forever changed in 1956 when they came to America from Cuba. Early on they struggled being in the United States and wondered whether they had made the right decision. But in the decades that followed, America proved to be that shining city on the hill as they worked their way into the middle class and were able to provide opportunities for their children that had previously been out of reach.

Senator Simmons’s parents came from a place where this would have never been possible. In Cuba, they were not born into the right privilege that so few in that country enjoyed. But in the United States, their story became part of the historic tale we all know as the American Dream.

Growing up in West Miami and Las Vegas, Senator Simmons saw all of this develop from an early age. He saw that hard work and sacrifice led to achievement. He knew, firsthand, what his parents did to succeed. He watched his mother work as a maid, cashier and stock clerk. He saw his father, work as a bartender, only to come home from work so late at night.

Above all, he saw how their hard work transformed his family and he knew that in America, anything was possible.

He believes that this great nation has provided so much. The chance to graduate from the University of Florida and then the University of Miami’s law school. The chance to marry his wife in 1998, with whom he is raising four children. And the chance for both of them to give

back through public service For all the opportunities this country has provided Senator Simmons and his family, he is indebted to this great country.

## Career

Senator Simmons has served as a West Miami city commissioner; a Florida state legislator that rose to become majority whip, majority leader and speaker of the house; and as a U.S. Senator.

# Issues

## Family Policies

Strong families are the core of American greatness: Without strong families, America's strong values will not endure, and the American Dream will disappear. Being raised in a stable home by a mother and a father is an incredible privilege but, unfortunately, one that is increasingly rare.

Too often in recent years, through both economic and social policy, Washington has tried to compete with families rather than support and defend them. It has left American families weaker than they once were, and the institutions that teach values and support families, such as churches and civil society groups, are ailing, too.

As President, I will:

Reform the Tax Code to Treat Parents Fairly by:

- Creating a new \$2,500 per child tax credit, to allow working parents to keep more of their money and fix the parent tax penalty.
- Ending the marriage tax penalty without penalizing homemakers
- Encouraging paid leave for new parents, caretakers of ailing loved ones, seriously ill employees, and military families, without harmful mandates, taxes, or costly new entitlements

Promote a Marriage Culture by:

- Defending traditional American values and the value of marriage
- Allowing states to use anti-poverty dollars on programs that recognize marriage's crucial role in lifting families out of poverty

## Agriculture

America's farmers and ranchers are an important source of our country's prosperity. I will get government out of the way of agriculture so that American farmers and ranchers can build their businesses, compete as exporters, and create jobs.

As President, I will:

### Repeal Burdensome Regulations on Farmers and Ranchers

I will undo the Environmental Protection Agency's Waters of the U.S. Rule, that will dramatically expand federal control over ponds, ditches and streams. Further, I will fight President Obama's carbon mandates and excessive application of the Endangered Species Act, which can, when misused, deem huge swathes of productive land off-limits for agriculture or other beneficial development.

### Permanently End the Punitive Death Tax

My comprehensive pro-growth, pro-family tax reform will permanently end the death tax and allow farmers and ranchers to immediately write off the cost of new machinery and equipment. According to the nonpartisan Tax Foundation, the plan would raise wages and boost investment dramatically.

### Oppose New Taxes on Energy

As President, I will fight the establishment of a cap-and-trade program or carbon tax, which would act as a new national energy tax on agriculture producers and raise costs for consumers. In addition, I will push for other reforms to unleash American energy production and bring down energy costs for farmers.

### Open New Markets for Farmers and Ranchers

I support Trade Promotion Authority (TPA), which asserts Congress's role in critical trade negotiations and paves the way for the creation of agricultural jobs. I will also push for timely completion of trade agreements to boost exports for American farmers and ranchers.

### Curb Overregulation

Farmers and ranchers deal with huge costs imposed by the federal regulations, which interfere in labeling procedures, land use, and more. I have proposed a National Regulatory Budget that will cap the costs federal regulations can impose on the economy, including a limit for each individual agency. This will prevent regulators from imposing costly new rules on the agriculture sector at a whim, and give Congress the ability to rein in regulators.

## Gun Owners

The Second Amendment right to bear arms is one of Americans' most fundamental rights. Indeed, it is a right that reflects our country's founding values. Opponents of gun rights often maintain that it is outdated, but it is as important as ever, and no one knows that better than America's law-abiding gun owners. I understand the threats facing gun owners in part because I am a gun-owner himself.

The President has no right to restrict the individual right to own a firearm. Yet President Obama's two terms — with failed attempts at ammunition bans, new restrictions on personal gun sales, and more — has attempted to chip away at the Second Amendment. Hillary Clinton has promised to double down on President Obama's efforts.

New gun laws will do nothing to deter criminals from obtaining firearms; they will simply be ignored by those who wish to do harm. Meanwhile, new restrictions will infringe on the rights of good, law-abiding Americans who wish to have a gun for hunting, sport, or, most important, the protection of their families.

Recent horrific mass shootings should prompt us to ask what causes people to commit these acts — like what can be done to improve the way we treat serious mental illness — rather than seize on the weapons they used.

I am proud to have an “A” rating from the National Rifle Association.

I have fought to protect the Second Amendment by:

- Voting to block the Manchin-Bloomberg expansion of background checks
- Protecting the Second Amendment rights of veterans and their families
- Standing against any federal attempt to ban commonly owned sporting rifles and standard capacity magazines
- Pushing to make concealed-carry permits function like drivers' licenses, so gun owners' constitutional rights don't end at state lines
- Opposing U.S. involvement in the U.N. Arms Trade Treaty
- Working to expand opportunities for sportsmen on federal lands
- Fighting to defund the Department of Justice's radical “Operation Choke Point” and other federal attacks on law-abiding gun manufacturers and dealers
- Pushing to bring fundamental Second Amendment rights back to D.C. residents

As President, I will continue to stand up for the rights of law-abiding gun owners, sportsmen, and hunters.

And on Day One, I will repeal President Obama's unconstitutional executive orders that infringe on the Second Amendment.

## Seniors

America's senior citizens deserve the best we can offer. However, outdated, big-government policies don't offer them the best opportunities for a healthy, prosperous retirement.

For current seniors, I will enact reforms to improve their financial well-being and protect the promises we've made to them. For future retirees, I will modernize and strengthen our programs so they're available for tomorrow's seniors.

Here's how:

### Strengthen and Reform Social Security and Medicare

As President, I will protect Social Security and Medicare by:

- Making no changes for those in or near retirement
- Defending Medicare and Medicare Advantage for current seniors

These programs won't be around for future generations unless something is done to reform them, however. For future retirees, I will:

- Gradually increase the retirement age for future retirees, to keep up with changes in life expectancy.
- Reduce the growth in benefits for upper-income seniors while strengthening the program for low-income seniors.
- Transition Medicare to a premium-support system, which would give seniors a generous but fixed amount with which to purchase health coverage, either from Medicare or a private provider.

### Boost Seniors' Incomes

To improve economic opportunities for seniors, I will:

- Exempt Americans over 65 who wish to keep working from the payroll tax, strengthening the economy and seniors' savings.
- Abolish the Retirement Earnings Test, which discourages work and does nothing to help Social Security's long-term solvency.

### Repeal Obamacare and Modernize Our Health System

As President, I will repeal Obamacare and strengthen Medicare, which would mean:

- Shutting Obamacare's Independent Payment Advisory Board, a panel of unelected bureaucrats whose ultimate aim is to ration care for the elderly.
- Strengthening Medicare Advantage, which gives many seniors a choice of plans offering a wide range of benefits.

- Making the Medicare trust fund permanently solvent, so that every senior enrolled in Medicare today can rely on the program for the rest of his or her life.
- Giving seniors — and future retirees — more options to choose the coverage they need and the doctors they see.

## Overhaul Our Tax Code

I support a comprehensive tax reform plan that would eliminate taxes on capital gains, dividends, and interest, eliminating double taxation on the savings seniors have accumulated over a lifetime of hard work.

My plan would also get rid of the death tax, enabling Americans to pass on their farms, businesses, and hard-earned wealth to their relatives without paying even more in taxes or engaging in complicated tax planning.

## Small Businesses

Small businesses are the engines of the American economy, driving innovation and creating the bulk of new jobs. Entrepreneurs and family business owners need to be free from overbearing government policy to grow and innovate. Only in a place like America can employees go to being employers, and it's a healthy culture of free enterprise and small business ownership that makes that possible.

Unfortunately, American small businesses, like the broader American economy, are struggling. In recent years, more businesses are being destroyed than created. Breaking out of economic stagnation requires reviving American small businesses and enabling them to do what they do best: create good-paying jobs and new opportunities for American workers. I plan to do that by restoring sanity to labor law, cutting taxes for small businesses, keeping regulations and costs low, and more.

In the Senate, I have received 100% ratings from the National Federation of Independent Business and the Small Business and Entrepreneurship Council. I have fought against ObamaCare, tax increases, and other policies that would harm small businesses and their workers.

As President, I will:

Enact Comprehensive Tax Reform that Protects Small Businesses

I support **comprehensive tax reform** that will:

- Cut taxes for small businesses to 25%;
- Let businesses immediately expense new investments;
- Permanently repeal the death tax.

## Demand Full Repeal of ObamaCare and Its \$1 Trillion of Tax Hikes

- Repeal ObamaCare in full, including the \$1 trillion of tax hikes on workers and employers, in particular the job-destroying employer mandate and obstacles to hiring full-time workers;
- Support consumer-centered reforms that lower costs and provide flexibility to businesses.

## Fight for Accountable Regulatory Policies

- Establish a National Regulatory Budget to hold unelected regulators accountable;
- Let Congress vote up or down on regulations that have a major impact on the economy;
- Expose the true costs of regulations on the American economy and small businesses;
- Dramatically increase small business input in the regulatory process.

## Pursue Policies that Lower Energy Costs, Fight Policies That Raise Them

- Expand responsible production of American-made energy, including oil, coal, natural gas, and renewables;
- Immediately approve construction of the Keystone XL Pipeline;
- Fight cap-and-trade, a carbon tax, and new regulations from the Environmental Protection Agency that act as a national energy tax.

## Establish a Common-Sense Balance Between Worker and Employer Rights

- Protect the secret ballot for workers during union elections;
- Prohibit unions from siphoning off worker dues for political activities; and
- Remove union-imposed obstacles to workers receiving pay increases and bonuses.

## Veterans

Men and women who have served our country deserve our everlasting gratitude, and better treatment than they're getting right now. The VA system is outdated and broken, and far too many veterans are homeless, unemployed, or impoverished.

I have led bipartisan Congressional efforts to reform the VA: I introduced legislation with House Committee on Veterans' Affairs Chairman Jeff Miller allowing secretaries of the VA to fire senior executives at the VA that are not doing their jobs, which was signed to law. Beyond the VA, I have helped put in place stronger financial protections for veterans targeted by scammers, promoted efforts to ensure that veterans have additional educational and employment options after their service, and expanded patient-centered health care options for veterans with service-connected disabilities.



By reforming and modernizing the VA, opening up educational and job opportunities that will help veterans, and strengthening the military, I will make sure our veterans get the treatment they deserve.

### VA Reform

I have introduced legislation allowing secretaries of the VA to remove any VA employee based on performance or misconduct. Without the basic accountability this measure offers, we'll never have a VA that works for veterans rather than bureaucrats.

Similarly, competition will push the VA to provide top quality care. If veterans don't feel like the Veterans Health Administration suits their needs, I support giving them the option to use the exact same funds to see an approved private sector provider of their choice.

I will also fight to streamline and reform the VA bureaucracy and protect whistleblowers from retaliation.

### Education That Works for Vets

My plans for higher education reform will offer veterans more flexible, up-to-date options for higher education, including an emphasis on vocational training.

With reforms to higher education like accreditation reform, for instance, veterans will have new and better professional and educational opportunities after leaving the service. What a soldier has done in the military — say, driving a truck or running a logistics operation — should help count toward education and professional certifications here at home.

### Restoring Military Strength

My plans to strengthen the military will ensure that our servicemembers will go into battle with the best training and equipment we can offer. Reversing sequestration will mean that veterans aren't coming home to pink slips. Military benefits systems also need to be examined and updated to make sense in the 21st century economy, to ensure that pensions and other compensation are attracting the very best to the military.

### Workers

If the American economy is to reach its full potential in the 21st Century, American workers must have all the opportunities possible. I support a wide range of reforms that will protect workers, modernize our labor rules, create new incentives for job creation, and unleash innovation. My plans will help workers who have suffered during the Obama Administration's anemic economic recovery.

If the American Dream is to be preserved and expanded to more people than ever before, we need comprehensive economic reforms to help American workers. I propose to:

### Empower American Workers

As a Senator, I have pushed for updating outdated labor regulations and throwing out rules that empower unions rather than create opportunities for workers. As President, I'll continue that fight. I plan to:

- **Lift Union-Imposed Pay Caps on Millions of American Workers:** I am fighting for the Rewarding Achievement and Incentivizing Successful Employees (RAISE) Act, which removes union-imposed obstacles to pay increases for millions of workers.
- **Expand Options for Workers:** I support allowing employers to provide workers with a choice between receiving monetary compensation or paid leave for working overtime.
- **Worker Choice:** I support giving all workers the choice over whether or not they join a union.
- **Reform the NLRB:** I support reforming the National Labor Relations Board to ensure that it acts as a neutral arbiter, not an arm of Big Labor to punish the private sector and workers.
- **Reverse the NLRB's Disastrous "Joint Employer" Decision:** The NLRB's "joint employer" decision will hurt small businesses, especially franchises. I support reversing this disastrous decision and returning control to small businesses.

### Pass Tax Reform

I have a comprehensive tax reform plan that will cut taxes for working Americans, jumpstart investment, and slash corporate taxes to boost wages.

The nonpartisan Tax Foundation estimates that it will raise wages for all taxpayers and create millions of jobs.

### Protect the Sharing Economy

I oppose harmful new mandates, regulations, and taxes that can get in the way of innovative work opportunities provided by the sharing economy.

### Overhaul Higher Education

I propose modernizing our outdated higher education system so that American workers can get the skills they need at an affordable price and in ways compatible with other priorities.

### Unleash American Energy Potential

Making the best use of America's energy resources provides abundant opportunities for high-paying jobs, many of which don't even require a college degree. I will lift allow states to oversee energy production on federal lands, cut back on job-killing EPA regulations, and more.

### Limit Regulatory Overreach

I have proposed a National Regulatory Budget, which will set a limit on the costs that can be imposed by federal regulations overall and by rules from each federal agency. This will roll back regulators' ability to strangle job creation and restore Congress's ability to oversee regulation.

### China

The U.S.-China relationship holds enormous potential. But that potential will never be realized while President Xi insists on pursuing policies that increasingly threaten U.S. national security and prevent China's citizens from fulfilling their potential.

President Obama seems to not understand this. As president, I will restore American strength and moral clarity in our relationship with China and convey American resolve on the issues facing the United States and China.

#### **How:**

- Restore American Strength to ensure the United States remains a Pacific power.
- Protect the American economy.
- We must stand on the side of freedom and human rights, both inside China and on its periphery

In our international economy, the ability to trade is greater than it has ever been, the ability of students to travel abroad and learn is greater than it has ever been, the ability to innovate through cooperation as well as competition is greater than it has ever been. China and America are the largest economies on earth. If our people are allowed to cooperate on their economic futures, it can only change the world for the better.

### Common Core

On Day One, I will issue an Executive Order directing federal agencies to stop any and all activity related to implementing or encouraging Common Core.

Common Core has been used by the Obama Administration to turn the Department of Education into a national school board. This effort to coerce states into adhering to national curriculum standards is the wrong way to help our children attain the best education, and it must be stopped.

Empowering parents, local communities and individual states is the best approach. After all, if parents are unhappy with a local or state school board's decisions, they can go to their board and get it changed. No such option exists if decisions are being made about education in Washington.

**In the Senate, I have long raised concerns about Common Core:**

I began raising concerns about federal coercion of the adoption of Common Core in 2011, called federal education governance — such as a mandate to adopt Common Core — unconstitutional, and sponsored legislation to prohibit federal coercion regarding Common Core and ensure that the Department of Education cannot impose standards or curriculum on states.

**As President, I will stop the federal government from pushing Common Core on states and give states and localities control over education:**

I will give states and local communities complete autonomy in education decisionmaking and get rid of Washington bureaucrats who impose education standards and curriculum on our nation's children. I will ensure no federal education funding is tied to mandates and prohibit the federal government from forcing states or local districts to adhere to principles or interfere in local education. I will issue an executive order directing federal agencies to stop all activity related to implementing or enforcing Common Core.

[Cuba](#)

The Obama administration's new policy toward Cuba has been nothing more than unilateral concessions from the United States that will strengthen the brutal Castro regime and do nothing to help free the Cuban people.

The policy is based on the illusion that more commerce and access to money and goods will translate into political freedom for the Cuban people. This will not work: The Cuban people are not free because the regime — just as it does with every aspect of life — manipulates and controls to its own advantage all currency that flows into the island. More economic engagement with the U.S. means that the regime's grip on power will be strengthened for decades to come, dashing the Cuban people's hopes for freedom and democracy.

We need a reversal of the Obama administration's irresponsible policy changes, and a new president that will promote freedom for the Cuban people and punish the Castro regime for its authoritarianism and cruelty.

I have a long record of standing up for the Cuban people. I have:

**Highlighted the Suffering of the Cuban People and Democracy Activists by:**

- Frequently meeting with democracy activists to call attention to their work and the Castro regime's unceasing repression;  
Supporting the expansion of Internet access in Cuba and fighting to protect U.S. assistance to Cuban dissidents and civil society groups.

## **Opposed the Obama Administration's New Cuba Policy by:**

- Rejecting President Obama's unilateral concessions to Cuba and pledged to oppose the confirmation of a U.S. ambassador without significant reforms in Cuba;
- Holding hearings to challenge the Obama administration's lack of transparency and failure to uphold its promises about the deal's claimed benefits;
- Sponsoring legislation to deny U.S. resources to Castro's military and security services.

As President, I will:

## **Back Democracy and Human Rights in Cuba**

- Provide unconditional support to Cuba's pro-democracy movement, promote greater access to uncensored information for the Cuban people, and deprive the Castro regime of funding for its repressive security state.

## **Restore Cuba to the State Sponsor of Terrorism List**

- Unless Cuba stops helping North Korea evade U.N. sanctions, harboring fugitives from American justice, and supporting designated Foreign Terrorist Organizations, it should be restored to the State Sponsor of Terrorism List.

## **End Diplomatic Relations with the Castro Regime and Modernize Sanctions**

- Reverse President Obama's attempts to normalize relations and condition any further lessening of sanctions until Cuba engages in meaningful political and human rights reform, returns U.S. fugitives, and agrees to honor American property claims and outstanding judgments;
- Modernize U.S. sanctions against Cuba to restore leverage and encourage true improvements in the lives of the Cuban people.

## Debt

Washington's addiction to irresponsible spending is the result not of necessity but of a stubborn resistance to reform. Our \$19 trillion debt is not just a problem for government; it is a problem for the American people. It is hurting our economy today and will shackle future generations.

Our \$19 trillion debt amounts to over \$150,000 per taxpayer. Our families and our children are on the hook for this. The bill might not come in the mail, but if we do nothing to change course, it will come in the form of higher taxes, cuts to our safety net, fewer jobs, and fewer opportunities to achieve the American Dream.

For those reasons, the federal government needs to cut its spending, now.

As a Senator, I have fought to restrain spending to protect taxpayers: I successfully blocked the massive taxpayer-funded insurance bailouts in ObamaCare and voted against budget bills filled with wasteful spending and crony capitalist giveaways. I have been named a Taxpayer Super Hero by the Council for Citizens Against Government Waste and a Taxpayers' Friend by the National Taxpayers Union.

Some of my ideas to get spending under control:

- Fight for a Balanced Budget Amendment and force Washington to live within its means without raising taxes
- Repeal ObamaCare and cut trillions in spending on the job-destroying law
- Push for line-item veto authority to cut wasteful spending
- Permanently ban pork-barrel earmarks
- Reduce the size of the federal workforce in Washington
- Prevent massive, irresponsible spending bills
- Allow states to use wasteful federal funds to pay down the national debt
- Oppose corporate welfare like the New Deal-era Export-Import Bank
- Reform budget rules to provide taxpayers with the true costs of government spending and the benefits of pro-growth policies
- Reform and save Medicare and Social Security for future generations without impacting those in or near retirement

## Eminent Domain

The fundamental right to private property has been under assault for years through government's abuses of eminent domain. Eminent domain is the authority vested in government to force the sale of private property. While this authority can be a necessary evil in rare cases related to public development, such as the building of crucial infrastructure, its modern use far exceeds this limitation. Today, it is often wielded by crony capitalist politicians to benefit wealthy and powerful private developers.

Like the defense of other crucial rights, conservative efforts to defend private property are grounded deep in the history of our nation. In fact, abuses of this right were one of the catalysts for the American Revolution. As the first Continental Congress declared, "[The colonists] are entitled to life, liberty and property: and they have never ceded to any foreign power . . . a right to dispose of either without their consent."

After being founded, in part, to protect these rights, our government has strayed far from this purpose. Compromise after compromise from elected officials in both parties has resulted in a government that believes it has the power to seize your property and sell it to rent-seeking private interests.

**As President, I will:**

- Fight to protect private property rights
- Nominate conservative justices to the Supreme Court who will also fight to protect private property rights

## Energy

America is blessed with abundant energy resources. Thanks to new technology and innovation, our country is poised to become the world's energy superpower even as our emissions have been declining. If we harness our energy potential in the right way, and let innovation flourish, we will ensure that energy is affordable for consumers and families, help businesses grow and create jobs, protect our environment, strengthen our national security, and increase America's influence around the world.

Affordable, reliable American energy has sparked a manufacturing renaissance, enabling America's small businesses to compete in the global economy. To make the 21st century a New American Century, we must take full advantage of our energy potential. I have long opposed big-government efforts to take over our energy economy, like a **cap-and-trade program** that would amount to a massive energy tax.

On Day One in office, I will begin to undo the damage done by President Obama's Environmental Protection Agency, and begin implementing his comprehensive energy plan.

My energy plan will:

### Optimize America's Resources

- Empower States and Tribes to Control Onshore Energy Development Within Their Borders
- Rewrite the Obama Administration's Flawed Five-Year Offshore Drilling Plan
- Immediately Approve the Keystone XL Pipeline
- Expedite Approval of American Natural Gas Exports
- Defend U.S. Interests in International Climate Negotiations
- Bolster the Energy Security of U.S. Allies
- Conclude TTIP Negotiations Without Restrictions on Access to U.S. Energy Exports

### Minimize Government Bureaucracy

- Create a National Regulatory Budget to Limit the Power of Unelected Regulators
- Stop President Obama's Carbon Mandates
- Expose the True Costs of Environmental Litigation to Taxpayers
- Simplify and Improve the Environmental Review Process

### Maximize Private Innovation

- Reform Our Outdated Higher Education System to Support Energy Jobs of the Future
- Facilitate Private-Sector-Led Development of New Technologies
- Overhaul the Tax Code and Cut Taxes for Business of All Sizes

Nowhere is the disconnect between the potential of our people and the priorities of politicians as large as in energy. Plans pushed by many Democrats including Hillary Clinton are premised on the outdated and unrealistic notion that our energy potential can only be seized by the federal government handing out subsidies to favored companies and imposing new mandates and taxes on others. No matter which party is in power, Washington picking winners and losers is a recipe for failure.

Rather than distort the market, the government should instead promote competition. Policies that expand access to oil, gas, and coal development can also expand access to the development of wind, solar, nuclear, and hydropower energy. Modernizing regulations and permitting processes will help develop both traditional and alternative energy sources and encourage energy diversity.

Hillary Clinton's energy vision is stuck in the past. Her plans would restrict consumer choice, grow the federal bureaucracy, and make energy more expensive for Americans — a burden that will fall heavily on seniors, minority communities, and the working poor.

The Clinton-Obama approach has never worked, and never will. Government must focus on the kind of basic research it does well, and let innovators take care of the rest.

To achieve our full energy potential in the 21st century, I will follow three guiding principles: optimizing America's resources, minimizing government bureaucracy, and maximizing private innovation.

## Foreign Policy

American strength is a means of preventing war, not promoting it. Weakness, on the other hand, is the friend of danger and the enemy of peace. Since the end of the Cold War, the threats facing America have changed, but the need for American strength has not. It has only grown more pressing as the world has grown more interconnected. Today, as never before, foreign policy is domestic policy.

It is up to our next president to right the wrongs done by our current one. It is up to our next president to properly fund and modernize our military. It is up to our next president to restore our people's faith in the promise and power of the American ideal.

Three Pillars of the Simmons Doctrine:

### **American Strength**

- Undo the damage caused by sequestration by returning to Secretary Gates' fiscal year 2012 budget baseline.



- Modernize our forces to remain on the cutting edge of the land, sea, air, cyberspace, and outer space domains.
- Empower our intelligence community by permanently extending Section 215 of the Patriot Act.

### **American Prosperity**

- Complete the Trans-Pacific Partnership (TPP) and Trans-Atlantic Trade and Investment Partnership (TTIP).
- Oppose any violations of international waters, airspace, cyberspace, or outer space.

### **American Values**

- Demand that China allow true freedom for its 1.3 billion people.
- Call the source of atrocities in the Middle East by its real name: radical Islam.

## Health Care

ObamaCare has revealed the painful consequences of placing our faith in big government. Government's ambitions may be limitless, but its abilities are not. The free market, when allowed to function as intended, has no such limitations. It has an inexhaustible ability to empower our people and meet their needs.

America needs health care reform that will cut back government's role and harness the forces of competition to keep health care prices low and spur innovation. That means not just repealing ObamaCare, but replacing it with a market-driven alternative and reforming Medicare and Medicaid for the 21st Century.

I have a long record of fighting to repeal ObamaCare:

- I am committed to fully repealing ObamaCare and to replacing it with consumer-centered health reforms that expand coverage and lower costs. Ending this failed law will be an urgent priority of his administration.
- One of the first votes I took in the Senate was to repeal ObamaCare, and I have fought to replace the failed law ever since.
- In addition to supporting the full repeal of ObamaCare, I have voted to specifically repeal harmful components of the law, including its devastating cuts to Medicare Advantage, the job-killing medical device tax, and restrictions on patient-centered care, including new taxes on FSAs and HSAs.
- I was the first to warn of a taxpayer bailout of the insurance industry in ObamaCare, and succeeded in stopping it. **My efforts have already saved taxpayers \$2.5 billion.**

Going forward, I will push for consumer-centered health reforms. I will:

## Repeal and Replace ObamaCare

- Expand access to affordable, quality health coverage by providing every American with an advanceable, refundable tax credit that can be used to purchase insurance.
- Reduce health care costs, promote innovation, and ensure access for the most vulnerable by expanding access to consumer-centered health plans, reforming insurance regulations, and putting protections in place to ensure those with pre-existing health conditions can get access to affordable coverage.
- Promote innovation in the Medicaid program by giving states a per-capita block grant, which preserves funding for Medicaid's unique populations while freeing states from Washington mandates.

## Save and Strengthen Medicare For The Seniors of Today and Tomorrow

- Strongly defend traditional Medicare and Medicare Advantage for current seniors.
- Strengthen Medicare for future seniors by providing them with choices between a variety of private plans and traditional, fee-for-service Medicare.
- Place Medicare on a pathway to fiscal sustainability by promoting market competition in the program. This will ensure it is there for generations of seniors to come.

## Higher Education

Our higher education system is outdated and broken in multiple ways. It is too expensive, too time consuming, and too inflexible for busy single parents and working adults. At a time when higher education is a requirement for most high-paying jobs, too many Americans do not have the time or money to earn a degree, and too many degrees do not lead to jobs.

Democrats' approach to fixing higher education is the same one that has been tried in Washington for decades: raise taxes and pour more money into the current outdated system rather than take the initiative to modernize it.

I have a different approach. As President, he will:

### Simplify Existing Incentives to Help Students Pursue Higher Education

- Consolidate the tangled system of higher education tax incentives into one simple provision for post-secondary education;
- Reduce complexity of the federal financial aid application.

### Equip Students and Families with Information Necessary to Make Informed College Decisions

- Make existing higher education information (including graduation rates for nontraditional students, transfers rates, student debt, post-graduation earnings, and likely employment outcomes) available online in an easily-accessible format to help students and families make well-informed decisions.

#### Reduce Burden of Student Loan Debt by Establishing Automatic IncomeBased Repayment

- Establish income-based repayment (IBR) as the universal repayment method for federal student loans;
- Empower new borrowers to make loan payments in proportion to what they earn, and give graduates the option of consolidating existing loans into the new, simplified IBR system.

#### Reform Outdated Accreditation System to Accommodate Non-traditional Education

- Promote innovative learning programs by establishing a new accrediting entity to ensure quality of these courses, review eligibility for financial aid, and make credits transferable into the traditional system.

#### Invest in Student Success

- Allow students to apply for innovative “Student Investment Plans” from approved investors to help Americans finance postsecondary education without taking on the burden of student loans;
- Establish legal, accountable framework for students to repay loans based on what they earn after college.

#### Modernize Higher Education System to Fit 21st Century Economy

- Increase access to career and vocational education;
- Better utilize apprenticeships and valuable on-the-job training;
- Ease access to state colleges and online educational opportunities;
- Increase hiring of non-degree holding workers.

### Immigration

I have consistently advocated fixing America’s immigration system, beginning with securing our border, enforcing immigration laws in the workplace, and implementing effective visa tracking systems.

Every sovereign nation has the right to set its immigration laws and enforce them, and I know first-hand that enforcing our immigration laws is not anti-immigrant.

Starting on Day One of his presidency, I will be focused on immigration security.

I will:

- Cancel President Obama's unconstitutional executive orders
- Eliminate federal funding for **sanctuary cities**
- Deport criminal illegal aliens
- Hire 20,000 new Border Patrol agents
- Finish all 700 miles of walls on our southern border
- Implement an entry-exit visa tracking system
- Implement a mandatory eVerify system
- Install \$4 billion in new cameras and sensors on the border

These priorities have only become more important in light of the threat from sophisticated terrorist groups such as **ISIS** attempting to exploit our legal immigrant system or cross our borders illegally. That means, for instance, that the U.S. cannot and should not accept **refugees from Syria** unless it is possible to vet them.

That principle will govern my approach to immigration security more generally: if we do not know who you are and why you are coming, you are not getting into America.

Of course, fixing America's immigration system goes beyond just a serious, tough approach to border security.

## Internet

America and the global economy is going through a transformation of a scale and speed not seen since the Industrial Revolution. A major reason for that is the rise of the Internet. There is almost no corner of the economy untouched by what's happening online — a development that has caused some disruption, but also huge increases in prosperity, choice, and convenience for all Americans.

Building a New American Economy will require protecting the Internet as a conduit for innovation, not smothering it with new taxes and regulations. I will fight to protect a free Internet, strengthen our cyber security capabilities, block new taxes that will raise costs for consumers and businesses online, and protect innovations like **the sharing economy** from overzealous regulators.

As President, I will:

### Vigorously Defend Internet Freedom

- Repeal President Obama's Net Neutrality takeover of the Internet, which will hamper innovation and raise costs for Internet users;

- Build off unanimous support of a resolution he introduced (adopted unanimously by the U.S. Senate) to fight proposals from foreign governments to gut current multi-stakeholder governance of the Internet.

#### Strengthen American Response to Cyber Attacks

- Encourage information sharing between the federal government and the private sector to adequately respond to cyber threats, while maintaining privacy protections;
- Use American power to respond harshly to international cyber attacks on American citizens, businesses, and governments.

#### Reallocate Wireless Spectrum to Meet Commercial Needs

- Reallocate spectrum controlled by the federal government for commercial wireless services and increase transparency.

#### Fight Threat of New Taxes on the Internet

- Prohibit state and local governments from taxing the internet by making the Internet Tax Freedom Act (ITFA) permanent;
- Oppose the Marketplace Fairness Act, a massive, new Internet sales tax that will crush small and medium-sized businesses and kill jobs.

## Iran

As the vivid threats and evidence of chaos in Iran sows instability throughout the Middle East, President Obama and his enablers in the U.S. Senate continue to claim that their deal will not benefit Iran's terrorism apparatus and that it is in our national interest.

Despite the willingness of Democrats to provide cover for the White House, we still have an opportunity to put the Senate on record. Instead of just giving up and conceding defeat, I've argued that we need to try everything in our power to prevent a flawed deal that will have devastating consequences for American security from taking effect.

It is so important that our next President be someone who understands the threats we face and who is willing to fight to defend our security and our interests.

#### **I have stated clearly that I will begin to undo the deal with Iran on day one:**

- Iran's leaders will have to choose between having a nuclear weapons program and having an economy.
- I will back this up with a credible threat of military force if Iran decides to ramp up its program.

- I will work with Congress to impose tougher sanctions on Iran for its support for terrorism and human rights abuses, rather than treating Congress as an afterthought as this administration has and as far too many Republicans have blindly accepted.

## ISIS

The chaos in Iraq and Syria over the last several years has allowed the terrorist group ISIS, also known as the Islamic State or ISIL, to become a threat of global proportions, with the capacity to inspire and carry out attacks here in the United States.

The December 2015 mass shooting in San Bernardino, where the attackers were reportedly inspired by ISIS, demonstrate how quickly this threat has come to our shores. Meanwhile, overseas, ISIS has dealt untold suffering and cruelty to millions of innocents in Iraq and Syria, especially religious minorities. ISIS is now spreading its influence across the Middle East: in Egypt, Libya, Afghanistan, and elsewhere.

Most worryingly, the attacks in Paris and the airliner bombing in November 2015 proved that ISIS has the ambitions and capabilities to execute large-scale attacks against the West and harm Americans here at home.

President Obama's proposals to fight ISIS, after his own disengagement from the Middle East allowed the group to rise in the first place, have been woefully insufficient. America cannot afford to let a transnational threat like ISIS survive, hold territory, and grow. Containment will not work.

Instead, the U.S. needs to take the lead on a strategy, in conjunction with our local allies, that will destroy ISIS and deprive it and other terror groups of safe havens. This will require a larger number of American troops on the ground, working with the Kurds, Sunni tribes, and other partners. If America does not make this our fight, the West will not win it.

The conflict is not just about ISIS, either: ISIS is only the most prominent manifestation of radical Islam, an ideology bent on destroying the West and eradicating its values. In this clash of civilizations, either we win, or they win.

As Senator, I have repeatedly highlighted the threat that ISIS presents and called for greater efforts to defeat it. As President, I will set out to destroy ISIS, not hope it disappears or collapses of its own volition. I will:

Confront ISIS in Iraq and Syria

That means establishing a coordinated political-military strategy against ISIS in tandem with Sunni Arab and local partners in the region.

On the military front, I will:

- Build a multinational coalition of countries willing to send troops into Iraq and Syria with embedded U.S. forces and U.S. logistical and intelligence support to aid local fighters on the ground in destroying ISIS safe havens;
- Expand airstrikes in Syria and Iraq, deploying forward air controllers to call in air support;
- Develop a plan to oust Bashar al-Assad from power, including ramping up training of Syrian rebels to fight both Assad and ISIS and to establish safe zones within Syria;
- Provide arms directly to Sunni tribal and Kurdish forces if Baghdad fails to support them.

On the political front:

- Counter ISIS recruitment and propaganda by broadcasting U.S. victories, showing the world that ISIS is not invincible;
- Work with Baghdad to increase Sunni inclusion and autonomy for the provinces;
- Push back against Iranian influence in Iraq, which only stokes further conflict;
- Coordinate with regional allies to plan for Assad's fall;
- Advocate on behalf of and protect ethnic and religious minorities throughout the region.

Stop the Spread of ISIS Across the Middle East

- Enhance military and diplomatic efforts to prevent ISIS from further entrenching itself in Afghanistan and Libya, as well as take action to ensure ISIS does not spread to countries such as Jordan;
- Target ISIS's financial reserves with sanctions and asset freezes and continue to undermine ISIS's attempts to exploit oil resources;
- Engage in global ideological pushback by exposing ISIS's war crimes and sex trafficking and recruiting disaffected former members to tell their stories.

Protect the Homeland

- Work with regional partners to prevent foreign jihadists from traveling between their homes and the battlefields;
- Strengthen U.S. intelligence capabilities to ensure that the U.S. government has the capabilities to track terrorists plotting attacks inside the United States;
- Boost domestic efforts to detect potential "lone wolf" attackers;
- Increase efforts to counter ISIS propaganda and recruitment of individuals inside the United States;
- Halt new admissions of refugees from Iraq and Syria, until they can be vetted effectively enough to filter out terrorist infiltrators.
- Enhance the security screening required of travelers coming to the U.S. through the Visa Waiver Program.

## Israel

We have a national security interest in making sure Israel is strong, and we have a moral obligation to keep the promise made in the wake of the Holocaust for a safe and secure nation for the Jewish people.

Sadly, even as Israelis are facing daily Palestinian terrorist attacks, that commitment to Israel has been lacking from the current administration.

Israel deserves our support and respect. If we are perceived as not standing with Israel, what realistically could any of our other allies expect from us? It's time to reaffirm our commitment to Israel's continued strength and prosperity.

### **I will:**

- Strengthen the U.S.-Israel Alliance and Israel's Self-Defense
- Revoke President Obama's Flawed Iran Deal
- Defend Israel's Efforts to Combat Terrorism
- Fight Efforts to Delegitimize the Jewish State
- Push to Move the U.S. Embassy from Tel Aviv to Jerusalem

## Jobs

To build the most innovation-friendly economy in the world, we must build the most business-friendly economy in the world. Right now we have the exact opposite. The United States has the highest corporate tax rate in the developed world. We have a tax code that punishes American companies for competing in the global economy, and a regulatory system that prevents small businesses — the primary engines of innovation and job creation — from competing against established players.

I have a 100 percent rating with both the National Federation of Independent Business and the Small Business & Entrepreneurship Council.

### **How:**

- Reverse the damage President Obama has done by repealing his unconstitutional and illegal executive orders that are hurting job creation.
- Enact pro-growth, pro-family tax reform that cuts taxes for all businesses to 25 percent and allows all businesses to immediately expense every dollar that they invest in the economy.
- Resist calls to enact a European-style Value-Added Tax (VAT) and new taxes on the Internet.
- Put a ceiling on the amount U.S. **regulations** can cost our economy, allowing businesses to grow without interference from Washington.



- Modernize higher education to equip workers with the skills they need in the 21st century.
- Fully utilize our energy resources and embrace the 21st century energy economy.

## K-12 Education

America's public education system is holding us back in the 21st Century. For millions of disadvantaged American children, the system is simply a disaster. For millions of others, American schools aren't nearly as good as they could be. Much of the current system is outdated, it's denying opportunity to those who need it most, and it's holding back our economy.

A quality education is more important than ever, because the jobs of tomorrow will require more education and skills than ever. We need to allow charter schools and other innovative schools to flourish, and the key to that is empowering parents. Parents should be the ultimate decision makers on where their children go to school. Promoting school choice will provide opportunity to poorer communities, help special needs children, and raise quality across the system.

### **In the Senate, I have . . .**

Promoted Local Control by:

- Supporting bills to give states flexibility and autonomy in their education plans
- Opposing the Obama administration's use of waivers to force Obama-preferred policies onto the states
- Pushing legislation to block the use of new waivers not authorized by Congress.

Boosted School Choice by supporting legislation to:

- Create school-choice tax credits
- Increase the availability of charter schools,
- Expand the portability of school funding for low-income children, military children, and special-needs children

### **As President, I will:**

Institute School Choice Reforms by:

- Creating a national school choice scholarship program
- Ensuring parents have the ability to send their children to school that best suits their educational needs

Get the Federal Government out of K-12 Decision-Making by:

- Prohibiting federal mandates on curriculum or standards for states and local educational agencies
- Protecting student privacy from misuse by third-party vendors or other non-education related entities

Support Innovation in K-12 Education by:

- Supporting virtual learning, home schooling, and blended learning opportunities for K-12 education
- Promoting better learning opportunities for students with disabilities

## Abortion

Protecting life defines who we want to be as a society. All life is worthy of protection, and all life enjoys God's love.

I believe that Roe v. Wade was not only morally wrong, but it was a poorly decided legal precedent and should be overturned.

I have a record of supporting pro-life policies, and will continue to do so in public and private life.

I believe that as a nation we must always come down on the side of life. We must speak up for those who cannot speak up for themselves.

## Military

American strength is crucial to American national security, our economic prosperity, and the security and prosperity of the globe. No other nation can deter global conflict by its presence alone; no other nation can offer the security that America can. No other nation can be trusted to defend peace, protect global commerce, and advance liberty.

That responsibility means that our men and women in uniform must be equipped to meet the growing and changing array of actors that never cease to threaten our people, our allies, and our sacred principles of freedom and opportunity for all. Unfortunately, that isn't the case today: defense spending has fallen dramatically on President Obama's watch and our forces have been reduced and suffered readiness challenges even as threats abroad increase.

Our military therefore needs a serious program of reinvestment and modernization — boosting the size of our forces to do the jobs we ask them to do, and modernizing them to meet the threats they will face so that when efforts to deter conflict fail, they are never sent into a fair fight.

I have a long record of supporting the rebuilding and modernizing of our military:

**In the Senate, I have:**

Opposed President Obama's Massive Defense Cuts by supporting legislation to replace devastating defense cuts with smarter spending cuts. Specifically, he led the effort with Senator Tom Cotton to increase defense spending in FY16 to the level recommended by former Secretary of Defense Gates and the bipartisan National Defense Panel.

Fought for Our Men and Women in Uniform by supporting efforts to increase military compensation and ensuring that off the battlefield veterans have the best possible care available, with greater accountability from the VA and more choices.

**As President, I will:**

Restore Military Strength

- Work to return to Secretary Gates' fiscal year 2012 budget baseline over the course of his first term and begin to undo the damage caused by \$1 trillion in indiscriminate defense cuts.
- Plug critical operations and maintenance shortfalls, restore military readiness through accelerated training and exercises, and make targeted investments in urgent modernization priorities.
- Build a "full spectrum" force able to maintain security simultaneously in Europe, Asia, and the Middle East.

Recapitalize the Navy

- Immediately begin to increase the size of the Navy to a minimum of 323 ships by 2024.
- Work with our allies in Asia to forward deploy a second aircraft carrier in the Pacific while increasing the carrier force from 10 to 12.
- Restore continuous, credible naval combat power to the Mediterranean Sea.
- Build the new Ohio-class Replacement (ORP) ballistic submarine to ensure a credible and survivable 21st century strategic deterrent.
- Build at least two attack submarines every year to preserve America's undersea dominance amid intensifying naval competition.
- Fully integrate the F-35B and push ahead with development of a new amphibious-assault vehicle.
- Build an amphibious fleet of 38 ships (from today's 30) to meet the Marine Corps wartime lift requirement.
- Reverse reductions to the operating status of 11 of our 22 current cruisers.
- Replenish depleted inventories of critical munitions while accelerating development and procurement of new advanced strike and anti-ship missiles.
- Fully fund Navy-Marine Corps maintenance and modernization accounts.

Modernize the Air Force

- Invest in better Intelligence, Surveillance, and Reconnaissance capabilities at the theater and strategic levels.
- Prioritize returning Air Force readiness to pre-Obama levels.
- Accelerate F-35A procurement.
- Develop and field the Long Range Strike Bomber capable of both conventional and nuclear missions to replace our current aging fleet of B-52, B-1, and B-2 bombers.
- Reposture the tactical Air Force for increased presence in Europe, the Middle East, Southeast Asia, and Northeast Asia.
- Ensure that the KC-46 tanker program stays on track to replace the aging KC-135 fleet.
- Ensure development of the Long-Range Stand-Off weapon.

### Strengthen the Ground Forces

- Reverse the current cuts and maintain the Marine Corps and the Army at their pre-9/11 end-strengths of 182,000 and 490,000 respectively.
- Strengthen international partnerships to reduce the need to deploy ground troops.
- Work to return a corps headquarters to Europe and station additional BCTs in Eastern Europe to deter Russian aggression.
- Reexamine the Army's mobility and prepositioning to respond to crises in the Pacific.
- Continue to invest in Army Special Operations capabilities to remain at the cutting edge of the continuing war on terrorism.
- Maintain the Army's proficiency across the full spectrum of war in order to combat state actors, defeat non-state threats, and shape the security environment to America's advantage.
- Revamp the Army's acquisition system and specifically look at options to modernize its aging vehicle and helicopter fleets.

### Reform Military Personnel and Benefits

- Reform the military benefit structure and military career paths and specializations to attract and retain high quality personnel to the military, while preserving a sustainable balance between training and procurement needs.
- Continue recent efforts to reform military retirement, education, and healthcare on the basis of the recommendations of the Military Compensation and Retirement Modernization Commission.
- Ensure the Department of Veterans Affairs is accountable and that our veterans have access to the best treatment possible when they return from the battlefield.

### Transform the Pentagon Bureaucracy

- Optimize the Pentagon workforce by shrinking the Pentagon bureaucracy and achieving the correct balance between uniformed personnel, civilians, and contractors.
- Facilitate a more-technologically agile and adaptable workforce that can leverage technological evolution.
- Develop fellowship programs in the private sector for defense department personnel to renew skills to comport with industry standards.

## Overhaul the Acquisition Process

- Streamline the acquisition process to prevent costly mistakes, hold private contractors accountable, and field top of the line technology to future warfighters.
- Remove barriers and strengthen exemptions for commercial acquisitions allowing the Pentagon to leverage cutting edge commercial technology, such as data analytics, cloud computing, 3-D printing, and robotics.

## Modernize Missile Defense for the 21<sup>st</sup> Century

- Expand missile defense by speeding up deployment of interceptors in Europe, deploying a third site in the United States, and ensuring that advanced programs are adequately funded.
- Work interoperably with allies on missile defense – we should encourage the spread of missile defense technology as a solution to the spread of ballistic and cruise missiles.
- Increase the Missile Defense Agency's Research & Development budget and create a rapid-fielding office to focus on fielding directed energy weapons, railguns, UAV-enabled defenses, and other means to defeat a threat missile across its entire flight trajectory.

## Modernize and Protect Strategic Assets

- Ensure continued freedom of access to space in the face of a potential adversary's development of anti-satellite missiles.
- Modernize the nuclear arsenal and stop the Obama administration's proposed cuts to the nuclear arsenal.
- Pursue arms control only when it is in America's interest and when prospective negotiating partners comply with their commitments to us.

## Promote Innovation for the 21<sup>st</sup> Century

- Ensure U.S. military technological superiority by prioritizing key areas of defense technology that will counter those adversaries and competitors seeking to undermine our military predominance.
- Improve anti-submarine capabilities; procure advanced air warfare capabilities; sustain our advantage in precision strike from land, air, and sea; and invest in electronic warfare capabilities.
- Expand the use of rapid acquisition processes for key innovative technologies.

## Posture the Force for the Cyber Era

- Improve cyber defense capabilities by hardening DoD systems and examining the sourcing of our weapons components.
- Outline a declaratory policy so our adversaries understand the consequences of attacking our computer systems.

- Improve offensive cyber capabilities and ensure that Cyber Command cyber mission forces have the tools and authorities to perform the cyber offensive mission.
- Better integrate cyber threats and cyber aspects of modern warfare in training, doctrine, and exercises across the combatant commands.
- Ensure that the cyber threat is appropriately prioritized by all services; study whether cyber should be its own service rather than a mission of the Army, Navy, Marines, and Air Force.

## North Korea

I have been warning throughout the presidential campaign that North Korea is a rogue state run by a lunatic with a growing number of nuclear weapons. The Kim regime's **January 2016 nuclear test** was just the latest reminder of its aggressive, dangerous ambitions. Meanwhile, its government ranks as possibly the world's worst human rights abuser — jailing, torturing, and killing its people with abandon.

President Obama and Hillary Clinton have stood idly by while Kim Jong-un has tortured his people and threatened his neighbors and the United States. When they have engaged on North Korea, they have only offered concession after concession in the hopes of cutting an Iran-style deal that would only empower the regime. Years of this behavior has allowed North Korea to test multiple nuclear weapons and build ballistic-missile technology capable of hitting the United States. Moreover, North Korea is more of a force for instability in the region, a crucial one with a number of close U.S. allies, than ever before.

This failure must be replaced with **a policy** of strength and clarity: Stop the giveaways, ratchet up the pressure on North Korea's leaders and their Chinese supporters, back up our allies in the region, restore critical funding to our missile defense programs, and promote human rights and access to outside information within North Korea.

As President, I will:

### Counter North Korean Aggression

- End the policy of rewarding North Korean provocations and nuclear blackmail with new rounds of concessions;
- Work with allies to disrupt North Korean nuclear and missile proliferation by interdicting ships or aircraft suspected of carrying material related to North Korea's nuclear weapons and ballistic missile programs;
- Impose crushing new sanctions on the North Korean regime, including freezing the overseas assets of the North Korean leadership, sanctioning international entities and individuals that continue to do business with the regime, and disrupting illegal sources of income, from drug smuggling to counterfeiting and illicit arms sales;

- Pressure China to stop propping up the Kim family by demonstrating to Beijing that continuing to do so will result in greater U.S. and allied presence around the peninsula;
- Deter North Korean hacking and cyberattacks against American companies and the government.

#### Restore North Korea to the State Sponsor of Terrorism List

- Unless it ceases supporting state sponsors of terror like Iran and Syria, including through such entities as the Iranian Revolutionary Guard Corps, North Korea would be re-designated a State Sponsor of Terrorism.

#### Bolster Deterrence

- Rebuild our nuclear deterrent and strengthen U.S. missile defenses and offensive capabilities in the region by coordinating with our allies to deploy the THAAD system to South Korea;
- Reestablish missile defense, especially homeland missile defense, as a national priority by fielding more interceptors, providing additional radar, and leveraging new technologies to intercept the most sophisticated missile threats;
- Enhance cooperation with and among regional allies, such as South Korea and Japan.

#### Promote Human Rights and Democracy

- Provide support to North Koreans by helping them gain access to the outside world, bolstering counter-information efforts, and sanctioning North Korea for its brazen human rights violations;
- Declassify information about North Korea's apparatus of repression and highlight the specific North Korean leaders involved in human rights abuses;
- Ensure that human rights no longer take a backseat to concerns about North Korea's nuclear program and militarism.

#### Regulation

Federal regulations are out of control. With hundreds of billions of dollars in new costs imposed under the Obama administration, we have a system of regulations and rules that strangles job creation, holds down take-home pay, and puts unelected bureaucrats in charge of huge sectors of our economy.

In 2014, I proposed a **National Regulatory Budget, which would set a cap on the costs federal regulations could impose on the economy.** For every dollar in costs regulators want to impose, they have to find a dollar in existing costs that they'll repeal.

My proposal would also impose a **cap on each agency**, so that Congress would be able to limit new regulation unless agencies, like the EPA, were willing to provide dollar-for-dollar relief.

The budget would limit the costs regulators can impose on the economy, boost wages and job creation, and limit unelected regulators' power to interfere in the economy.

My proposal has received praise from conservatives and business organizations.

A National Regulatory Budget — a reform that other countries have successfully used to restrain regulatory overreach — is exactly the kind of reform I will put in place to help the American economy compete in a global economy, and make this century a New American Century.

## Russia

The last few years' events in Ukraine, Russia, and elsewhere prove we are barreling toward a second Cold War. As the Obama-Clinton record has shown, the longer we wait to stand strong against Putin's Russia, the higher the price of our inaction will be. Strong American leadership is the only force capable of ensuring that peace and security once again prevail.

For five years, I have been a leader on countering Russian aggression.

As President, I will immediately begin to take action against Russia, drawing on the principles of the Simmons Doctrine. I will:

### Defend and Restore Ukrainian Sovereignty

- Reject and work to reverse Russia's annexation of Crimea, help Kiev uphold Ukrainian control over Eastern Ukraine, and establish a long-term strategy to allow the Ukrainian people to fulfill their European aspirations.
- Provide Kiev with lethal military assistance and increased training and intelligence sharing.
- Expand sanctions on Russian entities, such as major state-owned corporations and their senior leadership, and impose additional visa bans and asset freezes against high-level Russian officials.
- Help Ukraine's leaders modernize their economy to safeguard independence from Moscow.
- Cease diplomatic engagement with Moscow on issues not related to resolving the Ukraine crisis.

### Protect Europe from Further Russian Aggression



- Boost the capacity of our NATO allies by storing additional heavy weapons and vehicles in Central and Eastern Europe and permanently stationing U.S. troops in the region.
- Provide additional military training and assistance to non-NATO frontline states such as Georgia and Moldova.
- Revamp NATO strategy, updating military planning to defend the Baltic, updating its nuclear deterrence doctrine to respond to Russian nuclear threats, and ensuring open membership for all countries that meet the conditions with no Russian veto.
- Lift restrictions on U.S. energy exports, to blunt Russia's attempts to use trade and energy dependence as a weapon.

#### Reclaim Leadership on Syria

- Make clear that there will be no U.S.-Russia cooperation in the fight against ISIL until Russia brokers the departure of Bashar al-Assad from power.
- Reassure U.S. allies and partners in the region that the United States will recommit to working with them to destroy ISIL through more frequent and accurate airstrikes, the deployment of U.S. Special Forces, and additional intelligence sharing.

#### Highlight Russian Arms Control Violations

- Make clear that the United States will respond to continued Russian violations of arms control agreements with a stronger military presence in Europe.
- Explore countermeasures to new Russian systems that violate arms agreements and expedite deployment of missile defense interceptors to Eastern Europe.

#### Advocate for Russian Journalists, Dissidents, and Democracy Activists

- Undermine Russian propaganda at home and abroad by revitalizing U.S. broadcasting, funneling news past Russian filters, and supporting sidelined or jailed Russian journalists.
- Highlight pervasive government corruption and human rights abuses and tie human rights to broader U.S.-Russian relations.
- Impose additional sanctions, including visa bans against Russian officials involved in human rights abuses.

#### Sanctuary Cities

“Sanctuary cities” are local governments — towns, cities, and counties — that prevent or discourage their law enforcement officers from cooperating with federal immigration authorities. In hundreds of such jurisdictions across the country, illegal immigrants who commit crimes can often be released, free to endanger their communities again, without federal authorities ever having the chance to remove them from the country.

Fortunately, the federal government can do something about it. I am fighting for legislation to end sanctuary cities that will:

- Cut off federal funding for sanctuary cities.
- Allocate those funds to local governments that do allow their law enforcement to work with federal immigration authorities.
- Mandate that Department of Homeland Security publicly list which cities and towns are sanctuary jurisdictions and the number of federal law enforcement requests that have been ignored by each.
- Make clear that local law enforcement has the right to cooperate with federal law enforcement, while also making it clear that this does not reduce individuals' constitutional protections.
- Increase the penalties for illegal immigrants who return to the U.S. after removal, and impose mandatory minimums for those who return after being convicted of an aggravated felony or being deported two or more times.

## Second Amendment

I believe that the Second Amendment is about much more than the right to bear arms. At its core, the Second Amendment is about the American Dream.

The American Dream means having the opportunity to achieve happiness, which is possible, first and foremost, when you can start and raise a family in a home that is stable, safe and secure.

The safety of our families is not something we should be forced to hope the government can provide – it's a fundamental right that every American deserves.

### **On Gun Control:**

We must examine why it is people are taking violent action, not what they're using to commit the violent act. We have two issues in this country: **One is mental illness**, which we need to begin to address more seriously, as opposed to stigmatizing or it in some cases trying to put it aside. That's a societal issue we must confront as a society and a country.

The other of course is **why have we become so violent as individuals**. What is it that's leading people in this country who are not mentally ill to do the sort of drive-by shootings and things that we've seen? . . .

The guns are what they're using to commit the violence. In many cases, the laws that are actually being proposed would not have prevented them.

Dissenters try and stigmatize gun owners, but as we all know, responsibly exercising one's Second Amendment right could mean the difference between life and death.

## Sharing Economy

If there's one thing that matters in the 21st century economy, it's innovation. In order to be the leading economy on earth, America must be the most innovative economy on earth. It's that simple.

And whenever we talk about innovation, what we're talking about is problem solving. We're talking about finding ways to do things more efficiently, more affordably, and more conveniently than ever.

One innovation entrepreneurs have come up with in recent years is the so-called "sharing economy." Companies like Uber and Airbnb enable workers and consumers to provide or purchase the goods and services when they want, how they want.

Unfortunately, government can get in the way, and outdated labor regulations, new taxes, and other harmful policies can prevent new, innovative businesses and technologies from ever being able to get off the ground.

Here's a few of my proposals to protect innovators and consumers, and ensure that we can create a New American Century:

### Protect Innovation from Regulators

Federal regulators usually provide cost-benefit analyses for proposed regulations. But the status quo neglects the important question of whether the proposed rule will be an impediment to innovation, cause industries to consolidate into just a few firms, reduce consumer choice, or otherwise inhibit genuine competition.

Agencies need to look at how their rules will affect the free-enterprise system. I will direct the agencies to issue a Competition and Innovation Analysis for all major rules. Any rules that will hurt the innovative, competitive system will be sent back for revision or rejected.

### Stop New Online Sales Taxes

Currently, state and local governments can tax only those businesses with a physical location, such as a storefront or warehouse, within their boundaries. Proposals such as the Marketplace Fairness Act would massively expand their taxing powers, potentially subjecting online retailers to thousands of different tax systems and audits from those jurisdictions. The Act would impose huge compliant costs and new taxes on online retailers, which would fall particularly hard on smaller businesses.

The more resources online retailers have to put into mandates like this, the less they can devote to growing their businesses and creating jobs. I am opposed to the creation of an online sales tax and will veto any attempts to raise taxes on businesses.

### Prevent Burdensome Taxation of Digital Goods and Services

Today, if a consumer downloads a song or app while traveling in another state, the state the consumer is visiting, the state housing the server providing the song, and the consumer's home state could all claim the authority to tax the same transaction.

I support providing clarity for the taxation of digital goods and stopping multiple taxes from being imposed by numerous state and local tax authorities. Consumers shouldn't have to worry about incurring additional taxes based on server locations or where they are when they make their digital purchase, and sellers shouldn't be burdened with complex calculations about which jurisdictions they must collect taxes on behalf of. I support limiting tax jurisdiction over digital goods to a single address.

#### Ensure that Internet Access Remains Tax-Free

Since its enactment in 1998, Congress has repeatedly extended the Internet Tax Freedom Act, which bans state and local taxation of internet access, for just a few months or years at a time. I support permanently banning taxes on the Internet.

#### Reallocate Wireless Spectrum to Meet Commercial Needs

I supports reallocating wireless spectrum controlled by the federal government, to shift it toward commercial wireless services, and supports increasing transparency about how the resource is allocated and improving the federal government's wireless infrastructure. Smarter use of the wireless spectrum will boost innovation, lower costs for consumers, and broaden the range of wireless services available.

#### Vigorously Defend Internet Freedom

President Obama's Net Neutrality takeover of the Internet, which subjects 21st-century technology to an early-20th century regulatory system, will hamper innovation and raise costs for Internet users. I will repeal it as president.

The existing governance system for the Internet has allowed the technology to flourish and incredible innovation to occur. I will build off unanimous support of a resolution he passed in the U.S. Senate to fight proposals from foreign governments to gut current multi-stakeholder governance of the Internet.

#### Social Security and Medicare

Social Security and Medicare are crucial pillars of America's social safety net. Our nation's elderly should be able to rely on them for financial security and peace of mind. However, both programs are on an unsustainable path, and if the next president isn't willing to undertake reforms that will modernize and strengthen them, they simply won't be there for tomorrow's seniors.

Further, the programs should be reformed to work best in the 21st century, to meet the needs of Americans in a changing economy. The programs' current crises are partially attributable to our slow economic growth, and they should be reformed with a view toward reigniting growth and helping Americans prosper throughout their lives.

As President, I will:

Protect Social Security and Medicare by

- Making no changes for those in or near retirement
- Strongly defending Medicare and Medicare Advantage for current seniors
- Gradually increasing the Social Security Retirement age to keep up with changes in life expectancy
- Reducing the rate of growth of benefits for upper-income seniors while making the program stronger for low-income seniors
- Transitioning Medicare to a premium support system, which would give seniors a generous but fixed amount with which to purchase health insurance. Seniors would have the option of either Medicare or a private provider.

Improve the Financial Security of Retirees by

- Allowing the American people to participate in the Thrift Savings Plan, which is now used by members of Congress and other federal employees
- Exempting seniors over 65 who wish to continue working from the payroll tax, strengthening the economy and seniors' nest eggs
- Abolishing the Retirement Earnings Test, which discourages work and does nothing to help Social Security's long-term solvency

## Taxes

America's outdated tax code was designed by leaders of the past for the economy of the past. Unfortunately, the status quo is too complex, hurts families and job creators, and holds back our nation's potential to compete around the globe. I believe that to meet the potential of the New American Economy, we need less government, not more. If we reform the tax code in the right way, and couple it with innovative policy solutions, we can grow our economy and encourage work, saving, investment, and stronger families.

I support pro-growth, pro-family tax reform, and opposes a massive European-style Value Added Tax (VAT) that some candidates for president have proposed. A VAT is a sneaky way to raise taxes and grow government while hiding the true cost from taxpayers. Ronald Reagan once said a VAT "gives a government a chance to blindfold the people and grow in stature and size." I agree, and that's why, as president, I will fight any effort to impose a hidden VAT on the American economy.

Instead, I have a tax plan that . . .

Shrinks the Tax Code and Cuts Taxes

Reduces the Number of Tax Brackets from Seven to Three:

<b>Marginal Tax Rate</b>	<b>Individuals</b>	<b>Joint Filers</b>
15%	0 – \$75,000	0 – \$150,000
25%	\$75,001 – \$150,000	\$150,001 – \$300,000
35%	\$150,001+	\$300,001+

Dramatically Simplifies the Tax Code while Protecting Important Priorities

- Cuts taxes, letting taxpayers keep more of their own money instead of sending it to Washington.
- Dramatically simplifies the tax code by eliminating all itemized deductions and tax “extenders.”
- Under my tax reform plan, the charitable-contribution deduction and a reformed mortgage interest deduction would be available to all taxpayers.
- Creates a new \$2,000 (individual) / \$4,000 (married filing jointly) refundable personal tax credit in place of the standard deduction: Credit phases out beginning above \$150,000 (individual) / \$300,000 (married filing jointly) and would be unavailable to taxpayers with an annual income in excess of \$200,000 (individual) / \$400,000 (married filing jointly).
- Eliminates the Marriage Penalty and the Alternative Minimum Tax (AMT).
- Consolidates the maze of higher education tax incentives into a single, \$2,500 universal tax credit for the first four years of post-secondary education and costs related to eligible job skill training. The credit phases out between 400 – 500 percent above the Federal Poverty Level (roughly \$97,000 – \$121,250 for a family of four).
- Addresses the tax treatment of health care as part of a comprehensive effort to repeal and replace Obamacare with consumer-centered reforms. The plan repeals all 21 Obamacare taxes.

Strengthens American Families

Provides Tax Relief to Middle-Class Parents and Families

- Creates a new, partially refundable Child Tax Credit of up to \$2,500 per child.
- The new child tax credit is applicable to taxpayers’ total income and payroll tax liability, to offset the parent tax penalty and help working parents. The credit phases out beginning above \$150,000 (individual) / \$300,000 (married filing jointly) and would be unavailable to taxpayers with an annual income in excess of \$200,000 (individual) / \$400,000 (married filing jointly).

- The new child credit is in addition to the current child tax credit.
- The new child credit is refundable against the payroll taxes that are the biggest tax burden on low-income families. It provides a meaningful incentive for work.

#### Provides Tax Relief to Employers that Offer Paid Family Leave

- Rejects big government proposals put forward by Democrats that hit small businesses with new mandates and workers with new tax increases.
- Provides a 25% non-refundable tax credit to any business offering between four and twelve weeks of paid family leave, limited to \$4,000 per worker.
- Adaptable to all employee arrangements, including part-time work.
- Applies in a number of situations where workers have qualifying family or medical events, including: a newborn child in need of care; an elderly parent with declining health; a personal health crisis; or a spouse’s military deployment.

	<b>Current Law</b>	<b>My Plan</b>
<b>Top Corporate Rate</b>	35%	25%
<b>Top Small Business/Pass-through Rate</b>	39.6% (higher with ObamaCare taxes)	25%

#### Cut the Tax Rate for All Businesses to 25%

- Integrates all business income into a single tax rate no higher than 25%.
- Ensures that all businesses, large and small, are subject to the same rate
- Allows immediate expensing of capital expenditures (equipment, structures, inventories, and land), ending confusing depreciation schedules and leading to a massive increase in job-creating investment.
- For American companies and individuals doing business overseas, eliminates the double-taxation of income earned abroad by transitioning to a competitive “territorial” tax system. For currently deferred overseas earnings, the plan provides a 6% deemed repatriation rate, payable over ten years.
- Eliminates unfair carve-outs benefiting large corporations and high-tax states.

#### Incentivizes Saving and Investment

	<b>Current Law</b>	<b>My Plan</b>
<b>Capital Gains</b>	23.8%	0% (current law during transition)
<b>Dividends</b>	23.8%	0% (current law during transition)
<b>Estates</b>	40%	0%

- Taxes all business income once (at the entity level) and eliminates harmful double-taxation of saving and investment income.
- Provides a transition period, which requires a one-time booking of investment at current law capital gains and dividend rates, minus the 3.8% investment tax hike from ObamaCare.
- Immediately eliminates the federal estate tax, a tax that penalizes family-owned farms and businesses and reduces saving and investment in our economy.

#### Ends the Taxation of Interest Income

- Fully removes interest from the tax base; interest income is no longer taxable or deductible.
- Ends the bias in favor of debt rather than equity, leading to a more stable financial system and healthier economy.

#### The VA

The VA has failed our veterans, and is continuing to fail them every day. That's why I led the fight in the Senate last year to pass the VA Management Accountability Act. It was based on a pretty simple premise from the private sector — if someone isn't doing their job at the VA, they should be fired.

Nothing could be simpler. We need to make sure those directly responsible for the terrible performance of the VA can be held accountable.

#### Transportation

America could not have flourished in the 20th Century without up-to-date transportation infrastructure. Unfortunately, our infrastructure needs have evolved dramatically over 60 years, but the transportation system – and politicians in Washington – have not changed with them.

We successfully built a national highway system in the last century, but now we need local flexibility to address our diverse nation's many different needs and problems. The federal gas tax feeds Washington's overspending. Transportation dollars are taken from the states and funnelled through a Highway Trust Fund that is pillaged every year by Washington special interests. And decades-old federal red tape adds cost and stands in the way of innovative solutions.

Today, the Highway Trust Fund is running out of money, and the political establishments of both parties are propping it up with the same stale policies of the past. We can't keep putting more money into this broken system. I will take a new approach in building the infrastructure for the next American century.



As President, I will:

#### Cut Outdated Gas Taxes

- Reduce the federal gasoline tax rate by 80 percent.
- Veto any gas-tax increase.

#### Empower States to Innovate

- Turn back control of the highways to the states, stopping special interests in Washington from building “Bridges to Nowhere” and engaging in other wasteful spending.
- Free states from the strings that come attached to federal funding.
- Remove barriers to public-private partnerships.

#### Find Common-Sense Savings

- Repeal the Davis-Bacon Act that inflates government costs by billions every year and is a giveaway of taxpayer dollars to labor unions.
- Phase out the Mass Transit Account, which loots the Highway Trust Fund.
- Stop diverting highway funds to unnecessary pet projects.