



Written by [Christian Gomez](#) on December 7, 2015

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Where They Stand

The sheer number of candidates now running for president of the United States, particularly on the Republican side, makes the task of learning the positions of each candidate daunting, to say the least. The nationally televised debates certainly shed some light on the candidates' positions, but the questions that should be asked often are not posed, the candidates on the debate stage do not get equal time, and, for the most part, the viewers do not have the background to know how candidates' current positions square with what they may have said or done in the past.



AP Images

To help our readers gain a better understanding of the presidential candidates, we have prepared a series of 13 profiles on the candidates for president who have generally scored at least one percent or higher in national public opinion polls — 10 Republicans and three Democrats. Candidates who have not broken the one-percent threshold are not included in our overview. Each candidate's profile is two pages long, and each profile surveys the candidate based on 10 key issues:

- Abortion
- China
- Federal Reserve
- Foreign Aid
- Healthcare/Repealing ObamaCare
- Immigration
- International Terrorism and ISIS
- Privacy: PATRIOT ACT and NSA -Surveillance
- Same-sex "Marriage" and Religious Liberty
- Trans-Pacific Partnership

In the six pages that follow, we take a look at Democratic presidential candidates Hil-lary Clinton, Bernie Sanders, and Martin O'Malley. In the previous (November 23) issue of The New American, we looked at the 10 Republican candidates included in our survey — Jeb Bush, Ben Carson, Chris Christie, Ted Cruz, Carly Fiorina, Mike Huckabee, John Kasich, Rand Paul, Marco Rubio, and Donald Trump.

We have confined our overview of the candidates to their professed positions without opining on the rightness or wrongness of those positions. But as always, we ask readers to evaluate all candidates' positions based on the U.S. Constitution. Unfortunately, no candidate's positions are in 100-percent accord with the Constitution, as the information assembled shows. For instance, no candidate states he



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would end all U.S. foreign aid, period, despite the fact that the U.S. foreign aid program is unconstitutional.

Hillary Clinton

Hillary Rodham Clinton is an experienced career politician who has served in various occupations, most recently as secretary of state under President Obama from 2009 to 2013. From 2001 to 2009, she served as a U.S. senator from New York. And as the wife of Bill Clinton, she served as first lady of the United States from 1993 to 2001, and as first lady of Arkansas from 1979 to 1981 and from 1983 to 1992. Hillary Clinton formally announced her candidacy for the Democratic presidential nomination on April 12, 2015.

Abortion

Hillary Clinton boasts a 100-percent rating by NARAL Pro-Choice America, in sharp contrast to her 0-percent rating from the National Right to Life Committee. On April 23, 2015, while delivering the keynote speech at the 2015 Women in the World Summit in New York City, Clinton affirmed that women's access to "reproductive healthcare" (i.e., abortions) will require that "deep-seated cultural codes, religious beliefs and structural biases have to be changed."

China

On July 4, 2015, former Secretary of State Hillary Clinton said of China's militarization in the South China Sea, "China's military is growing very quickly, they're establishing military installations that again threaten countries we have treaties with, like the Philippines." She further accused China of "trying to hack into everything that doesn't move in America." On September 27, 2015, in a Twitter post, Clinton referred to Chinese President Xi Jinping hosting a United Nations meeting on women's rights as "shameless."

Federal Reserve

Hillary Clinton has remained virtually silent about Fed policy during her presidential campaign; however, her campaign website features a glowing endorsement of her proposed economic policies from former Federal Reserve Vice Chairman Alan Blinder, who was appointed by her husband, President Bill Clinton, in 1994. "Income inequality has become a bigger part of the national discussion. People have the correct feeling that the system is not fair," Blinder says.

Foreign Aid

In an interview with *New York Magazine*, published on September 22, 2013, former Secretary Clinton said, "I thought it was essential that as we restore America's standing in the world and strengthen our global leadership again, we needed what I took to calling 'smart power' to elevate American diplomacy and development and reposition them for the 21st century." Clinton elaborated, "That meant that we had to take a hard look at how both State and A.I.D. operated. *I did work to increase their funding* after a very difficult period when they were political footballs to some extent and they didn't have the resources to do what was demanded of them." (Emphasis added.)

The A.I.D. she refers to is the U.S. Agency for International Development (USAID), which although



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being independent of the State Department, operates under the foreign policy guidance of the secretary of state. Under Secretary Clinton the A.I.D. gave \$26 million to Planned Parenthood's global affiliate, the International Planned Parenthood Federation, from 2010 to 2012.

Healthcare/Repealing ObamaCare

Hillary Clinton has a longstanding reputation as an advocate for universal healthcare. In 1993, First Lady Hillary Clinton chaired the taskforce responsible for developing President Bill Clinton's universal healthcare plan, officially designated the Health Security Act, otherwise known as "Hillarycare." After the plan was defeated in Congress, Hillary Clinton worked together with Republicans and Democrats to develop the Children's Health Insurance Program (CHIP).

Regarding ObamaCare, her presidential campaign website states, "Hillary will continue to defend the Affordable Care Act (ACA) against Republican efforts to repeal it." Not only does she intend to thwart efforts to repeal ObamaCare, she intends to expand it. "She'll build on it to expand affordable coverage, slow the growth of overall health care costs (including prescription drugs), and make it possible for providers to deliver the very best care to patients," [HillaryClinton.com](#) states.

Immigration

On May 5, 2015, speaking at a round-table discussion at Rancho High School in Las Vegas, Clinton endorsed full amnesty for illegal immigrants. "We can't wait any longer for a path to full and equal citizenship," she said. On her presidential campaign website, Clinton calls for a "fair and just immigration system" and "comprehensive immigration reform," a term synonymous with amnesty. "Hillary will defend President Obama's executive actions on immigration from partisan attacks that would put DREAMers at risk of deportation," Clinton's campaign site states. If elected president, Hillary Clinton promises to circumvent and undermine Congress if she does not get her way. "And if Congress continues to refuse to act, she will do everything possible under the law to go further," states [HillaryClinton.com](#).

International Terrorism and ISIS

On September 29, 2015, in an interview on MSNBC's *MTP Daily*, host Chuck Todd asked Clinton if she could "defeat ISIS if Assad is still running Syria?" She replied, "I think it's very difficult." In a follow-up question about whether she would prioritize ousting Assad or defeating ISIS, she responded, "I would prioritize both, you really can't do one without the other."

Like many of her Republican rivals seeking the presidency, she also advocates arming the Kurds to fight and defeat ISIS. On December 3, 2014, Hillary Clinton spoke at Georgetown University about "Smart Power: Security Through Inclusive Leadership." Speaking specifically about the role of women in security, former Secretary Clinton concluded her remarks by saying:

There are ... all-women Peshmerga units. There has been some publicity given to Kurdish women fighting alongside their brothers or fighting on their own behalf, and we should do what we can to support those women who truly are on the frontlines of protecting their communities against this extremist threat from ISIS and others.



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Privacy: PATRIOT Act and NSA Surveillance

On February 24, 2015, in an interview with Re/code's technology journalist Kara Swisher, Clinton said of the NSA and its surveillance activities with regard to civil liberties, "I want us to come to a better balance." Despite her platitudes about the need for more transparency and "better balance," Clinton twice voted for the PATRIOT Act when she was in the Senate. On October 25, 2001 and on March 2, 2006, Senator Clinton voted for the original USA PATRIOT Act (H.R. 3162) and its reauthorization (H.R. 3199), respectively, signed both times by then-President George W. Bush.

Same-sex "Marriage" and Religious Liberty

On June 26, 2015, following the Supreme Court decision in *Obergefell v. Hodges* legalizing same-sex marriage, Hillary Clinton released a statement praising the court's decision. "Along with millions of Americans, I am celebrating today's landmark victory for marriage equality, and the generations of advocates and activists who fought to make it possible," Clinton said. "From Stonewall to the Supreme Court," Clinton added, "the courage and determination of the LGBT community has changed hearts and changed laws." She called the ruling "an affirmation of the commitment of couples across the country who love one another."

Trans-Pacific Partnership

Hillary Clinton was for the Trans-Pacific Partnership, which she originally helped negotiate, before she recently turned against it as a presidential candidate. On November 15, 2012, during an official state visit to Australia, then-Secretary of State Clinton said, "This TPP sets the gold standard in trade agreements to open free, transparent, fair trade, the kind of environment that has the rule of law and a level playing field."

Although now claiming to oppose the TPP, on October 7, 2015, Clinton said, "I still believe in the goal of a strong and fair trade agreement in the Pacific as part of a broader strategy both at home and abroad, just as I did when I was secretary of state." If elected, Hillary Clinton may work to further modify the TPP agreement to bring it more in line with progressive values, such as environmental regulations and workers' rights, as well as accommodating international labor laws and regulations, but she will not abandon it.

Martin O'Malley

Martin O'Malley was the governor of Maryland from 2007 to 2015. From 2011 to 2013, O'Malley served as chairman of the Democratic Governors Association. Prior to his governorship, he also served as mayor of Baltimore from 1999 to 2007. Former Governor Martin O'Malley formally announced his candidacy for the Democratic presidential nomination on May 30, 2015.

Abortion

O'Malley boasts a 100-percent rating from NARAL Pro-Choice Maryland, the state affiliate to the national NARAL organization. In 1992, he supported Maryland's referendum declaring abortions legal without government involvement until the unborn child could survive outside the womb. As governor, O'Malley did not sign any new laws restricting abortions.



China

In June 2011, then-Maryland Governor O'Malley traveled to Communist China as part of a 10-day economic development trip to Asia. While in Shanghai, Governor O'Malley signed an agreement with Talsy Holding Group, one of Communist China's largest state-owned biopharmaceutical companies, to establish a \$40 million R&D plant in Montgomery County, Maryland. A press release from the Office of Governor Martin O'Malley, dated June 2, 2011, described the deal as "the largest investment in Maryland by a Chinese company."

Federal Reserve

O'Malley favors a stronger Federal Reserve, under the auspices of the presidency. On his campaign website, O'Malley released a 10-page policy paper outlining how he would protect "the American dream from another Wall Street crash." In the policy paper, O'Malley charges the Fed with having "played a significant role in slowing down the implementation of important financial regulations, including delaying for two years a core part of the Volcker Rule." He would speed up the implementation of such regulations. Also, O'Malley claimed: "Appointing people to key positions at the Fed who take financial crimes seriously, and requiring them to play a more active role in regulatory decision-making, will further strengthen enforcement on Wall Street."

Specifically, O'Malley would require two Fed posts to be presidential appointments requiring Senate confirmation: the Fed general counsel, who wields considerable influence on the Board of Governors' policymaking decisions; and the president of the New York Fed, who is the second most powerful individual in the Fed and also serves "as a permanent member and vice president of the Federal Open Market Committee, which establishes the Fed's monetary policy, and oversee[s] the largest reserve bank in terms of asset and volume of activity."

Foreign Aid

O'Malley favors increasing foreign aid. On June 26, 2015, during a speech delivered at the Truman National Security Project's Annual Conference in Washington, D.C., O'Malley said, "We must adequately fund our diplomatic and development agencies — particularly USAID and the State Department."

Healthcare/Repealing ObamaCare

In 2007, Governor O'Malley called upon the state legislature to pass the Maryland Healthcare Act, to extend healthcare coverage in the state. The bill, similar to ObamaCare, would have created a "Health Insurance Exchange to help small businesses find more affordable coverage for their employees — on a pre-tax basis," Governor O'Malley said in his 2007 State of the State address. O'Malley also said that the Maryland Healthcare Act would "require insurance companies to allow younger adults up to age 25 to be covered under their parents' policies," similar to ObamaCare.

Governor O'Malley also supported what he called an "all-payer system," which he succeeded in moving Maryland toward in 2014. On January 10, 2014, he said, "We need to shift away from our near exclusive focus on treating illness, and move to a balanced approach that encourages prevention and wellness." Akin to European-style universal healthcare, under O'Malley's all-payer system, "the state will control



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and budget hospital costs, cap what hospitals may charge and reward hospitals that provide quality rather than quantity of care,” Al Jazeera America reported on March 18, 2014.

Immigration

On July 9, 2015, during a pro-amnesty round-table event in New York, O’Malley declared, “My end goal is to get 11 million people out of the shadow economy and shadow society and in the light of full participation.” O’Malley promises to go even further than President Obama on immigration, vowing on his campaign website that “an O’Malley Administration will use all legal and executive authorities to safeguard and welcome new Americans.” O’Malley also promises to close down most detention centers, including short-term facilities along the U.S.-Mexico border, and upgrade the few that would remain active under his administration. “The Obama Administration has announced a number of reforms to detention policies, but none go far enough — in all but extraordinary circumstances, immigrant detentions must end for good,” O’Malley’s immigration plan states.

International Terrorism and ISIS

On September 10, 2015, during an interview on *Democracy Now!*, O’Malley reiterated the correlation between climate change and the rise of ISIS. “There was a tremendous drought that hit Syria a number of years ago that drove people off farms into cities. Their government could not take care of the basic needs of families in those conditions. Civil war rose up as a result of protest and repression and then that led to the civil war and then the vacuum that led to ISIS,” O’Malley said, detailing the “cascading effects” that ultimately led to creation of ISIS. His strategy for preventing such terrorism is to first combat climate change. “What we need to do is to lead nations in reducing the destabilizing effects of climate change, [and] extreme drought,” O’Malley declared.

Privacy: PATRIOT Act and NSA Surveillance

On May 31, 2015, during a brief Q&A with reporters at a campaign event in Bedford, New Hampshire, O’Malley told BuzzFeed News that Congress needed to pass the USA FREEDOM Act. In addition to the USA FREEDOM Act, O’Malley also proposed posting a public advocate to the secretive FISA courts utilized by the NSA and FBI. Of Senator Rand Paul’s (R-Ky.) attempts to thwart the USA FREEDOM Act, O’Malley said, “I think we could be less safe if we resort to obstructionism when it comes to something as important as protecting our homeland from the threat of terror attacks.”

Same-sex “Marriage” and Religious Liberty

On July 24, 2011, Governor O’Malley sponsored same-sex marriage legislation in Maryland, vowing to make it a top priority in the subsequent 2012 legislative session. On March 1, 2012, Governor O’Malley signed the Civil Marriage Protection Act, allowing same-sex couples to obtain civil marriage licenses. The law entered into effect on January 1, 2013, two years before the Supreme Court’s ruling in *Obergefell v. Hodges*.

Trans-Pacific Partnership

On May 31, 2015, during an interview on ABC’s *This Week With George Stephanopoulos*, O’Malley said of the TPP, “I’m opposed to it. We shouldn’t be in a race to the bottom for the cheapest labor in the world.” However, his presidential campaign website indicates an about-face toward a more supportive



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stance on the TPP. His “Trade Policy” webpage declares, “As president, Governor O’Malley *will support free trade agreements* — but only those agreements that establish strong and enforceable rules for fair competition, creating opportunity for American workers while lifting standards in our partner nations.” (Emphasis added.) In other words, O’Malley supports “trade” schemes so long as they meet progressive objectives.

“The United States already has the leverage we need to meet this high standard, including in the TPP. Other nations sought to join the TPP in order to receive privileged access to the U.S. market. *We should do everything in our power to assert a progressive trade agenda,*” O’Malley’s “Trade Policy” webpage states. (Emphasis added.) He emphasized that point, stating, “As president, Governor O’Malley *will support and negotiate global trade agreements only if they meet the following benchmarks. This includes the TPP.*” The webpage continues outlining and detailing the various progressive benchmarks he supports.

Bernie Sanders

Bernard “Bernie” Sanders is a self-described “Democratic Socialist” Independent U.S. senator from Vermont. Sanders was elected to the Senate in 2006. He also served in the House of Representatives from 1991 to 2007. Senator Sanders formally announced his candidacy for the Democratic presidential nomination on April 30, 2015.

Abortion

Senator Bernie Sanders boasts both a 100-percent rating from NARAL Pro-Choice America and a 100-percent rating on Planned Parenthood’s 2015 congressional scorecard. On November 1, 1995 and June 4, 2003, then-Representative Sanders voted against the Partial-Birth Abortion Ban Act of 1995 (H.R. 1833) and the Partial-Birth Abortion Ban Act of 2003 (H.R. 760). On September 14, 2015, speaking at Liberty University, Sanders said, “I believe in women’s rights, and the right of a woman to control her own body.”

China

Throughout his legislative career in both the House and Senate, Sanders has had a strong consistent record against China.

On December 25, 2004, the *Washington Times* published an article by Congressman Sanders entitled “Selling Out to China.” In it Sanders vocalized his opposition to normalized trade relations with Communist China. “Let’s be *clear*. China is not some benign trade competitor. This is a totalitarian country that throws dissenters into prison and that jails religious and labor leaders,” Sanders wrote. (Emphasis in original.) “It also is rapidly upgrading its military — a military it has been willing to use in places like Tibet. Mountainous Tibet may seem far away, but expanding nuclear missile technology puts China’s military might at our doorstep,” Sanders added.

Federal Reserve

Congressman Ron Paul (R-Texas) worked for months with Senator Bernie Sanders to craft a strong “Audit the Fed” bill in Congress, which Ron Paul introduced in the House as the Federal Reserve Transparency Act (H.R. 1207) on February 26, 2009. On March 16, 2009, Senator Sanders then



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introduced the Federal Reserve Sunshine Act (S. 604), the Senate companion containing identical language as Ron Paul's bill.

Ron Paul's H.R. 1207 passed with a vote of 43 to 26 in the House Financial Services Committee as an amendment to the Financial Stability Improvement Act (H.R. 3996). The Financial Stability Improvement Act, containing Paul's full audit bill, was combined into the Wall Street Reform and Consumer Protection Act of 2009-Financial Stability Improvement Act of 2009 (H.R. 4173) that ultimately passed in the House with a vote of 223 to 202 on December 11, 2009.

After pro-Fed senators led by Chris Dodd (D-Conn.) removed Paul's Fed audit amendment, Senator Sanders courteously reintroduced it, but ultimately replaced it with a watered-down, modified amendment (S.A. 3738) after being pressured by both the Obama administration and the Federal Reserve. On May 7, 2010, Congressman Ron Paul said on Facebook, "Bernie Sanders has sold out and sided with Chris Dodd to gut Audit the Fed in the Senate. His 'compromise' is what the administration and banking interests want." Sanders caved in and destroyed the Audit the Fed bill.

Foreign Aid

Sanders is a longtime advocate of foreign aid. On March 24, 1999, then-Representative Sanders voted in favor of an amendment to the Emergency Supplemental Appropriations Act (H.R. 1141) that would increase foreign aid. Included in the amendment was \$648 million for multilateral development banks such as the World Bank, \$150 million to purchase nuclear fissile materials from Russia, \$30 million for the USAID "Food for Peace" program, and \$25 million for the Export-Import Bank. On July 31, 2013, Senator Sanders voted in favor of a motion to table (kill) Senator Rand Paul's amendment (S.A. 1739) to S. 1245 that would have cut all U.S. military aid to Egypt following the coup d'état that brought the Muslim Brotherhood government of Mohamed Morsi to power.

Healthcare/Repealing ObamaCare

On December 24, 2009, Senator Sanders voted in favor of the Patient Protection and Affordable Care Act (H.R. 3590), otherwise known as ObamaCare. Despite voting for President Obama's individual mandate-based health insurance plan, Sanders is committed to a single-payer system. On December 9, 2013, Sanders introduced the American Health Security Act (S. 1782), which would require participating states to establish their own single-payer insurance systems replacing the ObamaCare exchanges.

Immigration

Speaking at the U.S. Hispanic Chamber of Commerce (USHCC) on September 14, 2015, Senator Sanders said, "I think economically and morally, it is unacceptable that we have millions of workers who are living in the shadows." To bring these millions of illegal immigrants out of the shadows and into the full fold of the economy, Sanders advocates the passage of "comprehensive immigration reform" and a "pathway to citizenship" (i.e., amnesty). "Clearly what we have got to do is provide a comprehensive immigration reform and a path toward citizenship," Sanders told the USHCC. Sanders also applauded President Obama's executive actions on immigration, vowing to go even further and said that he would pressure the Republicans in Congress to pass an amnesty bill.



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International Terrorism and ISIS

Senator Sanders told CNN's Wolf Blitzer, "ISIS clearly is a brutal dangerous terrorist organization. We all agree that it's got to be defeated." In the same CNN interview, Sanders said, "My concern is that the United States gets involved in a quagmire, in a never-ending war. That it is the United States of America, our soldiers, our taxpayers, who are defending the royal family of Saudi Arabia while worth hundreds of billions of dollars." Although opposed to deploying U.S. ground forces, Sanders endorsed President Obama's utilization of airstrikes. "I support — have and do — support the President using airstrikes. He has the right to that. I think that they are working. I support that," Sanders told Blitzer.

Privacy: PATRIOT Act and NSA Surveillance

Senator Sanders voted against the original USA PATRIOT Act and its subsequent reauthorizations signed by Presidents George W. Bush and Barack Obama. On June 2, 2015, Sanders also voted against the replacement USA FREEDOM Act. "It doesn't go far enough in protecting our privacy rights," Sanders said in an interview with Yahoo News' Katie Couric. "There are still too many opportunities for the government to be tallying and collecting information on innocent people. There are other ways for the government to get information."

Same-sex "Marriage" and Religious Liberty

Sanders has been an advocate of gay and lesbian rights as far back as 1972, and in 1983, while serving as mayor of Burlington, "Sanders supported the city's first Pride Parade," his presidential campaign website states. However, Sanders did not publically endorse same-sex marriage until 2009, when the Vermont legislature was on the verge of passing the Marriage Equality Act (S. 115), which went into effect on September 1, 2009. Senator Sanders now touts himself as a firm advocate of same-sex marriage. If elected president, Sanders' campaign website vows, he will "Veto any legislation that purports to 'protect' religious liberty at the expense of others' rights."

Trans-Pacific Partnership

On June 24, 2015, Senator Sanders voted against granting President Obama Trade Promotion Authority (TPA) to negotiate and eventually "fast-track" in Congress the TPP. Rather than a concern over the erosion of American sovereignty and independence, Sanders' opposition to the TPP stems from a pro-labor union position, concerned primarily over the loss of American jobs overseas, many of which are also union jobs. "The TPP continues an approach towards trade which forces Americans to compete against workers in Vietnam where the minimum wage is 56 cents an hour, independent labor unions are banned, and people are thrown in jail for expressing their political beliefs," Sanders wrote in a guest article for the Huffington Post on May 21, 2015.



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