



PROGRESSIVE MASSACHUSETTS

statewide, grassroots organizing for progressive
change in Massachusetts

2014 STATE RACES ENDORSEMENT QUESTIONNAIRE

Date: Feb. 3, 2014

Candidate: Don Berwick

Office Sought: Governor

Party: Democratic

Web Site: www.berwickforgovernor.com

CANDIDATE CONTACT INFO

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**RETURN COMPLETED QUESTIONNAIRES BY MONDAY, FEBRUARY 3, 5:00PM, BY
EMAIL ONLY**

RETURN QUESTIONNAIRE AS (1) WORD FILE AND (2) PDF.

E-mail completed questionnaire to deborah@progressivemass.com.

Please be in touch with Executive Director Deborah Shah with questions, at 917-922-7947 or by email.

*Please compose your answers directly in the document, underneath the question.
Limit answers to 250 words or fewer. No attachments.*

I. About You

1. Why are you running for office?

I have never held elected office and have spent my career outside politics, focused, instead, on innovation and executive leadership. I founded and led for 19 years the Institute for Healthcare Improvement (IHI), which became one of the world's largest nonprofits focused on health system improvement. President Obama then asked me to lead the Centers for Medicare and Medicaid Services in Washington – an agency with a budget larger than the Pentagon's, with responsibility for leading health care reform in our nation.

I am running for Governor because – with the gridlock in Washington and public trust near all-time lows – this nation needs a beacon to show the rest of the country that bold, progressive leadership can work and deliver for the people. Massachusetts can and should be that beacon. We are a state that has compassion. We made health care a right in 2006, eight years before the rest of the nation. We were the first state that said you can marry the person you love. And we have the best energy policy in the nation.

We need a government that fights for social justice, equality, compassion, and an economy that allows everyone to thrive. As Massachusetts Governor, that will be my fight.

2. What prepares you to serve in this capacity?

While much of my background is in health care, most of my professional career has been focused on improving large systems and organizations. As a non-profit executive, I grew a small seed grant into one of the largest organizations in the world focused on health care improvement, with a \$40 million annual budget and projects throughout the world and in every state in the union. Even during the most recent recession, we froze executive pay and bonuses, and never laid off a single employee.

In government, I led Medicare and Medicaid – the largest agency in federal government, with a budget larger than the Pentagon's – during the early implementation of the most significant health care reform since the creation of Medicare. I am proud of my role in implementing the Affordable Care Act; we were able to ensure that young people can stay on their parents' plans until the age of 26, children with preexisting conditions can no longer be denied the care they need, and insurance company rates are now subject to new levels of transparency.

My experience in innovation, executive leadership, and breakthrough improvement, coupled with my progressive vision for our Commonwealth, prepare me to serve as our next Governor.

3. What do you think is the proper role of government in Massachusetts residents' daily lives?

Government plays an essential role in helping us create the communities we want to live in.

I am a progressive. I believe that government can and must play a positive role in the lives of our citizens, and especially in the lives of the most vulnerable among us. I believe that we have a

moral obligation as a society to help those who need help. Throughout my campaign, I have been inspired by the words of Senator and Vice President Hubert Humphrey, who said:

"The moral test of government is how it treats people in the dawn of life – the children, people in the twilight of life – the elderly, and people in the shadows of life – the sick, the needy, and the handicapped."

I believe that compassion is not a luxury, but a core value for proper government. If government does not show compassion – most crucially in helping the least fortunate in our communities – the damage to our social fabric is profound. I have never heard a better description of such compassion than Humphrey's words.

4. If elected, what would be your top three priorities?

First, as a father, grandfather, and pediatrician, I put great stock in the wellbeing and future of our children. We do well by Massachusetts children in many respects, but I want to raise the bar. I want us to be an example for the world of a total community dedicated to the development and wellbeing of its children. We should promise every child under five years of age – and the families that nurture them – the support and environment that assure that they will enter lives that are safe, emotionally enriching, and healthy, and that allow them to develop their skills and talents to the fullest extent possible. As Governor, I will organize and personally lead a statewide, community-by-community effort to coordinate public and private services that guaranty success and readiness for kids under five, and for their families (of any structure). I will help Massachusetts communities that want to join in that endeavor to do so together, through cooperation, learning and continual sharing of best practices.

Second, I believe that income inequality will be the issue that defines the next decade. In recent years, incomes for the wealthiest among us have increased dramatically, while middle and working class wages have remained stagnant at best. I will aggressively move toward policies that increase upward mobility, and that create opportunities for everyone to benefit from participation in an economy that is growing and thriving.

Third, the next Governor will need to control the cost of health care. Chapter 224 is a good start, but if we don't see serious cost reduction on an aggressive schedule, we need to be ready to act, and act quickly. That's why I am the only candidate in the 2014 Governor's race to put the possibility of a single payer health care system on the table. The complexity of our health care payment system adds costs, uncertainties, and hassles for everyone – patients, families, doctors, and employers, and single payer is one way to remedy that. Equally, we need to work to transform our health delivery system into one focused on teamwork, continuity, prevention, and wellness. The Triple Aim – better care, better health, and lower cost through improvement, which I have worked toward for three decades – will be the constant focus of my agenda in health care.

II. The Issues

Please compose your answers directly in the document, underneath the question. Limit answers to 250 words or fewer. No attachments.

Our questionnaire is focused on economic justice and inequality, as outlined in our Shared Prosperity Agenda (forthcoming). We are interested in your overall philosophy and approach to the components of the Shared Prosperity Agenda, as well as your views on specific policy and legislation.

In each section, **Question 1** seeks your overall view, values, principles and priorities. You do not need to address each item embedded in these first questions; they are suggestions.

In each section, **Question 2** asks about your advocacy experience; you may leave it blank if appropriate—we do not expect candidates to have a record on every issue. Current or former elected officials: please outline your leadership roles, as opposed to simply your voting record.

Additional questions seek your position on specific policies and legislation. At a minimum, please answer “yes” or “no”; you may also provide an explanation of your positions, as appropriate.

A. Job Growth and the Economy

The Massachusetts economy has continued to grow and recover from the Great Recession, but the gains have not been shared equally. Poverty levels continue to increase, while the minimum wage loses value every year. Massachusetts now ranks 8th in the nation for income inequality.

1. Share your personal values and principles on job growth and the economy.
How can we improve the economy and economic security for all people? How do we grow the number of good paying jobs in the Commonwealth? How do you view wealth and income inequality, and what would you do about it, if anything?

Any candidate who claims to have a single fix for our economy isn't being honest. There is no simple solution. We need a systemic approach toward job creation, including an education system that prepares graduates for the jobs of the 21st century, a robust transportation system, and a health care system that is sustainable. I believe that the best way to create jobs is to develop and nurture communities where people want to be, where they want to live, work, and grow a business.

I understand that for many Massachusetts families, economic security is simply not attainable in current conditions. I will work with the Legislature to ensure Massachusetts workers have the right to a livable wage and access to paid sick time.

Those steps will help address economic security, but will do very little to address the underlying problem of economic inequality. That's why I will work with the Legislature toward an income tax system in which people with higher incomes pay higher rates, and people with lower incomes pay lower rates. We also need to hit the reset button on loopholes and exemptions. I will order a comprehensive and transparent review of all tax breaks – if an exemption helps to create jobs or

strengthen the safety net, I will support it; if not, I will work to end it. There is no place for tax breaks that benefit only the wealthy and well connected.

2. *Optional/As Applicable:* Please indicate work you personally have done to advance your principles on job growth and the economy (legislation, community work, published writings, etc).

As a pediatrician with the Harvard Community Health Plan, I spent years serving kids and families from some of Boston's most underserved communities. That experience and the belief that strong, healthy communities are key to social and economic success helped shape the trajectory of my career. To that end, I led projects in all 50 states and around the world to strengthen communities. I have also led by example, initiating and growing over two decades a non-profit organization with a global mission, employing over 125 individuals and engaging hundreds of experts on improvement throughout the world.

3. **Minimum Wage.** Do you support:

Raising the wage to at least \$10.50/hour: Yes No

Indexing automatic yearly increases to inflation: Yes No

Increasing tipped wages to 60% of the minimum wage: Yes No

4. **Unemployment Insurance and Minimum Wage.** As of January 2014, the legislature is negotiating a bill that would pair an increase in the minimum wage with cuts to unemployment insurance. Do you oppose this effort?

Yes No

I oppose this effort. These are separate issues. They should not be tied together. In addition, workers need both fair incomes and the security that sound unemployment benefits help offer.

5. **Earned Sick Time.** Do you support requiring businesses with more than 11 employees to provide earned, paid sick time to their employees?

Yes No

6. **Job Creation and Standards.** A "Job Creation and Quality Standards Act" would require corporations that receive any kind of public benefits (grants, tax expenditures procurement contracts) to, in turn, pay a living wage (\$15 per hour plus benefits) to full-time employees. Do you support such legislation?

Yes No

I am generally favorable toward this legislation, and would welcome further study. Over time, I believe we should continue to increase income security toward a living wage, but that is not a one-step process.

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7. **Employee-Owned Businesses.** Do you support legislation to foster and develop employee ownership of businesses in Massachusetts?

Yes No

8. **Co-ops, Benefit Corporations, Community Banks.** Do you support legislation that would encourage the formation of cooperatives and/or benefit corporations and the development of community banks?

Yes No

B. Education and Workforce Development

Public education has always been a gateway to opportunity and mobility for all, regardless of economic circumstances, a cornerstone of the American dream for all residents. However, the soaring price of higher education over the last several decades has made access to this opportunity increasingly out of reach, at the very moment when higher education makes a greater difference to one's economic future. Meanwhile, powerful corporate interests have been steadily undermining public school teachers and unions and siphoning money from our public K-12 system.

1. Please share your personal values and principles regarding public education and workforce training.

What value does public education and workforce development have in improving our economy as well as in addressing matters of economic justice? What measures should the Commonwealth take on these issues? You might address, for example, charter schools, school vouchers, standardized testing and federal programs like No Child Left Behind and Race to the Top.

Education is the cornerstone for a successful Commonwealth. No matter what you care most about – health, job growth, civic responsibility, livable communities, or public safety – the cause-and-effect pathways will lead you back to our schools. And the core moral values that I want to help nurture – social justice, equality, fairness, mutual respect, and compassion – find foundation in the way we educate ourselves and our children.

The key to success in education is clear to me. It is a proud, capable, respected, and fully supported teacher workforce. Teachers want to be agents of improvement, and I will ensure that they have every resource and support necessary to be that. In health care, commerce, and education, alike, excellence surfaces only in institutional cultures built on teamwork, collaboration, and total involvement, not on “carrot-and-stick” management or enforced compliance with simplistic standards.

Among other initiatives, I have outlined the following specific proposals:

- **Universal access to pre-kindergarten**: ensuring that children enter school ready to learn. Early support programs need to be available to every single Massachusetts child who can benefit from them. Research says that such programs, when properly run, return \$4 to \$9 in economic benefit for every dollar invested.
- **Improvement in the preparation of new teachers**: strengthening teacher certification programs with strong hands-on components, and stronger teacher preparation models that put beginning professionals in contact with seasoned experts over a multi-year period of apprenticeship.
- **Creation of a new, cabinet-level position**: to facilitate total cooperation among state agencies, cities and towns, and families in fostering child health and wellbeing to the age of five – the most critical years.

- Finding innovative solutions to raise college completion rates in low income communities—I will implement a program based on best practices from around the nation that provides college counseling in high school and “last dollar” scholarships to college for low income students who work hard and stay in school. Such a program will show low-income students that the promise of higher education is within their reach, provide them the skills and supports they need to succeed in a post-secondary environment, and then deliver on the promise to supply the resources that are not available elsewhere.
2. *Optional/As Applicable:* Please indicate work you personally have done to advance your principles on education and workforce development (legislation, community work, published writings, *etc*).
 3. **Achievement gaps.** What would you do to address persistent racial and economic achievement gaps in education?

We can be proud of Massachusetts’ high national ranking for performance in education. But major inequities exist among schools – especially between those in wealthy and disadvantaged communities, and I am committed to closing those gaps. Education in Massachusetts should be world class, across the board, and accessible to all.

We can’t fire and hire our way out of this. Instead, I am committed to working with school districts and teachers’ unions to invest in the support and continuing education necessary to make our teacher workforce the best in the world.

There are real examples of successful collaboration that led to turnarounds in Massachusetts. For example, through a partnership between the school district and the teachers’ union, the Murkland Elementary School in Lowell transformed from underperforming to a level one school in 18 months. By working to nurture such partnerships, we can help struggling schools turn around.

I also support expanding pathways to graduation through vocational and technical education, on-the-job training, and increased access to early college.

4. **Universal Pre-K.** Do you support creating universal, free Pre-K, accessible to any resident of Massachusetts, integrated into the public school system?

Yes No

5. **Universal higher education.** Do you support a program that provides free, publicly funded higher education for every student who wants it?

Yes No

I will implement a program based on best practices from around the nation that provides college counseling in high school and “last dollar” scholarships to college for low-income students who work hard and stay in school. Such a program would show low-income students that the promise of higher education is within their reach, provide them the

skills and supports they need to succeed in a post-secondary environment, and then deliver on the promise to supply the resources that are not available elsewhere.

6. **Funding Structure.** Do you support changes to the Chapter 70 Education formula, including the Foundation Budget, to incorporate proper state funding for ELL students, Special Education students, transportation costs, charter school reimbursements to sending schools, and class size reduction?

Yes No

C. Health Care

Massachusetts has led the way in providing near universal health care insurance coverage. However, we still spend an oversized portion of public and private money on health care, without necessarily achieving better health outcomes.

1. Please share your personal values and principles regarding health care insurance, delivery and outcomes.

Massachusetts should be proud to be the first state in the nation to make health care a human right, but we have not gone nearly far enough to curb the cost. In the Massachusetts state budget, almost every key line item has gone down in real terms since 2000 except health care, which has gone up by 59%.

What we need to achieve is better care, better health, and lower cost through improvement – all at the same time. Our 2011 cost-containment law, Chapter 224, was a step in the right direction, but we will need to be even more aggressive to make sure that the needed transformation in health care delivery takes place.

The current payment system pays hospitals and doctors for how *much* they do rather than how *well* patients do. And, it is not sufficiently focused on the prevention of disease. The results are high costs without sufficiently high value. Those high costs come out of wages and rob both government and families of opportunities to use their hard earned income for other important purposes. We must move our state away from fee-for-service payment and from fragmented delivery into coordinated, team-based, integrated care. For patients and families, this will lead to care that is more responsive, helpful, and respectful. Outcomes will be better and costs will fall significantly.

If results from Chapter 224 lag behind, I will work with the Legislature within my first 100 days to craft a new wave of stronger legislation to incentivize increased transparency, payment changes, and care reorganization. It is also time to seriously explore a single payer system in Massachusetts. The complexity of our health care payment system adds costs, uncertainties, and hassles for everyone – patients, families, clinicians, and employers, and we must find ways to simply it.

I will personally lead a statewide initiative to make Massachusetts the healthiest state in the nation, through smoking cessation, obesity reduction, and specific programs to curb domestic and physical violence. And I will assure that mental health care is incorporated into the center of our health care system. We will reduce substance abuse and suicide rates by 50% in Massachusetts in the next decade.

2. *Optional/As Applicable:* Please indicate work you personally have done to advance your principles on health care (legislation, community work, published writings, *etc*).

I have devoted my life to improving health and health care for communities around the world. I started my career as a pediatrician serving low-income families at the Harvard Community Health Plan. I quickly found that caring for children also meant improving the hospitals, health systems and communities that families depend on. In 1991, I founded the Institute for Healthcare Improvement (IHI), a small non-profit dedicated to improving complex healthcare systems to eliminate medical errors,

improve patient experience and lower health care costs. Over 25 years, IHI grew into a world leader in health care improvement with a budget of \$40 million and over 125 employees. We launched scores of successful campaigns and projects, including a project credited with saving tens of thousands of lives.

In 2011, President Obama asked me to serve as Administrator of the Centers for Medicare and Medicaid Services, an agency with over 5,000 employees and a budget larger than the Pentagon's. Republicans threatened to filibuster my nomination, but President Obama installed me using a recess appointment. I served as Administrator for 17 months. In that time, we worked to implement major provisions of the Affordable Care Act: we kept children on their parents' insurance until the age of 26; we ensured that children with pre-existing conditions cannot be denied the care they need; and we increased transparency for insurance company rates. My time in Washington gave me the opportunity to serve 100 million of the most vulnerable Americans – children, seniors, the sick, needy and disabled – the people who need government the most. I am excited to continue that work as Governor of the Commonwealth.

3. **Single Payer and Public Option.** Do you support moving Massachusetts to Single Payer insurance?

Yes No

What role might a Public Option play, in your view?

It is time to move toward a single payer system in Massachusetts. The complexity of our health care payment system adds costs, uncertainties, and hassles for everyone – patients, families, doctors, and employers. I will work with the Legislature to assemble a Single Payer Advisory Panel to investigate and report back on whether and how Massachusetts should move towards a single payer option. I suspect that the Panel will find that single payer would be an attractive option, as it has been in numerous health systems that have better outcomes at far lower cost. I will also form a consortium of states interested in the option so that we can make progress and learn together.

4. **Costs and Quality.** What steps would you take to lower health care costs while maintaining or improving health outcomes?

The current payment system pays hospitals and doctors for how *much* they do rather than how *well* patients do. And it is not sufficiently focused on the prevention of disease. The results are high costs without sufficiently high value. Those high costs come out of wages and rob both government and families of opportunities to use their hard earned income for other important purposes. We must move our state away from fee-for-service payment and from fragmented delivery into coordinated, team-based, integrated care. For patients and families, this will lead to care that is more responsive, helpful, and respectful. Outcomes will be better and costs will fall significantly.

As Governor, I will convene a summit of all stakeholders to conduct a top to bottom review of the 2011 cost containment law, Chapter 224, and develop an action plan to ensure it is taking meaningful steps towards reduce costs. If results lag behind, I will work with the Legislature within my first 100 days to craft a new wave of stronger legislation to incentivize increased transparency, payment changes, and care reorganization. It is also time to move toward a single payer system in Massachusetts. The complexity of our health care payment system adds costs, uncertainties, and hassles for everyone – patients, families, doctors, and employers. I will work with the Legislature to assemble a multi-stakeholder Single Payer Advisory Panel to investigate and report back within one

year on whether and how Massachusetts should consider single payer. I suspect that the panel will find that Single Payer is an attractive option to reduce costs while maintaining health outcomes.

5. **Mental Health.** What steps would you take to address the gap in affordable mental health services?

As a doctor, I know that mental health must be incorporated at the center of any successful health care system. Through major investment in treatment programs, we will ensure that all residents have access to high quality and affordable mental health services. But providing care is not enough. We must also support efforts to end the stigma around seeking help for mental illness. By fostering partnerships between the public and private sectors, and by finding, adapting, and adopting best practices from around the world, we can reduce substance abuse and suicide rates by 50% in Massachusetts in the next decade.

6. **Health disparities.** What steps would you take to reduce racial and income disparities in health outcomes?

As a pediatrician, I learned that the health of children is determined by far more than the medical treatment they receive; it is determined by the food they eat, the air they breathe, the streets they walk on, and the educational support they benefit from. To truly address disparities in health, we must address the root causes of poverty, violence, and injustice. Health care is a human right, and disparities based on race or income level are unacceptable. We must make narrowing these gaps a top priority through targeted, community-level investment to encourage healthy lifestyles and communities. To achieve these aims, I would consider steps such as partnering with the private sector to increase the value of EBT cards at farmers markets.

7. **Standards of care and cost.** Do you support establishing a state panel of experts (such as the Affordable Care Act's IPAB/"Independent Payment Advisory Board") to recommend high-value and cost-effective services?

Yes No

8. **Pharmaceutical companies.** Do you support prohibiting pharmaceutical companies from including direct-to-consumer drug advertising as tax-deductible expense?

Yes No

9. **Bulk prescription programs.** Do you support establishing a bulk prescription drug program that would provide lower cost prescription drugs for public employees?

Yes No

10. Do you support establishing this same program for *all* Massachusetts residents?

Yes No

D. Housing

In the last ten years, the need for affordable housing has increased, while funds for affordable housing have decreased, federal and state. Currently there is a 10-year waiting list for a rental voucher, and the average rent for a two bedroom apartment requires a wage 50% higher than the median Massachusetts wage. Half of families in Greater Boston alone pay over 30% of their income in housing and utilities costs – and 25% of households pay *more than half* their income to housing. This is unsustainable. It has led to expanding economic inequality, increased homelessness, and damage to our economy, as talented workers often leave the state for less expensive regions.

1. Please share your personal values and principles regarding affordable housing.
How would you ensure that there is suitable housing for all who need it, within reasonable distance of job opportunities? How would you address the need to link housing, jobs and transportation? How would you tackle homelessness?

Even though Massachusetts is one of the wealthiest states in the country, homelessness persists here. Massachusetts has almost 20,000 homeless individuals, and the problem is getting worse. The homeless population in Massachusetts has grown by 8.7% in the last year, even while rates have fallen nationally. This need not be the case. Massachusetts can – and should – end homelessness.

“Best practices” to end homelessness exist, and we should use them. Initiatives like the 100,000 Homes Campaign have demonstrated that ending homelessness is possible. In the last three years this effort has mobilized more than 200 cities and communities across the nation to rapidly identify those who are chronically homeless (those who live on the streets for years at a time) and place them into permanent, supportive housing that provides the health care and counseling services they need. More than 70,000 of these individuals now have homes. Remarkably, these placements have actually decreased total costs to the cities and states in question because these individuals are no longer as likely to require emergency services or urgent care in hospitals. Recent discussion of “social impact bonds,” whereby private investors actually make money by helping the state reduce their expenditures for repeat incarceration, are also applicable to the problem of homelessness.

But housing the homeless does not solve systemic problems including lack of transportation and job opportunities. That’s why I have said that we need to invest in our regional transit authorities, increasing public transportation options for residents throughout the Commonwealth. I also support the expansion of job training programs to help build the experience and training necessary for 21st century jobs.

There is also a close link between chronic homelessness and problems of mental health and substance abuse. I will work to improve human services and treatment options for these burdens.

2. *Optional/As Applicable:* Please indicate work you personally have done to advance your principles on housing (legislation, community work, published writings, etc).

The organization that I led for 19 years, the Institute for Healthcare Improvement, helped establish the “100,000 Homes” project nationally.

3. **Housing Authorities.** Governor Patrick has proposed consolidating the Housing Authorities to six regional authorities, from the current 242 authorities. The legislature appears reluctant to agree to this reform, in part because it would reduce local control. What is your position?

Massachusetts has a long-standing tradition of local control. Our town meetings embody democracy in the truest sense. This tradition ensures that every citizen has a voice in the decision making process. However, the current Housing Authorities system is too complex and uneven. It

is time to explore seriously the possibility of consolidation of housing authorities to ensure a streamlined process and that our dollars are spent as efficiently as possible.

4. **Affordable Housing.** What would you do to increase the number of affordable housing units in the State? What would you do to ensure that no low-income family has to spend more than 50% of their income on housing and related expenses; and that fewer than a quarter of families spending more than 33% of income on shelter?

Investing in affordable housing will need to be a priority of the next Governor. Studies have continually shown that communities that invest in affordable housing save money in the long run. I will prioritize funding of the Massachusetts Rental Voucher Program to ensure that low-income families can afford housing and other living expenses. I will work with the Legislature and with local housing authorities to double down on the successful programs implemented by the Patrick Administration, including social impact bonds and Home & Healthy for Good.

5. **Temporary Housing Transitions.** What would you do to move homeless families and individuals out of motels and shelters and into permanent housing?

Rather than waiting for emergency situations and relying on motels to put up homeless individuals and families, we must invest in robust homelessness prevention programs that focus at the community level on the root causes of homelessness, and finds innovative intervention methods, including eviction prevention and job training programs for young parents. Successful existing programs such as HomeBASE exist, and I will work with the Legislature to build on the progress we have made.

6. **Regulation Reform, Development and Preservation.** Would you support reforms to update our outmoded zoning, subdivision, and planning laws, in such a way as to encourage balanced development and land preservation?

Yes No

E. Revenue and Taxation

Because of income tax cuts and the effects of the recession, Massachusetts has lost nearly \$3 billion in revenue over the last 12 years. We now collect less revenue than 21 other states, and our tax revenue is below the national average. Since 1982, local aid has dropped 58%. Cuts to the moderately progressive state income tax have meant increasing reliance on fees, sales, gas and property taxes, exacerbating the overall regressiveness of our revenue. Regressive taxation strains low- and middle-income families, and reduced revenue collection curtails our ability to invest in vital infrastructure.

What principles do you bring to considerations of state revenue and tax reform (individual and corporate)? *How should we raise more revenue to adequately fund our communities for the future?*

Any candidate who says that the state does not need new revenue simply isn't telling the truth. Massachusetts cannot afford not to invest in the essential services that support the middle class and strengthen the social safety net. We must make a choice; – it's "spend now or spend (more) later."

I believe this badly needed revenue should come from three main areas:

1. Massachusetts needs to move towards a fair tax system that asks people with lower incomes to pay less, and people with higher incomes to pay more. I would both explore a constitutional amendment to our income tax system and work within existing law to further this goal.
 2. We also need to hit the reset button on loopholes and exemptions. I will order a comprehensive and transparent review of all tax breaks. If an exemption helps to create jobs or strengthen the safety net, I will support it; if not, I will work to end it. There is no place for tax breaks that benefit only the wealthy and well connected.
 3. Finally, we must control health care costs. The burden of high-cost care takes money away from workers, businesses, and state and local governments. I have unique experience working to achieve better care at lower costs. Here's how: we need to move away from a "fee-for-service" system that pays doctors and hospitals for what they do rather than the results they achieve for patients, and towards a simpler system that focuses on keeping communities healthy. Chapter 224 was a step in the right direction, but we need to move even faster. That's why I'm the only candidate that has put single payer on the table.
1. *Optional/As Applicable*: Please indicate work you personally have done to advance your principles on revenue and taxation (legislation, community work, published writings, etc).

As CEO of the Institute for Healthcare Improvement, I spent 19 years leading successful efforts across the nation and globe to deliver better health at lower costs. And I have seen firsthand how lowering costs frees up much needed resources for governments to invest in critical social programs.

As Medicare and Medicaid Administrator, I fought the political wisdom that says not to talk about poverty because it doesn't poll well. I worked every day to keep helping the most vulnerable among us at the core of our mission. And I used the tools of improvement that I have learned and taught for

30 years to make sure every nickel of tax payer dollars went towards its intended purposes – supporting the workforce to provide the highest quality health and health care for 100 million Americans.

2. **Tax Rates for Upper Incomes.** Do you support increasing income taxes on the wealthiest residents of Massachusetts?

Yes No

3. **Automatic Tax Decrease Triggers.** Do you support halting the automatic decrease in state tax when Massachusetts state revenues grow four quarters in a row?

Yes No

4. **Capital Gains.** Do you support increasing the capital gains tax (with safeguards to protect seniors)?

Yes No

5. **Progressive Taxation.** “An Act to Invest in Our Communities” was designed to raise significant revenue while making our tax code more progressive, but it has not passed the legislature. Would you support a renewed effort to pass this or similar legislation?

Yes No

6. **Corporate Tax Breaks.** Do you support eliminating or substantially reducing corporate tax breaks?

Yes No

Do you support repealing or significantly reducing the Film Production Tax Credit?

Yes No

7. **Clawbacks and Transparency in Corporate Tax Breaks.** Do you support increasing corporate tax break transparency and clawback provisions?

Yes No

8. **Graduated Income Tax.** Would you support a state constitutional amendment creating a Massachusetts progressive income tax?

Yes No

IV. ADDITIONAL COMMENTS

*Please compose your answers directly in the document, underneath the question.
Limit answers to 250 words or fewer. No attachments.*

Use this space to add any other issues important to your vision for Massachusetts or any other matter you think progressive voters should know about your candidacy.

I believe that the most important foundation for success in any organization, community, or political entity rests on shared values. When values are weak, strategy cannot work; and when values are strong, successful strategy will almost inevitably emerge. This nation is at serious risk today because of a growing failure among our leaders to articulate the very values that have allowed America to be a moral leader and the engine of democracy throughout the world. The silence has been filled too often by voices of self-interest and “win-lose” theories of predatory markets as some sort of route to excellence.

The values for our community and Commonwealth that I hold most dear are these: social justice, equality, and compassion. I want us to be a state that evinces every day in our public action the same commitments that will characterize the community I want to live in – a community where we can count on each other, act on our most generous and loving instincts, and protecting those among us who, without that protection, would suffer. To get there we need to reestablish, without apology or fear of being called naïve, the moral vocabulary of a truly great nation. That means a renewal of our faith in ourselves and of our commitments to each other, and of government’s essential role in acting on that. Let Massachusetts lead the way in that for a nation that badly needs to find its compass again.