RESTORE THE DREAM
Seizing the Promise of Pennsylvania’s Future

DREAM BIG VS DREAM ON
RESTORE THE DREAM

Seizing the Promise of Pennsylvania’s Future
Pennsylvania is the birthplace of American Independence and has been an inspiration to those seeking freedom and a better life.

My grandfather arrived in Philadelphia from Italy over 100 years ago. He came seeking that same dream. His story is the story of the people who settled in this amazing Commonwealth; those who helped to build our cities, farms, businesses, and industrial strength. Pennsylvania has enormous energy resources, unrivaled universities, some of the most fertile farmland in America, vibrant cultural centers, proximity to some of the world’s most important commercial markets, and remarkable natural beauty. We have a tradition of innovation and ingenuity. The people of Pennsylvania are hardworking, conscientious, and represent our single greatest asset.

With all of these resources, we should be thriving. The Commonwealth should be a prosperous, globally-respected economic force creating hundreds of thousands of high-technology jobs necessary to compete in the next century. We should be one of the world’s largest, most significant producers and exporters of energy. We should again be one of the world’s leading manufacturers. But sadly, we are not. We continue to lose population
and jobs to other states, and this is nothing new. Pennsylvania has been losing influence to other parts of America and the world for decades. The people of Pennsylvania deserve better. It is time to change course. We need leadership with the skill and the courage to turn this Commonwealth back into the leader it once was. If we are to preserve that which matters most to us: a safe, prosperous, healthy future for our children and loved ones, we must act now.

In my travels throughout the Commonwealth over the last six months, thousands of Pennsylvanians have told me we are failing to meet their needs in several key areas. Our job growth and wages are stagnant. School property taxes are out of control, while our public school system is expensive and often ineffective. Our population is declining. Our health care system is generating double digit increases in annual premiums. We are suffering from the most destructive epidemic of drug overdoses in our history, and we have a huge unfunded state pension liability threatening our fiscal solvency. The truth is that our Governor lacks the leadership and vision necessary to effectively address these great challenges. Working together, we can change the course of government and bring back the promise of freedom and prosperity my grandfather sought and found here over 100 years ago. I believe in the people of our Commonwealth, and I am prepared to lead by serving as your next Governor.

Our task will not be easy, but pride and prosperity for Pennsylvania are both within our grasp. Recapturing them will require a clear and compelling vision, energetic leadership, a culture of service to the people, and it must start with a far greater sense of urgency than Pennsylvanians observe in Harrisburg today. All of this begins, right now, with my vision and plan to “Restore the Dream.”
Pennsylvania Welcomes You
STATE OF INDEPENDENCE
THE FUTURE BEGINS WITH A CLEAR VISION

Change starts at the top, and we need a fundamental change in Harrisburg. This will require a clear vision of a prosperous Pennsylvania combined with a credible strategy to get us there. Here is my vision to secure the future for the families of Pennsylvania:

ECONOMIC GROWTH TO BRING OUR JOBS AND CHILDREN BACK HOME

We will create over 1 million new, well-paying, private sector jobs in the next decade. We will reverse the recent decline of our population. We will re-build our middle class.

EDUCATION ALTERNATIVES FOR THE MODERN ECONOMY

We will free our children from failing school systems by increasing choice, providing the means to exercise that choice, and providing parents the information necessary to evaluate their choices. We will bring dignity back to vocational education, and will make certain our public schools and teachers have the latitude to actually educate, versus simply teaching to a test and meeting various mandates that do not help our children compete locally and globally.

HEALTH AND WELLNESS PEOPLE CAN AFFORD

What good is health insurance coverage if one cannot afford to buy and use it? We need to reform healthcare in Pennsylvania, and make it affordable for everyone. We will encourage healthier lifestyles, with a greater focus on wellness and prevention. We will arrest the double-digit increases in premiums, while maintaining our commitment to those with pre-existing conditions and those who are genuinely vulnerable.
The men and women who are serving, and have served, this nation deserve our support, honor, and respect. Veterans, Law Enforcement, and our First Responders put others first. We will support those who have done so much for us.

Our citizens have grown tired of bloated, out of control government seemingly having no concept of how the real world functions. We will create a modern government that is less costly, less centralized, less bureaucratic, and more responsive. We will focus on the complete elimination of school property taxes. I will sign honestly balanced budgets on time. We will no longer impose “one size fits all” mandated policies on the diverse and dynamic communities of the Commonwealth. We will enable and encourage economic growth. We will lead collaboratively.

We must eradicate the scourge of opioid drug abuse currently destroying the fabric of our communities. We will declare a statewide emergency and take a much more comprehensive approach to the crisis than ever before. We will engage the educators, medical schools, Federal, State, and Local law enforcement, hospitals, insurers, pharmacists, businesses, and especially our children and families. I will develop a statewide plan to address enforcement, education, and treatment. We will not rest until this scourge is eradicated.
ECONOMIC GROWTH TO BRING OUR JOBS AND CHILDREN BACK HOME

While national economic recovery has created a “rising tide” lifting the economic fortunes of states nationwide, Pennsylvania is being left behind.

The Commonwealth’s unemployment rate remains above the national average, and annual employment growth under the Wolf administration is well below 1%. We are ranked #36 in job growth and #39 in unemployment. While manufacturing employment has increased nationally by 7% since 2010, it has declined in Pennsylvania. Economic output and personal income growth rates continue to trail national averages.

Harrisburg’s lack of action on critical issues creates economic uncertainty precluding private sector investment in the Commonwealth. Our inability to address our pension liabilities has in part led to Pennsylvania having one of the worst credit ratings in the nation. Only three states have a lower credit rating: Connecticut, New Jersey and Illinois. We are ranked #49th in the quality of our transportation infrastructure despite having the highest gasoline tax in the nation. We have what is essentially the highest corporate state tax rate in the Country (9.99% in PA exceeded only by Iowa at 10%), the highest unemployment tax in the Country, and we do not permit business start-ups and cyclical businesses to fully recognize their losses and investments in job creation.

Meanwhile, our citizens are leaving the Commonwealth for greater job opportunities elsewhere. We have a net outward migration of 1.6% from January 2015 to June 2017. Source: Bureau of Labor Statistics Accessed August 8, 2017

Annual Estimates of PA’s Population

2010–16 population estimates as of 7/1 of indicated year, (millions)

Source: US Census Bureau Annual Population Estimates
our population, largely composed of new college graduates. In 2016, the Commonwealth lost population for the first time since 1985.

This performance is even more frustrating given the Commonwealth’s many advantages. We are called the “Keystone State” for a reason. We are geographically proximate to some of the world’s richest commercial markets in the northeastern U.S., which include well over 100 million people. Our waterways grant us access to the Atlantic Ocean, Great Lakes, and the Gulf of Mexico. We sit on the largest single deposit of shale gas in the nation. Our colleges and universities are global leaders in a variety of technologies. Our farmland is among the most fertile in the nation. We have the history and natural beauty to become a major tourist destination. The opportunity for tremendous growth and prosperity is within our grasp, yet we have failed to seize it. We can—and must—do better. My vision for the economic success of the Commonwealth comprises the following:

1. **A GLOBAL POWERHOUSE IN ENERGY PRODUCTION** We can lead the world in production of low cost energy. This energy would be used not only for export, but to attract and retain the downstream manufacturing facilities associated with products consuming large amounts of energy: chemicals, fertilizers, textiles, carbon fiber, and fiber optics. This energy, combined with the advanced manufacturing techniques developed by our universities, should enable us to replace in one decade the 300,000 working class manufacturing jobs we have lost over the last two decades. These jobs would represent the revival of those more rural parts of the Commonwealth ravaged by the globalization of the steel, glass, and aluminum industries.

2. **THE WORLD’S LEADER IN ROBOTICS, ADVANCED AND ADDITIVE MANUFACTURING, AND ARTIFICIAL INTELLIGENCE** The technologies emanating from Pennsylvania’s universities are world-class, and will permit us to once again achieve global leadership in manufacturing. We need to embrace these technologies, and get out in front of them this time. They are coming; let’s “own” them. We have not capitalized nearly enough on the commercialization of these technologies due to tax policies inhibiting business start-ups, venture capital investment, and talent cultivation.

3. **A GLOBAL CENTER FOR CELL BIOLOGY AND DRUG DISCOVERY** Pennsylvania is blessed with some of the most advanced medical research institutions in the world. It is the beneficiary of immense research grants exceeding well over $1 billion per year. The Commonwealth is home to a growing pharmaceutical and biotechnology industry. With this critical mass of activity, we should become one of the leading biotechnology centers in the world with particular emphasis on manipulating cells to treat cancers. This will create thousands of high-tech jobs and will enhance our status as a vibrant medical hub for the growing number of foreign patients who come to the U.S. for specialized care.

4. **THE AGRICULTURAL BREADBASKET TO THE NATION AND WORLD** Pennsylvania’s soil is some of the world’s most fertile, particularly in the South-Central part of the Commonwealth. We are among the leaders in dairy production, beef, and a variety of fruits. As we improve our infrastructure of ports, highways, and locks, we should be able to extend our reach well beyond the U.S. borders and become one of the nation’s leading exporters of agricultural products.
We can turn each of these five opportunities into thriving, vibrant job creators for all of Pennsylvania, and bring back hundreds of thousands of the middle-class, high-tech, and white-collar jobs lost in the last decades.

How? Inspirational leadership, sound policy, and modern administration of government—three things I will bring to Harrisburg. As Governor, my greatest focus will be on taking all of the blessings bestowed upon the Commonwealth and transforming them into prosperity for all Pennsylvanians. This will require the following actions:

Create a Corporate Tax Structure Encouraging, Rather than Discouraging, Business Development, Entrepreneurship, and Growth in Jobs and Wages

This would start by lowering what is essentially the highest corporate tax rate in the Country from 9.99% to the equivalent of the personal income tax rate of 3.07%. Second, we would permit entrepreneurs starting businesses, and those in cyclical businesses, to “carry forward” all of their operating losses from year to year. Third, we would restructure the policies and processes governing our unemployment tax rate, which is the highest in the US.” In doing so, I will ensure the tasks of job creation and wage increases are recognized as the foundation upon which Pennsylvanians can support their families and achieve economic success, not simply sources of tax receipts for Harrisburg to squander.
Our non-farm annual employment growth during the Wolf administration has been an anemic 0.8% through mid-2017. This is less than half the national rate of job growth (1.7% during the same time period) and that of most other states. Reducing the corporate tax burden over two to three years would allow the Commonwealth to establish a strategic advantage relative to other states, while restoring the job growth necessary to address our fiscal pressures. With job growth similar to that which the rest of the Country is experiencing, these changes to the tax structure would pay for themselves. This is within our grasp.

2 Alleviate Harrisburg’s Enormous Regulatory Burden and Anti-business Culture

Beyond the punishing tax structure described above, business leaders throughout the Commonwealth, and around the nation, are discouraged from investing more in Pennsylvania due to government regulatory bodies out-of-touch with the pace at which modern businesses move today. I have heard stories of 30-day permits routinely taking over 250 days to grant. Even more disturbing is the general attitude and dangerous underlying culture of the Wolf Administration suggesting business leaders are all trying to harm the environment or impose on the rights of others when, in reality, they are simply trying to create well-paying jobs, build affordable housing, or otherwise invest in the future of the Commonwealth. I believe we can simultaneously be responsible stewards of the environment and achieve robust growth. It just takes leadership, a culture of selfless service, and some common sense. We need new, more capable leaders in these regulatory departments, particularly within their legal functions. We need to completely restructure their broken processes. We need to transform a culture focused on inhibiting business development today to one enabling it tomorrow. These State employees are for the most part well-meaning citizens, but they are poorly led. I will change this.

3 Support Home Ownership by Eliminating School Property Taxes and Empowering Counties to Eliminate County Property Taxes

Today, homeowners, and especially seniors, living in Pennsylvania face rising school property taxes and the very real fear of being evicted from their homes. This is unacceptable in America and it’s unacceptable in Pennsylvania. That’s why I support the complete elimination of school property taxes. As Governor, I will sign legislation that eliminates school property tax once and for all, making certain that our citizens can be secure in their own homes. Homeowners, and especially our seniors, should not be forced into selling just because they can no longer afford property taxes. It is time to once again respect the right of home ownership in Pennsylvania. Additionally, I support the County Commissioners Association of PA (CCAP) call for Tax Fairness for counties. This plan would allow counties to substitute a sales and/or income tax for county property taxes. This is an option because counties vary dramatically throughout the state. This would benefit homeowners and businesses alike.
Develop a Skilled Work Force to Meet the Needs of a Changing Economy

The Commonwealth has lost 300,000 manufacturing jobs in the last two decades and, with them, a good part of its skilled labor base. Business leaders all over Pennsylvania tell me they would hire more workers today if those workers possessed the necessary skills. Employers need workers who work well with their hands and with modern machinery: they need carpenters, plumbers, laborers, electricians, operating engineers, bricklayers, steam pipe fitters, and machine tool operators. It is time to bring dignity and recognition back to the trades and to those who apprentice our next generation of skilled laborers. I will make skilled vocational training a priority and create tens of thousands of well-paying middle class jobs for Pennsylvanians. I will bring a spirit of collaboration to management and labor. It can no longer be management versus labor; it must be management and labor versus India and China. Together, we can win.

Rebuild Our Strategic Infrastructure

We cannot be a first-world economic superpower with a third-world infrastructure. We must have a strategic perspective and focus on those aspects of infrastructure granting us a competitive advantage: ports, pipelines, locks, and, yes, the best highway system in the country. Act 89, which has given us the highest gas tax in the country, was intended to generate the financial resources to rebuild our infrastructure, but Harrisburg is confiscating hundreds of millions of dollars a year from these taxes to fill gaps in the operating budget. This is disgraceful, and I will immediately restore the resources designated to rebuild our infrastructure. I will also invite the participation and co-ownership of private investors into major infrastructure projects to ensure we develop them quickly, efficiently, and with no further burden on our taxpayers. Finally, I will actively address right-of-way issues to ensure homeowners are fairly compensated for development that benefits all Pennsylvanians.

Promote Our Great Advantages to Those Across the U.S. and the Globe

As Governor, I will be the Commonwealth’s “Chief Marketing Officer” spending time outside the State promoting the benefits of conducting business and investing in Pennsylvania. This is what leaders do. As a young Army officer, I lived in Europe. In my professional life, I conducted business in over 35 countries. I recognize how important Pennsylvania should, and could, be to the global economy. Leaders should always be promoting the benefits of their organizations. We have an enormous number of natural and human resources to promote worldwide. I will get Pennsylvania moving again.

With the exception of the reduction in the tax rate and restoring Act 89 funding to its
intended purpose, we can implement this economic development plan with negligible expense to the Commonwealth. Once implemented, our plan will take 24-36 months to fully stimulate job growth to the national average of 1.6%-1.7% per year. Once we achieve this growth rate, the additional tax receipts generated from more Pennsylvanians working will fully offset the revenue associated with the corporate tax reduction and Act 89 funding restoration. In the interim, we will need to generate $3-4 billion in savings, efficiencies, or one-time cash generation to remain fiscally responsible.

We will achieve this in the following manner:

— Restructure and modernize the government in Harrisburg by working closely with the Commonwealth’s County governments to eliminate redundant functions, disseminate services closer to Pennsylvanians most in need of them, and make them more responsive.

— Introduce modern, competitive procurement practices to save Pennsylvania taxpayers a portion of the billions of dollars Harrisburg spends each year on vendors.

— Better utilize and monetize the assets of the Commonwealth, to include leasing rights of way along the turnpike and managing real estate more effectively.

— Divest of poorly managed, or underutilized, assets and engage in public-private partnerships.

I am confident our proposed changes will permit the Commonwealth to increase job creation to the national average of 1.7%. The resulting revenues from this growth will eventually total over $1B per year. Combined with the savings initiatives focused in years one and two, these initiatives will more than offset the revenues foregone by lowering business tax rates and restoring Act 89 funding over three years, while elevating Pennsylvania’s competitive position relative to other states.
EDUCATION ALTERNATIVES FOR THE MODERN ECONOMY

Education is the civil rights issue of our generation. If we are to safeguard the constitutional right in America to pursue happiness, we owe every child the opportunity to obtain a quality education—one preparing the student for meaningful work and good citizenship in today's society.

This is not happening presently. We sometimes spend between $300,000 and $400,000 to produce a single high-school graduate. Despite this exorbitant cost, many of our graduates lack the literacy and numeracy skills to engage in meaningful careers, or to function effectively in a rapidly changing society. The result is a combination of oppressively high real estate taxes and a high percentage of young adults either in trouble with the law or dependent on the government for support.

Lack of funding is NOT the root cause of our failing public school system. We rank #9 among all states in spending per pupil. However, the lack of innovation in teaching methods, a failure to adapt to the new demands of society and the workplace, the inability to create a safe environment in which

Increases in Education Funding Under Wolf Administration

Funding increases between 2014-5 and 2017-8 enacted budgets, percent

100 percent equals $1,568,339,000

Basic Education 17%
Special Education 6%
Other 7%
Pension 71%

Student Enrollment in Traditional and Non-Traditional Schools

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Traditional Schools</th>
<th>Non-Traditional Schools</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>2010–11</td>
<td>1,582,015</td>
<td>444,758</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2015–16</td>
<td>2,054,817</td>
<td>379,680</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Traditional Schools: 22% Non-Traditional Schools: 18%

2010–11: 78% Traditional Schools, 22% Non-Traditional Schools
2015–16: 82% Traditional Schools, 18% Non-Traditional Schools

Note: Non-traditional schools include non-public schools, home schools, charters/cyber charters, career technical schools, intermediate units, and other schools.


...to learn, unsustainable pension and healthcare benefit obligations, and a “one-size-fits-all” mandate mentality imposed by Harrisburg contribute greatly to our poorly performing public school system. Harrisburg has increased funding to public schools by 15% in the last three years, yet over 70% of this funding increase has gone to pensions rather than to the classrooms. It’s no surprise that there has been no material improvement in our standardized test scores.

We have thousands of highly qualified teachers passionate about their vocation. Many of these teachers are frustrated with their inability to introduce contemporary learning approaches using different technologies allowing a more customized approach to educating our children. Children don’t all learn the same way, yet this is what our public school system demands today. I will dramatically improve the value we derive from education for Pennsylvania taxpayers through four actions:

1. **Ensure All Parents and Children Have Viable Alternatives to Failing School Systems**

   No parent or child should be locked into a failing school system, yet this is happening all too often today. Despite a 47% increase in attendance at Pennsylvania’s charter schools, reports suggest there are 80 applicants per open spot at some of these charters. We must encourage the development of alternatives when the local school option is failing. Unfortunately, the charter approval rate in popular districts such as Philadelphia is only half of the national average. We need to encourage more competition and choice by broadening the pace at which alternatives to the current public-school education system get approved. Today, only the existing public school district can approve a “brick and mortar” charter school application. I will broaden this.
Enable Those Without Means to Exercise Choice

For those without the financial means to exercise choice, we need to offer support. Many states are introducing a variety of financial support vehicles to help parents who want a better education for their children. I am a strong supporter of introducing Educational Savings Accounts (ESAs) as they empower parents to pursue all available educational options for their children. The annual sum of ESA financial support would need to be at least equivalent to the amount of state funding districts receive today for a student. Districts would still receive funding from federal and local sources for students who choose not to attend traditional public schools, thereby increasing their per pupil funding. In all cases, the child whose family is receiving funding will be required to pass an achievement exam each year in order to receive funding for the subsequent year. These ESAs would complement the highly successful Education Investment Tax Credit (EITC) and Opportunity Scholarship Tax Credit (OSTC) programs. The EITC has been consistently oversubscribed to and the OSTC program is growing rapidly, but they are cumbersome to arrange and the overall level of funding available is too often used as a source of influence in budget negotiations—similar to what we have seen during the last three budget cycles under the current Governor. Expanding our existing choice initiatives—as Arizona and Florida have already done—will ensure options for school choice are financially adequate to liberate our children from failing school districts. They will also provide the flexibility families need, and will encourage the type of innovation necessary, to provide a far superior education at a much lower cost.

Require Students to “Graduate” into Fourth Grade

Children typically “learn to read” until they complete third grade, and then “read to learn” thereafter. If a child cannot read well at the end of third grade, there is a high likelihood that he will fall farther and farther behind in grades 4-12. Reading is so fundamental to learning that we should ensure we place the appropriate emphasis and resources on it as early in life as possible.
We want a higher percentage of our children to be able to read capably at the conclusion of third grade. Requiring this “graduation” has proven to be an effective starting point for increasing the focus and emphasis on reading much earlier.

**Create Much Greater, and Easier to Interpret, Information Regarding School Performance**

If we are going to offer more choice, and enable that choice with financial support for those without means, then we owe the parents of Pennsylvania unambiguous information regarding the performance and value of the options at their disposal. Today in Pennsylvania, we offer highly variable information that is difficult to interpret and hard to find. In an environment encouraging choice, easily comparable performance information will be essential. I will ensure we provide this to every parent. This performance transparency should include both a measure of student achievement as well as growth. It should be easily understood by parents who are evaluating the educational options for their children.

My personal standard is very simple: Are our children well on the way to being prepared for meaningful work in the modern economy, and good citizenship in modern society, upon graduation from high school? We need metrics informing the answer to this question.
HEALTH AND WELLNESS PEOPLE CAN AFFORD

America has one of the most clinically capable, advanced health care systems in the world. This is especially true here in Pennsylvania.

We are home to several of the best hospitals, and thousands of the best doctors, in the country. We have expanded health insurance coverage to over 700,000 of our fellow citizens through our state Medicaid expansion program. Medicaid now insures close to 20% of all Pennsylvanians. Left unchecked, the growth in the Commonwealth’s portion of Medicaid expenses would soon exceed $500 million annually. This would consume about half of all anticipated future increases in the State’s tax revenue. It would crowd out opportunities to invest in infrastructure, public safety, and education. At the same time, we are experiencing significant increases in premiums in the Obamacare exchanges (approximately 33% in Pennsylvania last year), increases in deductibles (now exceeding $6,000 on average for families purchasing health insurance on the exchanges), and fewer choices as large health insurers are forced to pull their products out of the market.

Despite all of the recent increases in healthcare funding and coverage, Pennsylvania is experiencing one of the most dangerous health epidemics in the last century: opioid and heroin addiction, and drug overdose deaths, in the Commonwealth continue to grow unabated. In 2016, we lost over 4,700 fellow citizens to drug overdoses; close to thirteen a day. The causes leading to these deaths, often socially-determined, are major contributors to our medical expenses today.

Pennsylvania requires $1,000,000 of malpractice coverage per physician—one of the highest minimum levels in the country. An unintended consequence of these high coverage levels is that our physicians are more prone to lawsuits than in other states, and they are more vulnerable to predatory lawsuits with a higher likelihood of quick settlement. In 2016, Pennsylvania awarded the second highest amount in medical malpractice claims in the country behind only New York. This, in turn, further increases insurance costs. Some physicians in Pennsylvania now pay more than $100,000 per year in malpractice insurance. Additionally, hospitals evaluate physicians in part based on patient satisfaction surveys. These efforts create an unintended dilemma for physicians trying to practice effective pain management: refuse to prescribe opioids and risk lower patient satisfaction scores, or even a lawsuit, for the failure to manage pain, or limit legal liability by practicing “defensive medicine” and prescribe unnecessary opioids possibly leading to subsequent addiction.
Washington is not going to be able to adequately address Pennsylvania’s healthcare challenges; we have to address them ourselves. I would base my plan to improve cost–effectiveness, quality, and access to care on five principles:

1. **Commit to Managing Advanced Chronic Disease More Effectively**

We still lack the coordination, integration, and innovation necessary to effectively manage the 20% of patients consuming nearly 60% of our medical expenses.\(^2\) We need to grant our health insurers, and our advanced health care providers, the latitude to innovate rapidly using the latest technologies to care for these patients less expensively with improved outcomes. This will require actively seeking and receiving waivers from the federal government. If elected Governor, I will obtain these waivers.

2. **Focus More on Wellness and Prevention Rather than Treatment Alone**

No one enjoys being ill or unhealthy. Our healthcare system focuses nearly exclusively on treatment.

3. **Give Patients the Ability to Properly Evaluate Their Health Insurance and Health Services Options**

Deductibles, co-pays, and co-insurance are all increasing, and this means hard-working Pennsylvanians are paying more out of their pockets for health services. These consumers are increasingly frustrated with the lack of available information concerning prices, health outcomes, and wait times. We need a simple, standardized, and easily interpreted set of performance measurements permitting Pennsylvania’s healthcare consumers to evaluate which service or product is best for them. This transparency will encourage service providers and product manufacturers to improve the value of their offerings, contributing to lower overall costs.

We need to alter this approach, and focus more on the social determinants of, and lifestyle impact on, poor health. Preventing illness will be the only sustainable means of ensuring we can continue to deliver the most advanced clinical care in the world to the greatest number of our citizens. It is time we compensated health care providers for not simply treating illness, but for maintaining the good health of those under their care.

---

**Average Healthcare Spending Per Capita, by Number of Chronic Conditions**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Number of Chronic Conditions</th>
<th>Average Healthcare Spending Per Capita, in U.S. Dollars</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>0</td>
<td>1,177</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>2,915</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>4,731</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>6,751</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>9,162</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5+</td>
<td>15,954</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Encourage Individual Responsibility

While I vehemently oppose any type of mandate to purchase insurance, I also believe we should protect those who diligently purchase their insurance from being penalized due to those “free riders” who buy insurance when they are sick, then abandon it when they have been treated. I am very much in favor of covering anyone with pre-existing conditions, but, in turn, we must encourage them to be responsible purchasers of health insurance and not simply obtain it when they believe they will need treatment.

Reduce Legal Fees That Increase Health Care Costs for Everyone

Pennsylvania requires all physicians to obtain supplemental malpractice insurance (Mcare) in addition to their primary policy. This is charged as a flat percentage of each physician’s existing primary policy (usually 15-25% of their existing primary plan rates). However, just one percent of doctors are responsible for nearly one-third of all paid malpractice claims. These costs are borne by everyone. I support eliminating Mcare entirely and lowering required liability minimums to at least $500,000 per physician, if not lower. Beyond this change, I also support limiting plaintiff attorney fees to reduce the costs passed on to all of us. Physicians’ salaries are capped for services they provide; why should lawyers be any different? Finally, as Governor, I will support a constitutional amendment setting common sense limits on noneconomic damages similar to those in at least 24 other states. Our health care dollars should go toward preventing and treating illness, not toward outrageous legal verdicts. These reforms would substantially reduce overall costs by preventing outrageous judgments and predatory settlements. More importantly, they would reduce the practice of “defensive medicine” leading to excessive diagnostic tests and prescriptions—the costs of which flow through our health care system in so many ways.
ADDRESSING THE OPIOID CRISIS AS A THREAT TO OUR STATE AND OUR FUTURE

Drug overdoses are killing nearly 13 Pennsylvanians each day, and this number continues to increase. This is not a single epidemic, but many different ones affecting different geographies and different age groups.

For instance, in the 18 to 26-year old demographic, the primary overdose agent is heroin and the source of that agent is often “a friend”. In the age group over 40 years old, the overdose agent is more often an opioid painkiller and the source is “a primary care physician”. These epidemics do not discriminate by age, gender, ethnicity, income level, or geography; and they are tearing apart families and taking our children. Last year, 4,642 Pennsylvanians died from drug overdoses—up 37% from the year before. Hospitalizations for heroin overdoses were up 40% over 2015.

The current administration has taken some initial steps to address this epidemic as a clinical issue. However, given the persistence of growth in overdose deaths since the legislation was passed last fall, these steps have been insufficient. We can only fight this epidemic if we rapidly build upon the foundation currently in place and make changes in our schools, in our law enforcement policies, in our treatment programs, within the medical and mental health professions, in our pharmaceutical industry, and in recovery groups. We must go further.

As Governor, I would declare a statewide public health emergency to facilitate greater coordination among state and local agencies, law enforcement, first responders, rehabilitation specialists, and community organizations such as not-for-profit entities. More importantly, it would create the leadership focus, sense of urgency, and resource commitment necessary to effectively confront this challenge. To date, we have treated this epidemic as principally a clinical issue; I would broaden this framework to include the social determinants – particularly “diseases of despair” – which lead to experimentation and/or dependence, and the criminal aspects of the challenge necessary to halt the illicit flow of the drugs themselves.
Clinically-Related Actions

We need to work with doctors, pharmacists, nurses, rehabilitation specialists, and insurance providers to take a much more integrated approach to addressing this challenge. I will work with, and encourage, doctors and pharmaceutical companies to identify appropriate pain management treatments. We should find alternative pain management therapies and work with insurers and providers to create new strategies treating pain as a chronic disease, rather than an affliction to be addressed with a pill. On Day One as Governor, I will prohibit the dispensing of addictive opioids beyond a 30-day supply. Too many of these addictive drugs end up on the streets; requiring additional consultations between prescribers and pharmacists will reduce otherwise legally-obtained supplies that end up in the wrong hands. Furthermore, we can continue and extend collaboration with other states to strengthen medical records checks and electronic prescription processing. We can work with insurers to investigate dispensing from cash-only providers. One of the more promising private sector developments has been the development of genetic tests identifying with increasing accuracy those who are most likely to develop an addiction. We need to follow these developments closely and ensure we build awareness for those developing our delivery of care protocols. Most important, we must remember that our prescribers, pharmacists, manufacturers, first responders, and insurers are all part of the solution. We must bring all stakeholders to the table to develop effective solutions for the Commonwealth.

Social and Community-Related Actions

Public awareness of the increase in the destructive nature of drug addiction is now just emerging. We need to increase this awareness among our children, their parents, their teachers, and among the care provider community in order to reduce the demand for these drugs. One of our best defenses against unintended addiction is ensuring those who have the potential of being exposed to potent painkillers and illicit drugs understand the danger, and what alternatives they have. I would support and provide resources to immediately launch such a public awareness-building campaign and rely heavily on the information channels most engaging to those who are vulnerable: their social media platforms.

We also should complement our education efforts with localized prevention efforts. These efforts should focus on engaging relevant members of local communities, utilizing them to identify root causes, and then, when effective solutions are identified, transferring them to other communities. As Governor, I will be a leading champion of securing funding from both the federal government and the private sector to support our localities in developing solutions for the populations they understand best.

In many ways, the drug overdose epidemic is also a symptom of the “diseases of despair” growing throughout the Commonwealth. Substance abuse is often a function of hopelessness due to unemployment, poverty, and the breakdown of the family. These factors can lead to the development of “substance use disorders,” where the recurrent use of alcohol and/or drugs causes clinically and functionally significant impairment such as health problems, disability, and the failure to meet major responsibilities at work, school, or home. We need to create the economic growth necessary to re-engage our population in meaningful work. Our local organizations are indispensable to our ability to get out in front of the problem—to understand new drug sources and access treatment methods that can be disseminated throughout the Commonwealth to provide better options to prevent and treat addiction.
Law Enforcement Actions

First, drug courts are for addicts, not dealers. Drug dealers must be in jail. However, many agree that incarceration alone will not solve this problem. There are opportunities for further integration and coordination having a positive impact on how Pennsylvania addresses this crisis. We must ensure all state and local law enforcement (including Coroners, first responders, and police) improve real-time reporting of the drug-related abuses, arrests, and deaths. By linking many of the different databases beyond the PDMP, and providing the resources necessary to interpret and analyze all these data, we can derive insights into the root causes of addiction, the flow of illicit drugs, and the best means by which to intervene to eradicate the epidemic. Additionally, we will examine areas where we can make this reporting more available to private sector and non-governmental organizations. This reporting is critical if we are to anticipate, rather than leading from behind with information that is 6-12 months old. As well, we must ensure the safety of law enforcement and first responders in dealing with crime scenes and with newer, more deadly drugs laced with fentanyl. These deadly new agents require special protection, and we need to make sure the members of our law enforcement community have the protection they need when confronting these situations.

I would NOT reduce or eliminate mandatory minimum sentences for those illegally dealing in, selling, or distributing the drugs leading to these overdoses. Indeed, we need to stiffen these minimum mandatory sentences and make them commensurate with the destruction they are inflicting. I will seek ways to separate drug dealers from normal prison and jail populations. I will also support the Civil Commitment Law such that parents can help their children get the help that they need. In some instances, forced treatment works.

We will muster all the resources necessary to eradicate what is the worst health crisis in memory in the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania. I believe nothing short of a declaration of a statewide emergency will be sufficient to do this. As Governor, I intend to lead this war on opioid addiction in our state and exhaust every means possible to reduce the number of deaths and treat our addicts – and their families – with the respect they deserve.
HONORING AND SERVING OUR VETERANS, LAW ENFORCEMENT AND FIRST RESPONDERS

There is a very small percent of our fellow citizens who literally put their lives in danger to safeguard our freedoms and our property each and every day: our uniformed military, our law enforcement officers, and our firefighters. They deserve our support and, above all, our respect. They are our “Warriors of Democracy.” Without them, we have no democracy.

Pennsylvania is home to approximately 900,000 Veterans. We owe them our gratitude and respect, yet too often, we fail to provide even the most basic support they, and their families, need to effectively integrate back into our communities. The transition from the military, particularly for those returning from a combat zone, back into civilian life is a critical period of 6-9 months whose effectiveness has a long-term impact on the Veteran. This is the transition period on which I would work most vigorously along with my Adjutant General to assist them. There are several ways we can improve this transition period:

1. Provide Broader Access to Counseling and Behavioral Health Services, and Closer Integration With the Veterans Administration

One of the most salient gaps in care for our Veterans is the availability of counseling and behavioral health services through the Veterans Administration. This is particularly true just as the active duty service member is completing his service and preparing to re-integrate into the civilian community. The values and characteristics innate to a soldier—duty, a sense of mission and purpose, teamwork, and never leaving a man behind—are not nearly as prevalent in civilian environments. This disparity often leads to disillusionment, estrangement, anxiety, and anger on the part of the Veteran. Treating
these symptoms early can reduce care costs by $3,000 to $12,000 per person over a two-year period.\(^4\) We need to expand the training of our civilian care providers to ensure our Veterans get ready access to these services. I would work directly with the Veterans Administration under its recently legislated Veterans Health Choice program to ensure we do this effectively and efficiently in the Commonwealth.

As Governor, I will aggressively pursue opportunities to place Pennsylvania at the forefront of the improvement initiatives being launched at the Veterans Administration. The VA is looking for opportunities to implement pilot programs throughout the nation, particularly those related to whole health, health care for women who have served (the fastest growing segment of Veterans), mental health, and re-integration. As Governor, I will actively respond to upcoming opportunities to bring these pilot programs to Pennsylvania, making the Commonwealth the most innovative state for Veteran support in the nation.

2 Streamline the Administrative Process for Licensure and Certification in the Commonwealth for Returning Veterans and Their Family Members

Many of our Veterans and their spouses return to the Commonwealth with extraordinary skills in the medical field, as mechanics, as pilots, and as instructors, yet they are forced to undertake lengthy re-certification and licensing processes delaying, or often precluding, their re-entry into the civilian workforce. I will work with the legislature to streamline, or even eliminate, these processes. This would require broader adoption of PA Title 51, Chapter 75 by state boards, designed to ease the credentialing process for Veterans and adopting uniform standards for prior-learning credit within our schools by ensuring that all educational institutions qualify as Service Member and Opportunity Colleges, making Pennsylvania the #1 choice for Veterans seeking to further their education across industries.

3 Promote Much Greater Coordination Among, and Awareness of, the Thousands of Veteran Service Organizations (VSOs) across the Commonwealth

Less than one half of one percent of Americans currently serve in the military\(^4\) and only 7.3% of all living Americans have served at some point in their lifetimes.\(^4\) Consequently, our policymakers often have a limited understanding of Veteran needs leading to situations in which resources are spent on well-intentioned, but ineffective efforts.\(^3\) The vast array of VSOs is similarly confusing to those seeking services and may result in redundant administrative functions reducing their efficiency. As Governor, I will sponsor an effort encouraging each of these VSOs to achieve its mission by focusing as many resources as possible on the Veterans themselves. I will encourage our VSOs to draw upon a shared set of administrative support services. We will create an “on-line marketplace” of participating VSOs that would enable Veterans to access and understand the many services available through these agencies.

The Commonwealth’s Veteran’s Trust Fund (VTF) offers a unique way for Pennsylvania residents to show their support for our Veterans.
I encourage every Pennsylvanian to consider supporting the Veterans Trust Fund either through specialized license plates, or voluntary donations, so that we can continue the good work of the Veterans Trust Fund and the VSOs located throughout the Commonwealth. We can broaden the impact of VTF initiatives by drawing more heavily upon the expertise of County Veterans Affairs Directors across the Commonwealth to assist VSOs in fulfilling their mission.

In 2009, Pennsylvania became one of the first states in the nation to create county-run Veterans Courts. These Courts are a highly effective, and cost-efficient, means of dealing with first offenses involving Veterans. Additionally, the Courts are an innovative way to help Veterans address underlying issues that may contribute to their arrests. I recognize the unique and important role of the Veterans Courts, and support their expansion and continued refinement.

Ensure Our First Responders Have the Commonwealth's Full Support and Protection

Our law enforcement officers, firefighters, and EMTs are a valuable and essential part of all Commonwealth communities. My pledge is to ensure we provide them with the equipment, training, and resources necessary to safeguard our liberty and property. The number one job of any government is to keep its citizens safe. As Governor, I will be committed to ensuring that our State Police and local law enforcement officers have the stable funding source needed to support ongoing training and operations.

Synthetic opioids are now lethal in doses as small as a grain of salt. This poses a serious risk to our first responders—be they law enforcement, firefighters, or paramedics. We must ensure their safety given the responsibilities they fulfill every day. I will ensure our first responders all have access to antidotes and resources necessary to fully protect them when responding to possible opioid overdoses. Finally, as Governor, I will ensure anyone who assaults our first responders will be prosecuted to the fullest extent of the law, up to and including the death penalty, when necessary. I will not stand for any violence against those who willingly bear the risks and responsibilities of protecting our citizens daily.

Those who serve, including our active duty military, National Guard, Veterans, first responders and their families, deserve our gratitude, support, and respect. In order to make the Commonwealth the destination of choice for those who serve, we must move beyond mere platitudes to take concrete, specific action to support them and their families during their transition into civilian life and through future transitions later in life. Those who serve have so much to offer; supporting their transition allows us to utilize their skills and talents in our businesses, families, and communities.
EFFICIENT, EFFECTIVE, AND TRANSPARENT GOVERNMENT

The organization of our government in Harrisburg is reminiscent of an early 20th century bureaucracy. Its inability to adapt readily to technological developments, business needs, and social trends is inhibiting business entrepreneurship, relevant education, and good health. Today, three of the five largest employers in Pennsylvania are the federal government, state government, and the City of Philadelphia.

Government has grown too big and too bureaucratic to address the challenges and opportunities in a rapidly evolving society such as ours. As with most large organizations, our state government has well-meaning employees, but they are very poorly led. Properly motivated, state employees could have enormous positive impact on the people of the Commonwealth. A good leader would ensure these employees deeply understand the impact they have on fellow citizens’ safety, health, and livelihoods.

The time is right to fundamentally reimagine the role Harrisburg plays in our lives. It is viewed by many Pennsylvanians today as intrusive, out of touch, expensive, and lethargic. Accordingly, we should pursue four critical reforms:

1. **Recognize Local Government and Community Organizations as the Engines of Social Innovation and Effective Service Delivery**

In our highly diverse and dynamic society, Harrisburg’s one-size-fits-all approach is no longer relevant. Our state government neither understands the social context of a local community, nor possesses the “social capital,” or trust, necessary to address our most pressing social challenges.

---

**Pennsylvania’s Largest Employers**

*By Number for Employees, Q4 2016*

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Position</th>
<th>Employer</th>
<th>Mostly/Entirely Supported Through Tax Funding</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1.</td>
<td>Federal Government</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.</td>
<td>State Government</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.</td>
<td>Trustees of the University of Pennsylvania</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5.</td>
<td>City of Philadelphia</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6.</td>
<td>United Parcel Service</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7.</td>
<td>Giant Food Stores, LLC</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8.</td>
<td>Pennsylvania State University</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10.</td>
<td>UPMC Presbyterian Shadyside</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Pennsylvania Department of Labor and Industry. Center for Workforce Information and Analytics. [http://www.workstats.dla.state.pa.us/documents/PA%20Employers%20with%201000%20or%20more%20Employees/PMGovCom_1000.pdf](http://www.workstats.dla.state.pa.us/documents/PA%20Employers%20with%201000%20or%20more%20Employees/PMGovCom_1000.pdf)
We need to completely re-order the interactions between Harrisburg and the communities it aims to serve, and move as many functions as possible as close to the challenges as possible. It is in local communities where the knowledge, speed, and nimbleness reside to address these problems. The County level, and in some select cases, the Municipal level, is likely the most effective starting point for these functions. Local leaders, including County Commissioners, can convene the relevant community groups to address our most pressing problems, stimulate innovation, identify superior solutions from their work, and then help transfer these solutions across the Commonwealth. Harrisburg’s role should no longer be imposing statewide mandates on local communities, rather it should be encouraging customized approaches tailored to local communities and, when there is a particularly effective solution developed, ensure other local communities know about it. This is the role of government in the 21st century: decentralized, customized, nimble, innovative, and responsive to the needs of its citizens.

2. Unfunded Mandates are Real, Must Be Reviewed, and Either Funded or Eliminated

State government needs to recognize a simple principle. If a program, law, or regulation is important enough to mandate on counties, cities, municipalities, or school districts, then it is important enough to fund. If a program, law, or regulation is not important enough to fund, then it is not important enough to mandate! I will work with our Counties, Cities, Municipalities, and School Districts to identify current unfunded mandates and determine an appropriate response to each.

3. Reform Our State Pension Plans, Whose Mandates Constrain Local Governments, School Districts, and Community Organizations

The recently-passed pension reform bill (SB 1) was an initial step in the right direction, but it did nothing to address the State’s existing $60-70 billion unfunded pension liability. SB 1 is estimated to
reduce our future pension payments by less than one percent through 2050. We are still projected to spend an additional $4B per year just on pensions by 2034. In other words, SB 1 will have no impact on skyrocketing school property tax bills in Pennsylvania. These pensions are a fiscal burden whose growth, if left unchecked, will preclude Pennsylvania from meeting the needs of its most vulnerable citizens. First, we should establish a new pension system maintaining a defined benefit only up to the level of the average Pennsylvania household income, and a 401K style plan allowing contributions up to the social security maximum. Next, we need to reduce the size of state government by eliminating redundant departments and obsolete programs. We currently have over 80,000 state employees. We will not do this simply by combining one department with another, but by fundamentally reorganizing the structure of government to much more effectively and quickly adapt to the needs of its citizens. I would also offer an “early buyout” of pensions at a rate favorable to the State's taxpayers. Finally, we should go further to reduce the abuses of voluntary overtime policies when calculating pension benefits. These are legal and equitable means of reforming our pensions.

4 **Lead Collaboratively through Others**

Every organization has what I refer to as a “power alley.” The “power alley” in government comprises those leaders who actually have to balance budgets while making policies work effectively. In the Commonwealth, the “power alley” consists of some combination of County Commissioners, mayors, and township leaders to name a few. Rather than developing priorities, policies, and proposed budgets in a vacuum as our current Governor does, I would convene these critical leaders to jointly set priorities, budgets, and policies, and then we would collectively ask the legislature to approve them. This is a “bottom up” rather than “top down” approach that will eliminate redundancies, create real ownership of the outcome, and will much better meet the needs of Pennsylvanians.
THE FUTURE IS NOW

The time for speeches and hollow promises has passed. We need real solutions to the challenges the people of Pennsylvania face. That is why I am running for Governor.

I am committed to:

✔ Creating the economic growth and fiscal responsibility necessary to bring our jobs and children back home.

✔ Delivering an education preparing our children for meaningful work in the modern economy and productive citizenship in our modern society.

✔ Providing access to quality healthcare that is once again available and affordable.

✔ Bringing an end to the drug overdose crisis.

✔ Supporting the men and women who serve our nation and communities in the military, law enforcement, and as first responders.

✔ Redefining the role government in Harrisburg plays in our lives.
We are a Commonwealth unusually blessed with some of the most impressive natural and human resources in the world. What we lack today is the leadership and the vision to inspire our fellow citizens, the courage to confront our most pressing challenges head-on, and the fresh ideas necessary to be successful. This is my vision and plan for *Restoring the Dream and Seizing the Promise of Pennsylvania’s Future*. My aim is neither to grow government in Harrisburg, nor to destroy it, but to transform it into a *partner* whose objective is to advance economic growth and prosperity; a government serving as an enabler of these. I seek to ensure we have a modern government working for all Pennsylvanians—not working for just those insiders with the resources and access to navigate Harrisburg’s bureaucracies.

Make no mistake about it, we are in a “crisis” requiring a great sense of urgency. Governor Wolf is wrong. We can no longer turn to more taxes, more spending, more redistribution, more dependence, and more debt, to restore our prosperity. Harrisburg has failed the people of Pennsylvania. Free market enterprise, according to modern economists, has led to 95% of the betterment of the poor over the last two centuries, while government transfer payments have led to only 5%. We need to liberate our entrepreneurs and business builders from the “deep regulatory state” in Harrisburg if we are to truly help all Pennsylvanians. These entrepreneurs and business builders are overtaxed, over regulated, and underappreciated.

We can no longer accept the mediocrity of Harrisburg along with the tired, antiquated approaches to addressing our challenges; rather we must innovate in government as we have innovated in nearly all other sectors of our economy. This is the only way we will be able to secure a prosperous future for the people of Pennsylvania.

My grandfather left Italy and came to America seeking the American Dream. It is time to “Restore that Dream” for the people of Pennsylvania and Seize the Promise of Pennsylvania’s Future. Please join with me today. Go to MangoForPA.com and sign up as a member of our team!
Paul Mango’s roots in Pennsylvania run deep. His grandfather immigrated here from Italy, and then worked on the railroad that crossed the state; the one that carried the steel and coal helping to build our factories and create countless jobs. Paul’s grandfather passed on to him the value and dignity of hard work. During high school, Paul was employed by a hotel as a dishwasher, by a farmer’s market stocking produce and as a scorekeeper at a bowling alley.

Balancing his father’s advice to get a college education along with his strong calling to serve his country, Paul applied, and was accepted, to West Point. One of his proudest moments was receiving his diploma on graduation day from President Ronald Reagan. After completing Army Ranger training and jump school, Paul went on to serve America as a paratrooper in the storied 82nd Airborne Division.

While serving in the military, Paul and his wife saved every penny they could so that he could continue his education, and he earned a Master’s Degree in Business at Harvard; an education that will be invaluable for someone whose main priorities as Governor will be growing Pennsylvania’s economy, creating jobs, and finding innovative ways to do more with less. Paul then joined one of the most respected business leadership and professional advisory firms in America, where he rolled up his sleeves and helped companies first anticipate, and then adapt to, change. Paul’s 25 years as a business leader have provided him with an unmatched skillset for helping Pennsylvania out-compete other states and countries for the jobs of the future.

Despite these remarkable achievements, Paul Mango would tell you that his greatest blessing in life has been his family. While at West Point, Paul met his wife Dawn, and they’ve been married for nearly... 35 years. And together, they’ve lived in the same Pittsburgh house for 20 years, where they’ve raised their five daughters, one of whom followed her parents’ footsteps to West Point and is now serving our country as a First Lieutenant overseas in Korea. Paul and Dawn have also generously supported a variety of veterans’ and military-related charities since leaving active duty.

Now Paul Mango wants to take his middle-class values, his military training, business education, and decades of experience solving some of the toughest business problems at America’s most admired companies, to fix Pennsylvania’s stalled economy, underperforming schools, out-of-control spending and taxation, heroin and opioid epidemic, and end the presence of sanctuary cities to make Pennsylvania work again…for all our families.