



The Baker Dossier

The Case Against Governor Baker's Reelection

November 17, 2018

Massachusetts has a history of being bold and visionary. Under Governor Baker, we are neither. At a time when the nation needs leadership from the states, Baker's leadership failures are aiding and abetting the extreme policies of the national Republican Party. A close look at his actions make it clear that he is first and foremost a Republican.

Governor Baker utterly lacks a vision for the future of our Commonwealth and therefore sells himself as a decent and skilled manager. In actuality, his policies are often mean-spirited and particularly harmful to those most in need. Management failures have surfaced in multiple agencies time and again.

Here are highlights of what he has done and what he has failed to do, both of which indicate that he should NOT be reelected.

I. Transportation

A. MBTA Subway, Commuter Rail, & Buses

1. Baker announced an \$83.7 million 5-year plan to fix the problems that caused the shutdown of much of the system after a bad snowstorm in 2015. (MBTA press release, 6/4/15, "Gov. Baker announces \$83.7 million MBTA winter resiliency plan.") However, the cold weather and snowstorms of this past winter demonstrated that major problems still plague the subway and commuter rail. The MBTA has a backlog of maintenance and modernization needs of at least \$7 billion. (Governor's Special Panel to Review the MBTA, 4/8/15, "Back on track: An action plan to transform the MBTA") As he has done elsewhere, here **Governor Baker spends a little money on the MBTA and, to great fanfare, claims he's solved a problem that he knows is much bigger.**
2. **Baker thinks a 15 - 20 year period is an acceptable timeline for fixing the MBTA.** (Vennoch, J., 1/11/18, "T riders, it's time for a revolution," The Boston Globe)
3. **The MBTA's performance on the Fairmount commuter rail line has been uneven at best.** This line **serves the low-income Mattapan and Dorchester neighborhoods of Boston**, which are highly transit-dependent and under-served. **An order for new cars and engines that would have improved service was canceled by Governor Baker's**

administration. In 2016, this line had the commuter rail system's worst performance record and its train cars were frequently shifted to suburban service. This reflects poor management and smacks of discrimination. (Smith, J., "Report: More frequent trips needed on Fairmount Line," *Dorchester Reporter*; Editorial, 11/19/17, "More trains mean equity for Fairmount Line," *The Boston Globe*)

4. **The MBTA's Mattapan trolley service connecting the low-income neighborhood of Mattapan to the subway's Red Line was out of service for a week in February while issues with power and trolley cars were resolved.** On several occasions that month, problems with the trolleys required shuttle buses to replace or augment trolley service. The MBTA has struggled to provide timely information to riders on the status of service on the line. The trolley cars are 70 years old and parts for repairs are hard to obtain. (Around the Region, 2/2/18, "'High-speed' trolley is out of service," *The Boston Globe*; Ruckstuhl, L., 2/3/18, "Power issue halted Mattapan trolleys," *The Boston Globe*; Lavery, T., 2/4/18, "Mattapan trolley taken out of service, set to resume Monday," *The Patriot Ledger*; Smith, J., 2/22/18, "Legislators want clarity, better communication on trolley situation," *Dorchester Reporter*)
5. **The MBTA's commuter rail service has the most breakdowns in the country,** according to the Federal Transit Administration. (Yee, E., 10/13/17, "MBTA commuter rail gets unwanted distinction of having the nation's most breakdowns in 2016," *Boston.com*)
6. **The MBTA experiences serious overcrowding regularly at rush hour on all its modes of transportation.** On the subway's Orange and Red Lines, as well as some bus routes, commuters routinely must let packed trains and buses go by before there is room for them to get on. Commuter rail cars are often standing room only and some are so full that conductors cannot get through the cars to collect fares. Some commuters head away from the city first to get to a point where trains or buses are less crowded, so they can then board and start their actual trips into the city. **Relief is years away.** The MBTA plans to have new fare collection systems in place by 2020 to expedite boarding. New cars and signal systems (that would allow more frequent trains running closer to each other) are not scheduled to be in place until 2023. (Vaccaro, A., 1/31/18, "T riders say rush hour is now the crush hour," *The Boston Globe*)
7. **The Baker administration's promises of savings and improved service from privatization of the MBTA's service for people with disabilities, known as The Ride, are yet to be realized.** In 2016, the Baker administration privatized the scheduling and dispatch functions for The Ride. A 3-year, \$38.5 million contract was signed with promises of increased efficiency and savings of \$40 million. However, missed pick-ups, long waits, and customer complaints increased so dramatically that the MBTA fined the contractor \$100,000 in the first six months of 2017. A consultant was hired to analyze the problems and suggest solutions. Cost savings never materialized and service was so bad that the MBTA announced that a new contractor would replace the existing one in June 2018. This

time it would be a 5-year, \$57.5 million contract with more MBTA staff assigned to oversee the contractor and no promise of savings. (Vaccaro, A., 8/9/17, “Service at the T’s Ride improving, but still lagging,” The Boston Globe; Vaccaro, A., 5/1/18, “MBTA picks French firm to operate Ride service,” The Boston Globe)

- B. **Governor Baker has consistently underfunded the 15 Regional Transit Authorities (RTAs) that provide public transportation outside of the Greater Boston area.** Despite supposed commitments to increase funding for them by \$2 million per year, Baker cut their funding by \$2 million in his FY2018 budget and level-funded them at \$80 million in his proposed FY2019 budget. **Rising costs for fuel, health benefits for employees, and other expenses have forced the RTAs to cut services and raise fares.** This disproportionately hurts the most vulnerable residents – the poor, the elderly, and people with disabilities. The Pioneer Valley RTA, which serves Springfield, surrounding communities, and the colleges and universities in the area with 11 million trips a year, is increasing fares by 20% while cutting service. The 15 RTAs say an additional \$8 million is needed to maintain service levels and current fares. **Nonetheless, Baker’s Transportation Secretary, Stephanie Pollack, said recently that more money is not the answer to the financial challenges of the RTAs.** (Mohl, B., 4/24/18, “Pollack notes: More money for RTAs not the answer,” CommonWealth Magazine; Vaccaro, A., 4/16/18, “Worcester, Springfield face cuts in bus service,” The Boston Globe; Moulton, C., 3/20/18, “WRTA supporters rally in Worcester, demanding better funding of transit authorities,” Worcester Telegram & Gazette)
- C. In **September 2017**, Lieutenant Governor Karyn Polito announced that Governor Baker would sign an executive order **“in the coming weeks” creating a new commission to review transportation needs and how the state could fund them.** The members of the transportation commission were **finally named in late January 2018.** Despite a press release that stated that the commission would get into “transportation planning, forecasting, operations, and investments for the period from 2020 through 2040,” the commission will only prepare, by December 1, a vision for transportation needs. **The commission chair made it clear that the commission will NOT look at specific projects or how to fund them. Some commission members, as well as other transportation experts, expressed frustration that the need for funding and near-term investments would not be addressed.** (“So far, no transportation commission,” C. A. Young, 1/4/18, State House News Service, The Boston Globe; Mohl, B., 2/8/18, “Transportation commission won’t look at revenues, financing,” CommonWealth Magazine)
- D. **Governor Baker’s Dept. of Transportation’s plan** for straightening the Mass Pike in Allston to permit the creation of a new neighborhood, known as Beacon Yards, **postpones construction of a new rail and bus hub, West Station, until 2040.** The overall highway project could cost as much as \$1 billion, but public transportation takes a back seat to road construction. Apparently, Governor Baker and his team have not learned from the congestion and transportation challenges of getting people to and from the developing Seaport district that public transportation is essential infrastructure for large developments. (Ramos, D., 12/15/17,

“In Allston, the transit lesson we never learn,” The Boston Globe)

- E. **On our roads, congestion in and around Boston is getting worse.** In 2017, the average driver spent 60 hours stuck in traffic, an increase of 2 hours from the year before. **Boston drivers now spend 14% of their overall driving time stuck in traffic; tied for worst in the country. This is happening because the Baker administration hasn’t made transportation infrastructure improvements** that are necessary to accommodate the growth in population and jobs in Massachusetts, especially in the Boston area. (Vaccaro, A., 2/11/18, “Rush-hour woes worsened in ’17,” The Boston Globe; Ramos, D., 3/28/18, “Your commute stinks because Greater Boston can’t fathom its own growth,” The Boston Globe; Teitell, B., 3/26/18, “Boston’s clogged arteries,” The Boston Globe)

- F. **Governor Baker supported the 2014 ballot question that overturned the indexing of the state’s gasoline tax to inflation.** This has reduced the funding available to support transportation infrastructure. (Mohl, B., 2/8/18, “Transportation commission won’t look at revenues, financing,” Commonwealth Magazine)

II. Gun Violence Prevention

- A. **Governor Baker has failed to take advantage of his position as a Republican Governor of a state with strong and effective gun violence prevention laws.** Given these attributes, **Baker could do a lot to dispel the National Rifle Association’s fear-mongering** myths that efforts to reduce gun violence are actually a plot to take all guns away and eliminate individual liberties. However, **Baker has said little and done less, and certainly hasn’t exhibited any leadership or worked to build visibility for Massachusetts’s documented success in reducing gun violence.** (Lehigh, S., 3/21/18, “Baker and DeLeo, take to the stage on gun safety,” The Boston Globe; Miller, J., 2/26/18, “Governors reflecting US divide over guns,” The Boston Globe)

- B. **Governor Baker appointed the President of the Gun Owners’ Action League (GOAL), the MA chapter of the National Rifle Association (NRA), as the Commissioner of the Commonwealth’s Dept. of Fish and Game.** (Cassidy, C., 7/7/17, “Charlie Baker gives Fish & Game gig to gun guy,” Boston Herald; Berkshire Eagle, 11/20/17) Although it was removed after the Parkland tragedy, there had been a link on the state Dept. of Fish and Game website to the Gun Owners’ Action League.)

- C. **Displaying his typical lack of leadership, Governor Baker has only said that he is open to the Extreme Risk Protective Orders (“Red Flag”) bill in the MA Legislature but would not commit to signing it.** This bill would allow a judge to temporarily remove firearms from people who are found to present a high risk to injure themselves or others, at the request of a family member, a friend, or law enforcement. The Massachusetts Chiefs of Police Association has endorsed the bill. A similar law has been in place in Connecticut for 14 years and is

estimated to have saved 76 lives. (Schoenberg, S., 5/7/18, “Massachusetts Gov. Charlie Baker open to considering ‘red flag’ bill,” Mass Live; NECN, 5/23/18, “Massachusetts Legislature passes ‘extreme risk’ gun bill”) Since the Parkland tragedy, three states have passed such laws and eighteen others are considering them. (Pindell, J., 5/24/18, “Unlike many gun measures, ‘red flag’ laws are actually passing. It looks like Mass. will be next,” The Boston Globe)

- D. **Governor Baker initially supported Attorney General Maura Healey’s crackdown on the sale of copycat assault weapons, but then changed his mind and began questioning it, using talking points from the gun industry.** MA has a long-standing ban on assault weapons (including copies and duplicates), but the gun industry has been defying the ban for years by making copycat weapons specifically designed to skirt the law. Last year, 10,000 of these rapid-fire assault weapons with large magazines holding dozens of bullets were sold in MA. Several top law enforcement officials, as well as 30 gun violence prevention organizations, support Healey’s crackdown. (Miller, J., 7/26/16, “Baker administration raps Healey’s gun crackdown,” The Boston Globe; Stop Handgun Violence, 8/11/16, “An open letter asking Governor Charlie Baker to support assault weapons ban,” <http://www.stophandgunviolence.org/awb-charlie-baker-letter>)
- E. **Baker picked for his running mate and Lt. Governor a former State Representative who received a 100% rating from GOAL.** (Vote Smart, retrieved from the Internet 5/28/18, “Rating Group: Gun Owners’ Action League 2014 positions,” <https://votesmart.org/interest-group/46/rating/7553#.WwwhAkgvzIU>)
- F. **More than three years after the state passed legislation to allow participation in the national database for checking gun purchasers, the MA Department of Criminal Justice Information Services is taking weeks and sometimes months to provide information to the database.** Thus, reports from the state’s courts on mental health, substance abuse, and domestic violence cases that should prevent someone from purchasing a gun are not submitted to the background check system on a timely basis. This could allow an individual to buy a gun in another state when he or she should be barred from making that purchase. (Rocheleau, M., 2/26/18, “Mass lagging on gun database,” The Boston Globe)
- G. **When Baker ran in 2014, he received a 94% rating from the state chapter of the NRA and refused to support a federal assault weapons ban.** Recently, he has said that the MA assault weapon ban is working and the federal government should adopt something similar. (OnTheIssues, retrieved from the Internet 5/29/18, “Charlie Baker on gun control,” http://www.ontheissues.org/Governor/Charlie_Baker_Gun_Control.htm; Dumcius, G., 2/28/18, “Massachusetts Gov. Baker says feds should adopt something similar to state’s assault weapons ban,” Mass Live; Miller, J., 10/15/14, “Super PAC goes after Charlie Baker on gun control,” The Boston Globe)

III. State Police Scandals and Criminal Justice Issues

A. **A series of scandals in the State Police point to systemic problems that the self-described expert manager Governor Baker has either failed to detect or has ignored. Both leadership and transparency have been seriously lacking.** Perhaps most egregious was the failure to report to the state comptroller for many years – thereby concealing it from the public – over \$30 million in annual spending for the 140-member Troop F, which patrols the airport and other Massport property, and apparently no one in the Baker administration noticed. In addition, enormous amounts of State Police overtime and detail pay have resulted in roughly 1 in 8 of the 2,150 troopers making over \$200,000 per year and some making over \$300,000, despite Governor Baker’s insistence on reducing the state payroll in other agencies. It is alleged that **more than 30 troopers were paid for overtime shifts they did not work, including some who were paid for as many as 100 no-show shifts.** Senior managers at the State Police overseeing these and other scandals have been allowed to retire and retain their full pension benefits. All of this has led to a Boston Globe editorial calling the State Police “a dysfunctional agency” and for “a hold on any more discharges [retirements] for agency leaders until the investigations are complete.” A later editorial, as scandals continued to mount, called for “some political leadership rather than finger-pointing.” At a high visibility news conference on April 3, Baker announced immediate fixes; two days later he acknowledged that the fixes weren’t going to happen quickly (see item 2 below). (Editorial, 2/28/18, “Where’s the accountability of the State Police?” The Boston Globe; Editorial, 3/27/18, “AG’s probe should include Troop F,” The Boston Globe; Rocheleau, M., & Wallack, T., 3/26/18, “At Troop F, rich wages, poor records,” The Boston Globe; Arsenault, M., Andersen, T., & Murphy, S., 3/21/18, “Troopers accused in OT scam,” The Boston Globe; The Boston Globe, 3/20/18, “A timeline of State Police controversies”)

1. **At least 34 troopers in State Police Troop E, which patrols the Massachusetts Turnpike, appear to have collected pay for overtime shifts they did not work.** A federal grand jury is investigating whether the troopers committed fraud and whether supervisors were involved. MA Attorney General Maura Healey is also conducting a criminal investigation. In early 2018, an audit of Troop E uncovered at least 29 troopers who had collected pay for overtime shifts they did not work, including some who got paid for as many as 100 no-show shifts. Ten of these troopers announced they would retire; nine others were suspended without pay due to the audit’s findings; one was already suspended for other reasons; one has been kept on active duty; and some had already retired. On June 1, an additional 5 troopers were identified as having discrepancies between overtime paid and worked. (Estes, A., & Murphy, S., 6/2/18, “State Police face federal probe,” The Boston Globe; The Associated Press, 6/1/18, “Mass. State Police find more possible cases of overtime pay abuse,” WBUR News; McDonald, D., 3/24/18, “9 troopers retire, 9 suspended after audit,” The Boston Globe)

2. At his April 3, 2018, press conference, **Governor Baker announced immediate fixes for the State Police:** Mass Pike Troop E, where the overtime scandal occurred, would be eliminated, GPS tracking of all cruisers would begin, a department-wide body camera program would be in place by the end of 2018, 10 new positions in inspections and internal affairs would be created, and audits would be conducted of overtime policies as well as quarterly audits of the top 50 earners. **Two days later, it was acknowledged that much of what the Governor had announced wouldn't be happening quickly if at all:** The GPS tracking could not be implemented immediately because of a lack of software; the use of GPS may need to be negotiated with the troopers' union; the use of body cameras will also require negotiation with the union; and Troop E will remain in the same physical facilities but will be supervised by officers from other troops. (Stout, M., & Andersen, T., 4/3/18, "Baker eliminates troubled troop unit," The Boston Globe; Editorial, 4/3/18, "State Police reforms: Off to a good start," The Boston Globe; Stout, M., 4/4/18, "Union rules likely to slow overhaul at State Police," The Boston Globe; Stout, M., 4/5/18, "Baker says State Police plan needs union talks," The Boston Globe)
3. **At Governor Baker's April 3, 2018, press conference, he also ordered the development of a plan for coordinating State Police and Boston Police jurisdiction** in the areas owned by Massport in Boston's Seaport district and at the airport, where State Police and Massport Police currently have overlapping jurisdiction. **A month and a half later, Boston Police Commissioner William Evans announced that development of the plan was at a standstill.** The Boston City Council held a hearing on this and invited both the head of the State Police and Baker's Public Safety Secretary Bennett. Neither showed up. (Stout, M., 5/19/18, "Evans says Seaport patrol talks at standstill," The Boston Globe)
4. In February 2018, **a State Trooper was suspended when it was reported that she was hired despite having admitted in a federal drug case that she had laundered money and sold drugs.** At the time she applied for her job, she was living in a romantic relationship with one of the two senior officers responsible for her hiring. These two senior officers were also involved in another scandal involving alteration of an arrest report (see item 8 below). (Murphy, S., 4/3/18, "Trooper's hiring ignored drug-case clues," The Boston Globe)
5. **The State Police have repeatedly refused to release the locations to which troopers are assigned.** In January 2018, after reviewing requests for these records, the Secretary of State ordered their release. The State Police have refused. **Although Governor Baker says these are public records, he has apparently done nothing to pressure the State Police to disclose them.** (Stout, M., & Rocheleau, M., 3/27/18, "Baker calls State Police record error 'deliberate'," The Boston Globe)
6. In April 2018, it emerged that **over 100 troopers, primarily those working at the airport, have been paid a \$40 per diem for commuting to work** when they used their own cars (as opposed to State Police cruisers). These payments have **totaled \$3.4 million over the**

last four years and had not been publicly disclosed before. The average payout is \$8,000 per trooper per year with the highest payout being about \$13,000. Moreover, the state has failed to pay federal taxes on these payments or to report them to the IRS as income for the recipients. **Massachusetts could be billed millions of dollars for unpaid Social Security, Medicare, and income taxes.** (Rocheleau, M., 4/18/18, “More pay for State Police revealed,” The Boston Globe; Lazar, K., 4/26/18, “Taxes not paid on perks for troopers,” The Boston Globe)

7. In April 2018, **the head of the State Police’s payroll department was charged with embezzling more than \$23,000 over a two-year period.** The individual is facing criminal charges. She supervised the \$290 million State Police payroll and a six-person staff, which handles employees’ pay based on timesheets, overtime, and paid details. (Lazar, K., & Rocheleau, M., 4/19/18, “State Police payroll chief is accused,” The Boston Globe)
8. In November 2017, **two troopers charged that senior officers forced them to change an embarrassing report on the arrest of a judge’s daughter. The four senior officers implicated in the scandal, including the head of the State Police and his deputy, were allowed to quickly retire with full retirement benefits.** (Editorial, 2/28/18, “Where’s the accountability of the State Police?” The Boston Globe)
9. In September 2016, **three State Police troopers were suspended for selling used State Police weapons and receiving free personal weapons in return.** (The Boston Globe, 3/20/18, “A timeline of State Police controversies”)

B. Governor Baker appears to be doing everything he can to facilitate the draconian immigration policies and practices of President Trump’s Immigration and Customs Enforcement (ICE) agency. Baker’s initial proposal – to have MA police detain immigrants at the request of federal immigration agents (ICE agents) – was struck down by the state’s Supreme Judicial Court, which ruled in July 2017 that state law did not give local police the authority to do so. Baker then proposed legislation that would allow (but not require) local police to detain immigrants at the request of ICE. Most recently, **Baker has threatened to veto language attached to the state budget that would clarify the relationship between state and local police and ICE. He has used incendiary and inaccurate statements to describe the legislation:** he has called it “outrageous” and “ridiculous,” falsely claiming that it would prevent MA law enforcement from talking to federal officials about “criminals who are currently in our prisons and have been convicted of terrible crimes ...”. This is not true; the budget language explicitly states that it does not “prohibit or restrain” such communication. (The Berkshire Eagle, 5/30/18, “Governor playing politics with ICE amendment”; Johnson, A., 1/31/18, “Baker proposal would let police detain immigrants at request of federal authorities,” The Boston Globe)

C. Governor Baker says he is preparing legislation to reinstate the death penalty in Massachusetts. The death penalty doesn’t deter crime, is racially biased, results in

irreversible errors, and is expensive to implement. Nationally, since 1973, at least 162 people sentenced to death have been released due to evidence of their innocence. Death penalty cases are four times as expensive to prosecute as cases leading to life in prison because of lengthy trials and appeals. Furthermore, the state's violent crime rate has been declining. (Loth, R., 5/21/18, "Baker's death wish," The Boston Globe).

- D. **In May 2018, Governor Baker, sounding a lot like President Trump, denounced a judge's sentencing in a drug case as "ridiculous and outrageous," and called for the judge to be removed from the bench.** The judge had sentenced to probation a 32-year-old defendant charged with intent to distribute drugs, who had been dealing drugs for only a month and was arrested with half an ounce of heroin and a small amount of cocaine. The defendant's only criminal record was a dismissed drug possession charge from a decade ago. He lost his job due to his recent arrest but found another one after he was released on bail; he was supporting a wife and two children and faced likely deportation upon conviction. **Baker's cynical call for the removal of a distinguished judge because of a ruling in a single case** with which he (or his base) disagreed **reflects a disregard for the importance of the independence of the judiciary, as well as indifference to the nuances and complexities of sentencing non-violent drug offenders.** (Gertner, N., 6/1/18, "Irresponsible attacks on a fine judge," The Boston Globe)
- E. **Governor Baker's Office of the Chief Medical Examiner (ME), which is responsible for investigating violent and unexplained deaths, is not meeting national standards for timely autopsies and death certificates, and in three cases where infants died, the ME's original findings of death from abusive head trauma, which triggers criminal charges, were changed, months later, to findings of "undetermined" cause of death after the intervention of defense attorneys.** The National Association of Medical Examiners requires that autopsy reports and death certificates be completed within 90 days. Between October 2015 and September 2017, according to the agency's most recent annual report, only 58% of autopsies and 78% of death certificates were completed within the 90-day timeframe. (Stout, M., 6/2/18, "Demotion follows questions about degree," The Boston Globe)
- F. **Massachusetts incarcerates some individuals civilly committed for substance use disorders. MA appears to be the only state that does this.** In September 2017, a young man committed suicide while held in prison for a civil commitment for substance abuse. (Editorial, 12/12/17, The Boston Globe)
- G. **In August 2017, Governor Baker proposed a new, mandatory minimum sentence for non-violent drug offenders, in contravention of current research, past campaign promises, national trends, and the criminal justice reform law recently passed in Massachusetts that eliminates most mandatory minimum sentences.** (Pattison-Gordon, J., 9/6/17, "Baker proposes new drug-related mandatory minimum," The Bay State Banner)

IV. Energy and the Environment

A. **Governor Baker lacks the vision and leadership necessary to address climate change and increase the use of renewable energy in Massachusetts.** Despite recent storm surges that flooded Boston's subway system, the Seaport District, and many coastal areas, Baker's policies reflect no sense of urgency. He continues to favor the fossil fuel industry and has slowed progress on the use of clean energy. The Massachusetts Supreme Judicial Court (SJC) ruled that the Baker administration has until 2020 to reduce carbon emissions by 25% below 1990 levels, as required by the Global Warming Solutions Act. **Instead of stimulating local wind and solar power generation, the Baker Administration's new regulations focus on Canadian hydropower.** Baker and Lieutenant Governor Polito have received over \$185,000 in donations from big utilities and the fossil fuel industry, raising serious questions about their commitment to clean and sustainable energy. These industry donations have paid off: Baker appointed a former power company executive and a former fossil fuel industry lobbyist to key energy policy positions in his administration. Energy policy decision-making has been far from transparent and seems biased in favor of large utilities.

1. **A coalition of environmental groups gives the Baker administration a grade of C on its energy and environmental scorecard for the third year in a row.** The report card states that in general there has been a lack of leadership and action, and that Baker's policies tend to favor the large utilities and not consumers or the environment. When running for Governor, Baker promised he would increase spending on environmental programs to 1% of the state budget by the end of his first term. However, as his first term comes to a close, Governor Baker is allocating only 0.54% of the state budget to environmental programs – barely half a cent out of every dollar the state spends. As a result, there has been little to no progress on many environmental issues. (Statehouse News Service, 6/13/18, "Gov. Baker gets 'C' in environmental report card"; Charles River Watershed Association, Clean Water Action, Conservation Law Foundation, Environmental League of Massachusetts, Environment Massachusetts, Massachusetts Rivers Alliance, and Massachusetts Sierra Club, June 2018, "Massachusetts energy and environment report card, year three")
2. **The Baker administration's decision to bring Quebec hydropower to Massachusetts as the source of "clean" energy has been fraught with controversy for multiple reasons.** Initially, Baker administration officials selected Eversource's Northern Pass project. While it was neither the cheapest nor the best option among the 46 bids received, administration officials claimed it was the most likely to bring the most electricity to the state at the earliest date. The selection process was flawed and opaque. Furthermore, Eversource's executives were "big backers of Baker in his failed 2010 gubernatorial bid." However, shortly after Baker's selection of Eversource's project, New Hampshire officials rejected the route for the transmission line through NH. The Baker administration is now pursuing an alternative contractor which is proposing a transmission line through Maine. (Boston Globe Editorial, 1/29/2018; Leung, S., 2/7/18, "Is our energy plan prone to short-circuits?" The Boston Globe; Chesto, J., and Abel, D., 2/2/18, "N.H. rejects Canada-Mass. power

lines,” The Boston Globe; Chesto, J., 3/29/18, “Northern Pass dealt big setback,” The Boston Globe)

3. **Governor Baker has jeopardized the growth of solar power generation in Massachusetts** by supporting the reduction of the value of the credits received for electricity generated by solar projects in urban and low-income communities (net-metering credits) and by opposing increases in the amount of electricity that solar generators can sell into the electric power grid (net-metering caps). He did sign compromise legislation in 2016 that increased the net metering cap but allowed utilities to charge a fee to solar power generators. However, by early 2018, 230 communities had reached their new caps. The 2016 legislation also dramatically cuts the net-metering credits for large solar projects once 1,600 megawatts of solar power are generated in Massachusetts. (McGowan, E., 2/26/18, “Massachusetts solar groups say policy changes needed to stem job loss,” Energy News Network; Shallenberger, K., 4/11/16, “Massachusetts Gov. Baker signs bill lifting solar cap, lowering net metering rates,” Utility Dive; Mohl, B., 5/4/15, “Baker opposes lifting net metering cap,” CommonWealth Magazine)
 4. **The Baker administration’s new solar incentive program, Solar Massachusetts Renewable Targets (SMART),** which replaces the lapsed Solar Renewable Energy Credit (SREC) program, **significantly lowers compensation levels for solar energy generation and introduces uncertainties** that make predicting economic returns difficult, particularly on large-scale, community-based projects. This makes it difficult to obtain financing, which slows the growth of solar power generation. (McGowan, E., 2/26/18, “Massachusetts solar groups say policy changes needed to stem job loss,” Energy News Network)
 5. **Massachusetts lost 21% of its jobs in the solar industry last year.** This was one of the biggest percentage declines of any state; in the U.S. overall solar jobs were down only 3.8%. **The decline is largely due to uncertainty over state policies on solar incentives, caps, and fees under Governor Baker.** (Chesto, J., 2/8/18, “Massachusetts lost more than 20% of its solar jobs last year,” The Boston Globe; McGowan, E., 2/26/18, “Massachusetts solar groups say policy changes needed to stem job loss,” Energy News Network)
- B. **Governor Baker’s Dept. of Public Utilities (DPU) appointees have been characterized as “foxes guarding the hen house.”** Chair Angela O’Connor served as Vice President of Energy Policy at the largest business lobbying group in Massachusetts, Associated Industries of Massachusetts (AIM). Another appointee, Robert Hayden, ran for Congress in 2010 on a platform opposing regulation of business, Obamacare, and “handouts”. (Abel, D., 1/13/15, “Charlie Baker appoints controversial new energy team,” The Boston Globe)
1. **Baker’s DPU authorized electricity rate hikes that would cost Eversource’s 1.4 million customers between \$220 and \$460 million dollars** over a 5-year period. Massachusetts Attorney General Maura Healey has appealed the rate hikes, which would provide Eversource shareholders a 10% return and customers annual increases in electricity costs of about 3.5%. This rate of return is significantly higher than recent regional or national averages and the automatic annual rate increase is nationally unprecedented. Healey

proposed cuts that would save customers over \$40 million over 5 years. (LeBel, M., 2/28/18, “Time to part ways with traditional utility business model: Recent DPU decision double-downed on the old approach,” *CommonWealth Magazine*; Kinney, J., 12/20/17, “Massachusetts AG Maura Healey appeals Eversource rate hike,” *MassLive*)

2. **Baker’s DPU permitted Eversource to levy a fee on residential customers who generate solar power.** The fee of about \$120 per year for the typical home solar system will discourage the installation of solar power generation panels on homes. Moreover, customers will be unable to accurately calculate the fee in advance. Nowhere else in the country is such a fee charged. (Chesto, J., 1/21/18, “Critics say Eversource’s new fee casts a shadow on solar power,” *The Boston Globe*; Chesto, J., 2/1/18, “Solar power fee draws heat from lawmakers,” *The Boston Globe*; LeBel, M., 3/2/18, “Utility rate design needs reform: Legislature should overrule DPU-approved measures,” *CommonWealth Magazine*)
3. **Baker’s DPU has failed to advance an electric power grid modernization program.** Massachusetts initiated grid modernization and electric utility reform in 2012. By 2014, the previous DPU had taken some key steps toward improvements. However, after Governor Baker took office in 2015, progress stopped. While New York and Rhode Island move ahead with modernization of their grid and utility systems to incorporate local clean energy resources and increase customer control, in Massachusetts utilities continue to be rewarded for traditional investments in “poles and wires” and incentives are not aligned with consumer interests, environmental goals, or promotion of energy efficiency. (LeBel, M., 2/26/18, “Mass. dragging its feet on grid modernization: Compensation model for utilities needs to change,” *CommonWealth Magazine*)

C. Natural Gas and Pipelines

1. **Governor Baker continues to support new fossil fuel infrastructure projects, which are likely to slow the transition to clean energy alternatives.** One month after taking office, Baker stated he would like gas pipeline capacity in Massachusetts expanded. Furthermore, the Baker administration proposed that electricity consumers, rather than the gas and pipeline companies, pay for new natural gas pipelines. State policy for the previous 20 years had required utilities and pipeline companies to bear the costs and risks of pipeline construction. Baker’s fossil fuel-friendly proposal – to have consumers pay for new pipelines – was appealed to the state’s Supreme Judicial Court (SJC), which rejected it. (Chesto, J., 8/17/16, “SJC rejects Baker’s plan to impose fee for gas pipeline,” *The Boston Globe*; Vardi, I., 2/28/17, “Baker deflects question over Weymouth compressor station,” *DeSmogBlog*)
2. **Governor Baker has refused to take a stand against a gas pipeline compressor station in Weymouth, a site near a heavily populated area and a major bridge. He has also refused to meet with citizens opposing the compressor.** After initially saying the state had limited authority over the compressor siting, claiming that it was a federal matter, Baker, under intense grassroots pressure, finally ordered the state Departments of Public Health and Environmental Protection to review health and environmental issues prior to the issuing of any state permits. (Chesto, J., 5/6/18, “Energy giant sues Weymouth over pipeline station, saying federal law overrides zoning,” *The Boston Globe*; LeMoult, C., 7/27/17, “State reviewing controversial Weymouth natural gas compressor plan,” *WGBH*; O’Sullivan, J., 7/11/17, “Baker facing mounting pressure on Weymouth gas facility,” *The Boston Globe*;

Arena, A., 4/24/17, "An open letter to Gov. Baker," Fore River Residents Against the Compressor Station)

D. The Baker administration's policies on a variety of other environmental issues not only lack vision, but are moving Massachusetts in the wrong direction.

- 1. Governor Baker's Dept. of Energy Resources (DOER) included burning biomass, such as wood chips or pellets from trees and cleared brush, in its Alternative Energy Portfolio Standard.** This would mean that burning wood products would receive the same "clean energy" credits as solar power and geothermal energy. This was done despite the finding of a prior state-commissioned report that burning biomass generally emits more greenhouse gases than burning equivalent amounts of fossil fuels. Burning biomass could also lead to deforestation and increase pollution, notably soot, which is linked to asthma attacks and heart and lung diseases. This policy is, however, supported by the Massachusetts Forestry Alliance, a trade association of forest landowners and the forestry and logging industries. (Abel, D., 8/7/17, "Burning trees for fuel may soon qualify for state subsidies," The Boston Globe; Christensen, D., 12/19/17, "State includes wood, biomass in alternative energy standards," Daily Hampshire Gazette)
- 2. Governor Baker has weakened the Departments of Environmental Protection (DEP) and Conservation and Recreation (DCR) through budget reductions and early retirements. He has under-funded the Natural Heritage & Endangered Species Program (NHESP) to the point that it is now de-listing species,** not because they are no longer endangered, but because there is no money to protect them and their habitats. The lack of funding and staff at DEP, for example, leaves local Town Conservation Commissions with little support or backup when dealing with large developers who try to ignore wetland protections or other environmental laws. (Charles River Watershed Association, Clean Water Action, Conservation Law Foundation, Environmental League of Massachusetts, Environment Massachusetts, Massachusetts Rivers Alliance, and Massachusetts Sierra Club, June 2018, "Massachusetts energy and environment report card, year three")
- 3. The Trump administration recently announced an intention to expand offshore drilling for oil and gas all along the U.S. coasts, but exempted Florida at the request of Florida Governor Scott.** Governors of at least 4 other states have spoken up and asked for their states to also be exempted. **Governor Baker has failed to speak out in support of an exemption for Massachusetts.** (Weigel, D., Fears, S., & Wagner, J., 1/10/18, "Decision to exempt Florida from offshore drilling prompts bipartisan uproar," The Washington Post)

V. Education and funding for it

Massachusetts has a history of being a leader in education. However, K-12 education, early education and care, and public higher education are all seriously underfunded today in our

Commonwealth. Governor Baker has done nothing to address this significant underfunding of education across the age spectrum. His lack of vision and failed leadership in education policy for Massachusetts, where a highly educated workforce drives our economy, make it clear that he is first and last a Republican whose support for public education is trumped by his low taxes, small government philosophy. Baker is not the leader Massachusetts needs if we are to fulfill our commitment to educating *ALL* our children to lead the economy of the future and to have fulfilling lives.¹

A. Department of Early Education and Care (EEC)

1. **In his 2019 fiscal year budget, Governor Baker proposed that EEC receive \$591 million, a 2.4% increase, just barely keeping up with inflation.** In each of the four budgets that the Governor has prepared, funding for EEC has barely kept up with inflation, **despite a significant waitlist for children (over 19,000 as-of July 2018)** who need financial assistance for early education and care. In addition, **early care and education teachers are paid less than half of what public school kindergarten teachers make**, despite the critical impact they have on young children and growing consensus that they should have the same training and credentials as public school teachers. (Massachusetts Budget and Policy Center, 2/2/18, “Analyzing the Governor’s Budget for FY 2019”; Massachusetts Budget and Policy Center, 7/26/18, “Highlights of the Legislature’s FY 2019 Budget”)
2. **In 2017, Governor Baker vetoed \$2.7 million of funding for EEC** including all funding (\$1 million) for Reach Out and Read (which provides books to poor children in pediatricians’ offices) and half of the funding (\$1.25 million) for consultation to child care programs to help them serve children with serious behavior problems. The Democratic legislature overrode all of Baker’s vetoes. (Massachusetts Budget and Policy Center, 12/6/17, “The State Budget for FY 2018 Including Veto Overrides”)

B. Department of Elementary and Secondary Education (DESE, K-12 education)

1. **In his 2019 fiscal year budget, Governor Baker proposed that DESE receive \$4.87 billion, a 2.5% increase, just barely keeping up with inflation.** Sixty percent of the state’s school systems would receive an increase of less than 1% for the 2018-2019 school year; Holyoke and Southbridge, which are in state receivership because of poor performance, would get only 0.2% increases. This funding level does next to nothing to address the findings of the Massachusetts Foundation Budget Review Commission 2015 report which documented significant underfunding of K-12 education. In 1993, Massachusetts passed a major, innovative overhaul of its K-12 education system, including

¹ When state revenues took an unexpected jump, probably due to one-time effects of federal tax changes, the Democratic legislature adjusted the fiscal year 2019 budget increasing EEC funding by \$38 million, DESE funding by \$57 million, and higher education funding by \$28 million. Gov. Baker signed the bill, implicitly acknowledging that public education in the Commonwealth has been (and is) sorely underfunded.

a revamped formula for state funding of local school systems. The 2015 report found that the 1993 formula was out-of-date, resulting in significant underfunding of local school systems by the state. An analysis by the MA Budget and Policy Center focused on two specific areas of serious underfunding: a) health insurance and other benefits for teachers and staff, and b) special education. For the 2016-2017 school year, this analysis estimated costs for these two areas were underfunded by \$2.63 billion. This has happened because the formula's inflation factor for health insurance costs has been too low and because it has underestimated the number children requiring special education services and the severity of their needs. (Vaznis, J., 4/2/18, "Modest state aid increase leaves many school systems strapped," The Boston Globe; Massachusetts Budget and Policy Center, 2/2/18, "Analyzing the Governor's Budget for FY 2019"; Massachusetts Budget and Policy Center, 7/26/18, "Highlights of the Legislature's FY 2019 Budget"; Jones, C., Berger, N., & Hatch, R., 7/18/18, "Building an education system that works for everyone: Funding reforms to help all our children thrive," Massachusetts Budget and Policy Center; Barrett, L., "Baker's budget proposal shortchanges public education," MTA Today)

2. Moreover,
 - a) Baker eliminated a small grant program (\$250,000) for English Language Learners in Gateway Cities.
 - b) Baker cut the After School and Out-of-School Grants program by 44% to \$2.0 million.
3. **Governor Baker's budget proposals in each of his previous three budgets had only small increases in funding for K-12 education; they were less than the growth in state revenue and barely kept up with inflation.** Adjusted for inflation, state funding for our schools is below what it was in 2002. Many school systems find the portion of their costs covered by state funding is shrinking each year. Because of this and limitations on local funding, many schools are in budget-cutting mode year after year and many are increasing class sizes. To limit the damage, schools are having to rely increasingly on parent fees and town-wide votes to override Proposition 2 ½'s property tax limit, a challenging undertaking for any city or town. (Vaznis, J., 4/2/18, "Modest state aid increase leaves many school systems strapped," The Boston Globe)

In 2017, Baker vetoed \$7.3 million including \$2.44 million (17%) from DESE administration, \$1.3 million from After School and Out of School grants (38%), 67% of the College and Career Readiness line item, and 100% of the English Language Learners in Gateway Cities and the Innovation Schools line items. The Democratic legislature overrode all of Baker's vetoes. (Massachusetts Budget and Policy Center, 12/6/17, "The State Budget for FY 2018 Including Veto Overrides")

4. **Brockton and Worcester are considering a lawsuit against Baker and the state for underfunding K-12 education.** Urban school districts and schools in low income communities are particularly hard hit by the lack of state funds. Many school systems are having to cut staff, increase class sizes, increase fees for families, and ask voters to increase

funding from local property taxes. (Vaznis, J., 4/2/18, “Modest state aid increase leaves many school systems strapped,” The Boston Globe)

C. Charter Schools

1. **Governor Baker supports the expansion of K-12 charter schools** and actively worked to expand the number of charter schools in Massachusetts by passing Question 2 on the ballot in November 2016. Question 2 **was defeated with 62% of MA voters voting against it**. It would have allowed up to 12 new charter schools per year in perpetuity. In 2016, \$450 million per year of state funding for public schools was being diverted to charter schools and this amount is growing each year. Increasing the number of charter schools as the ballot question proposed would have allowed this figure to grow by an additional \$100 million each year. Local public schools lose funding for each student that leaves the district schools to attend a charter school. The average cost of a student in the district goes to the charter school, but any savings from having a student leave are minimal. For example, if two students leave from each of the 12 grades, the school system can't reduce the number of teachers or classrooms. But with 24 students gone, it will lose roughly \$264,000 - \$300,000 of funding (\$11,000 - \$12,500 per student). Charter schools serve a smaller percentage of English language learners and special needs students than the public schools of the local district. The special needs students the charters do serve typically have less severe needs than those in the public schools. This means the public schools, with reduced resources, are left to serve a more challenged, more expensive to educate population than the charter schools. **Governor Baker should make increased funding for our public schools, as identified by the Foundation Budget Review Commission, his priority rather than increasing the number of charter schools**, which divert funding from our public schools. (Schuster, L., 4/6/16, “Charter school funding, explained,” MA Budget and Policy Center)
2. **Governor Baker's budget underfunds by an estimated \$73.4 million reimbursements to public schools that lose students and funding to charter schools.** Fiscal year 2019 projections from the Dept. of Elementary and Secondary Education (DESE) find that the state's funding only provides a little over half of the amount called for by the state's reimbursement formula. This shortfall is an increase from the \$56.1 million shortage in FY17. The shortfall is likely to grow as Baker level funds the reimbursements while the number of charter school students is growing. (MA Budget and Policy Center, 2/2/18, “Analyzing the Governor's Budget for FY 2019”)

Boston will receive \$21 million in reimbursement for funding lost to charter schools under Governor Baker's FY19 budget proposal. This is \$27 million less than it should receive under the state's formula. Boston's reimbursement has been under-funded by \$100 million over the previous five years. Boston is paying \$175 million to charter schools in the 2017-2018 school year and projects that will grow to \$195 million next year, while the state's reimbursement under Governor Baker's proposal will decrease by \$4 million. (Crimaldi, L.,

2/7/18, “Walsh says state not giving enough aid to Boston Schools,” The Boston Globe)

D. Higher Education

1. **In his 2019 fiscal year budget, Governor Baker proposed that higher education receive \$1.19 billion, a 0.6% increase, well below the rate of inflation.** Meanwhile, average tuition increases for the 2017-2018 academic year were 5% at four-year schools and 4% at community colleges. Students are graduating with increasing amounts of student debt because of the lack of state funding. (Massachusetts Budget and Policy Center, 2/2/18, “Analyzing the Governor’s Budget for FY 2019”; Massachusetts Budget and Policy Center, 7/26/18, “Highlights of the Legislature’s FY 2019 Budget”; Barrett, L., Winter 2018, “Baker’s budget proposal shortchanges public education,” MTA Today)
2. **In 2017, Baker vetoed \$7.7 million** including over 50% of the department’s \$4 million administration line item. The Democratic legislature overrode all Baker’s vetoes. (Massachusetts Budget and Policy Center, 12/6/17, “The State Budget for FY 2018 Including Veto Overrides”)
3. **College affordability, even at public colleges and universities in Massachusetts, is a stumbling block for many students and parents.** Massachusetts is not adequately addressing this, despite the recognition that its economy is dependent on a highly educated workforce and that graduates of MA public colleges are likely to stay in MA and contribute to its economy. State higher education funding has fallen by 15 percent since 2001, from \$1.4 billion to \$1.2 billion in fiscal year 2019 (adjusted for inflation), even as enrollment has increased. **This reduction in state funding has led to deep cuts in scholarships and increases in tuition and fees.** As a result, between 2004 and 2016, the **average student loan debt for graduates of Massachusetts’ public four-year colleges and universities rose by 77 percent, faster than in any other state in the country except Delaware.** Graduates of state universities start their careers saddled with an average of \$30,250 in debt, just 7% less than the \$32,355 owed by graduates of private colleges in Massachusetts. Today, many students must both work and borrow the maximum amount in federal student loans to afford public universities in Massachusetts. (Fernandes, D., 3/1/18, “Mass. students borrowing more to attend public universities,” The Boston Globe; Thompson, J., 3/1/18, “Educated and encumbered: Student debt is rising with higher education funding falling in Massachusetts,” Massachusetts Budget and Policy Center)
4. **The Baker administration’s failure of leadership and accountability was on display again in the sudden closing of Mount Ida College and the \$75 million purchase of its campus by the University of Massachusetts (UMass) at Amherst.** The University of Massachusetts Board of Trustees approved the deal that left Mount Ida students suddenly adrift and provided UMass Amherst a valuable outpost just a few miles from the financially challenged UMass Boston campus. No one has explained why the UMass Boston campus couldn’t have served the needs of UMass Amherst for a location near Boston or why the

\$75 million would not have been better used to support UMass Boston's needs. The Massachusetts Board of Higher Education denied any responsibility and pointed its finger at the leadership of UMass and Mount Ida. (Vennoch, J., 4/25/18, "Being 'shocked' isn't enough. Baker needs to fix Mount Ida mess," The Boston Globe; Guerra, C., 5/18/18, "UMass Amherst closes deal on acquisition of Mount Ida College," The Boston Globe)

VI. Public Health and the Opioid Crisis

Governor Baker underfunds important public health programs, has not done enough to address the opioid crisis, and tries to reduce health care spending on the backs of low-income people and state employees. Baker's lack of vision and failures as a manager show up time and again. His policies are often mean-spirited and particularly harmful to those most in need. His Republican ideology is clear; he favors corporate profits over people, no new taxes over a safety net for struggling families, and politics over evidence in making policy decisions.

- A. In his 2019 fiscal year budget, **Governor Baker proposed cutting some important programs and level funding others within the Department of Public Health.** Baker proposed:
1. Eliminating the Postpartum Depression Pilot Program
 2. A 26% cut in youth violence prevention programs
 3. A 10% cut in oral health programs
 4. A 10% cut in the Smoking Prevention and Cessation program, providing just \$3.4 million for this program that in 2001 was funded at \$90 million (adjusted for inflation) and was a national model for smoking reduction efforts
 5. Level funding for the Early Intervention Program that provides developmental services for children from birth to their third birthdays, which is the equivalent of special education for children under 3 years of age
 6. Level funding for the Special Supplemental Nutrition Program for Women, Infants, and Children (WIC) that provides food and nutrition services for pregnant and postpartum women and their infants. (Massachusetts Budget and Policy Center, 2/2/18, "Analyzing the Governor's Budget for FY 2019")
- B. In his 2019 fiscal year budget, **Governor Baker proposed a slight reduction in spending on Child and Adolescent Mental Health.** Every school teacher, parent, psychologist, and psychiatrist will state that this is an area that needs more resources not less. (Massachusetts Budget and Policy Center, 2/2/18, "Analyzing the Governor's Budget for FY 2019")
- C. **Governor Baker's proposed budget for fiscal year 2019 called for removing 140,000 adults, including roughly 100,000 parents or grandparents raising children, from Medicaid** (called Mass Health here in MA). He has tried to do this before, but each time the legislature has rejected his proposal. Federal Medicaid officials recently rejected the requested change as well. These adults have incomes between 100% and 138% of the poverty line (i.e., \$12,000-\$16,600 for a single individual and \$21,000-\$26,000 for a family of 3). They would be eligible for subsidized insurance under the state's universal health care law, but it would

probably cost them more and might provide fewer benefits. This might save the state about \$860 per person (\$120 million in total out of a state budget of over \$40 billion). (MA Budget and Policy Center, 1/24/18, “A first take on the Governor’s budget”; Miller, J., McCluskey, P.D., & Levenson, M., 1/25/18, “Baker plan again shifts some off Medicaid,” The Boston Globe; Berkshire Eagle, 11/20/17; McCluskey, P. D., 7/1/18, “Federal authorities reject Baker’s plan to move people off Medicaid, limit drug coverage,” The Boston Globe)

- D. **Governor Baker’s proposed budget for fiscal year 2019 calls for excluding coverage of certain drugs from Massachusetts’ Medicaid program.** Federal law does not allow Medicaid programs to exclude drugs, so the Baker administration sought an exemption from the federal law. Federal Medicaid officials rejected the requested exemption. (Massachusetts Budget and Policy Center, 2/2/18, “Analyzing the Governor’s Budget for FY 2019”; McCluskey, P. D., 7/1/18, “Federal authorities reject Baker’s plan to move people off Medicaid, limit drug coverage,” The Boston Globe)
- E. **For the first six months of fiscal year 2018, Governor Baker withheld roughly \$100 million of spending authorized by the legislature.** This included, **for example, \$800,000 for the Pediatric Palliative Care Network program that provides services to chronically and terminally ill children.** Children’s Hospital wrote to Baker on November 29, 2017, pleading for release of the funding, noting that there was **a waiting list of 164 children** for these services and that **seven children died without ever receiving the essential services of the program.** On January 2, 2018, Baker released funds, primarily for human services, that he had been withholding despite approval by the legislature to spend them starting on July 1, 2017. Legislators were particularly upset with Baker because they had overridden his veto of much of the funding he withheld. Citing a 1978 Supreme Judicial Court ruling, **a number of legal experts stated that Baker’s actions were probably illegal** and a violation of his constitutional obligations. (Phillips, F., 1/3/18, “Baker releasing \$100m OK’d by lawmakers,” The Boston Globe)
- F. **A quasi-state agency, the Group Insurance Commission (GIC), (that Governor Baker effectively controls) voted in January 2018 to eliminate three popular health insurance plans from those available to 442,000 state employees and retirees.** It did so with essentially no notice to or consultation with those state workers. The elimination of health insurance plans from Tufts Health Plan, Harvard Pilgrim Health Care, and Fallon Health would also have resulted in layoffs of workers at those local companies. The GIC is a 17-member commission that is primarily appointed by the Governor and includes his Secretary of Administration and Finance. **After intense public criticism, the GIC rescinded its decision and Governor Baker is claiming he didn’t know it was planning to remove the health insurance options.** For a Governor who asserts that his strength is good management and that he is engaged in the details of state policies – and who used to run a health insurance company – it’s hard to believe he was unaware of this major decision. And, if he was in the dark, that undermines his entire argument that his managerial competence is an important reason he’s qualified to be Governor.

(Leung, S., 2/1/18, "Like magic, Baker escapes an insurance mess," The Boston Globe)

- G. **At a forum in early April 2018, Governor Baker strongly defended the Boston-based pharmaceutical company Vertex and its drug pricing.** Vertex charges \$300,000 per patient annually for its cystic fibrosis drug treatments, pricing that has been heavily criticized by doctors and scientists who work on cystic fibrosis. At least four countries (the UK, France, Ireland, and the Netherlands) are fighting Vertex over its drug pricing and New York State is also reviewing Vertex's pricing. The compensation of Vertex's CEO, which has averaged \$25 million a year over the last 4 years, has also been criticized as excessive. **Vertex executives contributed nearly \$260,000 in 2016 – 2017 to the Republican Governors Association (RGA), which recently contributed over \$2 million to a political action committee supporting Governor Baker's re-election campaign.** (In 2014, the RGA funneled over \$11 million into Baker's campaign.) **Vertex executives also contributed \$7,500 directly to Baker and his running mate's campaign committees in late March 2018, shortly before his public statements in support of Vertex.** (Phillips, F., 4/13/18, "Governor defends Vertex drug prices," The Boston Globe; Thielking, M., 4/10/18, "Baker defends Vertex on pricing," The Boston Globe; Stendahl, M., 12/2/16, "Vertex boosts pay for two executives," Boston Business Journal; Silverman, E., 4/24/18, "UK challenges Vertex's prices," The Boston Globe)
- H. Given an opioid-related death rate in Massachusetts that is over twice the national average, **Governor Baker could have demonstrated leadership by embracing a proposal from the state Senate to explore establishment of a safe injection site pilot program.** These sites, also referred to as harm reduction centers, would allow people with substance abuse disorders to inject themselves with illegal drugs under medical supervision to reduce the likelihood of death from an overdose. **While presenting himself as a data-driven manager, Baker is not only ignoring strong evidence that these programs save lives, but he is misstating the evidence to support his opposition to them.** Vancouver, Canada, has been successfully operating a site since 2003. The evidence is convincing enough that at least 13 cities and states in the U.S. are seriously studying proposals to implement safe injection sites despite possible conflicts with federal law and officials. Governor Baker could exhibit leadership and at least seriously explore implementing such a program while simultaneously engaging in discussions with federal officials to overcome opposition or change federal law. (Editorial, 7/20/18, "Mr. Data goes missing on safe injection plan," The Boston Globe; Schoenberg, S., 7/17/18, "Massachusetts Senate includes safe injection sites in opioid bill," MassLive)
- I. **Under Governor Baker, Massachusetts prisons have not been offering prisoners medication that is standard treatment for opioid addiction outside of prison, even if they were prescribed and taking the medication before entering prison.** A bill just passed by the legislature and signed into law by Baker in August authorizes a pilot program for using these medications in five prisons. Inmates who experience withdrawal from opioid addiction have not been receiving standard medication to ease withdrawal, except for pregnant women where withdrawal can harm their fetuses. It is estimated that 2/3 of prisoners have a substance use disorder and prisoners who do not receive this medication in prison are at extremely high risk

of overdosing after release from prison. Methadone and buprenorphine (aka Suboxone) are widely used outside of prison to stop cravings for opioids, prevent overdoses, support success in treatment and recovery, and ease withdrawal from addiction to opioids. The U.S. Department of Justice is investigating whether MA prisons are violating the Americans with Disabilities Act (ADA) by denying this medication to inmates given that substance abuse disorder and addiction are considered disabilities under the ADA. (Freyer, F. J., 3/29/18, “Prison opioid rules get scrutiny,” The Boston Globe; Freyer, F. J., 3/27/18, “Fight for prisoner treatments not over yet,” The Boston Globe; Schoenberg, S., 7/17/18, “Massachusetts Senate includes safe injection sites in opioid bill,” MassLive; Editorial, 8/18/18, “Keeping every option on opioid treatment,” The Boston Globe)

- J. **Massachusetts uses prison incarceration for some civilly committed individuals with substance use disorders. MA appears to be the only state that allows this.** In September 2017, a young man committed suicide while in a prison for non-criminal substance use. **Governor Baker has done nothing to end this practice** and, furthermore, has **proposed legislation that would involuntarily commit individuals suffering from addiction** (which was rejected by the Democratic legislature). Such involuntary commitment would violate an individual’s civil rights and is an inappropriate policy for addressing the disease of addiction. (Editorial, 12/12/17, The Boston Globe; WGBH News, Greater Boston, 1/23/18, “Gov. Baker proposes 72-hour involuntary commitment to get addicts into treatment,” WGBH)

- K. **Governor Baker’s Office of the Chief Medical Examiner (ME), which is responsible for investigating violent and unexplained deaths, is not meeting national standards for timely autopsies and death certificates. Furthermore, in three cases where infants died, the ME’s original findings of death from abusive head trauma, which triggers criminal charges, were changed, months later, to findings of “undetermined” cause of death after the intervention of defense attorneys.** The National Association of Medical Examiners requires that autopsy reports and death certificates be completed within 90 days. Between October 2015 and September 2017, according to the agency’s most recent annual report, only 58% of autopsies and 78% of death certificates were completed within the 90-day timeframe. (Stout, M., 6/2/18, “Demotion follows questions about degree,” The Boston Globe)

- L. **Governor Baker does not support a single payer health care system.** (Schoenberg, S., 10/2/17, “Gov. Charlie Baker: Federal inaction on health care could hurt Massachusetts,” MassLive)

VII. Housing and Homelessness

- A. Baker’s policy **requires families, including ones with children, to spend a night in an inappropriate and even dangerous location, such as in a car or under a bridge, before they are eligible for a homeless shelter. Funding for homelessness assistance has declined \$55**

million (21%) under Baker in the last 2 years. (MA Budget and Policy Center)

- B. Baker announced a **plan to build 135,000 homes over the next 8 years with \$10 million annually in grants** to cities and towns and a tweak to local rules for making zoning changes. (Globe 12/12/17) That's **less than \$600 per home**. Here again, **Governor Baker spends a little money and, to great fanfare, claims he's made a significant impact on much bigger problem.**
- C. Baker **froze funding for the only homeless shelter in Amherst for two consecutive years**, thereby precluding essential services in cold weather. He did not release funds last year, and only released funds this year after potentially life-threatening situations were exposed by the media.
- D. Baker has **cut subsidies for affordable housing.**

VIII. Patronage and Personnel Issues

Governor Baker promised during his campaign to end patronage, have the state inspector general audit hiring practices, and make state hiring fully transparent through an on-line website. None of these promises have been fulfilled. His attempts to reduce state payroll costs through early retirement incentives and a hiring freeze appear to have been selectively applied. Some state agencies' personnel costs, notably the State Police's, appear to be out of control. Some agencies have hired new employees and created new patronage positions. Baker has not only failed to live up to his campaign promises, but problems in hiring and oversight of employees represent serious management failures. Despite his claim to be a skilled manager, problems managing personnel have surfaced in multiple agencies time and again.

- A. **Governor Baker promised to root out patronage when he was running for Governor in 2014** and laid out a bold plan to do so. (Phillips, F., 5/25/17, "Candidate Baker proposed bold anti-patronage plan," The Boston Globe). He has failed woefully to fulfill this campaign pledge.
 - 1. **Multiple personnel scandals have occurred within the Executive Office of Energy and Environmental Affairs (EEA) under Secretary Beaton, a long-time ally of Lt. Governor Polito who faced questions about his qualifications for the job when Baker appointed him in 2014.** (Rocheleau, M., 8/28/18, "Reforms for police don't end pay deals," The Boston Globe)
 - a) **Members of the state's Environmental Police regularly perform overtime assignments and off-duty detail work in the middle of the workday, a practice Governor Baker promised to crack down on two years ago.** They also get paid for time spent traveling between regular and special work sites, and use time off to trigger

overtime pay. An independent expert described these arrangements as poor management practices and ripe for abuse, double-dipping, and corruption. He also noted that he doesn't know of any other law enforcement agency that allows officers to split up their workday with overtime and private detail work. About half of the 83 Environmental Police officers earned over \$100,000 last year with overtime and private details that cost the agency over \$1.5 million. The head of the Environmental Police, who retired as a State Police sergeant in 2005, was Baker's personal campaign driver until Baker appointed him to his current \$132,000 a year job. His overhaul of the management team at the Environmental Police appears to have violated agency policies, including the hiring of a law school classmate as his deputy. (Rocheleau, M., 8/28/18, "Reforms for police don't end pay deals," The Boston Globe)

- b) **Secretary Beaton created a new \$72,000 a year job at EEA and hired the son of a supporter of the Lt. Governor without posting the job or doing a background check.** The hiree's previous experience does not meet the EEA job description. Less than a year earlier, the hiree lost his job as a court officer after he was charged with operating under the influence of drugs, leaving the scene of an accident, refusing to identify himself to police, and resisting arrest. During that year, his parents made \$4,000 in campaign contributions to Polito and \$1,000 to Baker. **The Baker administration has refused to release the hiree's résumé or job application, an apparent violation of public records laws.** (Phillips, F., 5/9/17, "After arrest, son of Polito supporters lands a job in the administration," The Boston Globe)
- c) In October 2016, **two EEA staffers left after misconduct and harassment of a fellow employee over a political issue.** (Merzbach, S., 9/22/16, "Senate candidate's fiancée alleges intimidation at state agency," Daily Hampshire Gazette)
- d) **A series of patronage scandals occurred at the Dept. of Conservation and Recreation (DCR), reflecting that service to the Republican Party is the only hiring criterion that counts. Character and qualifications? Not so much.**
 - (1) In July 2018, the **DCR's \$71,000-a-year Assistant Director of Contracts (also a former Republican State Committee member) was placed on unpaid leave after she was indicted for stealing money from a client of her now-closed law firm.** In a related civil lawsuit, she admitted to stealing more than \$164,000. Her law license was suspended in 2014 and the MA Board of Bar Overseers is weighing disciplinary action against her for the third time in eight years. (Stout, M., 7/27/18, "Indicted DCR official placed on unpaid leave," The Boston Globe). **The Baker administration turned a blind eye to her checkered past.**
 - (2) In the fall of 2017, **a DCR appointee with ties to the Lt. Governor resigned after the educational credentials he claimed on his résumé were subjected to public scrutiny.** (Stout, M., 7/27/18, "Indicted DCR official placed on unpaid leave," The Boston Globe)

- (3) In 2017, **DCR's Baker-appointed western regional director (also a Republican State Committee member) resigned from his \$91,000 a year job after pornography was found on his state computer.** (Stout, M., 7/27/18, "Indicted DCR official placed on unpaid leave," The Boston Globe)
 - (4) In September 2016, **the DCR Deputy Commissioner resigned after he used his state vehicle and its emergency lights to cut through rush hour traffic in Boston.** (Metzger, A., 10/3/19, "Baker appalled by DCR official's actions," Commonwealth Magazine; Stout, M., 7/27/18, "Indicted DCR official placed on unpaid leave," The Boston Globe)
 - (5) In August 2016, **the DCR Commissioner and his deputy were suspended without pay for a week after they engaged in inappropriate political activity using state resources.** (Metzger, A., 10/3/19, "Baker appalled by DCR official's actions," Commonwealth Magazine; Stout, M., 7/27/18, "Indicted DCR official placed on unpaid leave," The Boston Globe)
2. Patronage is also business as usual at **the Dept. of Revenue (DOR). Commissioner Heffernan has hired a half-dozen friends, neighbors, and former co-workers with salaries ranging from \$90,000 to \$140,000.** In at least two cases, he created a new position for a patronage hiree. **Nonetheless, Heffernan has been promoted to Secretary of Administration and Finance.** (Phillips, F., 3/18/18, "State official gave six-figure jobs to friends and neighbors," The Boston Globe)
- a) **Heffernan hired a friend, neighbor, and donor to his failed campaign for state treasurer for a \$121,000-a-year job despite a hiring freeze. She does not appear to be qualified** to be associate deputy commissioner for administrative affairs and chief risk officer, given her previous experience as a securities trader and financial portfolio manager. The DOR job requires managing data security risks, an area of expertise the hiree does not appear to have. During her tenure, DOR has twice improperly disclosed proprietary or personal data; it has also made serious errors processing child support payments. (Phillips, F., 3/7/18, "Governor defends experience of IT tax official," The Boston Globe)
 - b) **Heffernan hired four friends, neighbors, or former co-workers as deputy commissioners or chiefs of staff (salary: \$140,000), and a fifth as marketing and chief digital services director (salary: \$90,000).** (Phillips, F., 3/18/18, "State official gave six-figure job to friends and neighbors," The Boston Globe)
- B. **When Governor Baker took office in 2015, he offered early retirement incentives and imposed a hiring freeze to reduce the state payroll and help balance the state's budget.** This, too, was a hollow promise. The freeze did not prevent patronage hires. **Some agencies have not only hired new employees despite the hiring freeze, they have even created new patronage positions.** For example, the Dept. of Revenue (DOR) has hired half a dozen employees, friends and neighbors of the DOR Commissioner, at salaries of over \$100,000 (see

details above in item A.2).

1. While **Governor Baker promised to control state payroll costs**, at certain state agencies employee salaries of more than \$100,000 and routine overtime are common. For example, **at least two-thirds of State Police employees were paid over \$100,000 in 2017, including 88% of state troopers. At Massport, in 2017, about 40% of employees were paid over \$100,000** (not including the state troopers who worked at Massport properties). That percentage is up from 27% in 2011. **At the MBTA, about one-third of workers are paid over \$100,000.** For sake of comparison, at most state agencies an average of 12% of employees are paid over \$100,000. (Rocheleau, M., 4/2/18, “Massport staff: 40% earn over \$100,000,” The Boston Globe)
- C. **Multiple personnel scandals have rocked the State Police, despite red flags and warnings earlier in Governor Baker’s term.** Forty-six current and former troopers have been accused of fraud for collecting overtime pay for shifts they did not work. Six have been charged with federal crimes; two have pleaded guilty. State charges are also being brought. The head of the State Police and three of his deputies resigned in a scandal over the alteration of an arrest report. A trooper was hired despite previous involvement in selling drugs and laundering money. She was later suspended and then resigned. (See section III of the full Baker Dossier at the PDM website for more information and details.) **In response to these problems and the failure of the Baker administration to address them adequately, the Democratic Legislature has initiated three independent efforts to oversee the State Police. The Legislature:** 1) created a \$300,000 independent State Police auditing unit within the Inspector General’s Office, 2) funded a \$300,000 study of the overall management structure of the State Police, and 3) created a special commission to recommend improved transparency and accountability in State Police personnel practices. (Rocheleau, M., 8/28/18, “Audit unit established to oversee State Police,” The Boston Globe)

IX. State Budget and Investment in our Commonwealth

- A. **Governor Baker opposes the Fair Share Amendment**, which would put a **4% surtax on MA taxable income over \$1 million. This would raise about \$2 billion for education and transportation infrastructure in the state.** (Berkshire Eagle, 11/20/17) **This surtax would make our taxes fairer** because currently the 1% of households with the highest incomes pay only 6.5% of their incomes in state and local taxes and fees while most residents with lower incomes pay 10% of their incomes in taxes and fees. **It would provide the state with badly needed revenue.** Most MA agencies and programs have had their funding cut significantly since 2001 (see examples below) because of a lack of revenue. The exceptions are spending on health care and state aid to local K-12 schools.
- B. **General Local Aid is \$1.06 billion, down \$720 million (40%) from 2001, after adjusting for inflation.**

- C. **In June 2017, Standard & Poor’s (S&P) credit rating service downgraded MA bonds for the first time in 30 years.** This makes it more expensive for MA to borrow money. As reasons for the downgrading, S&P noted the structural imbalance in the state’s budget and the use of gimmicks and manipulation by Governor Baker to balance the budget. Under his predecessor, Deval Patrick, the rating had gone up, even during the Great Recession. (Berkshire Eagle, 11/20/17)
- D. **Governor Baker withheld funding approved by the legislature, potentially in violation of the law.** In fiscal year 2018, **he withheld \$100 million primarily intended for human service programs, many that serve vulnerable populations** (e.g., the homeless, medically fragile children, etc.). He released the funding on January 3, 2018, six months into the fiscal year, only after his withholding of these funds received publicity. He claimed he was waiting to see additional revenue figures; however, November figures were higher than estimated, so this rationale is questionable. In many cases, the withheld funding was for items that he had vetoed in the budget but that the Legislature had overridden. (F. Phillips, 1/3/18, “Baker releasing \$100m OKd by lawmakers,” The Boston Globe.)
- E. **When Governor Baker took office in 2015, he offered early retirement incentives to reduce the state payroll and help balance the state’s budget. He declared he would eliminate patronage and imposed a hiring freeze,** which is still in place at least for some agencies. However, **some agencies and people have been able to hire and even create new positions.** The **Dept. of Revenue (DOR) has hired half a dozen apparent patronage employees at salaries of over \$100,000** (see details below in item X.J.2). Furthermore, although for most state agencies an average of 12% of employees are paid over \$100,000, for certain agencies, employee salaries of more than \$100,000 are fairly common. For example, **at least two-thirds of State Police employees were paid over \$100,000 in 2017, including 88% of state troopers. At Massport, in 2017, about 40% of employees were paid over \$100,000** (not including the state troopers who worked at Massport properties). That percentage is up from 27% in 2011. At the MBTA, about one-third of workers are paid over \$100,000. (Rocheleau. M., 4/2/18, “Massport staff: 40% earn over \$100,000,” The Boston Globe)
- F. **The budget for the state’s Small Business Technical Assistance program has been cut by \$1.25 million (62.5%) over the last 2 years.** This program provided grants to nearly 1,700 small businesses last year, 88% of which were owned by women (55%), people of color (51%), and/or immigrants (31%). (J. Kriesberg, President, MA Association of Community Development Corporations, 1/2/18, “State shouldn’t cut back on **a key support for minority-owned businesses,**” The Boston Globe.)

X. Campaign finance

- A. Baker and the Republican State Committee (RSC) – which he effectively controls – share a **joint fundraising operation**, the MA Victory Committee, with the Republican National

Committee (RNC). It **allows wealthy donors to contribute \$43,800 per year, an end run around the state's \$1,000 per year contribution limit.** About 60% of the money goes to the RSC, which for all intents and purposes is Baker's campaign organization. Moreover, at least some of the remaining money, which initially goes to the RNC, is contributed by the RNC to the RSC. This, although technically legal, is, in effect, money laundering. Using this scheme, Baker has raised about \$5 million in the last 3 years. (Capital Source, 12/8/17, The Boston Globe)

- B. Governor Baker **supported 2016 ballot question #2 to expand charter schools in MA, increasing the privatization of public education. The Chair of the Board of Elementary and Secondary Education, appointed by Baker in 2015, contributed \$600,000 to the effort, most of it through an out-of-state, secret money organization** that spent \$30 million in MA in support of Baker's policy. (Berkshire Eagle, 11/20/17). The organization, Families for Excellent Schools, was fined \$426,000 for failing to disclose its donors. Almost all the donors, some giving over \$1 million, were from MA. Although Baker says he was unaware of the activities of the organization, **Baker's two top political advisors ran the effort to get the ballot item approved.** They were paid over \$275,000 primarily for this work. (F. Phillips, 1/3/18, "Ballot group fined, must name donors," The Boston Globe.)
- C. A group called **Strong Economy for Growth** is aligned with Governor Baker and spent \$1.2 million supporting Baker's positions on two ballot initiatives in 2016. The state's **Office of Campaign and Political Finance has fined the group \$31,000** for violating state campaign finance laws by failing to disclose its contributors. It also barred the group from participating in state politics in 2018. Although Baker says he was unaware of the activities of the group, **two individuals who work for Baker's campaign (not the two political advisors who worked on Question 2 mentioned above) were paid over \$200,000 for their work for the group.** (F. Phillips, 1/3/18, "Ballot group fined, must name donors," The Boston Globe.)
- D. Shortly after winning a license to build a casino in Everett in Sept. 2014, **Wynn Resorts made a \$2 million donation to the Republican Governors Association (RGA). The RGA, within ten days of receiving that donation, gave just over \$2 million to Baker's campaign for Governor,** which he won in November 2014, only 7 weeks later. Wynn Resorts was banned from making contributions as an applicant for a casino license, but once the license was granted, it became legal for it to make campaign donations. (Lemoult, C., 2/22/18, "Gaming Commission says Wynn donation that supported Baker campaign was not illegal," WGBH)

XI. Don't Be Fooled: Governor Baker is a Republican

By not strongly opposing the national Republican policy agenda, Governor Baker is complicit in those policies and has failed to stand up for Massachusetts residents, many of whom are harmed by those policies. In some areas, Baker's policies are identical with those of the Trump Administration. Furthermore, Baker's fundraising in conjunction with the Republican National

Committee (RNC) (which allows him to evade MA campaign finance laws) has put at least \$2 million in the Trump-controlled RNC's coffers. Therefore, Baker is financially supporting, for example, the payment of Trump's legal bills and the Republican national policy agenda, including the 2017 tax cut for the wealthy, voter suppression, and the war on women's health care. (Harrison, L., 1/11/18, "The devil and Charlie Baker," The Berkshire Eagle)

As this Dossier documents across a wide range of issues, Governor Baker lacks a vision for the future of our Commonwealth. Instead, he markets himself as a skilled manager. While he cultivates an aura of folksy reasonableness, a close look at his actions make it clear that he is first and foremost a Republican. His policies are often mean-spirited and harmful to those most in need. And he's no great shakes as a manager either: Management failures have surfaced in agency after agency.

Because of Governor Baker's lack of leadership, Massachusetts has fallen from first to eighth on US News & World Report's list of the best states. Baker touted and took credit for the No. 1 ranking in his 2018 State of the Commonwealth speech and on national TV. Factors very much under his control contributed to the decline in the ranking, such as a drop in MA's ranking on infrastructure (45th) and fiscal stability (40th). High levels of economic inequality were also a factor in the lower ranking. The rankings are based on 77 measures in eight categories (listed in order of their importance): health care, education, economy, infrastructure, crime and corrections, fiscal stability, and quality of life. In the infrastructure category, MA was 47th on electricity prices (a major concern to the business community), 47th in average commute time, 46th on road quality (36.5% of roads are in poor condition), and 49th in terms of households with ultra-fast internet access (only 0.1 percent). (Miller, J., 2/27/18, "Mass. falls in US News ranking from 'best' state to eighth state," The Boston Globe; Mohl, B., 2/28/18, "Why Mass. fell from No. 1 to No. 8," Commonwealth)

A. Governor Baker's hand-picked Lt. Governor, Karen Polito, and several state candidates whom he supports have policy positions that mirror those of right-wing national Republicans. He has flip-flopped on policies to prevent gun violence and his positions are often aligned with those of the National Rifle Association (NRA). He and Lt. Governor Polito have received high ratings from the MA chapter of the NRA. He even appointed the head of the local NRA chapter, Ronald Amidon, to a senior post in his administration.

- 1. Governor Baker has endorsed, actively supported, and raised money for right-wing Republican candidates for Massachusetts offices.** He has endorsed the whole Republican ticket in Massachusetts, including Geoff Diehl for US Senator. Diehl was President Trump's campaign chairman in Massachusetts and trumpets his unwavering support for the president. If this Baker-supported candidate were to win, he would provide a key vote in the US Senate for Trump and right-wing policies that Baker claims not to support. Baker also supports right-wing state Senate and House candidates who support reversing marriage equality, repealing our transgender rights law, exempting schools from anti-discrimination

laws, defunding Planned Parenthood, and requiring medical professionals to convey graphic information to women seeking to end a pregnancy. With Baker's strong support, one of them has risen through the ranks of the state Republican Party and obtained a seat on the Republican National Committee. (Lannan, K., 6/7/18, "Gonzalez slams Baker for supporting GOP ticket," CommonWealth Magazine; Metzger, A., 10/13/17, "Baker stands by Ventura despite disagreements with Senate candidate," State House News Service; Murphy, M., 11/21/17, "Baker urged to withdraw support for Tran's candidacy," State House News Service; Chabot, H., 4/23/18, "GOP state treasurer candidate undecided on transgender bill repeal," Boston Herald)

2. **Karen Polito, whom Governor Baker hand-picked as his running mate, voted as a state representative against the Transgender Civil Rights bill and for a constitutional amendment defining marriage as between one man and one woman. She led the effort for a statewide ballot question to ban same sex marriage, supported an effort to dissolve the LGBT Youth Commission, and received a 100% rating from the MA chapter of the National Rifle Association (NRA).** (Vote Smart, retrieved from the Internet 5/28/18, "Rating Group: Gun Owners' Action League 2014 positions," <https://votesmart.org/interest-group/46/rating/7553#.WwwhAkgvzIU>)
 3. **When Baker ran for Governor in 2014, he received a 94% rating from the state chapter of the NRA and refused to support a federal assault weapons ban.** Then, he flip-flopped and said that the MA assault weapon ban is working and the federal government should adopt something similar. Baker initially supported Attorney General Maura Healey's crackdown on the sale of copycat assault weapons. However, he again flip-flopped and began questioning it, using talking points from the gun industry. (OnTheIssues, retrieved from the Internet 5/29/18, "Charlie Baker on gun control," http://www.ontheissues.org/Governor/Charlie_Baker_Gun_Control.htm; Dumcius, G., 2/28/18, "Massachusetts Gov. Baker says feds should adopt something similar to state's assault weapons ban," Mass Live; Miller, J., 10/15/14, "Super PAC goes after Charlie Baker on gun control," The Boston Globe; Miller, J., 7/26/16, "Baker administration raps Healey's gun crackdown," The Boston Globe; Stop Handgun Violence, 8/11/16, "An open letter asking Governor Charlie Baker to support assault weapons ban," <http://www.stophandgunviolence.org/awb-charlie-baker-letter>)
 4. **Governor Baker appointed the President of the Gun Owners' Action League (GOAL), the MA chapter of the National Rifle Association (NRA), as the Commissioner of the Commonwealth's Dept. of Fish and Game.** (Cassidy, C., 7/7/17, "Charlie Baker gives Fish & Game gig to gun guy," Boston Herald; Berkshire Eagle, 11/20/17) Although it was removed after the Parkland Florida gun massacre, there had been a link on the state Dept. of Fish and Game website to the Gun Owners' Action League.
- B. **Baker described the national Republican tax bill that passed in late 2017 as "pretty good." Although he expressed some concerns, he avoided any strong criticism of it and**

said that “the full impact is not going to be known until you get several years down the road from now.” **This tax bill gives huge, permanent tax cuts to wealthy individuals and businesses**, particularly large multi-national corporations. It also limits deductions for state and local taxes, which will hurt Massachusetts taxpayers, and mean double taxation on amounts paid for these state and local taxes. The small tax cuts it gives to some low- and middle-income individuals are temporary. It will reduce the federal government’s revenue by \$1.5 trillion over ten years, increasing the deficit and raising serious questions about whether the federal government will be able to continue to provide Massachusetts with current levels of funding for Medicaid and other joint federal-state programs. (Murphy, M., 1/9/18, “Baker: Impact of GOP tax plan won’t be known for years,” State House News Service)

- C. **Governor Baker has failed to oppose the draconian immigration policies and practices of President Trump’s Immigration and Customs Enforcement (ICE) agency.** Furthermore, Baker proposed that MA police detain immigrants at the request of federal immigration agents (ICE agents). However, this policy was struck down by the state’s Supreme Judicial Court, which ruled in July 2017 that state law did not give local police the authority to do so. Baker then proposed legislation that would allow local police to detain immigrants at the request of ICE. Most recently, **Baker’s threat to veto a provision attached to the state budget that would have clarified the relationship between state and local police and ICE resulted in the provision being dropped from the budget in the final conference committee. He has used incendiary and inaccurate statements to describe the provision:** he called it “outrageous” and “ridiculous,” falsely claiming that it would prevent MA law enforcement from talking to federal officials about “criminals who are currently in our prisons and have been convicted of terrible crimes ...”. This is not true; the budget language explicitly states that it does not “prohibit or restrain” such communication. (The Berkshire Eagle, 5/30/18, “Governor playing politics with ICE amendment”; Johnson, A., 1/31/18, “Baker proposal would let police detain immigrants at request of federal authorities,” The Boston Globe)
- D. **Governor Baker authorized the Massachusetts National Guard to send troops and sophisticated technology to the Mexico border to support President Trump’s extreme and un-American border policies.** Baker changed his mind and canceled the deployment orders after negative publicity. (McGowan, A., 6/18/18, “Baker cancels National Guard deployment to border, citing ‘inhumane’ treatment of children and families,” WGBH News; Walsh, J., 6/17/18, “Why Charlie Baker is beatable,” CommonWealth Magazine)
- E. **Governor Baker’s “no new taxes” pledge is perfectly aligned with national Republicans’ fiscal irresponsibility. Baker is willing to let public infrastructure (e.g., roads, bridges, school buildings, and public transportation) crumble rather than find the revenue to fix and maintain them. He underfunds our public schools, public health, child care, our parks, state aid to our cities and towns, and other important state functions rather than raise revenue. In June 2017, Standard & Poor’s (S&P) credit rating service downgraded MA bonds for the first time in 30 years.** This makes it more expensive for MA to borrow money. As reasons for the downgrading, S&P noted the structural imbalance in the state’s

budget and the use of gimmicks and manipulation by Governor Baker to balance the budget. Under his predecessor, Governor Patrick, our bond rating had gone up, even during the Great Recession. (Berkshire Eagle, 11/20/17)

- F. **Governor Baker has repeatedly tried to cut 140,000 people, many of them parents, off Medicaid.** Fortunately, Democratic legislators have blocked these efforts. (Miller, J., McCluskey, P.D., & Levenson, M., 1/25/18, “Baker plan again shifts some off Medicaid,” The Boston Globe; Walsh, J., 6/17/18, “Why Charlie Baker is beatable,” CommonWealth Magazine)
- G. **When the legislature passed a transgender rights bill, Governor Baker signed it into law behind closed doors with no public ceremony.** He clearly does not want to be publicly viewed as a supporter of transgender rights. (Peled, S., 7/9/16, “Massachusetts transgender rights bill signed into law,” CNN; Walsh, J., 6/17/18, “Why Charlie Baker is beatable,” CommonWealth Magazine)
- H. **Governor Baker says he is preparing legislation to reinstate the death penalty in Massachusetts. The death penalty doesn’t deter crime, is racially biased, results in irreversible errors, and is expensive to implement.** Nationally, since 1973, at least 162 people sentenced to death have been released due to evidence of their innocence. Death penalty cases are four times as expensive to prosecute as cases leading to life in prison because of lengthy trials and appeals. Furthermore, the state’s violent crime rate has been declining. (Loth, R., 5/21/18, “Baker’s death wish,” The Boston Globe)
- I. **In May 2018, Governor Baker, echoing President Trump, denounced a judge’s sentencing in a drug case as “ridiculous and outrageous,” and called for the judge to be removed from the bench.** The judge had sentenced to probation a 32-year-old defendant charged with intent to distribute drugs, who had been dealing drugs for only a month and was arrested with half an ounce of heroin and a small amount of cocaine. The defendant’s only prior criminal record was a dismissed drug possession charge from a decade ago. Although he lost his job due to his recent arrest, he found another one after he was released on bail. He is a responsible father, supporting a wife and two children, but would face likely deportation if convicted. **Baker’s cynical call for the removal of a distinguished judge because of a ruling in a single case with which he (or his base) disagreed reflects a disregard for the importance of the independence of the judiciary, as well as indifference to the nuances and complexities of sentencing non-violent drug offenders.** (Gertner, N., 6/1/18, “Irresponsible attacks on a fine judge,” The Boston Globe)
- J. **Governor Baker has proposed a new, mandatory minimum sentence for some non-violent drug offenders, which contradicts current research, past campaign promises, national trends, and the criminal justice reform law recently passed in Massachusetts** (which all call for eliminating most mandatory minimum sentences). (Pattison-Gordon, J., 9/6/17, “Baker

proposes new drug-related mandatory minimum,” The Bay State Banner)

- K. Governor Baker has not exhibited leadership in addressing climate change and increasing the use of renewable energy in Massachusetts.** Despite recent storm surges that flooded Boston’s subway system, the Seaport District, and many coastal areas, Baker’s policies reflect no sense of urgency. His Dept. of Public Utilities (DPU) appointees have been characterized as “foxes guarding the hen house.” He continues to favor the fossil fuel industry and has slowed progress on the use of clean energy. Baker has jeopardized the growth of solar power generation in Massachusetts. As a result, MA lost 21% of its jobs in the solar industry last year. This was one of the biggest percentage declines of any state; in the U.S. overall solar jobs were down only 3.8%. **Instead of stimulating local wind and solar power generation, the Baker Administration’s new regulations focus on using Canadian hydropower.** Baker and Lt. Governor Polito have received over \$185,000 in donations from big utilities and the fossil fuel industry, raising serious questions about their commitment to clean and sustainable energy. These industry donations have paid off: Baker appointed a former power company executive and a former fossil fuel industry lobbyist to key energy policy positions in his administration. Energy policy decision-making has been opaque and biased in favor of large utilities. The Trump administration recently announced an intention to expand offshore drilling for oil and gas all along the U.S. coasts, but exempted Florida at the request of Florida Governor Scott. Governors of at least 4 other states have spoken up and asked for their states to also be exempted. Governor Baker has failed to speak out in support of an exemption for Massachusetts. (Abel, D., 1/13/15, “Charlie Baker appoints controversial new energy team,” The Boston Globe; Statehouse News Service, 6/13/18, “Gov. Baker gets ‘C’ in environmental report card”; Charles River Watershed Association, Clean Water Action, Conservation Law Foundation, Environmental League of Massachusetts, Environment Massachusetts, Massachusetts Rivers Alliance, and Massachusetts Sierra Club, June 2018, “Massachusetts energy and environment report card, year three”; McGowan, E., 2/26/18, “Massachusetts solar groups say policy changes needed to stem job loss,” Energy News Network; Shallenberger, K., 4/11/16, “Massachusetts Gov. Baker signs bill lifting solar cap, lowering net metering rates,” Utility Dive; Mohl, B., 5/4/15, “Baker opposes lifting net metering cap,” Commonwealth Magazine; Chesto, J., 2/8/18, “Massachusetts lost more than 20% of its solar jobs last year,” The Boston Globe; McGowan, E., 2/26/18, “Massachusetts solar groups say policy changes needed to stem job loss,” Energy News Network; Weigel, D., Fears, S., & Wagner, J., 1/10/18, “Decision to exempt Florida from offshore drilling prompts bipartisan uproar,” The Washington Post)
- L. Governor Baker appeared at a forum in early April 2018 and strongly defended the Boston-based pharmaceutical company Vertex and its over-priced drugs.** Vertex charges \$300,000 per patient annually for its cystic fibrosis drug treatments, pricing that has been heavily criticized by doctors and scientists who work on cystic fibrosis. At least four countries (the UK, France, Ireland, and the Netherlands) are fighting Vertex over its drug pricing and New York State is also reviewing Vertex’s pricing. The compensation of Vertex’s CEO, which has averaged \$25 million a year over the last 4 years, has also been criticized as excessive.

Vertex executives contributed nearly \$260,000 in 2016 – 2017 to the Baker-supporting Republican Governors Association (which, in 2014, funneled over \$11 million into Baker’s campaign and is expected to be a major player again this year in his re-election race). **Vertex executives also contributed \$7,500 directly to Baker and his running mate’s campaign committees in late March 2018, shortly before his public statements in support of Vertex.** (Phillips, F., 4/13/18, “Governor defends Vertex drug prices,” The Boston Globe; Thielking, M., 4/10/18, “Baker defends Vertex on pricing,” The Boston Globe; Stendahl, M., 12/2/16, “Vertex boosts pay for two executives,” Boston Business Journal; Silverman, E., 4/24/18, “UK challenges Vertex’s prices,” The Boston Globe)

- M. **Governor Baker sided with big business over small businesses when he vetoed language in an economic development bill that would have cracked down on threats of patent infringement lawsuits against innovators and entrepreneurs. These lawsuits try to squeeze money out of creative small businesses and/or stifle competition from them.** Baker vetoed the language after hearing opposition from several big business groups. (Chesto, J., 8/11/18, “Baker signs economic bill, nixes patent troll plan,” The Boston Globe)
- N. **Governor Baker supports the expansion of K-12 charter schools** and actively worked to expand the number of charter schools in Massachusetts by supporting Question 2 on the November 2016 ballot. **This proposal was defeated with 62% of MA voters voting against it.** It would have allowed up to 12 new charter schools per year in perpetuity. In 2016, \$450 million of state funding for public schools was being diverted to charter schools and this amount is growing each year. Increasing the number of charter schools as the ballot question proposed would have allowed this figure to grow by an additional \$100 million each year. **These efforts by Baker to, in effect, privatize public education are similar to the efforts of Trump’s Secretary of Education, Betsy DeVos, to privatize education.** (Schuster, L., 4/6/16, “Charter school funding, explained,” MA Budget and Policy Center)
- O. **Governor Baker and the Republican State Committee** – which he effectively controls and which largely functions as his campaign committee – share a **joint fundraising operation**, the MA Victory Committee, **with the Republican National Committee (RNC).** It **allows wealthy donors to contribute \$43,800 per year, an end-run around the state’s \$1,000 per year contribution limit.** Through these efforts Baker has raised about \$2 million for the RNC, which is controlled by Trump. At least some of this money is contributed by the RNC to the Republican State Committee. This, although technically legal, is akin to money laundering. Baker has raised about \$5 million using this scheme over the last 3 years. (Capital Source, 12/8/17, The Boston Globe)
- P. **Governor Baker’s office defended the barring of reporters from a meeting of its advisory commission on Latino affairs.** The meeting in Holyoke had a sign posted that read “Closed to the Press” and two journalists were prevented from entering. The Baker administration asserts that the meetings are not covered by the state’s Open Meeting Law. (Around the Region, 2/1/18, “Governor defends closed-door meetings,” The Boston Globe)