

JOHN MCCAIN RESEARCH UPDATE

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Research Summary On Senator John McCain

As John McCain launches his general election bid for the White House he faces considerable challenges. McCain is saddled with the unpopular presidency of George W. Bush, a fact that is compounded by his stalwart support of Bush agenda. On ethics, McCain's campaign is tied to lobbyists and Washington's culture of corruption. From his conservative positions to his extreme wealth and notorious temperament, John McCain is out of step with American voters. Finally, John McCain is just wrong on the issues. Here is a summary of the key facts about Senator John McCain's record.

1. McSame As Bush: John McCain Represents A Third Term Of Bush, Or Worse

Bush Said McCain Was Best to “Carry Forth His Agenda.” Behind closed doors, Bush “has told people for months that he thought McCain would be the nominee. Even during some of those dark periods he still thought he could win. And also that McCain would be the best to carry forth his agenda.” [Fox News, “Fox and Friends, 2/8/2008]

McCain Has Voted For the Bush Agenda. McCain supported President Bush a majority of the time—supporting Bush as much as 92 percent in 2004. According to Congressional Quarterly, “CQ tries to determine what the president personally, as distinct from other administration officials, does and does not want in the way of legislative action. This is done by analyzing his messages to Congress, news conference remarks and other public statements and documents.” [CQ Voting Studies, Accessed 1/07/08]

McCain is More Hawkish Than Bush On Iraq	
Bush White House	McCain
Cheney Said, “I Really Do Believe We Will Be Greeted As Liberators. ” [NBC, “Meet the Press,” 3/16/03, emphasis added]	McCain Said, “The Iraqi People Will Greet Us As Liberators. ” [NBC, “The Today Show,” 3/20/03, emphasis added]
Bush: Saddam Hussein “provides funding and safe haven to terrorists who would willingly use weapons of mass destruction against America ... We will not wait to see what terrorists or terrorist states could do with weapons of mass destruction. ” [The President’s Radio Address, 3/7/03, emphasis added]	McCain: “Hussein continues to acquire, amass, and improve on his arsenal of weapons of mass destruction. ” [Asheville Citizen-Times, 10/13/02, emphasis added]
Bush: We’ve got to stay the course and we will stay the course.” [Newsweek, 4/19/04, emphasis added]	McCain: “Is Afghanistan perfect, no, we’ve got opium, we’ve got warlords but by God, it’s a heck of a lot better off than it was. And we can to do the same thing in Iraq, we’ve got to stay the course. ” [ABC News, 10/24/04, emphasis added]
Bush: “I strongly believe the surge is working and so do the Iraqis.” [CQ Transcriptions, 3/11/08, emphasis added]	McCain: “The conditions on the ground have improved. The surge is working. ” [Newsweek, 1/21/08, emphasis added]

McCain Is “McSame As Bush” On Domestic Policy Issues:

- **McCain Was A “Big Booster” Of Bush’s Social Security Privatization Plan.** According to the *Associated Press*, “There’s another showing Tuesday of the good-cop, bad-cop routine featuring President Bush and Sen. John McCain, Bush’s one-time presidential rival who has become a big booster of the president’s Social Security plan. The Arizona Republican accompanied Bush on Monday to the senator’s home state and Colorado to try to help sell the public and Congress on the president’s proposal for a major Social Security overhaul.” [Associated Press, 3/22/05]

- **McCain Said He And Bush “Share Exactly The Same Views” On Immigration.** Discussing immigration during an interview with the *New Yorker*, McCain said, “The President and I share exactly the same views on the issue.” [[New Yorker](#), 5/30/05]
- **NOW: In A “Breathtaking Turnabout” McCain “Embraced” the Bush Tax Cuts.** The *New York Times* reported, “But an equally breathtaking turnabout occurred earlier in the year, when Mr. McCain embraced the Bush tax cuts he had once denounced as an unaffordable giveaway to the rich. In an interview with National Review, Mr. McCain justified his reversal by saying, ‘Tax cuts, starting with Kennedy, as we all know, increase revenues.’” [[New York Times](#), 10/9/07]
 - **THEN: McCain Voted Against the Bush Tax Cut Citing Benefits For The Wealthy.** In 2001, John McCain voted against final passage of the Bush tax cut. McCain said, “I cannot in good conscience support a tax cut in which so many of the benefits go to the most fortunate among us at the expense of middle-class Americans who need tax relief.” [H.R. 1836, Roll Call Vote #170, [5/26/01](#); [Los Angeles Times](#), 5/27/01]
- **McCain Is the Same As Bush on Health Care.** According to the *Wall Street Journal*, McCain’s health care plan “would give all Americans a refundable tax credit to help them buy insurance, totaling \$2,500 per person or \$5,000 per family. They would get the tax credit whether they were to get insurance through work or buy it on their own. The existing tax break for employer-sponsored insurance would be eliminated, taking a step away from the work-based model in place for the last half century and toward an individual market. **President Bush proposed a similar idea.**” [[Wall Street Journal](#), 10/11/07, emphasis added]

2. Lobbyist, Inc: John McCain Campaign Ties to Lobbyists

Top Advisors: McCain’s Campaign Is “Guided By Lobbyists.” According to the *Washington Post*, “McCain’s campaign has also been guided by lobbyists. [Rick] Davis, the campaign manager, is a former lobbyist who represented major telecommunications companies. The campaign’s senior adviser is Charles R. Black Jr., chairman of BKSH & Associates, which represents drug companies, an oil company, an automaker, a telecommunications company, defense contractors and the steel industry, among others. Former congressman Tom Loeffler (R-Tex.) was brought in to shore up the campaign’s finances and operations. Yet he maintains his day job as chairman of the Loeffler Group, whose clients include oil, auto and telecommunications companies, as well as a tobacco firm and an airline. Other occasional McCain advisers include lobbyists Timothy P. McKone of AT&T, Robert S. Aiken of Phoenix-based Pinnacle West Capital, John W. Timmons of the Cormac Group and John Green of Ogilvy Government Relations. Also at Ogilvy is a major McCain fundraiser, Wayne L. Berman. Their firms’ clients have been a significant source of contributions to McCain’s campaign. Executives for the clients of Ogilvy Government Relations gave at least \$271,000 for McCain’s presidential bid. Loeffler Group client employees donated \$118,500, according to a Washington Post analysis. BKSH clients’ executives gave \$24,000.” [[Washington Post](#), 12/31/07]

Bundlers: McCain Leads All Presidential Candidates In Lobbyist Fundraisers. According to Public Citizen, John McCain has at least 66 lobbyists bundling donations for his campaign. This number is almost twice as many lobbyists than any other candidate. (The next closest was Mayor Giuliani, who had 35 lobbyist bundlers). [[Public Citizen](#), accessed 3/28/08]

Key McCain Lobbyists:

McCain Campaign Manager Founded Lobbying Firm of Davis, Manafort. According to the Politico, McCain campaign manager Rick Davis “founded a lobbying firm – Davis, Manafort Inc. – which has made at least \$2.8 million lobbying Congress since 1998.” [[Politico](#), 7/11/07]

- **Davis Helped McCain Take Cablevision Pay-Off.** According to the *Washington Post*, “In 2003 and 2004, for example, McCain took two actions favorable to Cablevision, the cable TV company, while Davis, his chief political strategist at the time, solicited the company for a total of \$200,000 for the Reform Institute, a tax-

exempt group that advocated an end to outsize political donations. Davis solicited an initial donation from Cablevision chief Charles Dolan a week after Dolan testified before the Senate Commerce Committee in favor of a position backed by McCain. Davis said there was no connection between the testimony and the solicitation. Less than a year later, McCain wrote to the Federal Communications Commission recommending Cablevision's position on cable pricing, citing Dolan by name. Cablevision followed soon thereafter with a second \$100,000 donation, the Associated Press reported." [[Washington Post](#), 12/31/07]

Political Adviser, Charlie Black's Firm Represented at Least 50 Foreign Clients. According to the U.S. Department of Justice's FARA Database, BKSH, the lobbying firm chaired by McCain adviser Charlie Black, has represented at least 50 foreign clients, including a number of foreign governments. [[FARA Database](#), accessed 2/26/08]

- **Black's Firm Represented Ahmed Chalabi's Iraqi National Congress.** According to *Washington Monthly*, Charlie Black's firm BKSH "had a special interest in Iraq. The firm was a key member of the coterie of talking heads, lobbyists, and politicians pushing for the war in Iraq that centered around Ahmed Chalabi's Iraqi National Congress (INC), the anti-Saddam exile group, which was itself a BKSH client." [[Washington Monthly](#), 6/1/05]
- **Black's Firm Lobbied for 5 Third World Dictators, Including Ferdinand Marcos.** An analysis of Department of Justice information shows that Charlie Black or his lobbying firm have served as the foreign agent for five Third World dictators: Philippine Dictator Ferdinand Marcos, Somali Dictator Mohamed Siad Barre, Zairian Dictator Mobutu Sese Seko, Equatorial Guinean Dictator Brig. Gen. Teodoro Obiang Nguema Mbasogo, and Nigerian Dictator Ibrahim Babangida. Additionally, Black has represented Angolan rebel leader Jonas Savimbi and Ibrahim Sarninu Turaki, the governor of Nigeria's Jigawa State. The dictators and foreign leaders Black has represented have committed fraud, murder, and numerous other human rights abuses. [Department of Justice, FARA Database, accessed 3/2008]

McCain Tapped Lobbyist as Regional Campaign Manager. Marc Ambinder of theAtlantic.com reported that "Doug Davenport, a founder of the DCI Group and the head of its lobbying practice, will be one of the McCain campaign's ten regional campaign managers." [[Atlantic](#), 4/2/08]

- **Davenport has Long Lobbying Record.** Over the last decade, Davenport has lobbied for dozens of clients, including gambling services company GTECH, AT&T, General Motors, Goldman Sachs, Intel, Lockheed Martin, United Airlines, Verizon and Visa. [[Senate Lobbying Disclosure Database](#), accessed 4/2/08]

Campaign Co-Chairman Thomas Loeffler Founded Lobbying Firm. Former Texas Congressman Thomas Loeffler is the founder, chairman and senior partner at the Loeffler Group. He is a national co-chairman of McCain's presidential campaign and his chief fundraiser. [[The Loeffler Group](#), accessed 3/28/08; [McCain 2008](#), accessed 3/28/08]

- **Loeffler Earned \$11 Million In Two Years Lobbying for Saudi Arabia.** Among McCain's fundraisers who lobby for foreign interests is his "campaign co-chair and chief moneymen, Thomas Loeffler," who "has lobbied for Saudi Arabia for five years. Loeffler, a former congressman and longtime Republican fundraiser, chairs the firm that helped the Saudi kingdom join the World Trade Organization, fight anti-Saudi legislation and improve its image in the war on terrorism. The Saudi royals paid Loeffler's firm more than \$11 million in two years for its efforts on their behalf." Loeffler said in 2007 that "he would handle 'all of the work' of his firm while working on the McCain campaign. He also said, 'I do not find a conflict of interest at this time.'" [[ABC News](#), 2/1/08]

McCain Congressional Liaison John Green Founded Top D.C. Lobbying Firm. John Green is co-founder and managing director of Ogilvy Government Relations (previously the Federalist Group), one of Washington's most powerful lobbying firms. [[Ogilvy Government Relations](#), accessed 3/14/08]

- **Green Lobbied For Ameriquest, One Of The Nation’s Largest Subprime Lenders.** Senate Lobbying Disclosure records show that from 2005 to 2006, John Green and his lobbying firm were paid \$640,000 to lobby for Ameriquest, “the nation’s largest sub-prime lender.” Green lobbied for the interests of the sub-prime lender on legislation meant to protect American homeowners from the sub-prime mortgage crisis. In 2006, while Green lobbied for the company, Ameriquest “agreed to pay \$325 million to settle a 49-state investigation,” an agreement that ranked “as the second-largest predatory lending settlement in history.” [Senate Lobbying Disclosure Records, accessed 3/2008; [Consumer Affairs](#), 1/23/06]
- **Since 1999, Green Has Lobbied For At Least 151 Clients, Billing Over \$64 Million.** Since 1999, Green has lobbied for at least 151 different companies, organizations and entities in a wide range of industries, including the pharmaceutical industry, the energy industry, the tobacco industry, the alcohol industry, the gun industry, the gambling industry, the defense industry, and the telecom industry. He has also lobbied for a number of local governments and government authorities. Green has also had as clients a number of other lobbying firms and government consulting firms. Since 1999, Green and his firm have billed at **between \$64,365,000 and \$64,604,976 for his lobbying services.** [Senate Lobbying Disclosure records, accessed 3/4/08 – 3/14/08]

Frank Donatelli, McCain’s Choice for Deputy Chairman of the RNC Is Major GOP Lobbyist. Frank Donatelli is Executive Vice President and Director of Public Affairs for McGuireWoods Consulting, a D.C. lobbying firm. He was previously a partner at another lobbying firm – Akin, Gump, Strauss, Hauer & Feld. Prior to his lucrative lobbying career, Donatelli served in the Reagan White House. [McGuireWoods, accessed 3/28/08]

- **Donatelli Lobbied for Telecom Companies with Business before McCain’s Committees.** Senate Lobbying Disclosure records show that Frank Donatelli has lobbied for major telecommunications companies with business before the Senate Commerce Committee, which McCain chaired, including AT&T, Time Warner and Verizon. [Senate Lobbying Disclosure Records]

3. Same Old Washington Corruption: McCain Ties To The Same Special Interests He Decries

McCain Said He Had “Never Done any Favors for Anybody – Lobbyist Or Special Interest Group.” In December 2007, McCain said, “I’ve never done any favors for anybody — lobbyist or special interest group — that’s a clear, 24-year record.” [Associated Press, [12/20/07](#)]

PAXSON COMMUNICATIONS:

McCain Intervened With Regulators On Paxson Communication’s Bid To Buy Cable Station. The [Associated Press](#) reported, “McCain wrote two letters in late 1999 to the Federal Communications Commission on behalf of Florida-based Paxson Communications. He urged quick consideration of a proposal to buy a television station license in Pittsburgh, although he did not ask the FCC commissioners to approve the proposal. At the time, one FCC commissioner’s formal nomination was pending before McCain’s Senate committee, and the FCC chairman complained that McCain’s letters were improper.” [Associated Press, [2/21/08](#)]

- **McCain Wrote Letters After Paxson Donated More Than \$20,000 To His 2000 Campaign.** According to the [Associated Press](#), “McCain wrote the letters after he received more than \$20,000 in contributions from Paxson executives and lobbyists. Paxson also lent McCain his company’s jet at least four times during 1999 for campaign travel.” [Associated Press, [2/21/08](#)]

McCain Has Acknowledged His Actions Look Corrupt. According to *Newsweek*, “With his typically blunt, almost cheery way of admitting the sinfulness of man, including his own weaknesses, he acknowledged in the deposition that his relationship with Paxson—flying on the corporate jet, taking \$20,000 in campaign contributions —would “absolutely” look corrupt to the ordinary voter.” [Newsweek, [3/3/08](#)]

KEATING FIVE:

McCain's "Darkest Hour" Was His Involvement With the Infamous Keating Five Scandal. The *Washington Post* referred to Senator McCain's "darkest hour" as the "Keating Five" scandal. According to the Associated Press, "The Keating Five was the derisive name given McCain and four Democratic senators who were defendants in a congressional ethics investigation of their connections to [banker Charles] Keating. ... They were accused of trying to intimidate regulators on behalf of Keating, a real estate developer in Arizona and owner of Lincoln Savings and Loan based in Irvine, Calif." [[Washington Post](#), 6/8/07; Associated Press, [2/23/08](#)]

- **McCain Failed To Disclose That He Made At Least 9 Trips At Keating's Expense.** According to *Slate Magazine*, "After McCain's election to the House in 1982, **he and his family made at least nine trips at Keating's expense, three of which were to Keating's Bahamas retreat.** McCain did not disclose the trips (as he was required to under House rules) until the [Keating Five] scandal broke in 1989." After the scandal broke, and the trips were disclosed, McCain paid Keating \$13, 433 for the flights. [[Slate Magazine](#), 2/18/00, emphasis added]

ABRAMOFF:

McCain Withheld Controversial Abramoff E-mail. During his committee's investigation of the Jack Abramoff scandal, McCain withheld a potentially damaging email regarding the relationship between Alabama Governor Bob Riley and Jack Abramoff. In the email, "Abramoff explains to an aide what he wanted to see Riley do in return for the 'help' he received from Abramoff's tribal clients." The Coushatta Tribe of Louisiana paid \$13 million to re-elect the anti-gambling governor in order to maintain their dominance of the industry in the region. [[Huffington Post](#), [2/25/08](#)]

McCain Acknowledged He Would Not Investigate Members. During the Abramoff investigation, McCain said that his investigation would not include the legislative actions taken by Members of Congress saying, "We stop when we find out where the money went." According to the Associated Press, "The intervention by congressional Republicans ... was all but ignored in recent hearings on Capitol Hill led by [McCain] that examined Abramoff's lobbying inside Interior." [[Roll Call](#), 3/10/05; Associated Press, 11/17/05]

MCCAIN BREAKING CAMPAIGN FINANCE LAWS:

In December 2007 McCain Borrowed \$1 Million By Pledging to Seek Federal Funds. The *Washington Post* reported, "John McCain's cash-strapped campaign borrowed \$1 million from a Bethesda bank two weeks before the New Hampshire primary by pledging to enter the public financing system if his bid for the presidency faltered, newly disclosed records show. ... Campaign finance lawyers speculated whether McCain may have inadvertently committed himself to entering the public financing system for the remainder of the primary season by holding out the prospect of taking public matching funds in exchange for the \$1 million loan in December." [[Washington Post](#), 2/16/08]

McCain Requested To Opt Out Of Public Financing After He'd Used Public Financing As Loan Collateral. According to the *Washington Post* reported, "But after McCain won a series of early contests and the campaign found its financial footing, his lawyer wrote to the FEC requesting to back out of the program – which is permitted for candidates who have not yet received any federal money and who have not used the promise of federal funding as collateral for borrowing money." [[Washington Post](#), 2/22/08]

- **FEC Rules Require Candidates Using Federal Funds as Collateral to Stay in System.** According to the *Washington Post*, "Under FEC rules, a candidate who uses a certification for federal funds as collateral for a loan is obligated to remain within the public financing system." [[Washington Post](#), 2/16/08]
- **FEC Chairman Warned McCain Cannot Immediately Leave Public Financing System.** On February 22, 2008, the *Washington Post* reported: "The nation's top federal election official told Sen. John McCain yesterday that he cannot immediately withdraw from the presidential public financing system as he had requested, a decision that threatens to dramatically restrict his spending until the general election campaign begins in the fall...But McCain's attempts to build up his campaign coffers before a general election contest appeared to be threatened by the stern warning yesterday from Federal Election Commission Chairman David

M. Mason, a Republican. Mason notified McCain that the commission had not granted his Feb. 6 request to withdraw from the presidential public financing system. The implications of that could be dramatic. [[Washington Post](#), 2/22/08]

McCain Violated Law by Breaking Primary Spending Limit. On March 24, 2008, the *Boston Globe* reported: “John McCain has officially broken the limits imposed by the presidential public financing system, according to spending reports filed last week by the campaign. The senator from Arizona has spent \$58.4 million on his Republican primary effort. Those who have committed to public financing can spend no more than \$54 million on their primary bid.” [[Boston Globe](#), 3/24/08]

2004 Rhetoric: McCain Called on FEC to Go After Those that “Thumb Their Noses at the Law.” In a 2004 op-ed, McCain wrote about “the Federal Election Commission’s despicable failure to do its job. Led by a Democratic apparatchik on one side and a right-wing ideologue on the other, **the commission is politically hidebound, and has refused to take on those who brazenly thumb their noses at the law.**” [[John McCain for Senate 2004](#), 9/14/04]

CAMPAIGN FINANCE HYPOCRISY:

McCain Campaign Accepted Corporate Jet Travel To Relieve Financial Disadvantage. According to the *New York Times*, “Senator John McCain, Republican of Arizona, began by eschewing corporate jet travel, but with his campaign in straitened financial circumstances has decided it can no longer afford such scruples -- even though Mr. McCain sponsored legislation in the Senate that would have required lawmakers to pay the full value of their trips on private planes. ‘Senator McCain had hoped that other candidates in the race would follow suit and pay the true cost of chartered planes,’ said Jill Hazelbaker, a campaign spokeswoman. ‘It’s regrettable, but moving forward we cannot continue at such an incredible financial disadvantage.’ The McCain campaign spent more than \$1.5 million on air travel during the first half of the year, mostly on chartered planes. Direct comparisons to what other candidates spent are difficult, because candidates have different travel schedules and records filed with the Federal Election Commission do not always make it clear exactly how many flights each campaign took. But it appears that Mr. McCain’s air travel bill was hundreds of thousands of dollars higher than some rivals who took corporate flights.” [[New York Times](#), 7/26/07]

McCain Raised Money From “Sleazy” Wyly Brothers and Funders of Swift Boat Veterans for Truth. In response to ads run against him in 2000 by “Republicans for Clean Air,” a group funded by Texans Sam and Charles Wyly, McCain called the Wyllys Bush’s “sleazy Texas buddies,” called the group “disgraceful” and their money “dirty.” He also attacked Swift Boat Veterans for Truth, which ran ads against John Kerry in 2004, as “dishonest” and “dishonorable.” However, McCain’s fundraiser in Dallas on May 15, 2006 for his political action committee included the Wyly brothers and Albert Huddleston and Harold Simmons, who together gave \$3.1 million to the Swift Boat Veterans for Truth, as members of the host committee. [[UPI](#), 4/24/06; [CBS News](#), 3/7/00; [Dallas Morning News](#), 5/14/06; [Dallas Morning News](#), 4/23/06; [AP](#), 8/5/04; [abcnews.com](#), 4/23/06]

REP. RICK RENZI:

Co-Chair Of McCain’s “Arizona Leadership Team” Indicted. In January 2008, just one month before he was indicted on 35 counts, including conspiracy, wire fraud, money laundering and official extortion, Renzi was named a co-chair of McCain’s ‘Arizona Leadership Team.’ [[McCain News Release](#), 1/26/08; [Targeted News Services](#), 1/26/08]

- **McCain Refused to Answer Question About Renzi’s Involvement In His Campaign, Said Renzi In His Prayers.** Asked in April 2007 “if the embattled” Renzi “would continue to play a role” in his presidential campaign, McCain said: “Rick obviously has got great difficulties now. I know nothing about his case. He’s in my prayers. ... And that’s all I’m going to say.” [[Hotline](#), 4/26/07]

4. John McCain Is A Conservative

McCain Sought And Gained Endorsement Of Extremist Pastor, John Hagee. John McCain was endorsed by San Antonio televangelist John Hagee. The *Dallas Morning News* reported, “Mr. Hagee, a leading figure in the

Christian Zionist movement, said he's confident Mr. McCain can attract wary evangelicals by emphasizing his conservative positions on Israel and abortion." McCain said, "All I can tell you is I'm very proud to have pastor Hagee's support." Hagee told *New York Times Magazine* that, "It's true that McCain's campaign sought my endorsement." [[Dallas Morning News](#), [2/28/08](#); Editor & Publisher, [3/20/08](#)]

McCain Described Televangelist Rod Parsley as his "Spiritual Guide." While appearing together in Cincinnati, Ohio, John McCain and Rod Parsley traded compliments in front of a large crowd. McCain called Parsley his "spiritual guide," while Parsley said McCain was a, "strong, true, consistent conservative." [[The Columbus Dispatch](#), [2/27/08](#)]

- **Parsley Wrote That America Was Founded To Destroy Islam.** In his book, *Silent No More*, McCain's Parsley wrote that, "The fact is that America was founded, in part, with the intention of seeing this false religion destroyed, and I believe September 11, 2001, was a generational call to arms that we can no longer ignore." [[Atlanta Journal-Constitution](#), [3/23/08](#)]

CHOICE

McCain Bragged About Zero Rating From NARAL Pro Choice America. John McCain has received a zero rating on NARAL Pro Choice America's scorecard. McCain touted his anti-choice credentials, saying, "I have many, many votes and it's been consistent. And I've got a consistent zero from NARAL throughout all those years." [NARAL Pro-Choice America, [2/07/08](#); Transcript, The Full McCain: An Interview, National Review, [3/5/07](#)]

McCain Has Voted Anti-Choice 123 Times. According to NARAL Pro-Choice America, John McCain has voted against a women's right to choose 123 out of the 128 times he voted on reproductive rights. [NARAL.org, accessed on [2/12/08](#)]

McCain Said Roe v. Wade Should Be Overturned. McCain said, "I do not support Roe v. Wade. I think it should be overturned." [[New York Times](#), [2/24/07](#)]

ENVIRONMENT

McCain Received Failing Marks On League of Conservation Voters Scorecard. In 2007, John McCain received a zero on the League of Conservation Voters' "National Environmental Scorecard because he failed to vote on every piece of legislation measured. In previous congresses McCain received failing marks. In the 109th Congress (2005-2006), McCain received a 41 percent. In the 108th Congress (2003-2004), McCain received a 56 percent. In the 107th Congress (2001-2002), McCain received a 36 percent. In the 106th Congress (1999-2000), McCain received a 6 percent. [League of Conservation Voters Scorecard, accessed [4/3/08](#)]

AFFIRMATIVE ACTION AND CIVIL RIGHTS

McCain Voted Against Creating Martin Luther King Holiday. In 1983, McCain voted against the Hall (D-IN) motion to suspend the rules and pass the bill to designate the third Monday of every January as a federal holiday in honor of the late civil rights leader the Rev. Dr. Martin Luther King Jr. The motion passed 89-77. [HR 3706, Vote 289, [8/2/83](#); CQ 1983]

McCain Would Not Support Affirmative Action for College Admissions. Senator McCain indicated he would not support affirmative action policies in public college admissions. [[2004](#) National Political Awareness Test-Senator McCain; NEA McCain Education Tracking Document]

McCain On His Supreme Court Nominees:

- **McCain Told Social Conservative Gary Bauer That He Would Appoint Pro-Life Judges.** According to the *New Yorker*, in 1999 McCain had the support of social conservative Gary Bauer. In reference to appointing pro-life judges, Bauer said, "I wanted a commitment from either George Bush or John McCain that if elected he would appoint pro-life judges to the Supreme Court...Bush said he had no litmus test, and his judges would be

strict constructionists. But McCain, in private, assured me he would appoint pro-life judges.” [[New Yorker](#), 5/30/05]

- **McCain: “I Want To Find Clones Of Alito And Roberts.”** Asked about the type of Supreme Court Justice he would nominate, John McCain said, “Let me just look you in the eye. I’ve said a thousand times on this campaign trail, I’ve said as often as I can, that **I want to find clones of Alito and Roberts**. I worked as hard as anybody to get them confirmed. I look you in the eye and tell you I’ve said a thousand times that I wanted Alito and Roberts.” [[Baltimore Sun](#) via The Swamp, [1/28/08](#), emphasis added]
- **Falwell Said Anti-Choice Community Was “Happy” With McCain’s Views On Life.** Conservative reverend Jerry Falwell said that he and “most of the pro-life community” are “happy” with McCain’s “pro-life views.” [[ABC News](#), via Hotline, 3/29/06]

5. Not Ready: Sen. John “Hothead” McCain Plagued By Temper

John McCain Has A Well Known Temper, He Admits, “I Have A Temper, To State The Obvious.” John McCain was rated in the *Washingtonian* as having one of Congress’ “hottest tempers” in 2006, 2004, 2000, and 1998. In his biography, *Worth the Fighting For*, McCain wrote, “My temper has often been both a matter of public speculation and personal concern. ... I have a temper, to state the obvious, which I have tried to control with varying degrees of success because it does not always serve my interest or the public’s.” [[Washingtonian](#), September 2006; [Washingtonian](#), September 2004; [Washingtonian](#), September, 2000; [Washingtonian](#), July 1998, emphasis added; [Boston Globe](#), [1/27/08](#)]

Examples of McCain’s Temper:

- **McCain “Scuffled” With 92 Year-Old Strom Thurmond After A Committee Hearing Dispute.** *Newsweek* reported that McCain was rumored to have shoved “one or two” senators, including Strom Thurmond, who was in his 90s at the time of the alleged incident. [[Newsweek](#), [2/11/08](#)]
- **McCain Threatened to “Personally Beat the S**t” Out of His Opponent.** According to the [Arizona Republic](#), “After McCain’s opponent contacted his ex-wife in hopes of “digging up dirt on McCain,” Carol called to warn her former husband. McCain recalls, “When the debate ended, I walked over to the opponent who had attempted to mine some little nasty opposition research from my failed marriage and told him with as much steel as I’m capable of demonstrating, ‘If you ever try to hurt anyone in my family again, I will personally beat the s**t out of you.’” [[The Arizona Republic](#), [3/1/07](#)]

McCain’s Colleagues On McCain’s Temper:

- **Sen. Orrin Hatch Said It Was “Awful” To Be The Focus Of McCain’s Anger.** According to the [Associated Press](#), “Hatch, who serves with McCain in the Senate, said his colleague ‘is a passionate person and he does have a temper and sometimes it’s awful to be on the wrong side of it.’” [[Associated Press](#), 12/2/99]
- **Sen. Thad Cochran: McCain Is Erratic, Hotheaded, Loses His Temper, And It Worries Me.** Senator Thad Cochran of Mississippi, who has endorsed Mitt Romney, criticized McCain’s temper. Cochran said, “**The thought of his being president sends a cold chill down my spine**...He is erratic. He is hotheaded. He loses his temper and he worries me.” [[Boston Globe](#), [1/27/08](#), emphasis added]
- **Sen. Rick Santorum Raised Questions About McCain’s Temperament.** On McCain’s temper, Sen. Rick Santorum said, “I think it’s one without question that factors into his ability to govern, to form coalitions and to get things done. [[Boston Globe](#), Political Intelligence, 2/03/08]

6. Lifestyles of the Rich And Famous: John McCain The Millionaire

McCain Was The Eighth Wealthiest Senator In 2006. According to the Center for Responsive Politics, John McCain was the eighth wealthiest Senator in 2006, based on his Senate personal financial disclosure. McCain's minimum net worth was listed at \$ 27,817,187 and his maximum net worth was listed at \$45,045,011. [Center For Responsive Politics via Opensecrets.org, accessed [4/2/08](#)]

Examples from the McCain Lifestyle:

- **John & Cindy McCain Own At Least Nine Houses In Arizona, California, and Virginia Worth an Estimated \$13,123,269.** John and Cindy McCain own a plethora of houses spread throughout the United States, including: two beachfront condos in Coronado, California, a condo in La Jolla, California, a two-unit condominium complex in Phoenix, Arizona, three ranch houses located outside of Sedona, Arizona, a high-rise condo in Arlington, Virginia, and, according to [GQ](#), a loft they bought for their daughter, Meghan. The amount spent on these houses is an estimated \$13,123,269. [San Diego County Property Records; Maricopa County Property Records; Yavapai County Property Records; Arlington County Property Records; [GQ](#), [3/18/08](#)]
- **McCain's Primary Residence Is 6,000 Sq. Ft. Converted Condominium Worth \$4.6 Million.** According to the [Arizona Republic](#), "Property records show that Cindy [McCain's] trust recently bought a condo at the Residences at 2211 Camelback for \$4.66 million." The paper added, "**The deal was actually for two condos that could be combined to one space of 6,000 to 7,000 square feet**. That is plenty of elbow room, even for a high-end condo, in a region where the typical single-family home runs about 1,600 square feet." [[Arizona Republic](#), 10/26/06, emphasis added]
- **Cindy McCain Holds An American Express Black Centurion Card.** According to McCain's 2006 Senate Personal Finance Disclosure Form, Cindy McCain holds an American Express Black Centurion Card. According to the disclosure, Mrs. McCain owed from \$100,001 to \$250,000 on the card. [2006 Personal Finance Disclosure]
- **Celebrating Company's 50th Anniversary, Cindy McCain Hosted A Party With The Budweiser Clydesdale.** According to the [Arizona Republic](#), "the beer distributor threw itself a 50th anniversary bash last month at the Arizona Biltmore. About 600 employees and their **guests had their pictures taken with a Budweiser Clydesdale** and listened to Anheuser-Busch Chairman August Busch III and President Patrick Stokes describe Hensley as a model among its suppliers." [[Arizona Republic](#), 3/5/05, emphasis added]

7. Out Of Touch On Economy and Housing

Gerson: McCain Is Intellectually Uncurious on Domestic Issues. In a *Washington Post* Op-ed, Michael Gerson wrote, "[T]hose who know McCain report a general lack of interest in domestic policy compared with his engagement in foreign affairs. 'It's sometimes unfairly argued that Bush is intellectually uncurious,' says one former member of Congress, 'but on domestic issues that is really true of McCain.'" [[Washington Post](#), [2/6/08](#)]

McCain Said He Doesn't Understand the Economy. McCain admitted to reporters "[t]he issue of economics is not something I've understood as well as I should." [[Boston Globe](#), 12/18/07]

- **2000: McCain Said he "Didn't Pay Attention" to Economic Issues.** In 2000, Jonathan Chait of *The New Republic*, conducted an interview with John McCain in which McCain admitted not paying attention to economic issues. When asked about his sudden shift in economic policy, McCain said, "In the interest of full disclosure. I didn't pay nearly the attention to those issues in the past. I was probably a 'supplisider' based on the fact that I really didn't jump into the issue." [[New Republic](#), 1/31/08]

McCain Said U.S. Is Not Heading into a Recession. "I am not convinced that we are necessarily going into a recession. . . . And our economy, I think our fundamentals are strong and America's greatest days are ahead of us economically and every other way," said John McCain. [Rally, Hilton Head Island, SC 1/18/08]

McCain: “I Still Believe Our Fundamental Underpinnings Of Our Economy Are Strong...” In a report on CNN, McCain said, “I still believe our fundamental underpinnings of our economy are strong, but it’s obvious that we are facing challenges, which will require actions such as the Federal Reserve took today.” [CNN, 1/22/08]

McCain Said Economic Problems Were “Psychological.” During a town hall McCain said, “Now, as far as putting additional money in American taxpayers’ pocket, that’s fine, because a lot of this is psychological. A lot of it’s psychological. Because I believe the fundamentals of our economy is still strong.” [McCain Town Hall, 1/24/08, West Palm Beach, Florida]

McCain Housing Speech Blamed Americans Who “Bought Homes They Couldn’t Afford” and Argued Against Vigorous Federal Intervention. On March 25th, John McCain delivered a speech on the housing crisis. According to the *New York Times*, “McCain appeared to be trying to confront questions about his dexterity in dealing with the economy, a subject that he has admitted is not his strongest suit.” During the speech, McCain said, “Some Americans bought homes they couldn’t afford, betting that rising prices would make it easier to refinance later at more affordable rates.” The *New York Times* reported, “Mr. McCain argued this week against a vigorous federal intervention to address the crisis, saying Washington should not bail out banks and homeowners who in his view had knowingly taken on risky mortgages.” [New York Times, 3/26/08; 3/28/08]

In the Senate:

- **McCain Voted Against Tax Deduction for Certain Mortgage Insurance Payments.** In 2004, McCain voted against a cloture motion on Majority Leader Frist’s motion to recommit the Corporate Tax Overhaul bill to Committee to include a tax deduction for certain mortgage insurance payments, a 50% tax credit to employers that are paying reservists and National Guard members called to active duty and a welfare-to-work tax credit. The bill included \$13 billion in tax cuts for the energy industry. Senator Clinton also voted against the cloture motion. The motion was rejected 50-47. [S. 1637, [Vote #67](#), 4/7/04; CQ, 4/7/2004]
- **McCain Voted Against Protecting Low-Income Americans from Strict New Bankruptcy Reform Law.** In 2005, McCain voted against an amendment that would clarify that the means test would not apply to debtors whose incomes fell below the median. The amendment failed 42-58. [S 256, [Vote #31](#), 3/09/05]
- **McCain Opposed Protections Against Predatory Home Lenders who Routinely Target the Elderly.** In 2001, McCain voted for a motion to table an amendment that would invalidate claims against borrowers if the creditor has committed material violations of the Truth in Lending Act. The motion passed 50-49. [S. 420, [Vote #18](#), 3/08/2001]

8. Out Of Touch On Health and Health Care Policy

At 72, McCain Would Be The Oldest First-Term President In The History of The United States. According to *U.S. News & World Report*, “McCain would be 72 when he took office if elected, the oldest first-term president in history.” [U.S. News & World Report, 3/17/08]

- **29% of Americans Believe The Country Isn’t Ready For A President Over 70 Years-Old.** According to a *NBC/Wall Street Journal* poll released on March 26, 2008, 29 percent of respondents said the country isn’t ready to elect a president in their 70s. That statistic is higher than the 20 percent and 18 percent who said the country is not ready to elect a woman and an African-American, respectively. [NBC/[Wall Street Journal](#) poll, released [3/26/08](#)]

McCain Delayed Release of Medical Records. John McCain’s campaign repeatedly promised to release his health care records in mid-April, surrounding April 15th tax day. On April 2, CNN reported, “The McCain campaign said Wednesday the Arizona senator’s medical records will no longer be released by April 15. They now say the new timetable is ‘sometime in May.’ ... [T]he reason for the delay is because they want to gather all his

doctors for a press conference to answer reporters' questions and May is the soonest that can be done." [[Arizona Republic](#), 3/11/08; [Associated Press](#), 3/10/08; CNN Politicker Blog, [4/2/08](#)]

- **McCain Has Had Four Surgeries Since 1993.** According to the [Los Angeles Times](#), "He [McCain] had four surgeries between 1993 and 2002: two to remove melanomas, one to remove skin lesions and one to treat an enlarged prostate." [[Los Angeles Times](#), 5/17/07]

McCain Said He Sees His Doctor "Fairly Frequently." In discussing his cancer and health, John McCain said, "Everything's fine ... Like most Americans, I go see my doctor fairly frequently." [[Associated Press](#), 3/10/08]

- **47 Million Americans Had No Health Insurance in 2006.** According to the Census Bureau, 47 million Americans, including 8.7 million children, lacked health insurance in 2006 [Census Bureau, Income, Poverty, and Health Insurance Coverage in the United States: 2006 report, accessed [4/3/08](#)]

McCain Said His Health Care Plan Focused On 'Containing Spending,' But It Could Actually "Drive Up Spending." While unveiling his health care plan, McCain said, "that any health care proposal must first focus on containing spending. To accomplish that, he said, the emphasis should be on better treating chronic diseases, like diabetes and heart disease, which account for 75 percent of all health care cost." However the *New York Times* reported, "Mr. McCain's plan could **drive up spending**, for instance to add clinics or pay more to doctors who are deemed effective in treating their patients. But the campaign said it had not done a full analysis." [[New York Times](#), 10/12/07, emphasis added]

McCain Said He Would Treat Employer Sponsored Health Care as Taxable Income. The Tax Policy Center wrote that McCain "He says he would treat employer sponsored health benefits as taxable income, while giving individuals a tax credit for the insurance they buy. On its own, taxing employer insurance just like wages would be a huge tax increase—OMB estimates in the neighborhood of \$1 trillion from 2009–2013. To many on the right, that alone would violate the no-tax pledge." [Tax Policy Center, [2/19/08](#)]

McCain Opposed Expansion to SCHIP. According to the *New York Times*, "Like the other Republican presidential candidates, Senator John McCain opposes the so-called S-Chip bill to expand children's health care coverage, in part because it widely expands the eligibility criteria and would cost some \$35 billion...But what really sets him off is the way Congress proposes to finance the measure, which President Bush vetoed and is facing a veto override vote: an added tax on cigarettes." [[New York Times](#), 10/16/07]

9. McCain v. the GOP: McCain Cannot Rally His Base

McCain Booed At CPAC. According the *Hotline On Call*, "McCain was introduced first, though erroneously, by former VA gov George Allen. Allen, who endorsed McCain today after having supported Fred Thompson's bid, was supposed to introduce Sen. Tom Colburn who had the official honor of presenting McCain. So, with the double introduction, McCain was booed not once, but twice." [Hotline On Call, 2/7/08]

Grover Norquist Said McCain Was A Flip Flopper Who Would Not Lead With Conservative Values. In 2006, Grover Norquist, the head of the conservative group Americans for Tax Reform, said, "What McCain has done is flip-flopped on the gun issue, on the tax issue. He used to be a Reagan Republican on taxes. He's voted against every one of President Bush's tax cuts. He voted for the first one before he voted against it but he's voted against all of them. He's flip-flopped back and forth not because of where the American people are but because of where the cameras are." Norquist added that McCain's "phototropism" was "very damaging from a conservative perspective because that's unlikely to lead to conservative governance." [ABC News, 6/11/06]

Joe Scarborough: No, No, I Say No, John McCain is not a Conservative. Speaking on *Morning Joe* in 2008, Joe Scarborough said, "No, no I say no, John McCain is not a conservative." [MSNBC, 1/31/08; Townhall.com, [2/1/08](#)]

James Dobson Announced He Would Never Vote For McCain. In 2008, James C. Dobson released a statement that “he would under no circumstances vote for Mr. McCain in November.” [[New York Times](#), [2/6/08](#)]

Rush Limbaugh Has Repeatedly Attacked John McCain:

- **Limbaugh Said McCain Is Not a Loyal Republican.** Rush Limbaugh said, “Bob Dole is something that John McCain is not: He’s a loyal Republican.” [[RushLimbaugh.com](#), [2/5/08](#)]
- **Limbaugh: There’s A Lot Of Anxiety Among A Lot Of Conservatives About Senator McCain.** Rush Limbaugh said, “There’s a lot of anxiety among a lot of conservatives about Senator McCain. It’s simply indisputable, but there was no figure in our roster of candidates who rose up to challenge him or to galvanize conservative support.” [[New York Sun](#), 1/31/08]

10. John McCain Is Wrong On The Issues

IRAQ

McCain Voted to Authorize Use of Force in Iraq. In 2002, McCain voted for passage of the joint resolution that would authorize the use of force against Iraq and require the administration to report to Congress that diplomatic options have been exhausted before, or within 48 hours after military action has begun. The president also would be required to submit a progress report to Congress at least every 60 days. Passed (thus cleared for the president) 77-23 [H J Res 114, [Vote #237](#), 10/11/02]

McCain On Staying In Iraq:

McCain: “I Don’t Think Americans Are Concerned If We’re There For 100 Years or 1,000 Years or 10,000 Years.” In an interview on “Face the Nation,” host Bob Scieffer asked McCain about staying in Iraq for 100 year. McCain responded, “We’ve got to get Americans off the front line, have the Iraqis as part of the strategy, take over more and more of the responsibilities. And then I don’t think Americans are concerned if we’re there for 100 years or 1,000 years or 10,000 years.” [CBS, “Face the Nation,” [1/06/08](#)]

McCain Said American’s Do Not Care About Length of Occupation in Iraq. When asked if he regretted saying that the U.S. involvement in Iraq could last “1,000 years or a million years,” McCain replied, “That’s just foolishness. It’s foolishness to use that quote, because the question was how long are we going to be in Iraq. And that’s not the question the American people care about.” [[Hartford Courant](#), 2/4/08]

McCain Said Struggle With Continue for “The Rest Of The Century.” Asked about the war in Iraq during a town hall meeting, John McCain said, “I’d like to look you in the eye and tell you there’s not gonna be any more wars. I’d like to look you in the eyes and tell you that this terrible evil called radical Islamic extremism is defeated. I can’t do that. **I’ve got to tell you that we’re gonna be in this struggle for the rest of this century** because it’s a transcendent evil.” [Town Hall Meeting; Sun City Center, FL 01/26/08]

McCain On The Surge:

McCain Said The Troop Surge In Iraq Was Working. Appearing on *Fox News* Channel, McCain said, “Today is the day that the president of the United States announced the change in strategy, the so-called surge. I supported that, I argued for it. I’m the only one on this stage that did. I condemn[ed] the Rumsfeld strategy before that I’m telling you, it’s succeeding.” [Fox News, [1/10/08](#)]

February 2008: McCain Said Iraq Is Succeeding Politically. During a town hall meeting in Houston, Texas, McCain said, “In fact we are succeeding in Iraq. ... We are succeeding militarily and we are succeeding, uh, politically.” [Town Hall in Houston, TX, 2/28/08]

- **Petraeus: “No One Feels There Has Been Sufficient Progress” Politically.** General David Petraeus said, “No one feels that there has been sufficient progress by any means in the area of national reconciliation.” The *Washington Post* reported, “Iraqi leaders have failed to take advantage of a reduction in violence to make adequate progress toward resolving their political differences, Gen. David H. Petraeus, the top U.S. commander in Iraq, said.” [[Washington Post](#), [3/14/08](#)]

McCain On The Reason For And Success Of The War:

McCain Backed Bush And Insisted Hussein Had Weapons of Mass Destruction. While appearing on NBC’s *Meet The Press*, McCain said, “He has continued his efforts of acquire weapons of mass destruction. He has used them on his own people. He’s used them on others.” He added that, “there’s no doubt that he is on the path to acquiring a nuclear weapon.” [NBC, “Meet the Press,” 9/22/02]

Mission Accomplished: In 2003, McCain Said “Overall, I Believe Our Goals Have Been Met.” While appearing on NBC’s *Meet the Press*, McCain said, “We bombed Mr. Milosevic for 70-some days with 40-some days’ bombing campaign in Gulf War I. And understandably, in real time, we do have a tendency to become impatient. I do, too. But we’re only 11 days in, and even though these forces have been harassing and have inflicted some casualties, tragically, our overall goals, I believe, have been met.” [NBC, “Meet the Press,” 3/30/03]

FOREIGN POLICY

McCain Said “There Are Going To Be More Wars.” During a town hall meeting in Polk City, Florida, McCain said, “I’m sorry to tell you, there’s going to be other wars. We will never surrender but there will be other wars.” [CNN, [1/27/08](#)]

IRAN: McCain: “Bomb, Bomb, Bomb Iran.” In April 2007, McCain, speaking to voters in South Carolina, responded to a question about Iran by singing “Bomb, bomb Iran” to the tune of the Beach Boys’ “Barbara Ann.” A man had asked McCain about sending “an air mail message to Tehran.” McCain answered by singing, “Bomb bomb bomb, bomb bomb Iran.” He then added: “Iran is dedicated to the destruction of Israel. That alone should concern us, but now they are trying for nuclear capabilities. I totally support (President George W. Bush) when he says we will not allow Iran to destroy Israel.” [UPI, 4/19/07]

- **McCain Threatened to Return to Iran with the “Full Force of Desert Storm.”** In a 1995 press release, McCain wrote of Iraq and Iran, “[a]ggressors in the region should know that, if we must, we will return to the Persian Gulf with the full force of Operation Desert Storm. At the same time, our friends and adversaries elsewhere in the world should understand that the United States will do everything in its legislation will serve as an indication of just how serious we are.” [McCain Press Release, 4/28/95]

RUSSIA: McCain Called For Russia’s Expulsion From The G-8. “Asked what he would do about Russia if he were president, Sen. McCain reiterated a call for the Group of Eight leading nations -- Canada, France, Germany, Italy, Japan, Russia, the United Kingdom and the U.S. -- to remove Russia. ‘The G-8 is based on membership of different countries that believe in free and open economies, free and open societies and free and fair elections,’ he said.” [[Wall Street Journal](#), [3/4/08](#)]

HOMELAND SECURITY

McCain Voted Against Funding Homeland Security. In 2004, McCain voted against an effort to increase overall homeland security spending by \$2 billion, for a range of programs including explosives detection devices at airports, firefighter grants and radiation devices. The motion failed 43-51. McCain voted against \$6.8 billion in additional funding for homeland defense programs. This additional money would have come from reducing the President’s tax breaks for taxpayers with incomes in excess of \$1 million a year. The amendment failed 40-57. [HR 4567, [Vote #169](#), 9/09/04; S. Con. Res. 95, [Vote #50](#), 3/11/04]

McCain Voted Against Implementing The Recommendations of the 9/11 Commission. In 2006, McCain voted against an amendment that would implement the recommendations of the Sept. 11 commission, including the

screening of all cargo and enabling first-responders to communicate on a common radio spectrum. It also would call for a new direction in Iraq and authorize additional funds for intelligence activities. The amendment failed 41-57. [HR 4954, [Vote #243](#), 9/13/06]

McCain Voted Against Increasing Funding For First Responders. In the Senate, John McCain has repeatedly voted against increasing funding for first responders and specifically voted against communications equipment grants. [HR 2862, [Vote #227](#), 9/14/05; SCR 83, [Vote #45](#), 3/15/06; SCR 18, [Vote #50](#), 3/15/05]

McCain Flip-Flopped On Torture, Said U.S. Would Not Torture. During a town hall meeting, John McCain said, “I’ll tell ya, as president of the United States, we will never torture another person in the custody of the United States of America. That’s not what America is supposed to do.” [Town Hall; Nashua, NH, 12/08/07, emphasis added]

- **McCain Voted Against Banning Waterboarding.** In 2008, McCain voted against adoption of a conference report that would prohibit the use of any interrogation treatment not authorized by the U.S. Army Field Manual against any individual in the custody of the intelligence community. The conference report passed 51-45. [HR 2082, [Vote #22](#), 2/13/08]

DEFENSE

McCain Wrote The Law That Allows Defense Contracts To Be Awarded To Foreign Companies. In 2004, McCain proposed and voted for an amendment to allow the Secretary of Defense to waive the application of any domestic source requirements with respect to items that are grown, reprocessed, reused, produced or manufactured in seven foreign countries that have a “declaration of principles” with the United States. The amendment passed 54-46. [S 2400, [Vote #135](#), 6/22/04]

McCain Voted Against Stricter Penalties For War Profiteering And Fraud. In 2004, McCain against the Leahy amendment that would make profiteering on contracts in connection with military or rebuilding activities in Iraq, Afghanistan or other countries punishable by up to 20 years in federal prison and \$1 million in fines. Amendment rejected 46-52. [S 2400, [Vote #120](#), 6/16/04]

McCain Repeatedly Voted To Further The Missile Defense Program. In the Senate, McCain has voted at least five times against cutting funding or to further the missile defense program. [HR 1585, [Vote #245](#), 7/12/07; S 1873, [Vote #131](#), 5/13/1998; S 1873, [Vote #262](#), 9/9/98; S 936, [Vote #171](#), 7/11/97; S 1745, [Vote #160](#), 6/19/96]

ENERGY

McCain’s Tax Plan Gives Top Five Oil Companies \$3.8 Billion A Year In Tax Breaks. According to a study conducted by the Center for American Progress, “The McCain plan would deliver approximately \$170 billion a year in tax cuts to corporations, including some corporations that are very large and profitable. Just one of the proposals—cutting the corporate rate from 35 percent to 25 percent—would cut taxes for five largest U.S. oil companies by \$3.8 billion a year.” [Center for American Progress, [3/27/08](#)]

Campaign Donations From Industry Players:

- **McCain has Taken At Least \$720,613 from the Oil & Gas Industry.** According to a Public Campaign Action Fund analysis of campaign finance data provided by the nonpartisan Center for Responsive Politics Center, John McCain accepted at least \$720,613 from the oil and gas industry since 1989. [Center for Responsive Politics via Campaign Action Fund]
- **McCain Has Accepted \$72,600 from Nuclear Power Industry.** According to the Center for Responsive Politics Center, John McCain received \$72,600 in campaign contributions from the nuclear power industry between 1997 and 2002. [Center for Responsive Politics]

SENIORS

McCain Supports Privatizing Social Security. According to his campaign website, “John McCain supports supplementing the current Social Security system with personal accounts.” [[McCain Campaign Website](#), accessed 3/28/08]

McCain Refused to Respond to Question About Cutting Benefits and Raising Eligibility Age. In 2007, McCain was asked if he would be willing to cut benefits or increase the age of eligibility to keep Social Security from going bankrupt. McCain said, “Before we get into any of those specifics, you have to know that anyone who gets out front on this issue without sitting down and negotiating with everything on the table will get nowhere... If I take a position on any of those issues right now, one, it doesn’t work. And second of all, it’s got to be the product of bipartisan negotiations where people sit down across a table from one another.” [FOX News, 4/30/07]

- **McCain Said He Could Accept “Almost Anything” as Part of a Compromise.** In 2007, McCain was asked about his 2005 support of increasing Social Security taxes and was pressed about it as a part of a compromise. McCain said, “Oh. Well, I mean, as part of a compromise, if you come up with a benefit, I can accept almost anything, but it’s got to be part of a compromise. Am I for raising anybody’s taxes? No, I am not. I am unalterably opposed to doing so. But we have to save it, and come together the way that Tip O’Neill and Ronald Reagan did. I will not support any specific remedy, no matter what I said in 2005, and I believe you’re taking that quote out of context, because I never said it before.” [FOX News, 4/30/07]

McCain Voted To Raise The Medicare Eligibility Age From 65 to 67. In 1997, McCain voted in favor of raising the eligibility age for receiving Medicare from 65 to 67 with the change being phased in between 2003 and 2027. The motion passed 62-38. [S 947, [Vote #112](#), 6/24/97]

1995: McCain Voted to Cut Medicare by \$270 billion. In 1995, McCain voted for budget that would cut Medicare by \$270 billion. [H.R. 2491, [Vote #584](#), 11/17/1995; H.R. 2491, [Vote #556](#), 10/27/1995; H.C.R. 67, [Vote #296](#), 6/29/1995]

McCain Voted Against the Prescription Drug/Medicare Bill After Voting Down 12 Important Enhancements to the Legislation. In 2003, McCain voted against a Medicare bill which did little to lower the costs of prescription drugs. Under the limited drug benefit, those with drug costs below \$5,800 would still have to pay most of their drug costs, and premiums would vary across the country. The bill passed 76-21. [S 1, [Vote #262](#), 6/26/03]

BUDGET AND APPROPRIATIONS

McCain Said He’s Never Asked For An Earmark Or Pork Barrel Project. McCain has repeatedly said he has never asked for or received an earmark for his state of Arizona. “In 24 years as a Member of Congress I’ve never asked for nor received a single earmark or pork barrel project for my state.” [Town Hall Meeting in South Carolina, 1/10/08; Fox News Debate [1/6/08](#)]

McCain Cites Elimination of Earmarks As A Means To Balancing The Budget. According to an article in the *Wall Street Journal*, “Sen. McCain often cites elimination of earmarks as a solution to the country’s financial woes. When asked Wednesday, after a town-hall meeting in Exeter, N.H., how he would balance his proposed budget, Sen. McCain responded, ‘By eliminating wasteful and pork-barrel spending, to start with.’” [[Wall Street Journal](#), [3/14/08](#)]

- **WSJ: Eliminating Earmarks Wouldn’t Restore Revenue Lost By McCain’s Tax and Spending Proposals.** According to an article in the *Wall Street Journal*, “eliminating earmarks wouldn’t restore revenue lost by Sen. McCain’s other propositions, including a litany of tax cuts. He plans to not raise taxes, but he also plans to increase the size of the military and institute health-care overhauls.” [[Wall Street Journal](#), [3/14/08](#)]

McCain Sponsored \$10 Million Earmark For Law Center In Arizona. McCain tried to push a bill through Congress to steer “10 million to the University of Arizona to launch an academic center honoring the late Supreme Court Justice William Rehnquist.” At the same time, McCain was also sponsoring a bill which mounted “a direct assault on congressional earmarks.” [[Chicago Tribune](#), 3/4/06]

McCain Helped A Phoenix Space Lab Secure A \$25 Million Grant From The Federal Government. In 1990, Arizona Senators Dennis DeConcini and John McCain helped secure a \$25 million federal contract for a space science lab in Phoenix. Senator DeConcini said, “There was the ability to sell it, to float it politically, that this was a good investment for America. I’m glad to have John McCain as a colleague to work for a \$25 million contract because it was not just good for Arizona, because it was good for small business and good for the nation, a partnership of the private sector and the federal government.” [MacNeil/Lehrer NewsHour, 1/22/90]

McCain’s Tax Plan Gives Top Five Oil Companies \$3.8 Billion A Year In Tax Breaks. According to a study conducted by the Center for American Progress, “The McCain plan would deliver approximately \$170 billion a year in tax cuts to corporations, including some corporations that are very large and profitable. Just one of the proposals—cutting the corporate rate from 35 percent to 25 percent—would cut taxes for five largest U.S. oil companies by \$3.8 billion a year.” [Center for American Progress, [3/27/08](#)]

- **McCain Voted for \$5 Billion in Tax Breaks for Big Oil.** In 2006, McCain voted for the conference report on H.R. 4297, which included \$5 billion in tax breaks for big oil. McCain voted for the conference report, even though Republicans added back in two tax loopholes that have allowed the oil industry to avoid paying their fair share of taxes. The conference report passed 54-44. [H.R. 4297, [Vote #118](#), 5/11/2006]

Campaign Donations From Industry Players:

- **McCain Accepted \$447,962 from Oil & Gas Industry.** According to the Center for Responsive Politics, McCain has accepted \$447,962 from the oil and gas industry. [Center for Responsive Politics, accessed 1/08/08]

McCain Accepted \$72,600 from Nuclear Power Industry. Between 1997 and 2002, McCain received in \$72,600 Nuclear Power Industry Contributions to Senators. [Center for Responsive Politics, accessed [2/21/08](#)]

TAXES

McCain’s Plan: Tax Cuts To For Businesses. According to the *Associated Press*, John McCain proposed a long-term economic plan that would lower the corporate income tax rate and provide several other tax breaks for businesses. McCain proposed cutting the corporate tax rate to 25 percent from 35 percent. McCain said that his plan was “pro growth, less taxes and less spending” versus “the Democrats’ tired ideas of tax and spend.” [[Associated Press](#), 1/17/08]

McCain Says He Would Treat Employer Sponsored Healthcare as Taxable Income. The Tax Policy Center wrote that McCain “He says he would treat employer sponsored health benefits as taxable income, while giving individuals a tax credit for the insurance they buy. On its own, taxing employer insurance just like wages would be a huge tax increase—OMB estimates in the neighborhood of \$1 trillion from 2009–2013. To many on the right, that alone would violate the no-tax pledge.” [Tax Policy Center, [2/19/08](#)]

EDUCATION

McCain Supports Vouchers. In an interview, McCain said, “I support vouchers.” During his tenure in the Senate, McCain has voted at least nine times for proposals supporting voucher pilot programs and “education savings accounts.” [[Spartanburg Herald-Journal](#), 7/26/07; [S 1, Vote #179](#), 6/12/01; HR 2646, [Vote #96](#), 4/23/98; HR 2646, [Vote #87](#), 4/21/98; [HR 2646, Vote #86](#), 4/21/98; HR 2646, [Vote #34](#), 3/17/98; S 1156, [Vote #260](#), 9/30/97; S 949, [Vote #150](#), 6/27/97; SCR 2, [Vote #89](#), 5/23/97; S 1513, [Vote #238](#), 7/27/94]

McCain Thinks NCLB is Beginning to Work. In 2001, John McCain rose on the Senate floor to express his support for NCLB. “I am supporting this measure today,” McCain said, adding, “the bill does make needed strides to improve our Nation’s schools.” In September 2007, the *Marshalltown Times-Republican* reported, “Another issue McCain feels needs addressed is education. He feels that No Child Left Behind is beginning to work, but much more needs addressing the in the field of educating our children.” [[Congressional Record](#), No Child Left

Behind Act of 2001 – Conference Report (Senate – December 18, 2001), accessed 3/21/08; [Marshalltown Times-Republican](#), 9/05/07; NEA McCain Education Tracking Document]

- **McCain Repeatedly Voted Against Full Funding For NCLB.** During his tenure in the Senate, McCain has voted at least 3 times against full funding of No Child Left Behind. [SCR 95, [Vote #35](#), 3/10/04; SCR 23, [Vote #60](#), 3/19/03; HJR 2, [Vote #5](#), 1/16/03]

LABOR

McCain Repeatedly Voted Against Raising The Minimum Wage. In the senate, John McCain voted at least eight times against measure to increase the minimum wage. [HR 2, [Vote #23](#), 1/24/07; S.Amdt. 44 to S. 256, [Vote #26](#), 3/07/05; S.Amdt. 128 to S. 256, [Vote #27](#), 3/07/05; S.Amdt. 3079 to S.Amdt. 2951 to S.Con.Res. 101, [Vote #76](#), 4/07/00; S.Amdt. 1383 to S. 1429, [Vote #239](#), 7/30/99; S. 96, [Vote #94](#), 4/28/99; S .Amdt. 3540 to S.Amdt. 3559 to S. 1301, [Vote #278](#), 9/22/98; S.Amdt. 4272 to H.R. 3448, [Vote #183](#), 7/06/96]

McCain Voted Against Eliminating Incentives for Companies to Move Manufacturing Plants Offshore. In 2005, McCain voted against an amendment to repeal tax incentives for domestic companies that move their manufacturing plants to offshore locations and use the resulting revenue to reduce the federal deficit and debt by \$3.2 billion from 2006 to 2010. The amendment failed 40-59. [S.Amdt. 210 to S.Con.Res. 18, [Vote #63](#), 3/17/05]

McCain Voted To Take Away Overtime Pay For As Many As 8 Million Workers. In 2005, McCain voted against a proposal to block the Labor Department from implementing new rules to overhaul eligibility standards for overtime pay. The amendment passed 52-47. [S.Amdt. 3107 to S. 1637, [Vote #79](#), 5/04/04]

McCain Voted To Repeal Ergonomics Regulations. In 2001, McCain voted to repeal a workplace regulation designed to prevent injuries from repetitive motion. Republicans argued that the regulation would cost businesses billions of dollars. However, in the long run, the regulations would save companies money. The Occupational Safety and Health Administration (OSHA), which wrote the regulations, said that it would cost businesses \$4.5 billion to implement, but would save \$9 billion through increased productivity and reduced sick days. According to the Bureau of Labor Statistics, 1.8 million ergonomic injuries are reported each year. The resolution passed 56-44. [S.J.Res. 6, [Vote #15](#), 3/06/01; [Congressional Record](#), Page S1846, 3/06/01]

McCain Is An “Unashamed and Unabashed” Supporter of NAFTA, Free Trade:

- **John McCain Supports NAFTA, Free Trade.** John McCain said, “I am an unashamed and unabashed defender of NAFTA. I am an unabashed supporter of free trade agreements.” [[Boston Globe](#), 3/26/08]
- **McCain Voted for NAFTA.** In 1993, McCain voted for the North American Free Trade Agreement. Opponents argued that NAFTA has resulting in widespread job losses for American workers. The bill passed 61-38. [H.R. 3450, [Vote #395](#), 11/20/93]
- **McCain Voted for Permanent Normal Trading Relations (PNTR) To China.** In 2000, McCain voted for a bill for permanent normal trade relations with the China. The bill passed 83-15. [HR 4444, [Vote #251](#), 9/19/00]

McCain's Biography

Short Bio: John Sidney McCain III was born August 29, 1936 while his father was serving as an active duty naval officer in the Panama Canal Zone. His Grandfather was also a Naval officer.

Religion: Episcopalian.

Education: U.S. Naval Academy, B.S., 1958; National War College, 1974

Family: "Senator McCain has seven children and four grandchildren, and currently lives in Phoenix, Arizona with his wife Cindy. McCain has married twice. Married Cindy Hensley (May 17, 1980 - present); Carol Shepp (1965-1980, divorced); Children: Bridget, 1991 (adopted from Bangladesh, 1992); Jimmy, 1988; Jack, 1986; Meghan, 1984; Sidney, 1966; Adopted sons from Carol's previous marriage: Andy, 1962, and Doug, 1959. Cindy's (his second wife) formal education includes an undergraduate degree in Education and a Master's in Special Education from the University of Southern California. As a student, Cindy participated in pilot programs testing Movement Therapy, which is now a widely accepted standard for working with severely disabled children. After receiving her degrees from USC, she began her teaching career at Agua Fria High School in Arizona where she continued her work with disabled children. Cindy McCain continues to be an advocate for kids." [John McCain.com, accessed 1/07]

Early Life

YOUTH: "John McCain, 71, was born on a US military base in Panama. Both his father and grandfather were celebrated navy admirals -- the latter commanded the US aircraft carrier fleet in the Pacific during world war two -- and there was never much doubt that he would follow in their footsteps. McCain spent his childhood bouncing from one naval base to another with his family before enrolling at the US Naval Academy in Annapolis. He was a lacklustre student with a rebellious streak that often landed him in trouble. He also led a colourful social life, including a period dating a Brazilian exotic dancer." [[Financial Times](#), 3/5/08]

COLLEGE: "John attended college at the United States Naval Academy, and launched a 22-year career as a naval aviator upon his graduation. In 1958 McCain graduated from the U.S. Naval Academy and was commissioned as a naval officer. In 1965 McCain married Carol Shepp, of Philadelphia, Pennsylvania and adopted her two sons, Doug and Andy. Their third child, Sidney was born a year later in 1966. In 1967 McCain was promoted to Lieutenant Commander in the U.S. Navy. He continued the McCain tradition of service to country passed down to him from his father and grandfather when he asked to serve in the Vietnam War." [John McCain.com, accessed 1/07]

- **McCain Was Born Into "Navy Royalty" – His Grandfather And Father Were Admirals.** According to *Salon's* Jake Tapper, John McCain was "...born into Navy royalty -- both his father and grandfather achieved the rank of admiral..." [Column, Salon.com, 4/14/99]

VIETNAM: "In Vietnam, McCain had numerous near-death experiences. On July 29 1967, a missile accidentally fired from a nearby plane struck the fuel tanks on John's plane and created a deadly inferno aboard the ship. John barely escaped the fiery disaster that killed 134 men, injured hundreds more and destroyed 20 planes. Instead of taking the option to return home after the Forrestal disaster, Senator McCain volunteered for more combat duty - a fateful decision that stopped the clock on his life and separated him from his family, and country, for five and a half years. During his 23rd bombing mission on October 26, 1967, a missile struck John's plane and forced him to eject, knocking him unconscious and breaking both his arms and his leg. John was then taken as a prisoner of war into the now infamous "Hanoi Hilton," where he was denied necessary medical treatment and often beaten by the North Vietnamese. John spent much of his time as a prisoner of war in solitary confinement, aided by his faith and the friendships of his fellow POWs. After the signing of the Paris Peace Accords, John McCain and nearly 600 fellow

POWs were released from the Hanoi Hilton, ending the longest wartime incarceration in U.S. history. In 1979, McCain was promoted to Captain in the US Navy. In 1980, John McCain marries his wife, Cindy Hensley of Phoenix, Arizona. Senator McCain's last Navy duty assignment was to serve as the naval liaison to the United States Senate. John retired from the Navy in 1981. His naval honors include the Silver Star, Bronze Star, Legion of Merit, Purple Heart, and the Distinguished Flying Cross." [John McCain.com, accessed 1/07]

- **McCain Was Offered Early Release From Vietnam POW Camp, Turned It Down Repeatedly.** According to the *New Yorker*, because John McCain's father had been commander-in-chief of the Pacific, "...the Vietnamese saw him as a valuable propaganda asset (referring to him as 'the crown prince') and offered him early release [from a Vietnam POW camp]-something that he turned down repeatedly." [*New Yorker*, 5/30/05]

Career

CONGRESS: McCain was first elected to the U.S. House of Representatives in 1982. He was elected to the United States Senate in 1986, after serving two terms in the U.S. House. He has fought to reduce spending and the influence of 'special interests' on lawmaking. John McCain was presented with the "Taxpayer's Hero Award" in 1997, 1998, and 1999 by The Council for Citizens against Government Waste (amongst other taxpayer awards). John McCain was awarded the John F. Kennedy Profile in Courage Award in 1999. Also in 1999, McCain published a best-selling book *Faith of My Fathers* is published. In 2000 McCain ran for President. In 2002, together with Russ Feingold, McCain helped pass landmark legislation for campaign finance reform, which reformed the influence of money in political campaigns. Also in 2002 McCain published another book and hosted SNL. In 2004 McCain published another book, *Why Courage Matters: The Way to a Braver Life*. In 2004, McCain was re-elected to his fourth term in the United States Senate with over 77 per cent of the vote. In 2005 McCain received numerous taxpayer awards and another "Eisenhower institute award."

- **McCain's Years In The Senate Started With Scandal.** "His Senate career got off to a rocky start when he became embroiled in an ethics scandal surrounding a bankrupt financial company he had lobbied for. McCain admitted an error of judgment and has since earned a reputation for campaigning against government corruption and waste." [*Financial Times*, 3/5/08]
- **McCain Lost 2000 Presidential Primary To George W. Bush.** "He ran for president in 2000 but narrowly lost the Republican nomination to George W. Bush. Ill-feeling between McCain and Bush lingered for years and there was speculation that he would join the Democratic presidential ticket as John Kerry's running mate in 2004. The rumours proved unfounded and McCain later became a staunch supporter of two controversial Bush administration policies -- the troop "surge" in Iraq and reform of US immigration laws." [*Financial Times*, 3/5/08]

POLICIES: "McCain's campaign rests on two main pillars: his support for the war on terror and his promise to tackle wasteful government spending. McCain has vowed to stay on the offensive against terrorists, describing Islamic extremism as an "existential" threat to US civilisation. His support for offering illegal immigrants a path to citizenship has alienated many conservatives -- prompting him to put greater emphasis on the need for tighter border security. On social issues, he has sought to shed his moderate image and woo Christian conservatives by stressing his longstanding opposition to abortion." [*Financial Times*, 3/5/08]

CAMPAIGN: "Eight years ago, McCain was the plucky underdog who put up a valiant but ultimately futile fight against George W. Bush for the Republican nomination. In 2008, McCain was determined that he would be the bid-budget frontrunner with establishment backing. But the strategy backfired when his unpopular positions on immigration and Iraq caused a slump in fundraising. It was only after resuming the role of straight-talking underdog that McCain's fortunes improved. Declining violence in Iraq also helped revive his campaign by vindicating his support for the 'surge'. [*Financial Times*, 3/5/08]

Personal Life

FAMILY:

McCain Has Seven Children From Two Marriages. According to the *New York Times*, “There are the children from his first marriage — Doug and Andy, from his first wife’s former marriage — whom he adopted when they were small, as well as a daughter, Sidney. Then there is the second family: Meghan, Jimmy, Jack and the McCain’s adopted daughter, Bridget, 16, who became a target of dirty campaigning in the 2000 presidential race, when she was portrayed as the child of an illicit union. ... Mr. McCain has frequently said he never pushed his children toward a military career. Yet three of his four sons have been in the service; the fourth, Andy, was turned down by the Naval Academy. Doug was a Navy pilot, Jack is in the academy and Jimmy, whom Mrs. McCain described as ‘the sensitive one,’ stunned many of his siblings by enlisting in the Marines.” [[New York Times, 12/27/07](#)]

McCains Adopted A Bangladeshi Orphan That Cindy Brought Back To U.S. For Medical Help. According to *Good Housekeeping*, John McCain said that his wife, Cindy’s “finest hour” came when in 1991, when Cindy went on a trip to Bangladesh, with the American Voluntary Medical Team, an organization she had launched in 1988 with part of her family’s fortune. Also according to *Good Housekeeping*, Mrs. McCain “...visited an orphanage where 150 malnourished infants were living in squalor. Toward the end of her stay, nuns brought her a 10-week-old named Bridget. The baby was severely disfigured by a cleft palate; her caretakers begged Cindy to take her to the United States for treatment, and she quickly agreed.” Once back in the U.S., both Cindy and John decided to adopt Bridget. [[Good Housekeeping, 2/1/00](#)]

McCain Cheated On and Divorced His First Wife After She Suffered a Disabling Car Accident. The *New York Times* writes, “His wife, Carol, a tall, slim woman who had once been a model, had nearly died in a car wreck in 1969 [while McCain was a prisoner of war]. The injuries left her four inches shorter and on crutches, and she had gained a good deal of weight.” They add, “[His] personal life was a mess: Although he was still living with his wife, he was aggressively courting a 25-year-old woman who was as beautiful s she was rich.” After meeting at a party, McCain pursued the woman “aggressively, flying around the country to see her.” McCain divorced his first wife the next year, and “promptly married Miss Hensley, his present wife.” [[New York Times, 2/27/00](#)]

WEALTH:

McCain Was Seventh Wealthiest Senator In 2005 Based On His 2005 PFD. According to the Center for Responsive Politics, John McCain was the seventh wealthiest Senator in 2005, based on his 2005 personal financial disclosure. McCain’s minimum net worth was listed at \$20,571,136 and his maximum net worth was listed at \$32,043,011. [[Center For Responsive Politics via Opensecrets.org, accessed 1/8/08](#)]

McCain’s Mother Is Daughter Of “Wealthy Oil Wildcatter”; Was Too Old To Rent Car In Europe, So She Bought A New Mercedes. According to *Vanity Fair*, at the age of 94, John McCain’s mother was “unstoppable.” Apparently, she is “the daughter of a wealthy oil wildcatter” and when she went to Europe, and was too old to rent a car, “...she simply bought herself a new Mercedes and hit the road.” [[Vanity Fair, February 2007](#)]

Cindy McCain

Cindy McCain Worked As Special Ed. Teacher & Children’s Health Activist. According to *Good Housekeeping*, McCain’s wife Cindy has been a special education teacher and children’s health activist. [[Good Housekeeping, 2/1/00](#)]

Cindy McCain Has Led As Many As 55 Medical Missions To Third World Countries. According to *Good Housekeeping*, McCain’s wife Cindy had led 55 medical missions to Third World Countries as of February 2000 (the publication date of the article). [[Good Housekeeping, 2/1/00](#)]

Cindy McCain Never Moved Family To D.C., Opted To See McCain When He Could Make It Back To Phoenix. According to *Good Housekeeping*, McCain's wife Cindy "...never move the family to Washington, D.C., opting to see her husband when he could make it to Phoenix, where their children [were attending] school." Cindy told *Good Housekeeping* that the decision "...can be lonely...and there are days when I get frustrated." Cindy also "...confess[ed] that she balked at McCain's plan to seek the [2000 Presidential] nomination, because she knew it would mean hitting the road and leaving the kids behind." [[Good Housekeeping, 2/1/00](#)]

Cindy McCain Admitted She Had Been Addicted To Painkillers. According to *Good Housekeeping*, in 1994, Cindy McCain admitted that she had been addicted to Painkillers. Cindy had suffered from "crippling pain" and two surgeries on her spine apparently brought her no relief. Cindy started taking Percoset and Vicodin, two painkillers to which she became addicted. Cindy told *Good Housekeeping* that publicly acknowledging her addiction was "very important." As of February 2000, [the article's publication date] Cindy was a member of Narcotics Anonymous. [[Good Housekeeping, 2/1/00](#)]

Cindy McCain Said Her Addiction Battle Made Her A Better Parent And Person. According to *Good Housekeeping*, Cindy McCain said about her battle with addiction to painkillers, "I never want to repeat what happened to me, but I think I'm a better person for having had to deal with it...And I Know I'm a better person." [[Good Housekeeping, 2/1/00](#)]

Cindy McCain Stole Painkiller Drugs From Medical Relief Agency She Founded. According to *Good Housekeeping*, in 1994 Cindy McCain admitted that she had both been addicted to painkillers and had stolen pills from a medical-relief agency she had founded. Although no charges were filed, *Good Housekeeping* reported that "Cindy paid restitution to the agency and did penance by working in a soup kitchen." *Good Housekeeping* mentioned that Cindy worried about the fact that media scrutiny surrounding the scandal would be hard on her children and husband. [[Good Housekeeping, 2/1/00](#)]

McSame: McCain's Policies Offer a Third Bush Term

A vote for John McCain is a vote for a third Bush term. McCain admitted that his relationship with Bush is based on shared views in Iraq, immigration and a common agenda. McCain has offered no plan to end the war in Iraq. In fact, McCain says he is comfortable with being in Iraq for a hundred years. McCain offers a health care plan that is similar to Bush's proposal, which failed to expand coverage and cut health care costs. McCain endorsed Bush's plan to privatize Social Security—so much so he joined Bush on the campaign to sell the proposal. Although, McCain previously opposed Bush's tax cuts for the wealthy he has made a "breathtaking turnaround" and supports these budget-busting, tax cuts for the wealthy.

Top Hits:

- Bush said McCain was set to "carry forth his agenda."
- McCain said his friendship with Bush was based on shared views on the issues.
- McCain will continue Bush's failed policies in Iraq.
- McCain's healthcare plan is the same as Bush's.
- McCain supported Bush's efforts to privatize Social Security.
- McCain flip-flopped to align himself with the Bush tax cuts.
- McCain supported Bush's disastrous No Child Left Behind.

Bush Endorsed McCain For 2008

Bush Said McCain Was Best to "Carry Forth His Agenda." Behind closed doors, Bush "has told people for months that he thought McCain would be the nominee. Even during some of those dark periods he still thought he could win. And also that McCain would be the best to carry forth his agenda." [Fox News, "Fox and Friends, 2/8/2008]

President Bush: McCain Is "Not Going To Change When It Comes To Taking On The Enemy." After endorsing John McCain's candidacy for president, President Bush said, "The good news about our candidate is he'll be a new president, a man of character and courage, but he's not going to change when it comes to taking on the enemy. He understands this is a dangerous world. And I understand we better have steadfast leadership who's got the courage and determination to pursue this enemy, so as to protect America." [White House Press Conference, 3/5/08]

Bush Said He Will Do Whatever It Takes For McCain To Win. While endorsing McCain at the White House, President Bush said, "If my showing up and endorsing him helps him - or if I'm against him and it helps him - either way, I want him to win. Bush added, "I got a lot to do, but I'm going to find ample time to help. I can help raise him money, and if he wants my pretty face standing by his side at one of these rallies, I'd be glad to show up." [Associated Press, [3/5/08](#)]

Bush Said He "Looks Forward To Vigorously Campaigning" For McCain. "The president has said he looks forward to vigorously campaigning for the GOP and tonight it has become clear that the GOP nominee will be Senator John McCain," said White House press secretary Dana Perino. "Of course the president is going to endorse the GOP nominee which is going to be Senator John McCain." [Associated Press, [3/5/08](#)]

McCain Is a "Foot Soldier Following Bush." After Bush implied his support for McCain, the *Washington Post* reported, "whether [McCain] likes it or not, he is now also a foot soldier following Bush, and the two will have to figure out how to fight the next battle together." [Washington Post, [2/8/08](#)]

McCain Supported Bush 92 Percent in 2004

McCain Supported Bush 92 Percent in 2004. According to Congressional Quarterly, McCain supported President Bush a majority of the time—supporting Bush as much as 92 percent in 2004. According to CQ, “CQ tries to determine what the president personally, as distinct from other administration officials, does and does not want in the way of legislative action. This is done by analyzing his messages to Congress, news conference remarks and other public statements and documents.” [CQ Voting Studies, Accessed 1/07/08]

Presidential Support		
Year	Support	Oppose
2006	89%	11%
2005	77%	23%
2004	92%	8%
2003	91%	9%
2002	90%	10%
2001	91%	9%

McCain/Bush Friendship Based on Issues

McCain Said Relationship With Bush Based On The Agenda. According to *New York Times*, “McCain described their relationship as a function of their positions and their shared views on such big issues as Iraq and immigration. ‘I believe if I were not in the Senate and not working on these issues, we might communicate once in a while, but not the way we do,’ he said. ‘We have a very good personal relationship, but it’s primarily based on the agenda.’” [New York Times, 7/03/06]

McCain: The President and I Share Exactly the Same Views [On Immigration]

McCain Said He And Bush Shared Same Views On Immigration. During an interview with the *New Yorker*, McCain told reporter Connie Bruck, “The President and I share exactly the same views on the issue [of immigration]...He believes there are willing workers and willing employers and we ought to match them up. He recognizes that our borders are broken and we need to protect them, but we can only do it in a dual approach.” Bruck pointed out that despite McCain’s assertion that he agreed with Bush on immigration, McCain and Senator Kennedy had introduced comprehensive immigration legislation that many of McCain Republican colleagues “... deride[d] as ‘amnesty’” and for which Bush had not indicated his support. [New Yorker, 5/30/05]

McCain’s Reputation Tied To Bush’s Handling of War

Peter Canellos: McCain’s Reputation Tied to Bush’s Handling Of Iraq. Peter Canellos, a columnist for the Boston Globe, wrote that McCain, “a frank neoconservative who envisions Iraq as part of a global war on terrorism that is at least as expansive as Bush’s,” may start to be “linked in the public mind with Bush’s failures” on the war. Canellos theorized that “once more troops head into the war zone, McCain’s credibility will be on the line. A year from now, barring an unexpected decision to forgo the presidential race, McCain will face Republican primary voters. If the situation on the ground hasn’t improved, his rivals are certain to hold him at least partially responsible for the flawed strategy.” [Boston Globe, 1/9/07]

Bush & McCain: McSame on Iraq

<u>McSame on...</u>	<u>Bush White House</u>	<u>McCain</u>
<p><u>... WMDs</u></p>	<p>Bush Insisted Iraq Had Weapons of Mass Destruction. During an address to the nation in March of 2003, Bush said, “Saddam Hussein has had a long history of reckless aggression and terrible crimes. He possesses weapons of terror. He provides funding and safe haven to terrorists who would willingly use weapons of mass destruction against America and other peace-loving countries.” He added, “We will not wait to see what terrorists or terrorist states could do with weapons of mass destruction.” [The President’s Radio Address, 3/7/03; emphasis added]</p>	<p>McCain: Hussein Continues To Acquire, Amass And Improve On His Arsenal of Weapons of Mass Destruction. During a floor debate on the floor of the senate, McCain said, “Saddam Hussein continues to acquire, amass, and improve on his arsenal of weapons of mass destruction. He continues to attempt to acquire a nuclear weapon. These are all well-known facts. So if you believe that Saddam Hussein...is not going to abandon his request for his weapons, then the longer we wait, the more dangerous he becomes.” [Asheville Citizen-Times, 10/13/02; emphasis added]</p>
<p><u>... Being Greeted As Liberators</u></p>	<p>Cheney Said, “I Really Do Believe We Will Be Greeted As Liberators.” While appearing on <i>NBC’s Meet the Press</i>, Vice President Cheney said, “I really do believe that we will be greeted as liberators. I’ve talked with a lot of Iraqis in the last several months myself, had them to the White House. The president and I have met with them, various groups and individuals, people who have devoted their lives from the outside to trying to change things inside Iraq.” [NBC, “Meet the Press,” 3/16/03; emphasis added]</p>	<p>McCain Said “The Iraqi People Will Greet Us As Liberators.” While appearing on <i>NBC’s The Today Show</i>, McCain said, “But I believe, Katie, that the Iraqi people will greet us as liberators. I believe that they will have an opportunity over time, and it will be difficult, to realize the same hopes and dreams and aspirations that every person in the world has and deserves the opportunity to live in a free and open society.” [NBC, “The Today Show,” 3/20/03; emphasis added]</p>

<u>McSame on...</u>	<u>Bush White House</u>	<u>McCain</u>
<u>... How to Pay for War</u>	<p>Paul Wolfowitz Said Iraqi Oil Revenues Will Help Pay For Reconstruction. While speaking at a hearing of the Defense Subcommittee of the House Appropriations Committee, Deputy Secretary of Defense, Paul Wolfowitz, said, “And my -- a rough recollection -- well, I’m -- the oil revenues of that country could bring between 50 and 100 billion dollars over the course of the next two or three years. Now, there are a lot of claims on that money, but that’s -- we’re not dealing with Afghanistan that’s a permanent ward of the international community. We are dealing with a country that can really finance its own reconstruction and relatively soon.” [Defense Subcommittee of the House Appropriations Committee, 3/27/03; emphasis added]</p>	<p>McCain Said Iraqi Oil Reserves Would Cover The Cost of War. During an interview with <i>National Journal</i>, McCain said, “Everybody now is talking of post-Saddam Hussein Iraq. I look on it with optimism and hope. As far as the cost is concerned, Iraqis have vast oil reserves and they, I’m sure, would shoulder the cost of the transition.” [<i>National Journal</i>, 2/15/03; emphasis added]</p>
<u>... A Mission Accomplished</u>	<p>Standing Under A “Mission Accomplished” Banner, Bush Declared An End To Major Combat Operations. While giving a speech aboard the USS Abraham Lincoln and standing under a giant “Mission Accomplished” banner, Bush announced, “Major combat operations in Iraq have ended.” [Associated Press, 5/2/03; emphasis added]</p>	<p>McCain Said Capture Of Saddam Hussein Was A “Mission Accomplished.” During an interview on ABC News “This Week” McCain was asked about the capture of Saddam Hussein and the effect on US Forces. McCain said, “Their morale could not be higher. This is a mission accomplished. They know how much influence Saddam Hussein had on the Iraqi people, how much more difficult it made to get their cooperation. Every member of the military and civilian over there are rejoicing today. It was interesting to see Ambassador Bremer’s emotion. It was well-deserved.” [ABC, “This Week,” 12/14/03; emphasis added]</p>

<u>McSame on...</u>	<u>Bush White House</u>	<u>McCain</u>
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<p><u>... Staying the Course</u></p>	<p>Bush: “We’ve Got to Stay the Course.” After meeting with the family of a fallen soldier, President Bush told the press, “We’ve got to stay the course and we will stay the course.” [<u>Newsweek</u>, 4/19/2004; emphasis added]</p>	<p>McCain: “We’ve Got to Stay the Course.” In an interview with ABC News, McCain said, “Is Afghanistan perfect, no, we’ve got opium, we’ve got warlords but by God, it’s a heck of a lot better off than it was. And we can to do the same thing in Iraq, we’ve got to stay the course.” [ABC News, 10/24/04; emphasis added]</p>
<p><u>... Cutting and Running</u></p>	<p>Bush Said The U.S. Will Not Cut and Run. During an interview, President Bush said that Iraqi’s “need to know that we won’t leave the country prematurely. They need to know two things: we’re not going to cut and run; and two, we believe they have the capacity to run their own country.” [<u>Washington Post</u>, 11/17/03; emphasis added]</p>	<p>McCain Said The U.S. Can’t Cut and Run. According to the <i>Associated Press</i>, McCain said, “We can’t cut and run.” They added, “Bush’s most important ally may be McCain.” [Associated Press, 9/22/05; emphasis added]</p>
<p><u>... Military & Political Solutions</u></p>	<p>Bush: A Military Solution Alone Will Not Stop Violence. According to CNN, “The U.S. will win the war ‘unless we leave before the job is done,’ Bush said. He cautioned, however, that ‘a military solution alone will not stop violence.’” [CNN, 10/25/06; emphasis added]</p>	<p>McCain: A Military Solution Alone Will Not Solve the Problems In Iraq. McCain said, “We all agree a military solution alone will not solve the problems of Iraq. There must be a political agreement among Iraqis that allows all groups to participate in the building of their nation, to share in its resources and to live in peace with each other.” [Congressional Documents and Publications, 8/23/07; emphasis added]</p>

<u>McSame on...</u>	<u>Bush White House</u>	<u>McCain</u>
<p><u>... Terrorists</u></p>	<p>Bush Said The Terrorists Would Follow “Follow Us Home” If The</p>	<p>McCain Said The Terrorists Would “Follow Us Home” If The</p>

<p><u>Following Us Home</u></p>	<p>U.S. Withdrew From Iraq. While speaking at the Veterans of Foreign Wars Convention in Kansas City, President Bush said, “Unlike in Vietnam, if we withdraw before the job is done, this enemy will follow us home. And that is why, for the security of the United States of America, we must defeat them overseas so we do not face them in the United States of America.” [The President’s speech to the VFW Convention, 8/22/07; emphasis added]</p>	<p>U.S. Withdrew From Iraq. As reported in the <i>Atlantic Free Press</i>, McCain said, “I believe al Qaeda would trumpet to the world that they had defeated the United States of America , and I believe that therefore they would try to follow us home.” [<i>Atlantic Free Press</i>, 3/9/08; emphasis added]</p>
<p><u>... Who To Listen To</u></p>	<p>Bush Said He Will Listen To “Commanders on the Ground.” During a speech in Parma, Ohio, President Bush said, “I’m going to remind the people in the audience today that troop levels will be decided by our commanders on the ground, not by political figures in Washington, DC, and that we’ve got a plan to lead to victory.” [President’s Speech to GrafTech International in Parma, Ohio, 7/10/07; Public Papers of the Presidents, 7/16/07; emphasis added]</p>	<p>McCain Said It Was Important To Listen to “Commanders on the Ground.” During a hearing of the Senate Armed Services Committee, General James L. Jones said he “absolutely” relied on commanders on the ground. McCain responded, “I think that’s important. Because there’s a lot of people who are armchair generals who reside here in the air-conditioned comfort of Capitol Hill who somehow do not trust the judgment of some of the finest leaders that our nation has produced, and there will be various proposals about troop reductions, announcing withdrawals which may not comport with conditions on the ground.” [Federal News Service, 9/6/07; emphasis added]</p>
<p><u>... The Surge’s “Success”</u></p>	<p>Bush Said The Troop Surge In Iraq Is Working. While speaking to a group of religious broadcasters, President Bush said, “Since the surge began, sectarian killings are down and al-Qaida has been driven from many strongholds it once held. I strongly believe the surge is working and so do the Iraqis.” [CQ Transcriptions, 3/11/08; emphasis added]</p>	<p>McCain Said The Troop Surge Is Working. When asked if he believed if there was a connection between his political success and the condition in Iraq, McCain answered, “I do. The conditions on the ground have improved. The surge is working. If it weren’t, we’d be in a different place right now, no question.” [White House Bulletin, 1/14/08; emphasis added]</p>

<p><u>McSame on...</u></p>	<p><u>Bush White House</u></p>	<p><u>McCain</u></p>
	<p>Bush Accused Democrats of</p>	<p>McCain Accused Democrats of</p>

<p><u>... Waving The White Flag of Surrender</u></p>	<p>Waving The “White Flag of Surrender.” While speaking at a fundraiser for Sen. Jim Talent, Bush said, “There’s a group in the opposition party who are willing to retreat before the mission is done. They’re willing to wave the white flag of surrender. And if they succeed, the United States will be worse off, and the world will be worse off.” [Los Angeles Times, 7/2/06; emphasis added]</p>	<p>Raising The “White Flag of Surrender.” According to <i>Agence France Presse</i>, McCain said, “I’m so proud of the jobs that the men and women in the military are doing there, and they don’t want us to raise the white flag of surrender like Senator Clinton does.” [<i>Agence France Press</i>, 1/25/08; emphasis added]</p>
<p><u>... al Qaeda</u></p>	<p>Bush: “Al Qaeda Is On The Run In Iraq.” During the 2008 State of the Union address, President Bush said, “Ladies and gentlemen, some may deny the surge is working, but among the terrorists there is no doubt. Al Qaeda is on the run in Iraq, and this enemy will be defeated.” [2008 State of the Union, 1/28/08; emphasis added]</p>	<p>McCain: We Are Succeeding In Iraq, Al Qaeda Is On The Run. While speaking at a town hall meeting in Exeter, New Hampshire, McCain said, “We are succeeding in Iraq, we are succeeding in Iraq. The new strategy and surge is succeeding. But I also warn you, if you forget everything I have mentioned, please remember this, Al Qaeda is on the run but not defeated.” [Town Hall Meeting in Exeter, New Hampshire, 3/1/08; emphasis added]</p>

McCain’s National Security Adviser Said McCain Would Continue Bush’s Policies In Iraq. When asked how McCain’s plan for Iraq was different from the failed policies of the Bush Administration, John Lehman, McCain’s National Security Adviser, said, “Well, he’s not continuing failed policies, he’s continuing the successful policies...” [MSNBC, 3/26/08]

Lindsey Graham Couldn’t Describe How McCain’s Worldview Differed From Bush’s. While appearing on CNN on March 26th, Campbell Brown asked Sen. Lindsey Graham to describe how McCain’s worldview differed from Bush’s. After a brief hesitation, Graham replied, “I don’t think I can describe it different than a person.” [CNN, 3/26/08]

Chuck Hagel Refused To Endorse McCain Because He Represents a Continuation of Bush’s Iraq Policies. Appearing on CNN’s *The Situation Room*, Chuck Hagel said, he would not endorse because they want “to explain to the American people how they are gonna unwind American involvement in this fiasco in Iraq and what their foreign policy is gonna look like over the next four years.” He added, “I don’t agree with John McCain, and you know this Wolf, I think John and the President and others have put the Iraqi situation in the wrong context.” [CNN, “The Situation Room,” 3/27/08]

McCain’s Health Plan Just Like Bush’s Failed Health Plan

McCain Health Care Plan Just Like Bush Failed Plan. “President Bush proposed a similar idea” to the tax credits in McCain’s plan, which was dead-on-arrival in Congress in early 2007, because the plan only awarded those who purchased insurance in the private market. [[Wall Street Journal](#), 10/11/07; [Washington Post](#), 1/25/07]

McCain Wants to Move Away From Employer-Based System. According to the *Wall Street Journal*, “The existing tax break for employer-sponsored insurance would be eliminated, taking a step away from the work-based model in place for the last half century and toward an individual market.” [Wall Street Journal, 10/11/07]

Bush’s Plan Panned for Eroding Employer-Sponsored Health Care. Experts criticized Bush’s health care plan proposed early in 2007 because it would “erode the employer-sponsored system that still provides coverage to more than half of all Americans.” It prompted fear among many that the plan “would prompt more employers to drop health coverage and offer employees an immediate increase in wages to buy coverage on the individual market. But those plans tend to be more expensive, less comprehensive and harder to get for consumers who are already sick.” [Washington Post, 1/25/05]

“A Consistent Supporter of Private Social Security Accounts” Helped Bush Sell Overhaul

McCain Willing to Privatize Social Security and Possibly Increase Payroll Taxes. According to the *Sioux City Journal*, “McCain... said raising the payroll tax that goes into Social Security is a last resort, and... agreed that voluntary private accounts within the program should be an option.” [Sioux City Journal, 10/26/07]

McCain Said He Could Accept “Almost Anything” As Part Of A Compromise; Said 2005 Quote Taken Out of Context. In 2007, McCain was asked about his 2005 support of increasing Social Security taxes and was pressed about it as a part of a compromise. McCain said, “Oh. Well, I mean, as part of a compromise, if you come up with a benefit, I can accept almost anything, but it’s got to be part of a compromise. Am I for raising anybody’s taxes? No, I am not. I am unalterably opposed to doing so. But we have to save it, and come together the way that Tip O’Neill and Ronald Reagan did. I will not support any specific remedy, no matter what I said in 2005, and I believe you’re taking that quote out of context, because I never said it before.” [FOX News, 4/30/07]

McCain Evaded Social Security Question; Refused to Take Position on Social Security Without Negotiating. In 2007, McCain was asked if he would be willing to cut benefits or increase age of eligibility to keep Social Security from going bankrupt. McCain said, “Before we get into any of those specifics, you have to know that anyone who gets out front on this issue without sitting down and negotiating with everything on the table will get nowhere. ... If I take a position on any of those issues right now, one, it doesn’t work. And second of all, it’s got to be the product of bipartisan negotiations where people sit down across a table from one another.” [FOX News, 4/30/07]

McCain Said Lifting Cap on Payroll and Social Security Tax “Should Be Something That’s On The Table.” In 2005, when asked about the possibility of lifting the cap so that you would pay payroll tax, Social Security tax, not just on the first \$90,000 of your income, but perhaps even higher, McCain answered, “As part of a compromise I could, and other sacrifices, because we all know that it doesn’t add up until we make some very serious and fundamental changes. ... So my answer is, if everything’s on the table, certainly that should be something that’s on the table because, according to polls I’ve seen, that’s the one thing that most Americans agree is probably a viable option, but not by itself but with other changes that need to be made. And if we don’t, then we might as well say, ‘Look, it’s not going to change.’” [NBC, 2/20/05]

Club for Growth: McCain “A Consistent Supporter Of Personal Social Security Accounts.” According to the Club for Growth, “He [McCain] has also been a consistent supporter of personal Social Security accounts, calling for ‘bold, genuine reform that allows workers to invest some of their Social Security savings, privately, in higher yielding accounts’ in a 1999 press release. During his 2000 presidential campaign, Senator McCain’s plan for Social Security reform included a pledge to incorporate personal retirement accounts within his first year in office, and correctly criticized the inherent unfairness of the current program which forces ‘workers to give a portion of their hard-earned money to finance a system with low or negative returns for themselves.’” [Club for Growth white paper, 3/13/07]

Club for Growth: Stance On Personal Accounts Though, Is Marred By His Willingness To Raise Social Security Taxes. According to the Club for Growth, “This positive stance on personal accounts though, is marred by his willingness to raise Social Security taxes as part of a package that would include personal accounts. On a February, 23, 2005 edition of Meet the Press, Tim Russert asked Senator McCain if he would support ‘as part of the solution to Social Security’s solvency problem, that you lift the cap so that you would pay payroll tax, Social Security tax, not just on the first \$90,000 of your income, but perhaps even higher?’ Senator McCain answered, ‘As part of a compromise I could . . . I’m proud of the job that Senator Lindsey Graham has been doing in his leadership position on this issue and showing some courage.’ Raising Social Security taxes in this manner is not a sign of courage. It could constitute a massive tax increase and prove devastating to economic growth in this country. Furthermore, Senator McCain’s support for Lindsey Graham’s proposal to raise Social Security taxes 11 contradicts his own observation about the woefully poor return workers receive. Raising taxes would only make that return worse. As Senator McCain hinted in 2000, it is not Social Security taxes that are too low, but the below-market return on those taxes that should most concern policy makers and taxpayers alike.” [Club for Growth white paper, 3/13/07]

John McCain Promises “Hard Choices;” Previously Chose Privatization. “If I’m President, I’ll submit a plan to save Social Security and Medicare, and I’ll ask Democrats in Congress to do the same. We’ll listen to what people outside government suggest as well. I’ll work on a bipartisan basis to make the hard choices. . . and if Congress is afraid to make those choices, then they can just let me do it. I’ll take the heat. I’ll ask Congress to let me submit a comprehensive proposal. I’ll prepare it carefully, fairly and honestly” [McCain Economic Speech, 4/16/07; DNC Caucus Day Memo, 1/03/07]

1998: McCain Voted To Create Personal Retirement Accounts. In 1998, McCain voted for legislation expressing that the budget surplus can be used to establish a program of personal retirement accounts for working Americans to reduce unfunded liabilities of Social Security program. [Vote #56, SCR 86, 4/1/1998; DNC Caucus Day Memo, 1/03/07]

The St. Petersburg Times Said McCain “Damaged His Reputation For Principled Straight Talk” By Joining Bush Effort To Privatize Social Security. According to a *St. Petersburg Times* editorial, “At least President Bush didn’t kiss John McCain again. Last year during his re-election campaign, Bush planted one on McCain as the Arizona senator pretended to like his old nemesis. Maybe McCain isn’t faking it anymore, because he too easily damaged his reputation for principled straight talk to join Bush’s misguided bid to privatize Social Security. By diverting a portion of payroll taxes from Social Security into the stock market, Bush would add risk to retirement income and burden the program with trillions of dollars of debt. Bush’s real purpose is to cut traditional retirement benefits, which could be necessary to control costs, but he won’t provide any details on that part of his plan. Instead, Bush launched one last effort to sell skeptical Americans on private accounts. By his side at several stops was McCain, resorting to the kind of questionable tactics that once had been used against him.” [Editorial, *St. Petersburg Times*, “Shame on John McCain,” 3/25/05]

St. Petersburg Times: “Shame On McCain For Being A Part Of This Effort . . . He Even Resorted To Misinformation.” According to a *St. Petersburg Times* editorial, “Shame on McCain for being a part of this effort to divide the generations. Usually noted for candid speech, he even resorted to misinformation when he said in 2042 ‘we stop paying people Social Security.’ McCain knows that isn’t true. That is the date (actually it was changed to 2041 the other day) when Social Security reserves are expected to be used up. Even then, with no change in the program, recipients would continue to get about 75 percent of what was promised them.” [Editorial, *St. Petersburg Times*, “Shame on John McCain,” 3/25/05]

McCain Accompanied Bush to Help Sell Bush Social Security Overhaul. According to the Associated Press, “There’s another showing Tuesday of the good-cop, bad-cop routine featuring President Bush and Sen. John McCain, Bush’s one-time presidential rival who has become a big booster of the president’s Social Security plan. The Arizona Republican accompanied Bush on Monday to the senator’s home state and Colorado to try to help sell the public and Congress on the president’s proposal for a major Social Security overhaul.” [AP, 3/22/05]

McCain: “AARP, If You Don’t Like Our Solutions, Give Us One.” According to the Associated Press, “He [McCain] also had what he called a ‘little straight talk’ for AARP, the powerful lobby for older citizens that opposes Bush’s plan to allow younger workers to divert a portion of their Social Security payroll taxes into personal accounts that could be invested in the stock market in trade for reduced guaranteed benefits. The group is running television and radio ads during the two-week Easter break while members of Congress are back in their home districts. ‘My dear friends at ... AARP, if you don’t like our solutions, give us one,’ McCain said. ‘Sit down and join us in this debate. Don’t block it.’” [AP, 3/22/05]

McCain Joined Bush at “Social Security Campaign” in Tuscan. In 2005, McCain appeared with Bush in Tuscan during the Administration’s “Social Security campaign.” According to the Associated Press, McCain “accused Democrats of not working toward a bipartisan solution. ‘We must do this together,’ he said, his voice 12 growing louder with each word. ‘We know how much money is coming in. We know how much money is going out. Does anybody believe we should wait — we should wait until there’s no money that we have to cut off people’s Social Security checks?’” [AP, 3/21/05]

McCain: “Personal Savings Accounts Are Workable And Have Worked In Other Countries.” In 2005, McCain defended Bush Social Security privatization plan. McCain said, “Well, I think the president wants to take a comprehensive approach to start with, but, second of all, these personal savings accounts are workable and have worked in other countries. They could pay a much greater return than the present 1.8 to 2 percent. We members of Congress and federal employees can invest our money into these five different -- and we’re doing fine, between seven and nine percent return. The president is willing to look at a comprehensive fix. [CNN, “Inside Politics,” 3/03/05]

Flip-Flop on Bush Tax Cuts A “Breathtaking Turnabout”

FLIP: McCain “Vigorously” Opposed Bush Tax Cuts. According to Club for Growth, “When the most important pro-growth tax cuts in a generation were proposed by President Bush in 2001 and 2003, Senator McCain vigorously opposed them. The depth of this opposition goes a long way towards tarnishing the Senator’s fiscal credentials. First, it is notable that Senator McCain stood so astride the Republican anti-tax position that he was one of only two Republican senators to oppose the 2001 tax cuts and one of only three GOP senators to oppose the 2003 reductions. [Club for Growth White Paper, 3/12/07]

McCain: “I Cannot In Good Conscience Support A Tax Cut In Which So Many Of The Benefits Go To The Most Fortunate Among Us...” According to Club for Growth, “Second, Senator McCain’s stated reason for opposing the Bush tax cuts rhetorically allied him with the most radical anti-growth elements of national politics. Senator McCain argued, “I cannot in good conscience support a tax cut in which so many of the benefits go to the most fortunate among us at the expense of middle-class Americans who need tax relief.” [Club for Growth White Paper, 3/12/07]

FLOP: McCain Voted For Bush Tax Cuts And Defended The Flip-Flop As A Legislative Gimmick. In 2006, McCain voted to extend tax cuts supported by the president that were set to expire between 2005 and 2010. “The Senate voted 53-47...in favor of extending the president’s investor tax cuts on dividends and capital gains. Joining in this breakthrough vote was John McCain, the senator who voted against these tax cuts when they were introduced in 2003. This is an important shift for the GOP presidential frontrunner[.]” McCain’s vote was described as “a sharp reversal of his anti-tax-cut posture,” though he defended the shift, saying, “it was a gimmick,” reasoning that “the tax cuts were temporary and then had to be made permanent.” [Senate vote #10, H.R. 4297, 2/2/06, passed 66-31; New York Times, 2/21/06; Washington Times, 3/6/06; NBC News, 4/2/06]

In A “Breathtaking Turnabout” McCain Supported the Bush Tax Cuts After He Had Denounced Them in the Past. The *New York Times* reported, “But an equally breathtaking turnabout occurred earlier in the year, when Mr. McCain embraced the Bush tax cuts he had once denounced as an unaffordable giveaway to the rich. In an interview with National Review, Mr. McCain justified his reversal by saying, ‘Tax cuts, starting with Kennedy, as we all know, increase revenues.’” [New York Times, 10/9/07]

McCain, In “Sharp Reversal,” Voted For Bush Tax Cuts He Opposed In 2003. “The Senate voted 53-47...in favor of extending the president’s investor tax cuts on dividends and capital gains. Joining in this breakthrough vote was John McCain, the senator who voted against these tax cuts when they were introduced in 2003. This is an important shift for the GOP presidential frontrunner.” McCain’s vote was described as “a sharp reversal of his anti-tax-cut posture,” for which Grover Norquist was “happy he’s flip-flopped,” but warned that McCain has “two years to convince people this is not a political ploy.” [New York Times, 2/21/06; Washington Times, 3/6/06, 2/27/06]

McCain Voted For Bush’s Tax Cuts, Explained By Saying He Got Caught Up In A Legislative Gimmick. McCain defended his flip-flop to support Bush’s tax cuts, which he had previously voted against, saying, “it was a gimmick that was--that the tax cuts were temporary and then had to be made permanent. The tax cuts are now there and voting to revoke them would have been to--not to extend them would have meant a tax increase. I’ve never voted for a tax increase in my life...the economy had adjusted, the tax cuts were there, and if it would have been--and that’s the way it was designed. It would’ve been tantamount to a tax increase. And that’s, and that’s a fact. And I’ve never voted for a tax increase in my life with the exception of [tobacco].” [NBC News, 4/2/06]

Grover Norquist Called McCain A Flip Flopper Who Would Not Lead With Conservative Values. During an interview which on ABC News, Grover Norquist, the head of the conservative group Americans for Tax Reform, said McCain’s flip-flopping tendency would be damaging to conservative goals. Norquist said of McCain, “What McCain has done is flip-flopped on the gun issue, on the tax issue. He used to be a Reagan Republican on taxes. He’s voted against every one of President Bush’s tax cuts. He voted for the first one before he voted against it but he’s voted against all of them. He’s flip-flopped back and forth not because of where the American people are but because of where the cameras are.” Norquist added that McCain’s “phototropism” was “very damaging from a conservative perspective because that’s unlikely to lead to conservative governance.” [ABC News, 6/11/06]

McCain Supported No Child Left Behind

McCain Said NCLB Was a “Good Beginning.” In a speech at Clemson, “No Child Left Behind is ‘a good beginning’ that should be improved, not scrapped, said McCain, a proponent of ‘choice and competition’ in schools.” [The Greenville News (South Carolina), 11/29/07; NEA McCain Education Tracking Document]

McCain Said NCLB “A Good Beginning.” In New Hampshire, “McCain parried with a teacher in the audience about the federal No Child Left Behind Act, which the teacher argued takes away too much instructional time for assessment purposes. McCain disagreed, saying that while NCLB was not perfect, it allowed educational leaders to compare test scores from school to school and state to state, which he said is valuable. ‘I think that No Child Left Behind was a good beginning,’ he said. The senator expressed his support for vouchers and charter schools and emphasized the need for better training in math and science. While McCain failed to win the teacher over on NCLB, the two were able to find common ground on the importance of math and science.” [Brattleboro Reformer, 7/26/07; NEA McCain Education Tracking Document]

McCain Wanted to Fix Problems, Build on Success of NCLB. McCain pledged support for the “No Child Left Behind” act. “I don’t think we ought to discard the whole thing,” McCain said. “I think we ought to fix those areas where there’s problems and build on the success of the ‘No Child Left Behind’ itself.” [KSFY TV, 10/26/07; NEA McCain Education Tracking Document]

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McCain Wanted To Revamp NCLB, But Not Scrap It. On NCLB, it needs to be revamped, McCain said. The No Child Left Behind Act marked the first time schools and teachers have had their performance graded, he added, and changes need to be made, particularly where non-English speaking children are concerned. But McCain was quick to point out that the plan needed to be changed -- not scrapped altogether. “If we scrap it, we’ll just have to start over again,” McCain said. [Fort Mill Times, 10/24/07; NEA McCain Education Tracking Document]

McCain Said NCLB Good Start, But Law Has Problems. McCain addressed President George W. Bush's No Child Left Behind legislation. He said the act was a good start toward improving teacher performance and accountability but noted there was a lot more work to be done in this area. "It's got lot of problems. We've got to sit down and fix those problems, particularly with minorities," McCain said. [Orangeburg Times and Democrat, 10/10/07; NEA McCain Education Tracking Document]

McCain Said NCLB Should Be Fixed, But Not Repealed. From an NEA release, "New Hampshire NEA member Grace Nelson was able to ask Senator John McCain (AZ) about No Child Left Behind at a town hall meeting in Guilford, NH, today. When asked what he would do about NCLB if elected President, the Senator responded that the law should be fixed -- especially in the areas of testing students with disabilities and non-English speaking students -- but that the law should not be repealed. NEA agrees that this aspect of NCLB has been particularly unworkable." [NEA Press Release, 6/05/07; NEA McCain Education Tracking Document]

McCain Thinks NCLB Was Beginning to Work. In Iowa, "Another issue McCain feels needs addressed is education. He feels that No Child Left Behind is beginning to work, but much more needs addressing the in the field of educating our children." [Marshalltown Times-Republican, 9/05/07; NEA McCain Education Tracking Document]

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McCain Would Continue and Improve NCLB. McCain said in an interview he would "Continue No Child Left Behind and improve it ... and build on the progress that's been made, but realize that the economic future of America rests on our ability to improve education. I support vouchers; I support charter schools; and I want to reward good teachers and help bad teachers find another line of work." [Spartanburg Herald-Journal, 7/26/07; NEA McCain Education Tracking Document]

McCain Supported More Accountability, Performance-based Rewards for Teachers, Vouchers and Charter Schools. McCain said at a luncheon in Kalamazoo, MI, that he would make NCLB reauthorization a top priority as president. McCain "said students should have school options, such as charter schools and, in states where they are allowed, vouchers that let students attend schools other than the public schools to which they were assigned." He added, "I would do anything I could to hold teachers and schools more accountable. I would reward teachers on the basis of performance. I would do everything I could to provide choice and competition among schools." [Associated Press, 4/13/07; NEA McCain Education Tracking Document]

NCLB Will Help Change Failing Education System. During his 2004 reelection, McCain's challenger, Stuart Stockey, said that No Child Left Behind was not helping "teachers teach in the classroom" and was an attempt to shift tax dollars to charter and private schools. McCain--who voted for NCLB [2001 Senate Roll Call Vote 371 (12.18.01)] and supported national standards and public student testing [2004 National Political Awareness Test-Senator McCain http://www.vote-smart.org/npat.php?can_id=S0061103#8]-disagreed and said the law would help schools "do things differently" because the education system was "failing." [Tucson Citizen, 10/16/04; NEA McCain Education Tracking Document]

NCLB is Major Milestone in Improving Education. On Larry King, McCain stated: "...Senator Kennedy and President Bush worked together on the No Child Left Behind Act. The No Child Left Behind Act may have some flaws associated with it, but I still view it as a major milestone in trying to improve education in this country. [CNN transcripts, 11/03/05; NEA McCain Education Tracking Document]

NCLB Needs to be Reviewed to Measure Full Efficacy. At an Arizona town hall forum, McCain addressed education, saying that holding teachers accountable for educating students improves schools, but No Child Left Behind needs to be reviewed to measure its full efficacy. "It is the first attempt to place some standards on teachers," he said. "Is it an end-all? No. But it's a great start." McCain said he supports incentives for students interested in fields integral to the country's future -- engineering, the sciences and computer science. [The Arizona Republic (Phoenix), 4/20/06; NEA McCain Education Tracking Document]

McCain's Flip-Flops

In his constant pursuit of political stardom, McCain has developed a bad habit of pandering to the views of those whose approval he is currently seeking. As McCain's target constituency rotates among conservatives, moderates, and the press, so do his policies.

McCain has flip-flopped on a number of issues, including:

- Torture
- Secretary Rumsfeld
- Ronald Reagan
- The Religious Right
- The Wyly Brothers
- The Bush Tax Cuts
- Gun Control
- Stem Cell Research
- The Length of Occupation in Iraq
- Immigration
- Bosnia
- Kosovo
- George W. Bush

Reorder these a bit in the box and in the doc: move the Bush tax cuts and Iraq up under torture.

McCain Compromised Long-Held Positions For Political Gain. According to the *Boston Globe*, David Golove, a New York University law professor, "He's willing to compromise on long-held positions that he's taken, which are positions that have great moral considerations that stand behind them, apparently out of concern about political consequences." [[Boston Globe](#), [2/16/08](#)]

McCain's Flip-Flops Have Made It Nearly Impossible to Figure Out His Beliefs. Jonathan Chait of *The New Republic* wrote, "[McCain] has diverged wildly from conservative orthodoxy, but he has also reinvented himself so completely that it has become nearly impossible to figure out what he really believes." [[National Post](#), [2/14/08](#)]

Torture

2008: Age 71

FLIP: McCain Strongly Disagreed With Allowing Waterboarding As An American Interrogation

Technique. According to an opinion article in the *Nation*, after McCain won the New Hampshire primary, the *National Review* continued attacks on him for his stance against waterboarding. McCain disagrees with Mitt Romney on waterboarding, as was discussed at a past G.O.P. debate. McCain said, "Governor, I'm astonished that you haven't found out what waterboarding is," after Romney was asked about the technique and said he would have to check with his advisers, "How in the world anybody could think that that kind of thing could be inflicted by Americans on people who are held in our custody is absolutely beyond me." [[The Nation](#), [1/10/08](#)]

2008: Age 71

FLOP: McCain Voted Against Waterboarding Ban. Although McCain once appeared as a passionate advocate of the ban on waterboarding, he voted against the bill. In a statement, McCain said, "I believe that our energies are better directed at ensuring that all techniques, whether used by the military or the CIA, are in full compliance with our international obligations and in accordance with our deepest values." [[Los Angeles Times](#), [2/14/08](#)]

Rumsfeld

2003: Age 67

FLIP: McCain Expressed Full Faith in Rumsfeld Iraq War Strategy. John McCain supported the initial war plan created by former Defense Secretary Donald Rumsfeld. According to Salon “McCain was among the most aggressive proponents of a preemptive strike against Saddam Hussein, cosponsoring the resolution authorizing the use of force against Iraq. He also expressed full faith in the way it would be executed -- a war plan conceived and executed by Rumsfeld.” [Mark Benjamin, Salon.com, 1/17/08]

2008: Age 71

FLOP: McCain Said Problem With Iraq Was Mishandling by Rumsfeld. During the Republican presidential debate, sponsored by MSNBC, McCain said, “The problem was the mishandling of Iraq by nearly four years by Rumsfeld. Again, I railed against that, I was criticized by Republicans.” [MSNBC GOP Presidential Debate, [1/24/08](#)]

Abortion

1999: Age 62

FLIP: McCain Was Opposed To Overturning Roe Because It Would Force Women To Seek Illegal Abortions. McCain told the editorial board of the San Francisco Chronicle in 1999 why he didn't want to overturn Roe, saying, “I'd love to see a point where [Roe vs. Wade] is irrelevant, and could be repealed because abortion is no longer necessary. But certainly in the short term, or even the long term, I would not support repeal of Roe vs. Wade, which would then force X number of women in America to [undergo] illegal and dangerous operations.” [[San Francisco Chronicle](#), 8/20/99]

2006: Age 70

FLOP: McCain Now Supports Overturning Roe v. Wade. Speaking on ABC News, McCain said that he supported a reversal of the Roe v. Wade decision. McCain said, “I do believe that it's very likely, or possible, that a Supreme Court should - could overturn Roe v. Wade which would then return these decisions to the states which I support.” McCain had previously said that he would not support overturning Roe v. Wade because it would “force X number of women to undergo illegal and dangerous operations.” [ABC News, 11/19/06; [San Francisco Chronicle](#), 8/20/99]

Ronald Reagan

1986: Age 49

FLIP: McCain Accused Reagan of Being a Lame Duck. McCain said he agreed with Rep. Les Aspin when he claimed that, “I think we're seeing a little lame-duckism,” in regards to President Reagan. McCain added, “Ronald Reagan is not going to be at the top of the ticket, and people are striking out on their own. I don't think anybody wants to be perceived as a Reagan Robot.” [[New York Times](#), [5/25/86](#)]

2008: Age 71

FLOP: McCain Claimed to Have Been A Foot Soldier in the Reagan Revolution. A McCain campaign advertisement claimed that McCain had been inspired by Ronald Reagan. McCain said, “I enlisted as a foot soldier in the Reagan Revolution.” [JohnMcCain.com, “True Conservative,” [2/1/08](#)]

Religious Right

2000: Age 64

FLIP: McCain Called Falwell “Evil Influence” on Republican Party. McCain’s 2000 presidential bid tanked in Virginia and South Carolina when he called religious broadcasters Jerry Falwell and Pat Robertson “agents of intolerance” who exerted an “evil influence” on the Republican Party. [[Kansas City Star](#), 5/28/05]

2006: Age 69

FLOP: McCain Said The Christian Right Had A Major Role In The GOP. In 2006, McCain affirmed his support of the Christian right’s place in the GOP, saying, “I believe that the Christ--quote, ‘Christian right,’ has a major role to play in the Republican Party,” and reasoned that Falwell was no longer intolerant, answering a question if he still believed his 2000 statement to be true, saying, “No, I don’t.” [NBC News, 4/2/06]

Wyly Brothers

2000: Age 64

FLIP: McCain Predicted Backlash Against Bush And “His Sleazy Texas Buddies.” According to *Post and Courier*, “McCain said he sensed a backlash developing against campaign commercials aired by Bush and ‘his sleazy Texas buddies’ in New York and elsewhere. ... ‘We’re starting to see a backlash’ against television commercials, he said. ‘We ask Governor Bush to do what he refused to do all day yesterday on nationwide television and tell his sleazy Texas buddies to stop these negative attacks.’ McCain was referring to commercials attacking his environmental record, paid for by two Texas brothers, Sam and Charles Wyly, who are supporters of the governor. In addition, McCain was angered by a Bush campaign commercial, running in New York, that attacked him as an opponent of increased breast cancer research.” [Post and Courier, 3/07/00]

2006: Age 69

FLOP: McCain Raised Money From Wyly Brothers and Funders of Swift Boat Veterans for Truth. In response to ads run against him in 2000 by “Republicans for Clean Air,” a group funded by Texans Sam and Charles Wyly, McCain called the Wyls Bush’s “sleazy Texas buddies,” called the group “disgraceful” and their money “dirty.” He also attacked Swift Boat Veterans for Truth, which ran ads against John Kerry in 2004, as “dishonest” and “dishonorable.” However, McCain’s fundraiser in Dallas on May 15, 2006 for his political action committee had the Wyly brothers and Albert Huddleston and Harold Simmons, who together gave \$3.1 million to the Swift Boat Veterans for Truth, as members of the host committee. [UPI, 4/24/06; CBS News, 3/7/00; Dallas Morning News, 5/14/06; Dallas Morning News, 4/23/06; AP, 8/5/04; abcnews.com, 4/23/06]

Bush Tax Cuts

2001: Age 65

FLIP: McCain “Vigorously” Opposed Bush Tax Cuts. According to Club for Growth, “When the most important pro-growth tax cuts in a generation were proposed by President Bush in 2001 and 2003, Senator McCain vigorously opposed them. The depth of this opposition goes a long way towards tarnishing the Senator’s fiscal credentials. First, it is notable that Senator McCain stood so astride the Republican anti-tax position that he was one of only two Republican senators to oppose the 2001 tax cuts and one of only three GOP senators to oppose the 2003 reductions. [Club for Growth White Paper, [3/12/07](#)]

- **McCain: “I Cannot In Good Conscience Support A Tax Cut In Which So Many Of The Benefits Go To The Most Fortunate Among Us...”** According to Club for Growth, “Second, Senator McCain’s stated reason for opposing the Bush tax cuts rhetorically allied him with the most radical anti-growth elements of national politics. Senator McCain argued, “I cannot in good conscience support a tax cut in which so many of the benefits go to the most fortunate among us at the expense of middle-class Americans who need tax relief.” [Club for Growth White Paper, [3/12/07](#)]

2006: Age 69

FLOP: McCain Voted To Extend Bush Tax Cuts. In 2006, McCain voted to extend tax cuts supported by the president that were set to expire between 2005 and 2010. “The Senate voted 53-47...in favor of extending the

president's investor tax cuts on dividends and capital gains. Joining in this breakthrough vote was John McCain, the senator who voted against these tax cuts when they were introduced in 2003. This is an important shift for the GOP presidential frontrunner[.]” McCain’s vote was described as “a sharp reversal of his anti-tax-cut posture,” though he defended the shift, saying, “it was a gimmick,” reasoning that “the tax cuts were temporary and then had to be made permanent.” [Senate vote #10, H.R. 4297, 2/2/06, passed 66-31; [New York Times](#), 2/21/06; [Washington Times](#), 3/6/06; NBC News, 4/2/06]

Gun Control

1999: Age 63

FLIP: McCain Called for Further Gun Control After Columbine. After the Columbine massacre, Senator McCain “reversed himself on a top-tier gun control issue,” sponsoring a bill “to require criminal background checks on all public firearms sales, including those at gun shows.” At the time McCain said “Clearly, there were people who were taking advantage of this loophole, and obviously, Columbine had an effect on me.” [[Congressional Quarterly Weekly](#), 9/6/02]

2007: Age 70

FLOP: After Virginia Tech Massacre, McCain Said There Should Be No Gun Control. Republican presidential candidate John McCain declared Wednesday he believes in “no gun control,” making the strongest affirmation of support for gun rights in the GOP field since the Virginia Tech massacre. And “when asked whether ammunition clips sold to the public should be limited in size, said, ‘I don’t think that’s necessary at all.’” [AP, 4/19/07]

Background Checks at Gun Shows

1999: Age 63

FLIP: McCain Said People Should Be Subject To Background Checks At Gun Shows. During an interview with *Salon.com* reporter, Jake Tapper, McCain said, “It’s obvious that at a gun show people should be subject to background checks. I don’t get it why in stores you get a background check, but you go three blocks down, there’s no background checks.” McCain said that a loophole which existed to exempt gun shows from background checks “...should be closed.” [Salon.com, 5/14/99]

1999: Age 63

FLOP: But McCain Voted Against Closing Loophole To Exempt Gun Shows From Background Checks. Despite his statement in a *Salon.com* article, that a loophole exempting gun shows from conducting background checks should be closed, McCain voted, a day after his interview, to kill an amendment offered by Sen. Frank Lautenberg, which would have closed that very loophole. [Salon.com, 5/14/99]

1999: Age 63

FLIP: McCain Changed His Mind Again, “Signaled” He Support Closing Gun Show Background Check Exemption Loophole. McCain changed his mind three times about whether or not to support actions to close a loophole that exempted gun shows from requiring background checks for gun buyers. First McCain said he thought the loophole should be closed, then he voted to kill legislation that would have closed the loop hole, and then he signaled that “...he’d support legislation to close the loophole...” [Salon.com, 5/14/99]

Stem Cell Research

January 1992: Age 55

FLIP: McCain Said He Would Not Support Use of Fetal Tissue. According to the *Boston Globe*, “In a January 1992 letter to the director of Arizona Right to Life, McCain said the group could count on his being ‘steadfast’ against abortion. ‘I have no intention of supporting the use of fetal tissue’ from abortions, McCain wrote. [[Boston Globe](#), 2/13/00]

May 1992: Age 56

FLOP: McCain Voted to Lift Moratorium on Fetal-Tissue Transplants. McCain voted in favor of a Senate bill authorizing funds for the National Institutes of Health that included a provision to lift the federal-research moratorium that presidents Ronald Reagan and George Bush had imposed on fetal-tissue transplants. ‘I have lost sleep struggling with this,’ McCain wrote to a constituent in May 1992. ‘My abhorrence for the practice of abortion is unquestionable. Yet my abhorrence’ for Parkinson’s and juvenile diabetes ‘and the suffering they cause is just as strong.’” [[Boston Globe](#), 2/13/00]

- **1997: McCain Opposed Amendment that Banned Research on Fetal-Tissue Transplants.** According to the *Boston Globe*, McCain “was the chief sponsor of a bill, enacted in 1997 and bearing Udall’s name, that provides \$100 million a year for finding a cure for Parkinson’s disease, a progressive neurological disorder that afflicts about 1 million Americans. He opposed an amendment that would have banned research on fetal-tissue transplants.” [[Boston Globe](#), 2/13/00]

Iraq Occupation

2005: Age 69

FLIP: McCain Didn’t Want Permanent Military Presence in Iraq Before He Wanted Million Year Troop Commitment. During a discussion of the Administration’s Iraq War failures, McCain said neither he nor the American public would support keeping troops in Iraq for an indefinite amount of time. Said McCain: “I’m not for keeping troops there forever. I hope--I wish we could take them out tomorrow. It’s not a question of whether we want to withdraw or not. We all want that.” [[Meet the Press](#), 12/5/05]

2008: Age 71

FLOP: McCain: “I Don’t Think Americans Are Concerned If We’re There For 100 Years or 1,000 Years or 10,000 Years.” In an interview on “Face the Nation,” host Bob Scieffer asked McCain about staying in Iraq for 100 year. McCain responded, “We’ve got to get Americans off the front line, have the Iraqis as part of the strategy, take over more and more of the responsibilities. And then I don’t think Americans are concerned if we’re there for 100 years or 1,000 years or 10,000 years. What they care about is a sacrifice of our most precious treasure, and that’s American blood. So what I’m saying is look, if Americans are there in a support role, but they’re not taking casualties, that’s fine. We’re in Kuwait now. As you well recall, we had a war, we stayed in Kuwait. We didn’t stay in Saudi Arabia. So it’s going to be up to the relationship between the Iraqi government and the United States of America.” [[CBS](#), “Face the Nation,” 1/06/08]

Immigration

2003: Age 66

FLIP: McCain Embraced Amnesty in 2003. According to *Politico*, “McCain himself embraced the term [‘amnesty’] during a news conference a few years ago in his office in Tucson, Arizona.” In 2003, McCain said, “Amnesty has to be an important part because there are people who have lived in this country for 20, 30 or 40 years, who have raised children here and pay taxes here and are not citizens. That has to be a component of it.’ The newspaper also quoted McCain as saying: ‘I think we can set up a program where amnesty is extended to a certain number of people who are eligible and at the same time make sure that we have some control over people who come in and out of this country.’” [[The Politico](#), 6/4/07; [DNC Public Information](#), 1/5/08; [Tucson Citizen](#), 5/29/03]

2008: Age 71

FLOP: McCain: “I Have Never Supported Amnesty.” At the ABC News/Facebook/WMUR New Hampshire Republican debate, McCain said, “I have never supported amnesty.” [ABC News/Facebook/WMUR N.H. GOP Debate, 1/5/08]

Bosnia

1995: Age 58

FLIP: McCain Long Opposed Military Options in Bosnia. McCain was adamantly opposed to U.S. involvement in the humanitarian crisis in Bosnia, and then co-authored a resolution that backed US peacekeepers on the ground. He said, “I have long opposed this action. I am very concerned about the ultimate outcome of the use of air power without a full commitment of the US forces because I do not believe it is a viable military option.” [[Boston Globe](#), 4/29/99]

1995: Age 58

FLOP: McCain Changed Position to Support Dole in 1996. Likely presidential nominee, Bob Dole, and John McCain co-sponsored a resolution that called for 20,000 US ground forces to keep the peace in Bosnia. The resolution gives “assent to the operation while insisting on a U.S.-led effort to begin immediate arming and training of the Muslims.” According to *U.S. News & World Report*, McCain supported the measure “not because he agrees with the policy and not because he can make a case that Bosnia is vital to America's national security. “I have no choice,” he said. [[Washington Post](#), 12/12/95; [U.S. News & World Report](#), 12/18/1995]

Kosovo

1998: Age 62

FLIP: McCain Accused the Clinton Administration of Misleading Congress on Kosovo. According to *CNN*, McCain accused the President of misleading congress in U.S. involvement in Kosovo. He said, “They have not made the case either to Congress or the American people, and the president has to explain why our interests are there.” [CNN, [10/7/98](#)]

1999: Age 62

FLOP: MCCAIN: We are a Superior Power, and We Must Win This Conflict With Whatever It Takes. Speaking about the conflict in Kosovo, McCain stated, “I saw we’re in it, and we have to win it.” He added, “That means that we have to exercise every option,” and, “We are a superior power, and we must win this conflict with whatever it takes.” [ABC This Week, [3/28/99](#)]

McCain’s Ultimate Flip-Flop: George W. Bush

THEN:

McCain: There’s No Shame Associated With The [Bush] Campaign. According to *Post and Courier*, “In New York, ... a controversial ad that accused McCain of being opposed to breast cancer research. ‘They know no depths,’ McCain said of the latest Bush ad. ‘There’s no shame associated with the (Bush) campaign.’” [[Post and Courier](#), 3/05/00]

McCain: “My Opponent [Bush] Wants To Be President In The Worst Way.” According to *Post and Courier*, “Sounding tired but defiant, McCain told backers in Bakersfield, Calif., that Bush was guilty of deploying negative tactics. ‘My opponent wants to be president in the worst way. I want to be president in the best way.’ With the pink evening sun dipping beneath an American flag serving as his backdrop, McCain said, ‘We’re still the underdog. Don’t forget it. But we’re going to win Tuesday.’” [[Post and Courier](#), 3/01/00]

McCain Said Bush Owed Voters An Apology For “Running Such A Low Campaign.” According to the [Associated Press](#), “McCain continued to portray Bush as a negative campaigner, though the senator ran attack ads himself until last week and never has stopped upbraiding Bush on the stump. At a noisy college rally, McCain said Bush owes ‘an apology to the people of South Carolina for running such a low campaign.’” [AP, 2/18/00]

McCain To Bush: “You Should Be Ashamed.” According to the [Associated Press](#), “McCain offered a stern lecture of his own and demanded that Bush apologize for an event at which McCain’s commitment to veterans was questioned by a Bush backer. ‘You should be ashamed,’ McCain said. ... One of the debate’s harsher moments came when McCain, a former prisoner of war, lectured Bush about a supporter who questioned McCain’s commitment to veterans’ issues. ‘I don’t know if you can understand this George, but that really hurts,’ said McCain, a former Navy pilot. ‘That really hurts.’” [AP, 2/16/00]

McCain Accused Bush Of “Savagery.” According to the [Associated Press](#), “John McCain defended inconsistencies in his voting record on public campaign financing as honorable compromises Monday and accused George W. Bush of ‘savagery’ in his criticism. ... McCain, who has been trying to brand Bush as a negative campaigner, said of his opponent’s criticism: ‘This kind of savagery is not necessary in an American political campaign.’” [AP, 2/14/00]

McCain Accused Bush Of Being Untrustworthy. According to the [Associated Press](#), “McCain, a former Vietnam prisoner of war, said he was offended by a Bush ally who questioned his commitment to veterans - a comment McCain said was ‘beyond the pale’ - as well as by aggressive new Bush ads. He noted that he and Bush had shaken hands just weeks ago and agreed not to air negative ads against each other. ‘I believe it is not trustworthy when someone shakes your hand and says they’re not going to run a negative ad, and then runs a negative ad,’ he said aboard his bus. ‘We’ve already got somebody in the Oval Office who is not trustworthy,’ he said. He went even further in a new TV ad that says one of Bush’s ads ‘twists the truth like Clinton.’” [AP, 2/09/00]

McCain Didn’t Want To Be Alone With The Bushes In AZ. Close friends and Arizona neighbors of the McCains, Sharon and Oliver Harper, told the *New Yorker* that once, while they were vacationing on Arizona’s Lake Powell, “...they received an urgent call.” Apparently, George and Laura Bush were about to visit the McCains in Arizona to improve their relations. McCain and his wife asked the Harpers if they could come back from vacation because they didn’t “...want to be left alone with [the Bushes]...and said it would be “really difficult” to be alone with them. The Harpers did go back early and the *New Yorker* reported that the Harpers displayed, in their home, “...a photograph of the three couples smiling gamely at the camera.” [[New Yorker](#), 5/30/05]

NOW:

McCain Said He Was Proud of Bush. According to *The New York Times*, McCain told President Bush, “Look, hang on, things are bad. I’m proud of the job you are doing and I wanted you to know that I will continue to do what I can to help.” [[New York Times](#), 7/3/06]

McCain Said He And Bush Share Agenda. The *New York Times* reported, “Even as he called Mr. Bush a friend, Mr. McCain described their relationship as a function of their positions and their shared views on such big issues as Iraq and immigration. “I believe if I were not in the Senate and not working on these issues, we might communicate once in a while, but not the way we do,” he said. “We have a very good personal relationship, but it’s primarily based on the agenda.” [[New York Times](#), 7/3/06]

McCain: “I Trust The President Of The United States.” While attending a Town Hall meeting in Arizona, Senator McCain said, “I trust the president of the United States.” [[Arizona Republic](#), 2/22/06]

McCain Said Bush Would “Restore Dignity and Honor To The Oval Office.” The *New York Post* reported, “Campaigning in California, McCain looked comfortable with Bush - in contrast to the pained look he showed

when he formally endorsed Bush in May - and said he's 'proud to be part of this crusade' and praised Bush as 'a man who will restore dignity and honor to the Oval Office.'" [[New York Post](#), 8/11/00]

McCain's Controversial Supporters

A president's policy is shaped by those who the president decides to surround himself with. If McCain's campaign at all foreshadows what would occur in a McCain Administration, the nation should be very worried about who has the ear of the president. Time after time, McCain has been forced to reject, denounce, clarify, and rebuke statements made and actions taken on his behalf.

Top Hits:

- McCain's Arizona Co-Chair was indicted on 35 counts, including wire fraud and money laundering
- McCain sought the endorsement of Pastor John Hagee, who has called the Catholic Church a "Great Whore" and a "False Cult."
- McCain's "Spiritual Guide" has said America was founded to destroy the religion of Islam.
- McCain was introduced Bill Cunningham, who focused on Obama's middle name, and referred to him as a "hack Chicago politician."

Rep. Rick Renzi

McCain Named Indicted Congressman Rick Renzi to To Co-Chair his "Arizona Leadership Team." In January 2008, just one month before he was indicted on 35 counts, including conspiracy, wire fraud, money laundering and official extortion, Renzi was named a co-chair of McCain's "Arizona Leadership Team;" [McCain News Release, 1/26/08; Targeted News Services, 1/26/08]

- **Congressman Rick Renzi indicted on 35 Counts** A federal grand jury indicted Republican U.S. Rep. Richard Renzi of Arizona on 35 criminal counts including conspiracy, wire fraud, money laundering and official extortion, according to court papers unsealed in February. [[Reuters](#), 2/22/08]
- **Renzi Had Been Under Federal Investigation for Over a Year** "Just before Rep. Renzi's reelection in 2006, federal authorities began investigating whether Rep. Renzi used his position as a member of Congress to promote the sale of land owned by his former business partner." [[Wall Street Journal](#), 4/21/2007]
- **Renzi Failed to disclose \$200K** "Rep. Rick Renzi (R-Ariz.) failed to disclose a \$200,000 payment he received from a business partner in 2005 in apparent violation of House ethics rules. Prosecutors could use the omission as evidence that Renzi intended to conceal a transaction he knew to be controversial or even improper." [[The Hill](#) 4/25/07] what's the context here? Was he fined by the ethics committee?

McCain Refused to Call for Renzi's Resignation. In April 2007, McCain also refused to call for the Renzi's resignation. Renzi faced pressure to step down due to an investigation into his part in federal land transaction involving business partner and FBI raids of an insurance business owned by Renzi's wife. [[Phoenix Business Journal](#), 4/28/07]

- **McCain Danced Around Renzi Question, said Renzi in his Prayers.** Asked in April 2007 "if the embattled" Renzi "would continue to play a role" in his presidential campaign, McCain said: "Rick obviously has got great difficulties now. I know nothing about his case. He's in my prayers. ...And that's all I'm going to say." [Hotline, 4/26/07] Is this the only time he got asked? Did he get asked after the indictment?

McCain Named Renzi to To Co-Chair his “Arizona Leadership Team.” In January 2008, just one month before he was indicted on 35 counts, including conspiracy, wire fraud, money laundering and official extortion, Renzi was named a co-chair of McCain’s “Arizona Leadership Team.” [McCain News Release, 1/26/08; Targeted News Services, 1/26/08]

McCain Praised Renzi's Tenacity, Honesty, and Integrity. In October 2006, McCain recorded a robocall on Renzi's behalf that said, "This is Sen. John McCain. I'm calling to urge you to support my friend Rep. Rick Renzi for Congress. Rick has represented the first district of Arizona with tenacity, honesty and integrity beyond reproach. I work with Rick every day and can report to you his total dedication to the people of Arizona and the United States. Please join me in supporting rural Arizona's workhorse congressman on Nov. 7." [Politico, [2/22/08](#)]

Renzi Among McCain’s Most Vocal Early Supporters. McCain's most vocal supporter is Sen. Lindsey Graham (R-S.C.). In the House, his supporters include home-state Reps. John Shadegg, Rick Renzi and Jeff Flake... ‘Sen. McCain enjoys many friendships in the nation's capital and has numerous leaders in government reaching out on his behalf,’ said McCain campaign spokesman Danny Diaz.” [[Roll Call](#) 1/23/07]

McCain Campaigned for Renzi in 2002. "Sens. John McCain (R) and Jon Kyl (R) on 11/4 will campaign with businessman Rick Renzi (R) on his GOP victory tour in Flagstaff and Prescott." [House Race Hotline, 11/4/02]

McCain Gave Big Boost to Renzi Reelection Campaign “U.S. Sen. John McCain is offering a big boost to Arizona Congressman Rick Renzi's reelection effort. McCain sent out a fundraising e-mail to supporters Tuesday asking them help Renzi, a two-term Republican representing a huge swath of rural Arizona including Casa Grande, Flagstaff, Window Rock and Prescott.” [[Business Journal of Phoenix](#) 6/26/06]

McCain’s “Straight Talk America PAC” Gave \$5,000 to Troubled Congressman Rick Renzi Under Federal Investigation for Corruption, and facing a serious challenger, Senator McCain’s PAC swooped to Renzi’s rescue with a \$5000 donation, and campaign events for the Congressman [CQ Moneyline4/6/06; [Business Journal of Phoenix](#) 6/26/06]

Renzi was Host for McCain Fundraiser. "On the political side, Arizona Sen. John Kyl, GOP Congressmen Jeff Flake, Rick Renzi and John Shadegg and Secretary of State Jan Brewer are also among hosts for the McCain event," which was an "A-list fundraiser in Phoenix" scheduled in March 2007 for McCain's presidential campaign. [[Phoenix Business Journal](#), 2/14/07]

McCain and Renzi Traveled to Iraq Together, Worked on McCain Iraq Speech. “In April 2007, Renzi accompanied McCain on a trip to Iraq. While traveling back from Iraq, McCain and Renzi discussed a key McCain campaign speech on Iraq to be given at the Virginia Military Institute. ""You can't get around the elephant in the room, which is Iraq,' said Rep. Rick Renzi (R-Ariz.), who discussed the speech with McCain as the pair flew back together from a congressional visit to Iraq this week." [[Associated Press Online](#), 4/3/07; [Washington Post](#), 4/7/07]

Renzi Advised McCain on Speech, Urged McCain To ‘Give it To ‘Em Straight’ "In early drafts, he criticizes the peace of political progress under Iraqi Prime Minister Nouri al-Maliki but argues that the price of defeatism is lower morale among U.S. troops, according to Renzi and advisers familiar with preparations for the speech." ""He's giving it to 'em straight,' Renzi said. 'There was no lack of clarity in that room when John McCain was done talking.' Renzi said McCain was frustrated with the media coverage of their visit." [[Washington Post](#), 4/7/07] Need more context in this bullet—what speech?

McCain Raised Money for Renzi. "Sen. John McCain (R) 'sent out a fundraising email to supporters' 6/27 'asking them to help' Rep. Rick Renzi (R) in his re-election effort. In the e-mail, McCain said: "Already his liberal opponents have started advertising on television against him and the Washington liberals have recruited a multi-millionaire from Ohio to challenge him in November." McCain continued, "Rick's opponent...has pledged to spend millions of her own dollars to defeat Rick. We simply cannot let this happen." [House Race Hotline, 6/29/06]

Pastor John Hagee

McCain Endorsed By Outspoken Pastor, John Hagee. McCain was endorsed by San Antonio televangelist John Hagee. The *Dallas Morning News* reported, "Mr. Hagee, a leading figure in the Christian Zionist movement, said he's confident Mr. McCain can attract wary evangelicals by emphasizing his conservative positions on Israel and abortion." McCain said, "All I can tell you is I'm very proud to have pastor Hagee's support." [[Dallas Morning News, 2/28/08](#)]

- **McCain Actively Sought The Endorsement of John Hagee.** Controversial Pastor John Hagee told *New York Times Magazine* that, "It's true that McCain's campaign sought my endorsement." [Editor & Publisher, [3/20/08](#)]

Hagee Made Anti-Catholic Remarks. Hagee has offended Catholics with disparaging remarks. "In Hagee's 'black history' of the Catholic Church, for example, Catholics were far from only guilty of sins of omission when it came to the Nazis, they also gave Hitler his blueprint, according to Hagee. In a speech this year, Hagee pointed to the Catholic Church as having provided the jumping-off point for the Holocaust." Hagee's anti-Catholic statements caused the Catholic League for Religious and Civil Rights to call him a 'veteran bigot,' accusing him of distorting Catholic teachings and misrepresenting Catholic history." [[National Review, 12/21/07](#)]

- **McCain Defended Hagee's Anti-Catholic Remarks.** While appearing on Bill Bennett's radio show, McCain defended John Hagee's anti-Catholic statements. "I will say that he said that his words were taken out of context, he defends his position. I hope that maybe you'd give him a chance to respond. He says he has never been anti-Catholic, but I repudiate the words that create that impression." [Bill Bennett's radio show via Think Progress, [3/11/08](#)]
- **McCain Rebuked By Catholic Groups For Being "Very Proud" Of Bigot's Support.** After enthusiastically accepting the support of John Hagee, McCain was criticized by the Catholic League and Catholics United. Bill Donahue, president of the Catholic League said McCain should "retract his embrace of Hagee," a man who has "waged an unrelenting war against the Catholic Church." Chris Korzen, executive director of Catholics United, released a statement saying, "By receiving the endorsement of an outspoken critic of the Catholic Church, McCain once again demonstrates that he is willing to sell out his principles for a chance to win the Presidency." [[Washington Post, 2/28/08](#)]

Hagee Opposes Two-State Israel Because he Believes Rapture is Coming. "Among Huckabee's leading evangelical backers is Pastor John Hagee," who is "the executive director of Christians United for Israel, a national lobbying group that organizes against a two-state solution to the Israel-Palestine crisis and in favor of a military strike on Iran. Hagee's zealous support for Israel is kindled by his belief that Jesus will one day return to 'biblical Israel' to usher in a kingdom of Heaven on Earth. 'As soon as Jesus sits on his throne he's gonna rule the world with a rod of iron,' Hagee told his congregation in a sermon this December. 'That means he's gonna make the ACLU do what he wants them to. That means you're not gonna have to ask if you can pray in public school... We will live by the law of God and no other law.'" [[The Nation, 1/11/08](#)]

McCain Repudiated Pastor Hagee's Remarks. "We've had a dignified campaign, and I repudiate any comments that are made, including Pastor Hagee's, if they are anti-Catholic or offensive to Catholics," McCain said. He added, "And we can't have that in this campaign. We're trying to unite the country. We're uniting the country, not dividing it." [[Associated Press, 3/7/08](#)]

Bill Cunningham

McCain Supporter Used Obama's Middle Name, Referred To Obama As A Hack, Chicago-Style Politician. Radio talk show host Bill Cunningham delivered remarks before John McCain took the stage at an event in

Cincinnati. Cunningham used Obama's middle name, Hussein, three times and called him a "hack Chicago politician from the Daley political machine." [[New York Times, 2/27/08](#)]

- **Cunningham Said McCain's Campaign Told Him To Deliver "Red Meat" To Supporters.** While appearing on *Hannity & Colmes*, Bill Cunningham said McCain's staff had told him to deliver "red meat" to supporters. Cunningham said, "his people told me to give the faithful red meat, give them red, raw meat." [[Fox News, 2/25/08](#)]

McCain Vowed Attacks On Obama Will "Never Happen Again." After Bill Cunningham invoked Barack Obama's middle name, Hussein, McCain said those types of attacks "will never happen again." McCain added, "The moral of the story is we just have to have stronger control of our campaign. ... There is no excuse for what happened today." [[Fox News, 2/27/08](#)]

McCain Said He Had "Never Met Mr. Cunningham." According to McLatchy News, McCain disavowed Cunningham's remarks, saying, "I never met Mr. Cunningham, but I will make sure nothing like that ever happens again." [[McLatchy Newspapers, 3/6/08](#)]

- **Contradicting McCain, Cunningham Insisted That He Has "Met Him Twice."** While appearing on CNN, Bill Cunningham said, "I met him twice. His people called me specifically. His people said you're the guy we want because you've met John." [[CNN, "American Morning," 2/27/08](#)]

Rod Parsley

McCain And Rod Parsley Traded Compliments at Campaign Event. While appearing together in Cincinnati, Ohio, John McCain and Rod Parsley traded compliments in front of a large crowd. McCain called Parsley his "spiritual guide," while Parsley said McCain was a, "strong, true, consistent conservative." [[The Columbus Dispatch, 2/27/08](#)]

- **Parsley Wrote That America Was Founded To Destroy Islam.** In his book, *Silent No More*, McCain's "spiritual guide" wrote that, "The fact is that America was founded, in part, with the intention of seeing this false religion destroyed, and I believe September 11, 2001, was a generational call to arms that we can no longer ignore." [[Atlanta Journal-Constitution, 3/23/08](#)]

Double Talk: John McCain Says One Thing, Does Another

John McCain's has spent his entire career telling Americans he'll give them honest 'straight talk' on the issues. The problem is, McCain has a history of doing just the opposite: saying one thing, and doing another. Even McCain's reputation as an ethical fighter against the special interest is a work of media fiction. McCain has pushed the very type of earmarks he has railed against, as well as

TOP HITS:

- McCain pushes pork and earmarks just like everyone else
- McCain claims to be an advocate for fiscal responsibility but has voted for at least four fiscally disastrous Bush Budgets.
- John McCain Does Favors for Lobbyists, Lets them Run His Presidential Campaign
- Commentators have noticed McCain's transformation

John McCain: Congress's Biggest Hypocrite on Earmarks

McCain Claims He's Never Asked for an Earmark. McCain has repeated over and over again that he has never asked for or received an earmark for his state of Arizona. "[In 24 years as a Member of Congress I have never asked for nor received a single earmark or pork barrel project for my state.](#)" [Fox Debate, <http://youtube.com/watch?v=5W-uzPbIPXE>]

But the Facts Tell A Different Story:

- **McCain Sponsored \$10 Million Earmark For Law Center In Arizona.** McCain tried to push a bill through Congress to steer "10 million to the University of Arizona to launch an academic center honoring the late Supreme Court Justice William Rehnquist." At the same time, McCain was also sponsoring a bill which mounted "a direct assault on congressional earmarks." [[Chicago Tribune](#), 3/4/06]
- **McCain Pushed For And Successfully Got \$14.3M For Arizona's Luke Air Force Base.** McCain pushed for, and got, \$14.3 million for Arizona's Luke Air Force Base inserted into the just-completed fiscal 2004 military construction appropriations conference report. The only problem is the project to acquire more land near the base was not requested by President Bush or fully authorized by the Senate Armed Services Committee - two of McCain's criteria for identifying so-called 'pork.'" [[Roll Call](#), 11/6/03]

The Only Good Pork Is McCain's Pork:

- **McCain Fights Others Pork, Pushes His Own.** "Arizona Sen. John McCain is sponsoring two interesting pieces of legislation. One mounts a direct assault on congressional earmarks, those little morsels of home district pork that lawmakers slip into unrelated spending bills. The other steers \$10 million to the University of Arizona to launch an academic center honoring the late Supreme Court Chief Justice William Rehnquist. Yes, McCain does seem to be saying to himself: Stop me before I sin again... McCain and co-sponsor Jon Kyl, Arizona's other GOP senator, insist their pork proposal isn't hypocritical because they aren't trying to hide anything. It is set out in stand-alone legislation to be vetted on its own merits...in Congress, it seems, the only bad pork projects are those sponsored by somebody else." [[Chicago Tribune](#), 3/4/06]

McCain: Special Interest Hypocrite

McCain Claims the Special Interests Don't Get Favors from Him

McCain Claims the Special Interests Don't Give him Money. Speaking in New Hampshire, McCain absurdly claimed he is the only one the special interests don't funnel campaign money to. [“Everyone says they're against the special interests - I'm the only one the special interests don't give any money to.”](#) [McCain Town Hall Meeting, New London, New Hampshire, 11/18/07, <http://youtube.com/watch?v=xLfSpYULGXY>]

McCain Said He Had “Never Done Any Favors For Anybody – Lobbyist Or Special Interest Group.”

According to the Associated Press, in December 2007, McCain said, “I've never done any favors for anybody — lobbyist or special interest group — that's a clear, 24-year record.” [Associated Press via [WST News](#), 12/20/07]

In Response to Keating Five Incident, McCain Wrote in Book About Not Intervening in Federal Decisions.

In his book *Worth the Fighting For*, McCain wrote, “Learning from my unhappy experience, I have refrained from ever intervening in the regulatory decisions of the federal government if such intervention could be construed, rightly or wrongly, as done solely or primarily for the benefit of a major financial supporter of my campaign.” [Worth the Fighting For, Chapter 8, pp. 159-160]

The Problem Is, It just Isn't True

According to the New York Times, McCain Did Exactly what Iseman Asked. “When news organizations reported that Mr. McCain had written letters to government regulators on behalf of the lobbyist's client, the former campaign associates said, some aides feared for a time that attention would fall on her involvement.” [[New York Times](#), 2/21/08]

McCain's Action On Iseman's Behalf ‘The Regulatory Equivalent of an Earmark.’ “Here's the potential trouble for McCain: intervening with the FCC to force a vote on a lobbyist's behalf is a lot like a self-dealing lawmaker earmarking money on a lobbyist's behalf. In fact, what McCain admits to doing on Iseman's behalf can be thought of as the regulatory equivalent of an earmark. [The Atlantic, 3/21/08]

McCain Promised Never To Fly Directly To Phoenix, Did It Anyway on Corporate Jets. “Mr. McCain promised, for example, never to fly directly from Washington to Phoenix, his hometown, to avoid the impression of self-interest because he sponsored a law that opened the route nearly a decade ago. But like other lawmakers, he often flew on the corporate jets of business executives seeking his support, including the media moguls [Rupert Murdoch](#), [Michael R. Bloomberg](#) and Lowell W. Paxson, Ms. Iseman's client. (Last year he voted to end the practice.)” [[New York Times](#), 2/21/08]

McCain: Double Talk on Lobbyists. Bad In DC, But OK for His Presidential Campaign

In Washington, McCain Has Voted For Bans on Gifts And Donations from Lobbyists...

- **McCain Voted to Ban PAC and Lobbyist Contributions.** In 1994, McCain voted for an amendment to prohibit Members of Congress from accepting contributions from political action committees and lobbyists. The amendment passed 66-29. [S.1935, [Vote #104](#), 5/5/1994]
- **McCain Voted to Ban All Gifts.** In 1994, McCain voted to ban a senator, senator's spouse, or staff member from accepting any gifts from anyone but friends and relatives. The amendment passed 90-3. [S. 1935, [Vote #102](#), 5/5/1994]

- **McCain Voted for Campaign Finance Bill Restricting Donations from Lobbyists.** In 1993, McCain voted for campaign finance legislation that restricted donations from lobbyists. The legislation passed 60-38. [S. 3, [Vote #158](#), 6/17/1993]

But Now That He's Running For President, Lobbyists and Their PACS are OK.

McCain Accepted At Least \$689,704 from the Lobbying Industry. According to the Center for Responsive Politics, McCain accepted at least \$689,704 from the lobbying industry. [Center for Responsive Politics, accessed 1/18/08]

- **McCain's Campaign Relies on 59 Lobbyist Fundraisers.** McCain has more lobbyists raising money for him than any other candidate. [Public Citizen, Accessed January 30, 2008; [ABC News](#), January 29, 2008]
- **McCain Fundraising Event Claimed 24 Lobbyist Co-Chairmen.** 24 Washington lobbyists were listed as co-chairmen of a recent McCain fundraiser at the Charlie Palmer Steakhouse in Washington, D.C. [[ABC News](#), January 29, 2008]
- **McCain has Taken At Least \$1,163,727 from the Telephone Utility and Telecom Services Industries – More than Any Other Senator.** Senator McCain has taken at least \$1,163,727 in campaign contributions from the telephone utility and telecom service industries, more than any other Senator. [Analysis of Center for Responsive Politics data]
- **McCain has Taken Hundreds-of-Thousands from Top Telecom Companies.** McCain has taken at least \$146,950 from America's six largest telecommunications companies alone – Verizon, AT&T, Sprint-Nextel, Comcast, Bell South and Qwest. [Analysis of CQ Moneyline data, 1985-2007; [Fortune](#), 7/26/06]
- **McCain Took Over \$55,000 from Communications Industry Special Interest PACs in 2007 Alone.** In 2007 alone, McCain took over \$55,000 from special interests representing the communications and telecommunications industries for his presidential campaign. As a member of the powerful Senate Commerce, Science and Transportation Committee, McCain regulates and oversees these industries. [FEC, accessed 2/1/08]
- **McCain Accepted At Least \$704,796 from Insurance Industry.** According to the Center for Responsive Politics, McCain accepted at least \$704,796 from the insurance industry. [Center for Responsive Politics, accessed 1/18/08]
- **McCain Accepted At Least \$447,962 from Oil & Gas Industry.** According to the Center for Responsive Politics, McCain has accepted at least \$447,962 from the oil and gas industry. [Center for Responsive Politics, accessed 1/08/08]
- **McCain Accepted At Least \$443,869 from Defense Industry.** According to the Center for Responsive Politics, McCain has accepted at least \$443,869 from the defense industry. [Center for Responsive Politics, accessed 1/18/08]
- **McCain Accepted At Least \$265,093 from the Pharmaceutical Industry.** According to the Center for Responsive Politics, McCain has accepted at least \$265,093 from the pharmaceutical industry. [Center for Responsive Politics, accessed 1/18/08]

Conservative Magazine Accused McCain Of Being A Maverick For Political Gain. The February 11, 2008 issue of *American Conservative* wrote, "But what seems to account for his evolution from realism to hopped-up interventionism is nothing more than sheer ambition. This was the case in 1983, when he defied the Reagan

administration over sending U.S. soldiers to die at the hands of a Beirut suicide bomber, and in 1999, when the cry went up to take on Slobodan Milosevic. He was positioning himself against his own party, while staking out a distinctive stance independent of the Democrats. It was, in short, an instance of a presidential candidate maneuvering himself to increase his appeal to the electorate—and, most importantly, the media.” [[American Conservative](#), [2/11/08](#)]

Commentators Have Noticed McCain’s Complete Change From the McCain of 2000

- **L. Ian MacDonald: McCain Went From Maverick Candidate In ‘00 To “Consensus Establishment Moderate Right Of Center” Candidate In ‘08.** According to *National Post* columnist, L. Ian MacDonald, “McCain, very much the maverick in 2000, has now emerged as the consensus establishment and moderate right-of-centre candidate in 2008.” [Op-Ed, *National Post*, [1/23/08](#)]
- **Hartford Courant: “The Senator Is A Salty, Reformist, Provocative And Classy Presence In Our Politics. At Least The Straight-Talking Mr. McCain Of The 2000 Campaign Was.”** According to a *Hartford Courant* editorial, “If you were speculating just a few months ago about the most likely major candidate to drop out of the 2008 presidential race first, chances are you wouldn’t have named John McCain. But today the Arizona Republican -- the presumed front-runner for his party’s nomination a year ago -- is teetering and may indeed fall, despite his protestations to the contrary. ... Mr. McCain’s campaign has made serious mistakes -- among them, pandering to the religious right (which calls his authenticity into question) and spending too much money. The result has been plummeting donations and poll numbers, a nearly empty treasury and campaign workers heading for the exits. Mr. McCain slogs on, but pundits are saying ‘dead man walking.’ ... The senator is a salty, reformist, provocative and classy presence in our politics. At least the straight-talking Mr. McCain of the 2000 campaign was.” [Editorial, [Hartford Courant](#), 7/13/07]
- **Alter: He Repressed The Maverick Spirit Of The 2000 Campaign.** According to an op-ed by Jonathan Alter published in the *Charleston Gazette*, “On the surface, McCain’s strategy for becoming president makes perfect sense. He repressed the maverick spirit of the 2000 campaign (it didn’t get him elected last time, he’s said), hired a bunch of Bushies and signed off on a strategy of kissing up to the hard-core conservatives who dominate the Republican primaries. The fact that many liberals and independents fell out of love with him didn’t seem relevant; they don’t vote in those contests. Under the GOP’s system of primogeniture, the nomination traditionally goes to the guy whose turn it is. It’s McCain’s turn, so he figured all he had to do was sound a few conservative themes and line up the right endorsements. He’d lock it up early, then tack to the center for the general election. But something’s gone terribly wrong. The political positioning is too transparent to be convincing. ... McCain remains an endearing, sometimes provocative campaigner, but the magic is on the wane. ... John McCain may be playing the political angles on various social issues, but not on Iraq. Henry Clay, the great 19th-century senator, once said, ‘I’d rather be right than be president.’ Sadly for McCain, the odds are growing that he’ll be neither.” [Op-Ed, Jonathan Alter, [Charleston Gazette](#), 4/10/07]
- **Roanoke Times: “McCain Has Sacrificed The Last Drop Of Credibility In What Was Once A Rather Deep Well.”** According to an editorial in the *Roanoke Times*, “And so the presidential candidate who once boasted of riding the ‘Straight Talk Express’ has been exposed as a ridiculous Pollyanna, desperate to prove that some Baghdad neighborhoods are safe and blind to the actual truth exposed by his visit. For some inexplicable reason, McCain is staking his political career on his unwavering support for President Bush’s invasion and occupation of Iraq. And so he has joined the president and others in the administration in making ridiculously overconfident and optimistic statements that defy the reality of the situation in Iraq. Perhaps it is only possible to wholeheartedly support what is happening in Iraq through the dark tint of rose-colored glasses. But in so doing, McCain has sacrificed the last drop of credibility in what was once a rather deep well.” [Editorial, [Roanoke Times](#), 4/05/07]
- **Concord Monitor: “Some Left-Leaning Voters Feel McCain Has Dispensed With The ‘Straight Talk’ To Pander To His Party’s Base.”** According to a *Concord Monitor* editorial, “In 2000 New Hampshire was ready to elect John McCain president even if the rest of the country wasn’t. Tomorrow he makes his first visit this year as a candidate for president in 2008. He’s unlikely to be able to pick up exactly where he left off. ...

Has McCain changed as well? He was well served here in 2000 by his image as the candidate who bucked the party establishment, rebuked the fringes of the religious right and spoke movingly of causes larger than self-interest. Now some left-leaning voters feel McCain has dispensed with the 'straight talk' to pander to his party's base. Of course, the politics of positioning cuts both ways. Some right-leaning voters remember deciding McCain was not one of them in 2000. Persuading people to change their minds can be harder than winning them over to start with. ... Seven years ago, no one knew better than New Hampshire voters that there was a world of difference between John McCain and George W. Bush. Fairly or not, McCain returns as the candidate most entwined in Bush's defining endeavor. As he makes the case for why the war must be seen through to fruition, can McCain remind us why he would have been the better president after all?" [Editorial, Concord Monitor, 3/15/07]

- **Dowd: "But There's One Huge Group That He's Not Pandering To: Americans."** According to Maureen Dowd, "Certainly, the senator has tried to worm his way into the affections of W. and the religious right: The Discovery Institute, a group that tries to derail Darwinism and promote the teaching of Intelligent Design, helped present the lunch, dismaying liberal bloggers who have tracked Sen. McCain's devolution on evolution. ... But there's one huge group that he's not pandering to: Americans. Most Americans are sick and tired of watching things go hideously backward in Iraq and Afghanistan, and want someone to show them the way out. Mr. McCain is stuck on the bridge of a sinking policy with W. and Dick Cheney, who showed again last week that there is no bottom to his lunacy. The senator supported a war that didn't need to be fought and is a cheerleader for a surge that won't work. It has left Sen. McCain, the Arizona Republican, once the most spontaneous of campaigners, off balance. He's like a cat without its whiskers. ... Sometimes I miss John McCain, even when I'm with him." [Op-Ed, Maureen Dowd, Pittsburgh Post-Gazette, 2/26/07]
- **Krugman: "Senator John McCain, Whose Reputation For Straight Talk Is Quickly Getting Bent Out Of Shape..."** According to Paul Krugman, "Senator John McCain, whose reputation for straight talk is quickly getting bent out of shape, appears to share the Bush administration's habit of rewriting history to preserve an appearance of infallibility. Last month Senator McCain asserted that he knew full well what we were getting into by invading Iraq: 'When I voted to support this war,' Mr. McCain said on MSNBC, 'I knew it was probably going to be long and hard and tough, and those that voted for it and thought that somehow it was going to be some kind of an easy task, then I'm sorry they were mistaken.' But back in September 2002, he told Larry King, 'I believe that the operation will be relatively short,' and 'I believe that the success will be fairly easy.'" [Op-Ed, Paul Krugman, New York Times, 2/19/07]
- **McCain "Seems To Be Adopting Tactics He Previously Criticized."** According to the *Charleston Gazette*, "Respected Sen. John McCain, R-Ariz., is running for president again. Although he has long been a clean-campaigns advocate, he seems to be adopting tactics he previously criticized. At least, he's hiring campaign operatives once involved in ugly smears. During early Republican primary elections in 2000, campaign dirty tricksters attacked McCain, falsely, for being a traitor while he was in jail as a prisoner of war in Vietnam. And an outfit backing George W. Bush made telephone calls to potential voters in the South Carolina primary suggesting that McCain had fathered a 'black child,' perhaps with a 'black prostitute.' (The McCains did adopt a daughter, named Bridget, through an orphanage Mother Teresa had created in Bangladesh.) During the 2004 presidential campaign, Swift Boat Veterans for Truth ran television ads smearing Sen. John Kerry, D-Mass., who was running against Bush. At the time, McCain attacked those Swift Boat ads as 'dishonest and dishonorable.' But today, McCain is using that same Swift Boat firm to help him plan campaign ads for 2008. He also has hired a wide array of dirty tricksters to run his presidential race, including key political operatives Bush used to attack McCain in 2000, according to the *New York Times*. Last fall, McCain's top adviser criticized a TV smear of former Rep. Harold E. Ford Jr., D-Tenn, which showed the black congressman flirting with a young, scantily clad, blonde, white woman. The ad had racist overtones. Terry Nelson, a former Bush campaign consultant, headed the committee sponsoring that ad. McCain first hired Nelson as an adviser last spring. After the Ford TV ad controversy hit the news, McCain promoted Nelson to his national campaign manager, the *Times* reports. What has happened to the Arizona Republican known for integrity?" [Editorial, Charleston Gazette, 2/12/07]

- **“In The Past, McCain Presented Himself As ‘Senator Straight Talk.’ That Image May Not Work In The 2008 Political Battles.”** According to the *Charleston Gazette*, “With Sen. Russ Feingold, D-Wis., McCain sponsored the bipartisan Campaign Reform Act of 2002 to regulate campaign financing. He’s generally deemed a politician of honor. But recently, McCain has backpedaled to endorse President Bush’s escalation of the Iraq war and to solidify relations with the fundamentalist Religious Right. In the past, McCain presented himself as ‘Senator Straight Talk.’ That image may not work in the 2008 political battles.” [Editorial, Charleston Gazette, 2/12/07]
- **McCain 2008 Campaign A “Far Cry” From His 2000 Bus, Which May Exact An “Awful Price” And He Knows It.** Todd Purdum wrote in *Vanity Fair* that McCain is not the same candidate he was in 2000. “But the plain truth is that the Straight Talk Express, Version 2.008, is often a far cry from the Magic Bus of 2000.” Discussing comments McCain made on the campaign trail in 2004, Purdum wrote, “That’s not straight talk. That’s partisan pap,” adding, “Nor, presumably, was it straight talk last summer at an Aspen Institute discussion when McCain struggled to articulate his position on the teaching of intelligent design in public schools.” Overall, Purdum found, “McCain’s own compromises in pursuit of the presidency may be necessary, even justified. And they may, in fact, pave his way to victory in the Republican primaries, and perhaps to the White House itself. But even if no one calls him out, and the public plays along, McCain may pay an awful price. Because, whatever happens, he will know. He will know. He will know.” [Vanity Fair, February 2007]
- **Richard Cohen: “The Straight Talk Express Is In A Ditch.”** According to Richard Cohen of the *Washington Post*, “McCain’s virtue is his virtue - those aspects of his character that mirror his physical courage. He has been the politician who would not play politics, the presidential candidate who would sweep out the White House, put K Street in its place, rein in Congress and, always, talk plainly and candidly to the American people. In short, he was the man who could restore faith in government. But he cannot do that if, at the same time, he defends a war fought for nonexistent reasons, preceded by fibs, lies and exaggerations, draining America of blood and treasure and leaving us worse off now than before those bombs were dropped where - as it symbolically turned out - Saddam Hussein was not. Times have changed. The Straight Talk Express is in a ditch.” [Op-Ed, Richard Cohen, Washington Post, 5/16/06]
- **Tom Edsall: McCain Trying To Maintain Straight Talker Credibility While Doubletalking To Win GOP Nomination.** Tom Edsall said, “McCain is trying to do two contradictory things...he wants to retain the appeal he had in 2000 as a straight talker who will not adjust his words and positions for political gain, and he is trying to win the Republican nomination. The nomination will be determined by voters and activists, many of whom do not like McCain because 1) he has voted against some of the Bush tax cuts, 2) he is the prime sponsor of campaign finance legislation seen by libertarians as an attack on free speech, and 3) he pointedly attacked Jerry Falwell and Pat Robertson in a highly publicized speech in 2000. McCain is now trying to thread about three needles as once, a tough task for anyone.” [washingtonpost.com, 5/15/06]
- **McCain, “Unbidden,” Said Changing Positions Could Damage His Greatest Attraction.** The *New York Times* wrote, “Unbidden, [McCain] acknowledged the danger of the perception that he had become politically expedient. Mr. McCain said there was ‘much increased sensitivity for me not to display traces of hypocrisy’ because of the way he had defined himself. ‘I would argue that I have not changed any of my positions, and if I did really change my positions on issues, that I would lose what is probably one of the greatest attractions that people have for me, and that is as a person who stands up for what he believes in,’ Mr. McCain said” [New York Times, 4/9/06]
- **McCain “Damaged His Reputation For Principled Straight Talk To Join Bush’s Misguided Bid To Privatize Social Security.”** According to the *St. Petersburg Times*, “At least President Bush didn’t kiss John McCain again. Last year during his re-election campaign, Bush planted one on McCain as the Arizona senator pretended to like his old nemesis. Maybe McCain isn’t faking it anymore, because he too easily damaged his reputation for principled straight talk to join Bush’s misguided bid to privatize Social Security.” [Editorial, St. Petersburg Times, 2/25/05]

- **“The Straight Talk Express Has Blown A Tire.”** According to Marie Cocco, “The Straight Talk Express has blown a tire. Sen. John McCain speaks before the Republican National Convention tonight and drapes the mantle of his moral stature around George W. Bush. As men, the two could not differ more. The president believes in his own righteousness. McCain believes in the righteous act of speaking truth to power. As politicians, the two share a deep conviction. They are dedicated to the art of the mutual use. ... The Arizona Republican made his reputation in 2000 as the candidate willing to challenge his party orthodoxy on both policy and smash-mouth politics. Above all, he presented himself as the principled foe of the special interests and the slick tacticians that have hijacked politics. ‘Straight talk,’ he called it. McCain now asks us to forgive his own superficial maneuver. He wants us still to believe he is above the cynicism of contemporary politics, while he simultaneously indulges in it. ... Tonight McCain maintains his political viability within the system. It is a perfect gambit. But it is out of sync with the premise of McCain’s appeal. McCain’s great strength is that he offers us the hint there is something at his core that is special, and true. We already have enough politicians with something at the core that is ambition. He wants us still to believe he is above the cynicism of politics while he indulges in it.” [Op-Ed, Marie Cocco, Newsday, 8/30/04]
- **Giuliani Accused McCain for “Anti-New York” Legislative Record.** According to the *Post and Courier*, “New York City Mayor Rudolph Giuliani, who has endorsed Bush, went public with his refusal to join a Pataki-led effort to attack McCain’s legislative record as ‘anti-New York.’” [Post and Courier, 3/05/00]
***Note: this headline is WRONG—needs to be changed (using the clips from the time) to focus on Pataki’s charges.
- **Bush Campaign Commercial Attacked McCain as Opponent of Increase Breast Cancer Research.** According to the *Post and Courier*, “In addition, McCain was angered by a Bush campaign commercial, running in New York, that attacked him as an opponent of increased breast cancer research.” [Post and Courier, 3/07/00]

Not Ready: McCain's Temper and Outlook Make Him Unfit For The Presidency

John McCain's career is laced with examples of his well-known temper, which has been unleashed frequently on those who question, oppose or just get in his way. Even his GOP colleagues have openly discussed McCain's temper affecting his fitness to be president. McCain has also showed a lack of readiness by using offensive language and inappropriate statements. Finally, McCain has shown a lack of curiosity and familiarity on certain issues that reveal a tendency to make mistakes.

TOP HITS:

- McCain has admitted a weakness of his widely-known temper.
- There are numerous examples of John McCain cursing or threatening those who oppose him, including his fellow Senators.
- One GOP Senator said McCain's temper was enough to not trust him near the trigger.
- McCain has repeatedly used racial slurs and often makes off color statements that display a lack of self control.

McCain's Temper

McCain Admitted That He Has Regretted Losing His Temper, But There Are Things Worth Getting Angry About In Politics. The *Boston Globe* reported on McCain and his temper. They cited a passage from McCain's memoir "Worth the Fighting For" wherein McCain addressed the issue. McCain apparently wrote, "My temper has often been both a matter of public speculation and personal concern...I have a temper, to state the obvious, which I have tried to control with varying degrees of success because it does not always serve my interest or the public's. I have regretted losing my temper on many occasions. But there are things worth getting angry about in politics, and I have at times tried to use my anger to incite public outrage. I make no apologies for that. . . . When public servants lose their capacity for outrage over practices injurious to the national interest, they have outlived their usefulness to the country." [[Boston Globe](#), [1/27/08](#)]

McCain Was Frequently Rated As Having One Of Congress' "Hottest Tempers" By Washingtonian Magazine. John McCain was rated in the *Washingtonian* as having one of Congress' "hottest tempers" in 2006, 2004, 2000, and 1998. McCain had the second "hottest temper" in Congress in 2006, placed first in 2004, 2000, and placed second in 1998. [[Washingtonian](#), September 2006; [Washingtonian](#), September 2004; [Washingtonian](#), September, 2000; [Washingtonian](#), July 1998]

McCain's Temperament May Be Most Discussed Element Of His Life And Career. According to *Vanity Fair*, "McCain's temperament may be the single most discussed element of his life and career." McCain's high school nicknames were apparently "Punk" and "McNasty" and McCain has been rated, by Capitol Hill staffers in the *Washingtonian*, as having one of the top "Hottest Tempers" several times. [[Vanity Fair](#), 2007]

- **McCain Last One To Recognize He Has Hot Tempered Reputation.** According to *Vanity Fair* "McCain's aides [said] that McCain himself was the last to recognize that he had a reputation as a hothead, and used to rail at them in private every time a public commentator suggested he had a problem, shouting, 'I do *not* have a temper. I just care passionately.'" [[Vanity Fair](#), 2007]

Examples of McCain's Temper:

McCain "Scuffled" With 92 Year-Old Strom Thurmond After A Committee Hearing Dispute. According to *Washingtonian*, "In January 1995, McCain was midway through an opening statement at a Senate Armed Services Committee hearing when Chairman Strom Thurmond asked, 'Is the senator about through?' McCain glared at Thurmond, thanked him for his 'courtesy' (translation: buzz off), and continued on. McCain later confronted

Thurmond on the Senate floor. A scuffle ensued, and the two didn't part friends." *Newsweek* reported that McCain was rumored to have shoved "one or two" senators, including Strom Thurmond, who was in his 90s at the time of the alleged incident. [[Washingtonian](#), 2/97; [Newsweek](#), 2/11/08]

McCain "Screamed 'F*ck You!' at Senator John Cornyn. The *New York Post* reported, "Presidential hopeful John McCain - who has been dogged for years by questions about his volcanic temper - erupted in an angry, profanity-laced tirade at a fellow Republican senator, sources told The Post yesterday. In a heated dispute over immigration-law overhaul, McCain screamed, 'F--- you!' at Texas Sen. John Cornyn, who had been raising concerns about the legislation. 'This is chickens---stuff,' McCain snapped at Cornyn, according to several people in the room off the Senate floor Thursday. 'You've always been against this bill, and you're just trying to derail it.'" [[New York Post](#), 5/19/07]

McCain Repeatedly Called Senator Pete Domenici an "Ahole."** According to *Newsweek*, "Why can't McCain win the votes of his own colleagues? To explain, a Republican senator tells this story: at a GOP meeting last fall, McCain erupted out of the blue at the respected Budget Committee chairman, Pete Domenici, saying, 'Only an a--hole would put together a budget like this.' Offended, Domenici stood up and gave a dignified, restrained speech about how in all his years in the Senate, through many heated debates, no one had ever called him that. Another senator might have taken the moment to check his temper. But McCain went on: 'I wouldn't call you an a--hole unless you really were an a--hole.' The Republican senator witnessing the scene had considered supporting McCain for president, but changed his mind. 'I decided,' the senator told *Newsweek*, 'I didn't want this guy anywhere near a trigger.'" [[Newsweek](#), 2/21/00]

McCain Apparently Once Told Chuck Grassley He Was A "Fucking Jerk." According to *Salon.com* reporter Jake Tapper, McCain had a large temper. Tapper wrote about a story told to him, by another Senator, wherein McCain once said to Chuck Grassley, "I thought your problem was that you don't listen. But that's not it at all. Your problem is that you're a fucking jerk." McCain and Grassley had been embroiled in a debate over how to deal with former U.S. Marine Bobby Garwood, a former POW who had been an accused defector, during a meeting of the Senate Special Committee on POW/MIA Affairs. McCain believed Garwood had been a "traitor" while Grassley believed Garwood had been wrongly accused. [[Salon.com](#), 5/14/99]

McCain Threatened to "Personally Beat the Shit" Out of His Opponent. According to the [Arizona Republic](#), "After McCain's opponent contacted his ex-wife in hopes of "digging up dirt on McCain," Carol called to warn her former husband. McCain recalls, "When the debate ended, I walked over to the opponent who had attempted to mine some little nasty opposition research from my failed marriage and told him with as much steel as I'm capable of demonstrating, 'If you ever try to hurt anyone in my family again, I will personally beat the shit out of you.'" [[The Arizona Republic](#), 3/1/07]

McCain Began His Senate Career Screaming At A Young Volunteer. According to the *Arizona Republic*, "It was election night 1986, and John McCain had just been elected to the U.S. Senate for the first time. Even so, he was not in a good mood. McCain was yelling at the top of his lungs and poking the chest of a young Republican volunteer who had set up a lectern that was too tall for the 5-foot-9 politician to be seen to advantage, according to a witness to the outburst." Jon Hinz, then Executive Director of the Arizona Republican Party, noted of the outburst, "You'd have to stick cotton in your ears not to hear it. He (McCain) was screaming at him, and he was red in the face. It wasn't right, and I was very upset at him." [[Arizona Republic](#), 11/5/99]

McCain's Staff Had To Restrain Him From Attacking A Phoenix City Councilwoman. The *Arizona Republic* reported, "In 1993, [former Phoenix City Councilwoman Kathy] Dubs, a Republican, was singled by McCain during a presentation about a proposed regional airport that was to be located between Phoenix and Tucson. Phoenix wasn't happy about an airport that would compete with Sky Harbor International, recalled Dubs, then on the City Council. ...I said, 'You know, the question that comes to my mind, that my constituents would ask me, is, 'How much property do your relatives own in Casa Grande?'' Dubs said. That's when McCain grew angry. 'He slammed his fist to the table and stood up and said this meeting is over,' she said. 'Then he pointed his finger at me and started calling me names. His staff was pulling him back, trying to get him to sit down.'" [[Arizona Republic](#), 11/5/99]

McCain Threatened An Arizona Politician For Not Endorsing His Senate Run. According to the *Arizona Republic*, “Carl Kunasek, now a member of the Arizona Corporation Commission, was blasted by McCain in 1985, when Kunasek refused to endorse McCain during his first run for the U.S. Senate. The incident ‘included [McCain] standing on his feet and leaning over and telling me what would happen to me,’ Kunasek said Thursday. Kunasek declined to say what McCain threatened, but added that the threat, political in nature, was never acted on. The incident, Kunasek said, ‘was not pleasant, and I was surprised.’” [[Arizona Republic](#), 11/5/99]

McCain Refused To Speak To Senators Pryor And Heflin For Years Following The Keating Investigation. The *Washingtonian* reported, “The Senate’s special counsel recommended in 1990 dropping charges against McCain for doing anything illegal or even unseemly to shield savings-and-loan operator Charles Keating from federal investigators. Yet Democrat David Pryor of Arkansas kept voting against freeing McCain from the Senate’s Keating Five investigation. ‘It was purely political,’ says McCain, who didn’t speak to Pryor for nearly six years. Alabama’s Howell Heflin got the same silent treatment.” [[Washingtonian](#), 2/97]

McCain Called Student “A Little Jerk” Who Ought to be Drafted. According to Think Progress, “In September, a high school student asked McCain whether the senator was ‘too old to be president and too conservative to be respected.’ McCain ‘jokingly’ responded by calling the student ‘a little jerk’ who ought to be drafted. [McCain Townhall, [9/4/07](#), via YouTube]

McCain Tore Into Obama For Supporting Competing Reform Legislation. On Monday, February 6, “McCain literally exploded” and “blasted Obama” when he “delivered a sharp scolding...in a two-page letter, which contained atypically harsh and sarcastic words from one senator to another.” McCain “accused his Democratic colleague Barack Obama of ‘partisan posturing’ on the issue of lobbying ethics reform,” “delivered a caustic rebuke” and “unleashed an unusually biting and blunt broadside Monday against one of his Democratic colleagues, Sen. Barack Obama,” [CBS News, 2/6/06; UPI, 2/7/06; [Chicago Tribune](#), 2/7/06; Associated Press, 2/7/06; [New York Sun](#), 2/7/06; CNN.com, 2/7/06]

McCain’s Colleagues On McCain’s Temper:

Sen. Orrin Hatch Called It “Awful” To Be The Focus Of McCain’s Anger. According to the [Associated Press](#), “Hatch, who serves with McCain in the Senate, said his colleague ‘is a passionate person and he does have a temper and sometimes it’s awful to be on the wrong side of it.’” [Associated Press, 12/2/99]

Sen. Thad Cochran: No Other President Has Had McCain’s Temper. When asked if McCain’s tempter was disabling or disqualifying in a potential president, Cochran responded, “I certainly know no other president since I’ve been here who’s had a temperament like that.” [[Newsweek](#), [2/11/08](#)]

- **Sen. Thad Cochran: McCain Is Erratic, Hotheaded, Loses His Temper, And It Worries Me.** Senator Thad Cochran of Mississippi, who has endorsed Mitt Romney, criticized McCain’s temper. Cochran said, “The thought of his being president sends a cold chill down my spine...He is erratic. He is hotheaded. He loses his temper and he worries me.” [[Boston Globe](#), [1/27/08](#)]

Sen. Bob Corker Refused To Say McCain Had The Temperament To Be President. Senator Bob Corker twice refused to say that McCain has the temperament to be president when asked on *Hannity & Colmes*. When asked, Corker said, “You know, his temperamental issues have been written about,” and, “Well I think he is an American hero.” [FOX, Hannity and Colmes, [2/19/08](#)]

Sen. Rick Santorum Raised Questions About McCain’s Temperament. According to the *Boston Globe*, “Mitt Romney’s campaign is blasting out automated phone calls that feature a recording of former Senator Rick Santorum of Pennsylvania raising questions about John McCain’s ‘temperament’ -- a hot-button issue that Romney himself has assiduously avoided. Santorum said in an interview today that he wrote the script himself, and the campaign deferred to him and approved it. ‘John McCain has written about and talked about the issues that he has with respect to his temperament and his ability to work with other people and to do so in a way that’s productive,’

Santorum said in an interview after stumping for Romney at Dave & Buster's restaurant. 'This is not something he hasn't spoken about and talked about and admitted to and I think that to me it is a relevant issue for people to consider... **I think it's one without question that factors into his ability to govern**, to form coalitions and to get things done.' ... Santorum said he had personally witnessed problems with McCain's temperament, which he declined to detail. 'I don't know anybody in the Senate who hasn't,' Santorum said. 'Everybody has their McCain story.'" [[Boston Globe](#), Political Intelligence, 2/03/08, emphasis added]

Other Commentators, Observers Say McCain Has A Temper:

McCain Known To Attack The Motives Of Those Who Disagree With Him. The [Arizona Republic](#) reported, "In 1996, McCain vented during a meeting attended by McCain, [David] Johnson [legislative director of the National Right to Life Committee] and Bill Pierce, president of the National Committee for Adoption. Johnson and Pierce had come to voice their concerns about a bill McCain was then sponsoring. But, according to Johnson, 'McCain didn't want to hear any of that...All he wanted to do is berate this man,' Johnson said, referring to Pierce...'When someone disagrees with him, he immediately attacks their motives,' Douglas Johnson said. '(He thinks) anyone who disagrees with him is driven by selfish motives and perhaps even stupidity.'" [[Arizona Republic](#), 11/5/99]

McCain's Communications Director Said Anger Was Part Of John McCain. Dan Schnur, John McCain's communications director in the 2000 presidential race, acknowledged McCain's tendency toward anger, saying, "Anybody who knows John McCain knows that he gets angry." [[Washington Post](#), 11/2/99]

AZ G.O.P Chairman: McCain Is "Tough To Deal With." Randy Pullen, Chairman of the Arizona Republican party said about McCain, "He's tough to deal with, there's no doubt about it...He believes what he believes in, and he wants other people to support him in those beliefs." [CBS News, [1/23/08](#)]

GOP Strategist: McCain's Battles Increase Animosity, Breed Resentment. According to CBS News, GOP strategist Greg Mueller commented about McCain, "Some of his battles are so intense and loud that it sort of increases the animosity...You've got these intense issues where a lot of rhetoric gets tossed around and it breeds resentment." [CBS News, [1/23/08](#)]

GOP Aide: McCain Is "My-Way-Or-The Highway" Type Of Leader. According to *The Hill*, a House GOP Leadership aide said McCain has been "my-way-or-the-highway" in the Senate. When asked about McCain's address to the House Republican Conference, he said, "Members will be generally curious to hear what Sen. McCain has to say, but the tone of his message and the framework of his campaign strategy will be very important, particularly to conservatives. Will he sound like the 'my-way-or-the-highway' McCain that's graced the Senate for 10 years? Or will he sound like a presidential candidate that realizes it's a two-way street and is willing to embrace conservatism?" [[The Hill](#), [2/12/08](#)]

Friends And Colleagues Acknowledge That McCain "Blows Up" And Will "Hammer" Those Who He Disagrees With. According to *Washingtonian*, "[McCain] just comes out and blows up every once in a while,' says a congressional correspondent, who didn't want to be named. 'You can almost see the steam coming out of his ears.' In a Senate that still tries to present itself as a polite debating club, McCain stands out for his willingness to take on 'distinguished colleagues.' Sometimes his wrath reaches beyond Capitol Hill. Cross one of the lines he has drawn and he'll take you on, no matter your rank." [[Washingtonian](#), 2/97]

McCain Described as Vindictive with "More Enemies than Nixon." According to a *Newsweek* report, McCain has "a bit of a vindictive streak." A former Pentagon official stated, "John has an enemies list longer than Nixon's. And unlike Nixon, McCain really does try to get you." [[Newsweek](#), [2/11/08](#)]

McCain "The Biggest Bully In The Senate." "According to Douglas Johnson, the legislative director of the National Right to Life Committee, an anti-abortion lobbying group, McCain is reputed to be 'the biggest bully in the Senate.'" [[Arizona Republic](#), 11/5/99]

David Keene: McCain is An “Ornery Old Guy.” When discussing McCain’s potential running mates, David Keene, president of the American Conservative Union, said, “That’s the high-profile, easy way” to get right with conservatives. “If you said, ‘I can’t change because I’m too old to change and I’m too ornery and I don’t want to be nice to you but I’ll select as my running mate someone you really love,’ then they’ll all say ‘OK, we’ll put up with the ornery old guy.’” [Associated Press, [2/10/08](#)]

McCain: No Self Control Leads to Inappropriate Statements

Vanity Fair: “McCain Is A Man Of Strong Opinions, Strongly Expressed.” *Vanity Fair’s* Todd Purdum said that John McCain was “...a man of strong opinions, strongly expressed.” Purdum went on, pointing out that McCain has said, “...current fiction bores the shit out of me” has called the leader of North Korea, a “pip-squeak in platform shoes,” and even said that Pakistani capital “sucks”, seconding the reporter’s views that “Islamabad has limited charms.” At a Nascar race in New Hampshire, McCain said about a reporter who was following him around, “This is Adam Nagourney, *New York Times*. They’re a Communist paper, but he’s O.K.” McCain apparently introduced Senator John Sununu by stating, “You can be very proud of him, and thank God he inherited his mother’s temperament.” And also said to a gathering of businessmen, “I want to keep health-care costs down until I get sick, and then I don’t give a goddamn!” [Vanity Fair, February 2007]

McCain’s Willingness To Think Candidly Out Loud May Be Risky. *Vanity Fair* columnist Todd Purdum wrote, “What’s so different about—and potentially risky for—McCain is his perpetual willingness to think out loud, unplugged and unfiltered.” [Vanity Fair, 2007]

“McCain Is Devoid Of Self Control.” *CounterPunch’s* Alexander Cockburn wrote that, “The problem here for McCain is that he’s a dunderhead in statecraft, devoid of self control, capricious in moral standards and an imbecile in his lack of political judgment.” [Counterpunch, [2/23/08](#)]

McCain: “I Hate the Gooks.” During the 2000 presidential campaign, McCain refused to apologize for saying, “I hate the gooks, I will hate them as long as I live.” [[San Francisco Chronicle](#), [2/18/00](#)]

McCain Referred to His Vietnamese Wartime Captors as “Gooks.” According to *Asian Week*, “Less than 24 hours after stories ran about Sen. John McCain’s statement to reporters that he would continue to refer to his Vietnamese wartime captors as ‘gooks,’ his campaign announced Feb. 18 that he would no longer use that term. Three days later McCain issued an official apology. Several stories that ran last Friday quoted McCain as saying ‘I hate the gooks. I will hate them as long as I live... I was referring to my prison guards and I will continue to refer to them in language that might offend.’ ... ‘I will continue to condemn those who unfairly mistreated us,” McCain said in a statement released Feb. 21. ‘But out of respect to a great number of people for whom I hold in very high regard, I will no longer use the term that has caused such discomfort... I apologize and renounce all language that is bigoted and offensive, which is contrary to all that I represent and believe.’ [[Asian Week](#), [1/24/00](#); U.S. News & World Report, [1/28/08](#)]

- **In 1999, McCain Said He Was “Absolutely and Unequivocally” Committed To Appointing An Asian American to His Cabinet.** In 1999, many presidential candidates spoke in front of a group of 6,000 minority journalists. The *Washington Post* reported, “In his remarks today, McCain said he favors affirmative action, is “absolutely and unequivocally” committed to appointing an Asian American to his Cabinet, and opposes so-called English-only laws.” [[Washington Post](#), 7/9/99]

McCain Used Racist “Tar Baby” Slur In Response to Question at Town Hall Meeting. According to CNN, “Sen. John McCain, R-Arizona, issued an apology for his use of the phrase ‘tar baby’ in response to a question he received at his mid-day town hall meeting in Cedar Falls, Iowa on Friday. A questioner asked McCain whether as president he ‘would be bold enough to address the issue of equal access to children for fathers that have gone through divorce.’ The Republican presidential candidate responded, ‘I’m sorry to disappoint you, I am not going to overturn divorce court decisions. That’s why we have courts and that’s why people go to court and get a divorce. If I as President of the United States said this decision has to be overturned without the proper appeals process then I

would be disturbing our entire system of government... But for me to stand here before all these people and say that I'm going to declare divorces invalid because someone feels that they weren't treated fairly in court, we are getting into a, uh, uh, tar baby of enormous proportions." [CNN, [3/16/07](#)]

- **McCain Was Forced To Apologize For Racist Remark.** McCain was forced to apologize for using a racist remark. During a press conference, CNN's Senior Political Correspondent Candy Crowley asked McCain about his use of the phrase 'tar baby,' viewed by some as having racist overtones. 'I hope that it's not viewed that way,' McCain said. 'It was a situation where if I kept going on that I would then be overturning court decisions. I don't think I should have used that word and it was wrong to do so.'" [CNN, [3/16/07](#)]

McCain Used Racist "Tar Baby" Slur Phrase to Explain His View On Bosnia. When describing his skepticism of air strikes in Bosnia, McCain rhetorically asked, "The question is do air strikes help, do they exacerbate, or do they put our fist in the tar baby that would inevitably lead us to military intervention on the ground?" Apparently McCain made the phrase a part of his vocabulary long before his gaffe in Iowa. [[All Things Considered, NPR, 4/28/93](#)]

Mistakes: McCain Flubs

McCain Has A "General Lack of Interest" on Domestic Issues. In a *Washington Post* Op-ed, Michael Gerson wrote, "But those who know McCain report a general lack of interest in domestic policy compared with his engagement in foreign affairs. 'It's sometimes unfairly argued that Bush is intellectually uncurious,' says one former member of Congress, 'but on domestic issues that is really true of McCain.' McCain's foresight on Iraq has carried him far. But eventually he will need to engage Democrats on issues from health care to education to poverty. And being right on the war will not be enough." [[Washington Post, 2/6/08](#)]

McCain v. the GOP: Problems with His Party

John McCain's is widely thought to be the default nominee for the Republican party. McCain has had many problematic interactions with his Senate colleagues, with Republicans in Arizona and even infamously considered leaving the party. The lack of enthusiasm surrounding John McCain from what should be his base makes him an odd standard-bearer for the general election.

TOP HITS:

- McCain was dubbed the “most liberal, least trustworthy” of GOP presidential candidates.
- Conservatives of all stripes (Religious right and economic conservatives) oppose John McCain.
- Sen. John Cornyn likened McCain’s candidacy to a “grieving process.” He along with several prominent Republicans have expressed opposition to McCain’s candidacy.
- Republicans in Arizona have issues with McCain.
- Rush Limbaugh has repeatedly said McCain would destroy, or harm the Republican party.
- McCain considered leaving the Republican party to become an independent.

Conservatives Oppose John McCain

McCain Boed At CPAC. According the *Hotline On Call*, “McCain was introduced first, though erroneously, by former VA gov George Allen. Allen, who endorsed McCain today after having supported Fred Thompson’s bid, was supposed to introduce Sen. Tom Colburn who had the official honor of presenting McCain. So, with the double introduction, McCain was boed not once, but twice.” [Hotline On Call, 2/7/08]

Club for Growth: Stance On Personal Accounts Though, Is Marred By His Willingness To Raise Social Security Taxes. According to the Club for Growth, “This positive stance on personal accounts though, is marred by his willingness to raise Social Security taxes as part of a package that would include personal accounts. On a February, 23, 2005 edition of Meet the Press, Tim Russert asked Senator McCain if he would support ‘as part of the solution to Social Security’s solvency problem, that you lift the cap so that you would pay payroll tax, Social Security tax, not just on the first \$90,000 of your income, but perhaps even higher?’ Senator McCain answered, ‘As part of a compromise I could . . . I’m proud of the job that Senator Lindsey Graham has been doing in his leadership position on this issue and showing some courage.’ Raising Social Security taxes in this manner is not a sign of courage. It could constitute a massive tax increase and prove devastating to economic growth in this country. Furthermore, Senator McCain’s support for Lindsey Graham’s proposal to raise Social Security taxes contradicts his own observation about the woefully poor return workers receive. Raising taxes would only make that return worse. As Senator McCain hinted in 2000, it is not Social Security taxes that are too low, but the below-market return on those taxes that should most concern policy makers and taxpayers alike.” [Club for Growth white paper, 3/13/07]

Texas GOP Executive Committee Members Said McCain’s Immigration Stance is “Intolerable.” Members of the Texas Republican Party’s executive committee said that McCain’s stances on illegal immigration were intolerable. According to *The Dallas Morning News*, “Several members of the state Republican executive committee expressed serious reservations Wednesday about Mr. McCain’s conservative credentials.” Committee member John Cook said, “It was amnesty. I don’t want our nominee to carry the party to the moderate wing.” [Dallas Morning News, 2/6/08]

Grover Norquist Called McCain A Flip Flopper Who Would Not Lead With Conservative Values. During an interview which on ABC News, Grover Norquist, the head of the conservative group Americans for Tax Reform, said McCain’s flip-flopping tendency would be damaging to conservative goals. Norquist said of McCain, “What McCain has done is flip-flopped on the gun issue, on the tax issue. He used to be a Reagan Republican on taxes. He’s voted against every one of President Bush’s tax cuts. He voted for the first one before he voted against

it but he's voted against all of them. He's flip-flopped back and forth not because of where the American people are but because of where the cameras are." Norquist added that McCain's "phototropism" was "very damaging from a conservative perspective because that's unlikely to lead to conservative governance." [ABC News, 6/11/06]

Joe Scarborough: No, No, I Say No, John McCain is not a Conservative. Speaking on *Morning Joe*, Joe Scarborough said, "No, no I say no, John McCain is not a conservative." He adds, "A conservative is not a man that calls tax cuts that George Bush passed, that revived the economy, tax cuts for the rich, that is not a conservative. A conservative is not a man that is one of two Republicans standing alone in Washington, DC voting against those tax cuts that every other Republican supported in Washington DC that is not a conservative. A conservative is not a man that teams up with Teddy Kennedy to produce a bill that is nothing short of amnesty that would allow 12 million illegal immigrants to gain legal status the day after John McCain's bill and Teddy Kennedy's bill becomes law, that is not a conservative. A conservative is not somebody that goes on Tim Russert's show, a couple of weeks ago, and says that if that amnesty bill, that would allow 12 million illegal immigrants to become citizens the next day, he does not go on that show and say, "Yes, I would sign that bill," but don't worry, it's not going to come to my desk. That is not a conservative." A conservative is not a man that says who he wants to increase taxes, maybe 50 cents per gallon, on the American people, trying to pass through a bill that the rest of the world won't sign on to." [MSNBC, 1/31/08; Townhall.com, [2/1/08](#)]

Carol Platt Liebau: Republicans Who Support McCain Should Know They Risk Driving Conservatism To The Sidelines At Home. Political commentator Carol Platt Libau wrote an article entitled, "The Unique Threat of John McCain." Libau said, "Although there is much to praise in McCain's defense record (most notably, his support for the surge in Iraq), when it comes to a domestic agenda, he's about the most "civil" Republican a Democrat could hope for. Indeed, in a McCain presidency with a Democratic Congress, conservatives risk becoming irrelevant." Libau compared the possibility of a McCain presidency to that of a Schwarzenegger presidency, and said that "McCain's history is littered with examples of his eagerness to work across the aisle; the McCain-Kennedy immigration bill, McCain-Feingold campaign finance 'reform,' and McCain-Lieberman environmental legislation come instantly to mind. There's no doubt that John McCain has earned the praise of Democrats and *The New York Times* by being willing to support their pet causes." [Op-Ed, Townhall.com, [1/28/08](#)]

McCain Dubbed "Most Liberal, Least Trustworthy Candidate." Michael Graham, a conservative talk-radio host and author, called McCain the GOP's "most liberal, least trustworthy candidate." This shows that while McCain has cemented his frontrunner status, he is still loathed by many in his own party. [[Wall Street Journal, 1/31/08](#)]

George Will Questioned McCain's Commitment To Constructionist Judges And Pro-Life Credentials. In response to a comment by McCain where he felt that "quote-First Amendment rights" were being stretched too far, George Will hypothesized that statement showed that a President McCain would appoint judges who held elastic interpretations of the Constitution in support of abortion rights. George Will wrote, "McCain hopes that in 2008 pro-life Republicans will remember his pro-life record. But they will know that, regarding presidents and abortion, what matters are Supreme Court nominees. McCain favors judges who think the Constitution is so radically elastic that government regulation of speech about itself is compatible with the First Amendment. So Republican primary voters will wonder: Can President McCain be counted on to nominate justices who would correct such constitutional elasticities as the court's discovery of a virtually unlimited right – one unnoticed between 1787 and 1973 – to abortion?" ["Imus in the Morning," 4/28/06; George Will, *Washington Post*, 5/11/06]

McCain Has "Tough Row To Hoe" In Iowa Facing Opposition From Iowa GOP County Chairs. *Roll Call* reported that, "Despite his status as the national frontrunner for the Republican presidential nomination, [McCain] appears to have an uphill climb in the make-or-break caucus state of Iowa, where a majority of county Republican chairmen say he is far from the first choice of likely caucus voters." After interviewing Iowa GOP County chairs, the report found that "the prevailing sentiment" focused on "disdain for his politics — particularly his handling of President Bush's judicial nominees and his association with the issue of campaign finance reform." Overall, "most" of the county chairs believed McCain "is not conservative enough — he is too much of a 'maverick,' several county chairman said — to win." 42 out of the 63 chairs interviewed also indicated that "likely caucus-goers in their area are not inclined to support McCain." Andrea Roys, chairwoman of the

Fayette County GOP in northeastern Iowa, said of McCain, “I have no use for him ... he tries to appeal to the media and make himself liked — and is a RINO Republican as far as I am concerned.” Loras Schulte, Benton County GOP co-Chairman, said, “As we say around here, he has a tough row to hoe.” [[Roll Call](#), 1/10/07]

Anti-Immigration Groups Attempted Anti-McCain GOTV Efforts. Anti-Immigration groups, such as NumbersUSA sent out massive e-mails in a last minute effort to rally voters before Super Tuesday. Roy Beck, president of NumbersUSA warned of “political illiteracy” among Republican primary voters could lead to “disastrous consequences.” [[New York Times](#), 2/4/08]

Conservative Magazine Accused McCain Of Being A Maverick For Political Gain. The February 11, 2008 issue of *American Conservative* wrote, “But what seems to account for his evolution from realism to hopped-up interventionism is nothing more than sheer ambition. This was the case in 1983, when he defied the Reagan administration over sending U.S. soldiers to die at the hands of a Beirut suicide bomber, and in 1999, when the cry went up to take on Slobodan Milosevic. He was positioning himself against his own party, while staking out a distinctive stance independent of the Democrats. It was, in short, an instance of a presidential candidate maneuvering himself to increase his appeal to the electorate—and, most importantly, the media.” [[American Conservative](#), 2/11/08]

Conservatives’ Whispers Continue That McCain May Not Be Conservative Enough. “Republican Party activists who dominate the nomination process are increasingly wondering if Sen. John McCain of Arizona, thought to be the early front-runner, is really conservative enough to satisfy them. There is already a whispering campaign underway to revive criticisms that McCain is short-tempered and a loose cannon. Many conservatives are still unhappy with McCain’s past criticisms of Christian conservative leaders and his maverick ways on campaign finance reform and other issues.” [[U.S. News and World Report](#), 3/6/06]

David Keene: “McCain Would Like To Remake Party Without Conservatives.” In a CBS News article on McCain having to face conservative skeptics, American Conservative Union chairman David Keene commented on McCain, “There’s this personal animosity he has towards people over issues... Most conservatives see that he would like to remake the party without them.” According to CBS News, Keene also said “those who’ve worked with [McCain] get the sense that he doesn’t like conservatives.” Keene also remarked, “In [McCain’s] world, it’s very difficult to have a simply policy disagreement... Everything becomes personal. His position is right, and everyone else’s is basically evil.” [CBS News, 1/23/08]

McCain Backer Said “You Have To Be Prepared To Deal In A World In Which There Are Imperfect Choices.” James Bopp Jr., an RNC member working to elect McCain said, “If you want to participate in politics, you have to be prepared to deal in a world in which there are imperfect choices.” Bopp also said he will continue to fight McCain’s legislation that challenges conservative ideals. [[Washington Post](#), 3/5/08]

GOP Strategist: McCain Could Have Trouble Winning Over Conservatives On Supreme Court Judge Issue. According to CBS News, “McCain and his surrogates have made some overtures to skeptical conservatives by stressing that McCain will pick strict constructionist judges as president.” GOP Strategist Greg Mueller commented on the issue, “It’s a huge issue for Republicans, a party crossing issue... The next president could appoint two, three, even four Supreme Court judges. If McCain goes out and talks about that, it’s going to be a reminder to the conservative base of the party – ‘who do you want picking your judges?’” [CBS News, 1/23/08]

Ann Coulter: “Hillary is More Conservative Than McCain.” Appearing on *Hannity & Colmes*, Ann Coulter stated, “If you’re looking at substance rather than whether it’s an R or D after his name manifestly, if he’s our candidate, then Hillary’s gonna be our girl, Sean, ‘cause she’s more conservative than he is. I think she would be stronger on the war on terrorism.” [Townhall.com, 2/1/08]

National Review Op-Ed.: “McCain Isn’t Right For The Right.” Deroy Murdoch of the *National Review Online* wrote, argued there was plenty to admire about McCain, but still opposed McCain’s presidential bid, pointing out, “McCain diligently has stymied conservative, free-market policies... is dangerously soft on captured terrorists...

and...is anyone's guess whether he will support the Right or sandbag its efforts." [Op-ed, [National Review Online](#) via CBS News, [1/20/08](#)]

The Religious Right Strongly Opposes McCain

Conservatives Would Rather “Chew Off Their Legs Than Support” McCain. The *Globe and Mail* wrote, “You’ve got to like John McCain. He’s got the hard right in a froth. They hate him even more than they hate Hillary Clinton. They’d rather chew off their legs than support him. This is an enormous plus. I figure anyone who’s incurred the wrath of Rush Limbaugh, Ann Coulter and the Christian fundamentalists must have a lot going for him.” [[Globe and Mail](#), [2/7/08](#)]

Republicans Still Suspicious of McCain, Say There Is “No Support” For Him And Were Insulted By Previous Statements. Many conservative leaders in Iowa are skeptical about a McCain candidacy in 2008. The head of the Iowa Christian Alliance, Steve Scheffler, said of McCain’s chances of success in Iowa, “I don’t want to say it’s an insurmountable hurdle, but it’s a big, big hill to climb.” Scheffler continued, saying, “There’s no support for McCain in this constituency, and I don’t see how you can make a scenario where you can bypass us.” Chuck Hurley, who heads the Iowa Family Policy Center, still holds against McCain his comments in 2000 about Jerry Falwell and the Christian right, Hurley said, “I don’t think Christian leaders who urge people to vote biblically, I don’t think that’s an evil influence...To me that statement by McCain is an extreme slap in the face to my faith.” [AP, 4/13/06]

McCain’s Reconciliation With Christian Community Turned Off Old Admirers, Conservatives Still Distrust Him. According to Dan Nowicki of the *Arizona Republic*, McCain’s “...attempts to patch up old feuds with the evangelical Christian community turned off many old admirers” and “at the same time, many social conservatives continue to distrust him.” [Column, [Arizona Republic](#), [1/2/08](#)]

James Dobson Announced He Would Never Vote For McCain. James C. Dobson released a statement that “he would under no circumstances vote for Mr. McCain in November.” [[New York Times](#), [2/6/08](#)]

- **Dobson On McCain: “I Pray We Don’t Get Stuck With Him.”** James Dobson, “founder of the Colorado Springs-based Focus on the Family as well as the Focus Action cultural action organization set up specifically to provide a platform for informing and rallying constituents,” came out strongly against a McCain candidacy during a radio interview. Dobson said in response to a statement McCain made on gay marriage, “Speaking as a private individual, I would not vote for John McCain under any circumstances.” Dobson reasoned his opposition both because of social issues and “legislation he’d just been discussing on the program, regarding an attempt by Democrat leaders in Congress to create obstacles for ministries such as Focus to reach constituents with action messages about pending legislation, is being supported by McCain, too.” Dobson criticized the legislation as having originated from McCain, saying, “that came from McCain, and the McCain Feingold Bill kept us from telling the truth right before elections.” Dobson added that “there are a lot of other things,” pointing out that McCain’s “not in favor of traditional marriage,” and concluded saying, “I pray that we won’t get stuck with him.” Despite the attack, McCain was open to heal the fissure with Dobson, saying, “I’m obviously disappointed and I’d like to continue and have a dialogue with Dr. Dobson and other members of the community.” Noting his past success reaching out to other conservative leaders, McCain said, “I’m happy to say that I’ve established a dialogue with a number of other leaders,” such as Jerry Falwell, Rick Warren and Dr. Richard Land of the Southern Baptist Convention. [Worldnetdaily.com, 1/13/07; AP, 1/17/06]
- **James Dobson: McCain Has Stuck His Thumb In Conservatives’ Eye.** When talking about John McCain, James Dobson said, “I am convinced Sen. McCain is not a conservative, and in fact, has gone out of his way to stick his thumb in the eyes of those who are ... I cannot, and will not, vote for Sen. John McCain, as a matter of conscience,” he said in a statement on Tuesday.” [[2/5/08](#)]

Prominent Republicans Attacked McCain

Sen. Thad Cochran: No Other President Has Had McCain's Temper. When asked if McCain's temper was disabling or disqualifying in a potential president, Cochran responded, "I certainly know no other president since I've been here who's had a temperament like that." [[Newsweek](#), [2/11/08](#)]

- **Sen. Thad Cochran: McCain Is Erratic, Hotheaded, Loses His Temper, And It Worries Me.** Senator Thad Cochran of Mississippi, who has endorsed Mitt Romney, criticized McCain's temper. Cochran said, "The thought of his being president sends a cold chill down my spine...He is erratic. He is hotheaded. He loses his temper and he worries me." [[Boston Globe](#), [1/27/08](#)]

Sen. Bob Corker Refused To Say McCain Had The Temperament To Be President. Senator Bob Corker twice refused to say that McCain has the temperament to be president when asked on *Hannity & Colmes*. When asked, Corker said, "You know, his temperamental issues have been written about," and, "Well I think he is an American hero." [FOX, Hannity and Colmes, [2/19/08](#)]

Sen. Rick Santorum Raised Questions About McCain's Temperament. According to the *Boston Globe*, "Mitt Romney's campaign is blasting out automated phone calls that feature a recording of former Senator Rick Santorum of Pennsylvania raising questions about John McCain's 'temperament' -- a hot-button issue that Romney himself has assiduously avoided. Santorum said in an interview today that he wrote the script himself, and the campaign deferred to him and approved it. 'John McCain has written about and talked about the issues that he has with respect to his temperament and his ability to work with other people and to do so in a way that's productive,' Santorum said in an interview after stumping for Romney at Dave & Buster's restaurant. 'This is not something he hasn't spoken about and talked about and admitted to and I think that to me it is a relevant issue for people to consider... **I think it's one without question that factors into his ability to govern**, to form coalitions and to get things done.' ... Santorum said he had personally witnessed problems with McCain's temperament, which he declined to detail. 'I don't know anybody in the Senate who hasn't,' Santorum said. 'Everybody has their McCain story.'" [[Boston Globe](#), Political Intelligence, 2/03/08, emphasis added]

Sen. Orrin Hatch Called It "Awful" To Be The Focus Of McCain's Anger. "Hatch, who serves with McCain in the Senate, said his colleague 'is a passionate person and he does have a temper and sometimes it's awful to be on the wrong side of it.'" [Associated Press, 12/2/99]

John Cornyn Likened McCain's Candidacy To A "Grieving Process." While speaking at the Dallas County Republican Party's Reagan Day Dinner, Sen. John Cornyn compared the struggle to accept McCain to a grieving process. "Presidential candidate John McCain wasn't the first choice, or even the second, third or fourth choice, of many of the 500 or so die-hard Republicans gathered Saturday night for the Dallas County party's annual Reagan Day Dinner. 'I sort of liken it to a grieving process. You come to acceptance,' said Cornyn, ticking off the conventionally accepted stages of mourning. But 'on every issue I care about, and you care about, John McCain is head and shoulders above Barack Obama or Hillary Clinton.'" [[Dallas Morning News](#), [3/2/08](#)]

Arizona GOP v. McCain

AZ G.O.P Chairman: McCain Is Tough To Deal With. According to CBS News, Chairman of the Arizona Republican party has said about McCain, "He's tough to deal with, there's no doubt about it...He believes what he believes in, and he wants other people to support him in those beliefs." [CBS News, [1/23/08](#)]

McCain Lost Arizona Straw Poll. McCain recently lost a Republican Presidential Straw Poll in Maricopa County, the state's most populous county. According to Republican state representative, Russell Pearce, "We feel betrayed and let down by our senior senator. I will not support a candidate I don't care how many medals he has on his chest, when he won't do the right thing for America." [[Los Angeles Times](#), [2/4/08](#)]

59% of Maricopa County Republicans Named McCain “Unacceptable.” During a straw poll in Maricopa County, Arizona, 59% of attendees named John McCain as an unacceptable candidate.” [Salon.com, [2/4/08](#)]

McCain Faced Backlash From Arizona Republicans. Rob Haney, a passionate Arizona conservative, said “It’s an unending litany of items that we find unacceptable in a Republican candidate who would represent Republican values.” [Salon.com, [2/4/08](#)]

Rush Limbaugh Has Repeatedly Attacked John McCain

Move this section below the next two.

Limbaugh Criticized McCain’s Stance on Torture. When speaking about McCain, Rush Limbaugh said, “See, but this is one of the things about Senator McCain that troubles me, and it goes beyond the obvious conclusion here that if you’re not going to do what you can in the nuclear ticking time bomb situation, if you’re not going to cast it all aside to save your own country, you know, fine. The question I have is, why does Senator McCain want to sound like the liberals on this? I mean, here’s a guy who’s promoting his national security foreign policy military expertise and experience and yet offered the ticking time bomb scenario, he says there’s no way we shall ever torture anybody to get what we want because it would diminish us in the rest of the world. Well, so would a nuclear bomb diminish us and kill a bunch of us, by the way.” [RushLimbaugh.com, [1/25/08](#)]

Limbaugh Accused McCain Of Diluting The Republican Party. Rush Limbaugh said, “We are trying to stop the wanton destruction of the party, the wanton dilution of the party. We are sick and tired of how the people who seem to be triumphing in our party are precisely the people who seem to be selling this party out in terms of its ideology.” [Atlanta Journal Constitution, [2/7/08](#)]

Limbaugh Said McCain Is Not a Loyal Republican. Rush Limbaugh said, “Bob Dole is something that John McCain is not: He’s a loyal Republican.” [RushLimbaugh.com, [2/5/08](#)]

Limbaugh Accused McCain of Exploiting His Military Record. Rush Limbaugh said, “Senator McCain is resorting to the same kind of politics as Hillary Clinton: Every challenge to him is said to be a challenge to his military record -- Hillary uses her gender the same way.” [RushLimbaugh.com, [2/5/08](#)]

Limbaugh Said A McCain Nomination Would Destroy the Republican Party. When speaking about Huckabee and McCain, Rush Limbaugh said, “I’m here to tell you, if either of these two guys get the nomination, it’s going to destroy the Republican Party, it’s going to change it forever, be the end of it. A lot of people aren’t going to vote. You watch.” [RushLimbaugh.com, [1/15/08](#)]

Limbaugh Said McCain “Slid Right Into Bed” With Socialists. When speaking about McCain, Rush Limbaugh said, “Slides right into bed with the liberal socialists every single time they wink at him.” [RushLimbaugh.com, [2/5/08](#)]

Limbaugh Said McCain Lied About Romney. When speaking about McCain’s character, Rush Limbaugh said, “Is it character when you lie about your opponent’s position on “timetables” for withdrawal from Iraq, are proven to have been wrong about it and yet continue the lie?” [RushLimbaugh.com, [2/5/08](#)]

Limbaugh Said McCain Lied About Opposing the Bush Tax Cuts. When speaking about McCain’s character, Rush Limbaugh said, “Senator McCain has also lied about his reason for opposing the Bush tax cuts, and the Drive-Bys let him get away with this. His original reason was that he didn’t want to support these tax cuts without appropriate budget cuts, spending cuts. That’s not what he said at the time. No less than the [Associated Press](#) has gone out and fact-checked this. “In 2001, McCain said the tax cuts favored the wealthy at the expense of the middle class. In 2003, he said there should be no tax cuts until the Iraq war costs were known.” He’s changing his position and his explanation on his position, practically every time he’s asked about this.” [RushLimbaugh.com, [2/5/08](#)]

Limbaugh Said McCain Would Turn GOP Into a Liberal Wing of the Democratic Party. Rush Limbaugh said, “You know, I'm all for expanding the party, too, but not by changing the party into a liberal wing of the Democrat Party.” [RushLimbaugh.com, [2/5/08](#)]

Limbaugh Accused McCain of Attempting to Destroy the Republican Party. When speaking about McCain, Rush Limbaugh said, “I think ever since South Carolina 2000 he's had it in for the Republican Party, and one of his objectives is to destroy it and change it.” [RushLimbaugh.com, [2/5/08](#)]

Limbaugh Said McCain Doesn't Have a Philosophy. When speaking about McCain, Rush Limbaugh said, “His positions are not rooted in philosophy,” meaning he doesn't have a philosophy.” [RushLimbaugh.com, [2/4/08](#)]

Limbaugh Said McCain “Bucks Principles Held By a Majority of People.” When speaking about McCain, Rush Limbaugh said, “He loves the maverick business. What is a maverick? A maverick is somebody that bucks tradition and principles held by a majority of people. A maverick is somebody in it for himself.” [RushLimbaugh.com, [2/4/08](#)]

Limbaugh Questioned McCain's “Maverick” Label. When speaking about McCain, Rush Limbaugh said, “The American people who pay scant attention, who don't really know what's going on this early prior to an election, they focus on personalities and soap operas of campaigns and this kind of thing. Maverick, yeah, tough guy, rugged individualist who will speak his mind. He's not one. He's taking the easy route, moistening the finger. He's out there saying the Democrat Party has better ideas than we do; the Democrat Party's ideas poll better than ours do. I'm going to adopt the Democrat Party's ideas.” [RushLimbaugh.com, [2/4/08](#)]

Limbaugh Claimed McCain Has a Pious Attitude. When speaking about McCain, Rush Limbaugh said, “You know, McCain does have this St. John of Arizona type attitude. You're not supposed to ask him about his past record.” [RushLimbaugh.com, [1/31/08](#)]

Limbaugh Said McCain Casts Principles Aside For Political Gain. When speaking about McCain, Rush Limbaugh said, “I think one of the reasons they're able to embrace candidates like Senator McCain is that he's been so willing to cast conservative principles aside when it makes sense for him politically, socially, or what have you.” [RushLimbaugh.com, [1/31/08](#)]

Limbaugh: There's A Lot Of Anxiety Among A Lot Of Conservatives About Senator McCain. According to the *New York Sun*, “A popular talk radio host who has vocally opposed Mr. McCain in recent weeks, Rush Limbaugh, sounded resigned yesterday to the prospect that the Arizona senator will be the Republican nominee. ‘It looks like McCain's pretty far down the line now to having wrapped this up,’ Mr. Limbaugh said on his program. ‘There's a lot of anxiety among a lot of conservatives about Senator McCain. It's simply indisputable, but there was no figure in our roster of candidates who rose up to challenge him or to galvanize conservative support. All the candidates on our side, for various reasons, are uninspiring or worse, and so, just as I predicted, the base has fractured.’” [New York Sun, 1/31/08]

Limbaugh Claimed McCain Was Not the Choice of Conservatives. When speaking about McCain, Rush Limbaugh said, “to pretend that Senator McCain is the choice of conservatives when exit poll data from every primary state show just the opposite... He is not the choice of conservatives, as opposed to the choice of the Republican establishment -- and that distinction is key.” [RushLimbaugh.com, [1/30/08](#)]

Limbaugh Criticized McCain's Alleged Stance on Alito. When speaking about McCain, Rush Limbaugh said, “Now, McCain has told conservatives that he would be happy to appoint the likes of, say, John Roberts to the Supreme Court, but he indicated he might draw the line on a Samuel Alito because, quote, “he wore his conservatism on his sleeve,” unquote.” [RushLimbaugh.com, [1/28/08](#)]

Limbaugh Criticized McCain's Stance on Torture. When speaking about McCain, Rush Limbaugh said, “See, but this is one of the things about Senator McCain that troubles me, and it goes beyond the obvious conclusion here that if you're not going to do what you can in the nuclear ticking time bomb situation, if you're not going to cast it

all aside to save your own country, you know, fine. The question I have is, why does Senator McCain want to sound like the liberals on this? I mean, here's a guy who's promoting his national security foreign policy military expertise and experience and yet offered the ticking time bomb scenario, he says there's no way we shall ever torture anybody to get what we want because it would diminish us in the rest of the world. Well, so would a nuclear bomb diminish us and kill a bunch of us, by the way." [RushLimbaugh.com, [1/25/08](#)]

Limbaugh Accused McCain of Having Contempt for Conservatives. When speaking about McCain, Rush Limbaugh said, "McCain, frankly, has shown conservatives little but contempt over many years." [RushLimbaugh.com, [1/21/08](#)]

Rush Limbaugh: McCain Wants People to Shut Up. When speaking about McCain, Rush Limbaugh said, "By the way, McCain wants people to shut up. That's called McCain-Feingold. McCain passed the first successful, major shut-up bill in the history of the country. McCain-Feingold was an abridgement of free speech. McCain wants people to shut up. Why should we shut up? Why don't they shut up?" [RushLimbaugh.com, [1/21/08](#)]

Limbaugh Said McCain Would Not Try to Bring Jobs to Michigan. When speaking about McCain, Rush Limbaugh said, "Nobody knows, but what McCain essentially said to the people of Michigan was, "I'm not going to try to get the jobs back." When he says the jobs aren't coming back, it means, "I'm not going to try to get 'em back." By the way, we're talking about jobs, not certain types of jobs. What Michigan needs is employment, and if certain types of jobs are out the window... I mean, they no longer have people that manufacture the horse and buggy or the buggy whip. But there's still people getting jobs as the economy grows. McCain sent the message he wasn't even going to try." [RushLimbaugh.com, [1/21/08](#)]

Limbaugh Accused McCain of Having a Bad Temper. When speaking about McCain, Rush Limbaugh said, "Who is it that is having to fight off the tendency to display a bad temper on the Republican side? I believe it is Senator McCain." [RushLimbaugh.com, [1/21/08](#)]

Limbaugh Lambasts McCain's Record. While quoting Mark Levin, Rush Limbaugh said, "The McCain domestic record is a disaster. To say he fought spending, most particularly earmarks, is to nibble around the edges and miss the heart of the matter. For starters, consider: McCain-Feingold -- the most brazen frontal assault on political speech since Buckley v. Valeo. McCain-Kennedy -- the most far-reaching amnesty program in American history. McCain-Lieberman -- the most onerous and intrusive attack on American industry -- through reporting, regulating, and taxing authority of greenhouse gases -- in American history. McCain-Kennedy-Edwards -- the biggest boon to the trial bar since the tobacco settlement, under the rubric of a patients' bill of rights. McCain-Reimportation of Drugs -- a significant blow to pharmaceutical research and development, not to mention consumer safety." [RushLimbaugh.com, [1/11/08](#)]

Limbaugh Said McCain Was Hostile to American Enterprise. When speaking about McCain, Rush Limbaugh said, "As chairman of the Senate Committee on Commerce, Science and Transportation, McCain was consistently hostile to American enterprise, from media and pharmaceutical companies to technology and energy companies." [RushLimbaugh.com, [1/11/08](#)]

Limbaugh Criticized McCain's Involvement in the "Gang of 14." When speaking about McCain, Rush Limbaugh said, "How many of us can forget the Gang of 14 debacle? Remember that, ladies and gentlemen? The Gang of 14 prevented the Republican leadership in the Senate from mounting a rule change that would have ended the systematic use (actual and threatened) of the filibuster to prevent majority approval of judicial nominees. You never had to have 60 votes to get a judicial nominee approved. The Democrats started filibustering, you needed 60 votes. We were going to pull the trigger on the nuclear option to get rid of this once and for all and McCain rides in with Senator Lindsey Graham and others, to form the Gang of 14 -- which, by the way, has expired, ladies and gentlemen. The Gang of 14 deal has expired now." [RushLimbaugh.com, [1/11/08](#)]

Limbaugh Criticized McCain For Taking Credit For Iraq Surge. When speaking about McCain, Rush Limbaugh said, "His supporters point to essentially one policy strength, McCain's early support for a surge and counterinsurgency. It has now evolved into McCain taking credit for forcing the president to adopt General David

Petraeus's strategy, but I haven't seen any "evidence to support" that. But McCain's supporters saying Bush wouldn't have done it if it weren't for the influence of McCain. McCain had it right? I haven't seen the evidence." [RushLimbaugh.com, [1/11/08](#)]

Limbaugh Criticized McCain For Granting Terror Suspects Due Process. When speaking about McCain, Rush Limbaugh said, "McCain-ACLU -- the unprecedented granting of due-process rights to unlawful enemy combatants (terrorists). McCain has repeatedly called for the immediate closing of [Club Gitmo] and the introduction of Al-Qaeda terrorists into our own prisons -- despite the legal rights they would immediately gain and the burdens of managing such a dangerous population." [RushLimbaugh.com, [1/11/08](#)]

Limbaugh Criticized McCain For Attempting to Silence Wisconsin Pro-Life Group. When speaking about McCain, Rush Limbaugh said, "Well, what did he do to advance his pro-life belief? He joined liberal Democrats in filing a brief in the Supreme Court against the ability of the Wisconsin Right to Life committee to run ads about life and abortion prior to an election. This is above and beyond McCain-Feingold! He actually filed his own brief in the Supreme Court against the ability of Wisconsin Right to Life committee to run ads about life and abortion prior to an election." [RushLimbaugh.com, [1/11/08](#)]

McCain Infamously Considered Leaving the Republican Party

McCain Was Close To Abandoning G.O.P. Said Democratic Leaders. According to the *Hill's* Bob Cusack, in 2001, several Democratic lawmakers said John McCain was "...close to leaving the Republican Party." In interviews with the *Hill*, "...former Senator Tom Daschle (D-S.D.) and ex-Rep. Representative Tom Downey (D-N.Y.) said there were nearly two months of talks with the maverick lawmaker (McCain) following an approach by John Weaver, McCain's chief political strategist" about the possibility of McCain leaving the G.O.P. [The Hill, 3/28/07]

- **Daschle Said He Had Meetings And Conversations With McCain About Leaving G.O.P.** According to the *Hill*, while McCain considered leaving the Republican Party, he had meetings and conversations with then Minority Leader Tom Daschle about what the conditions would be if he switched party affiliation, his committees, seniority etc. Daschle said that during those conversations "...[A lot of issues] were on the table." [The Hill, 3/28/07]
- **McCain And His Former Chief Of Staff Said McCain Never Considered Leaving The Republican Party.** According to the *Hill*, John McCain disputed several high profile, Democratic lawmakers' claims that he considered leaving the Republican Party. McCain's campaign released a statement in which McCain said, "As I said in 2001, I never considered leaving the Republican Party, period." Mark Salter, one of McCain's former Chiefs of Staff and campaign advisor, said McCain never thought about leaving the Republican Party, "Never at any time. Never" he stressed. [The Hill, 3/28/07]

Daschle Said McCain Considered Becoming Independent, Never Democrat. According to the *Hill*, former Senate Minority Leader Tom Daschle said that, at times, Democratic leaders thought McCain could be their "best opportunity." He "...stressed that McCain never considered becoming a Democrat, but was close to becoming an Independent." [The Hill, 3/28/07]

McCain is Out of Touch

Before a president can effectively govern this diverse nation, they must first be able to understand the needs, hopes, and desires of its citizens. McCain's infamous temper, astonishing wealth, and advancing age all contribute to the fact that McCain cannot relate with ordinary Americans.

Top Hits:

- Like Bush, McCain is described as a “My-way-or-the-highway type of leader.”
- McCain is the 7th wealthiest senator; he owns a \$1 million parking lot and a \$2.7 million beachfront condominium in Coronado, California.
- McCain is 72 years old and would be oldest first-term president in the history of the United States.

McCain: Stubborn Like Bush

Newsweek: Like Bush, McCain Seems To See Issues In Black And White, And “Rejects Too Much Of The Gray.” According to *Newsweek*, “he can be pragmatic in the pursuit of them, but seems to see them in largely black and white terms, not unlike George Bush, and rejects too much of the gray.” [[Newsweek](#), 4/7/08]

GOP Aide: McCain Is “My-Way-Or-The Highway” Type Of Leader. According to *The Hill*, a House GOP Leadership aide said McCain has been “my-way-or-the-highway” in the Senate. When asked about McCain’s address to the House Republican Conference, he said, “Members will be generally curious to hear what Sen. McCain has to say, but the tone of his message and the framework of his campaign strategy will be very important, particularly to conservatives. Will he sound like the ‘my-way-or-the-highway’ McCain that’s graced the Senate for 10 years? Or will he sound like a presidential candidate that realizes it’s a two-way street and is willing to embrace conservatism?” [[The Hill](#), 2/12/08]

McCain “The Biggest Bully In The Senate.” “According to Douglas Johnson, the legislative director of the National Right to Life Committee, an anti-abortion lobbying group, McCain is reputed to be ‘the biggest bully in the Senate.’” [[Arizona Republic](#), 11/5/99]

Newsweek: McCain Can Seem Prickly, Impetuous and Vindictive. In a special report, *Newsweek* reported that “in rare weak moments, he can seem prickly, impetuous, vindictive – the sort of military martinet whose finger is supposed to be kept far away from the button.” [[Newsweek](#), 2/11/08]

AZ G.O.P Chairman: McCain Is Tough To Deal With. According to CBS News, Chairman of the Arizona Republican party has said about McCain, “He’s tough to deal with, there’s no doubt about it...He believes what he believes in, and he wants other people to support him in those beliefs.” [CBS News, 1/23/08]

McCain Called Inflexible And Righteous. Spanish writer Keith Smith wrote, “[F]or the sake of the rest of the world, I hope we do not face another Republican presidency with someone as inflexible and righteous as John McCain.” [[Trinidad News](#), 2/25/08]

David Keene: McCain is An “Ornery Old Guy.” When discussing McCain’s potential running mates, David Keene, president of the American Conservative Union, said, “That’s the high-profile, easy way” to get right with conservatives. “If you said, ‘I can’t change because I’m too old to change and I’m too ornery and I don’t want to be nice to you but I’ll select as my running mate someone you really love,’ then they’ll all say ‘OK, we’ll put up with the ornery old guy.’” [Associated Press, 2/10/08]

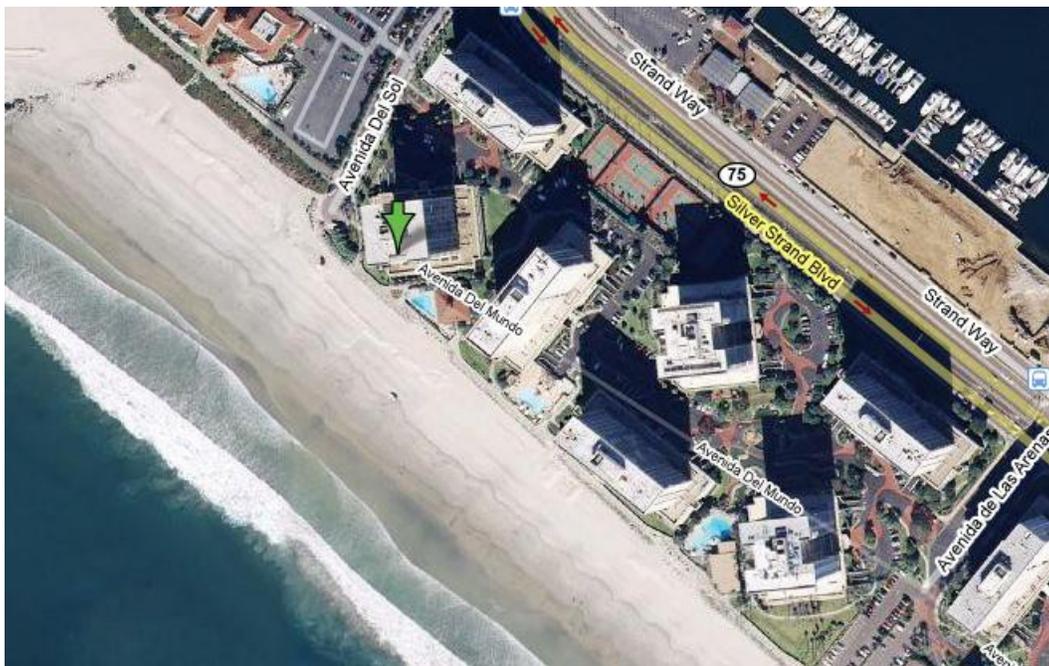
McCain Known To Attack The Motives Of Those Who Disagree With Him. “In 1996, McCain vented during a meeting attended by McCain, [David] Johnson [legislative director of the National Right to Life Committee] and

Bill Pierce, president of the National Committee for Adoption. Johnson and Pierce had come to voice their concerns about a bill McCain was then sponsoring. But, according to Johnson, ‘McCain didn’t want to hear any of that...All he wanted to do is berate this man,’ Johnson said, referring to Pierce...’When someone disagrees with him, he immediately attacks their motives,’ Douglas Johnson said. ‘(He thinks) anyone who disagrees with him is driven by selfish motives and perhaps even stupidity.’” [[Arizona Republic](#), 11/5/99]

McCain’s Willingness To Think Candidly Out Loud May Be Risky. *Vanity Fair* columnist Todd Purdum commented, “What’s so different about—and potentially risky for—McCain is his perpetual willingness to think out loud, unplugged and unfiltered.” [Vanity Fair, 2007]

McMillionaire

McCain Owns A \$2.7 Million Beachfront Condominium In Coronada, California. Property records from San Diego County, California show that the McCains own a \$ 2,705,040 condominium in Coronada, California. The property is owned by Dream Catcher Family LLC, a domestic limited liability company managed by the McCain family. [San Diego County Property Records; Arizona Corporation Commission]



McCain’s Family Oversees Eight Financial Entities. According to public records, McCain’s family manages and oversees the finances of numerous companies, trusts, and foundations that hold the family’s vast financial wealth. Including:

- Hensley & Company
- The Cindy Hensley McCain Family Trust
- John and Cindy McCain Family Trust (Non-Profit)
- Dream Catcher Family LLC
- Wild Creek Enterprises LLC
- Wild River LLC
- Wild Rapids LLC
- 701/801 LLC

McCain Was Seventh Wealthiest Senator In 2005 Based On His 2005 PFD. According to the Center for Responsive Politics, John McCain was the seventh wealthiest Senator in 2005, based on his 2005 personal financial

disclosure. McCain's minimum net worth was listed at \$20,571,136 and his maximum net worth was listed at \$32,043,011. [Center For Responsive Politics via Opensecrets.org, accessed [1/8/08](#)]

McCain's Mother Is Daughter Of "Wealthy Oil Wildcatter"; Was Too Old To Rent Car In Europe, So She Bought A New Mercedes. According to *Vanity Fair*, at the age of 94, John McCain's mother was "unstoppable." Apparently, she is "the daughter of a wealthy oil wildcatter" and when she went to Europe, and was too old to rent a car, "...she simply bought herself a new Mercedes and hit the road." [Vanity Fair, February 2007]

McCain Owns A Parking Lot Worth Over A Million Dollars. According to McCain's Senate Personal Finance Disclosure, the McCain family owns a parking lot worth over \$1 million. [2006 Personal Finance Disclosure]

- **The Average Family's Home Is Worth \$217,800.** According to a report by the National Association of Realtors, the average sale price for American homes in the final quarter of 2007 was \$217,800. [National Association of Realtors, "Single Family 4th Quarter 2007," accessed on [3/27/08](#)]

McCain: The Oldest President

At 72, McCain Would Be The Oldest First-Term President In The History of The United States. According to *U.S. News & World Report*, "McCain would be 72 when he took office if elected, the oldest first-term president in history." [U.S. News & World Report, 3/17/08]

29% of Americans Believe The Country Isn't Ready For A President Over 70 Years-Old. According to a *NBC/Wall Street Journal* poll released on March 26, 2008, 29 percent of respondents said the country isn't ready to elect a president in their 70s. That statistic is higher than the 20 percent and 18 percent who said the country is not ready to elect a woman and an African-American, respectively. [NBC/Wall Street Journal poll, released [3/26/08](#)]

McCain Has Been Diagnosed With Melanoma Four Times. According to the *New York Times* McCain has been diagnosed with Melanoma four separate times. In 1993, McCain had a lesion on his shoulder that was safely removed. In 2000 and 2002 pathology tests showed McCain also had Melanoma on his upper left arm and on his nose, respectively. Also in 2000, McCain was diagnosed with a very serious type of Melanoma on his temple. [New York Times, [3/9/08](#)]

Brit Hume: McCain "May Have Had A Senior Moment There. I Think That's Unfortunate For Him." While discussing McCain's erroneous statement that Iran was training al Qaeda, Fox News host Brit Hume said, "I mean, the feeling was not that he's a dope who didn't know his way around, but that he might have had kind of a senior moment there, and I think that's unfortunate for him." [Fox News, 3/23/08]

JOHN MCCAIN: BOB DOLE, THE SEQUEL



If John McCain and his presidential campaign seem familiar, they should. The similarities between McCain and his candidacy and Bob Dole's 1996 presidential run are striking. Both are Republican candidates running on the past, both in bringing up their biography and war hero stories, and in pursuing policies that will move America back instead of taking us forward. Twelve years after the Republicans nominated Dole, they are preparing to nominate another aging war hero and veteran of the U.S. Senate in his 70s to headline the GOP ticket in November. Like Dole, McCain would be the oldest president ever elected to a first term should he win in November. The similarities between McCain and Dole are extensive:

Age: McCain will be 72 years old at the 2008 GOP Convention. Dole was 73 at the 1996 convention.

Short Tenures in the House: McCain spent two terms in the U.S. House before running for the Senate. Dole spent three terms in the House before ascending to the Senate.

Senate Veterans: McCain has served 20 years in the U.S. Senate. Dole served 27 years in the U.S. Senate

Previous Primary Challenge to a President Bush: Eight years before being nominated, McCain unsuccessfully challenged George W. Bush for the Republican nomination. Eight years before being nominated in 1996, Dole challenged George H.W. Bush for the Republican nod.

Disabled Military Veterans: McCain was seriously wounded after his plane was shot down during the Vietnam War and subsequently as a prisoner of war. As a result, McCain has lost some mobility of his arms. Dole was seriously wounded by German machine gun fire in World War II. As a result, Dole lost much use of his right arm.

McCain and Dole: After Losing First Race to a Bush, Moved to the Right to Win the Nomination

JOHN MCCAIN

McCain Moved to the Right after 2000 Loss to Bush. The *Baltimore Sun* editorialized: "He ran as a maverick eight years ago, at a time before the modern conservative movement received an overdue bill for three decades of vanities, policy failures, moral hypocrisies and its ideological lurch toward radicalism. Now, at a moment when

Republicans seem to be rethinking everything from their foreign policy assumptions to their positions on reproductive choice, Mr. McCain has positioned himself as heir to George W. Bush's legacy, including the Iraq war." [[Baltimore Sun](#), 8/15/07]

BOB DOLE

Dole Moved to the Right to Win Nomination after 1988 Loss to Bush. The *St. Louis Post-Dispatch* reported, "The former Kansas senator had moved to the right to get the nomination." [[St. Louis Post-Dispatch](#), 11/6/96]

Dole Moved to the Right in Response to Competition. The Los Angeles Times reported, "Remember: Dole moved to the right in the GOP primaries – he had to compete with Buchanan for conservative support, and outflank Steve Forbes and Lamar Alexander." [[Los Angeles Times](#), 7/28/96]

McCain and Dole: Tied to an Unpopular GOP Leader

JOHN MCCAIN IS TIED TO BUSH POLICIES

- **McCain Pushes the Bush Endless War Strategy: "I Don't Think Americans Are Concerned If We're There For 100 Years or 1,000 Years or 10,000 Years."** In an interview on "Face the Nation," host Bob Scieffer asked McCain about staying in Iraq for 100 year. McCain responded, "We've got to get Americans off the front line, have the Iraqis as part of the strategy, take over more and more of the responsibilities. And then I don't think Americans are concerned if we're there for 100 years or 1,000 years or 10,000 years. What they care about is a sacrifice of our most precious treasure, and that's American blood. So what I'm saying is look, if Americans are there in a support role, but they're not taking casualties, that's fine. We're in Kuwait now. As you well recall, we had a war, we stayed in Kuwait. We didn't stay in Saudi Arabia. So it's going to be up to the relationship between the Iraqi government and the United States of America." [CBS, "Face the Nation," [1/06/08](#)]
- **McCain Said He And Bush Shared Same Views On Immigration.** During an interview with the *New Yorker*, McCain told reporter Connie Bruck, "The President and I share exactly the same views on the issue [of immigration]...He believes there are willing workers and willing employers and we ought to match them up. He recognizes that our borders are broken and we need to protect them, but we can only do it in a dual approach." Bruck pointed out that despite McCain's assertion that he agreed with Bush on immigration, McCain and Senator Kennedy had introduced comprehensive immigration legislation that many of McCain Republican colleagues "...deride[d] as 'amnesty'" and for which Bush had not indicated his support. [[New Yorker](#), 5/30/05]
- **McCain Health Care Plan Just Like Bush Failed Plan.** "President Bush proposed a similar idea" to the tax credits in McCain's plan, which was dead-on-arrival in Congress in early 2007, because the plan only awarded those who purchased insurance in the private market. [[Wall Street Journal](#), 10/11/07; [Washington Post](#), 1/25/07]
- **McCain Willing to Privatize Social Security.** According to the *Sioux City Journal*, McCain "agreed that voluntary private accounts within the program should be an option." [[Sioux City Journal](#), 10/26/07]

BOB DOLE WAS HURT BY CLOSENESS TO GINGRICH

Dole Attributed his Falling Poll Numbers to Gingrich. In 1996, the *Washington Post* reported, "Attributing his falling poll rating to his Siamese-twin appearances with Gingrich, whose approval ratings were hurtling downward, Dole began to avoid joint photos." [[Washington Post](#), 4/7/96]

Dole Confidante Said Gingrich was Hurting Dole's Chances Against Clinton. In 1996, the *Washington Post* reported, "Sen. Alfonse M. D'Amato (N.Y.), in an unusually blunt assessment of a fellow Republican leader, has criticized House Speaker Newt Gingrich (Ga.) for pushing an agenda that he says the public is rejecting as too extreme. D'Amato's comments, made in a series of interviews Thursday, took on significance because he is a confidant of Senate Majority Leader Robert J. Dole (R-Kan.) and because they gave voice to concerns other party leaders have been expressing privately. D'Amato indicated that if Gingrich and his charges don't moderate their message, the party and its presumptive presidential nominee, Dole, will suffer at the polls. 'It's already hurt Republicans,' D'Amato said, according to the Associated Press. 'It's not helpful.' Polls show President Clinton has a double-digit lead on Dole in virtually every crucial state and that there is declining support for the GOP legislative agenda and the job Gingrich is doing." [[Washington Post](#), 5/4/96]

Gingrich Seen as Vulnerability for Dole. In 1996, the *Washington Post* reported, "Clinton's victory remains November's most likely outcome. Dole has been trying to walk about from Gingrich and the House radicals – both literally on platforms and at microphones, and philosophically, as in the new Republican budget. Now he is resigning his Senate seat, but this may be more tactic than disavowal. What Gingrich, the House GOP and the smaller cadre of wild-eyes in the Senate stand for is too closet o the core of the post-1980 Republican party for Dole to shun – or even seriously dissent from. That point will only be reinforced when, for instance, Gingrich presides at the August national convention." [[Washington Post](#), 5/19/96]

Observers Said Gingrich's Support Would Hurt Dole. In 1996, the *Washington Post* reported Gingrich "remains highly unpopular, with only one-third of those questioned for a Time Magazine-CNN poll this month saying they approved of the job he was doing and half saying they disapproved. Taking on the president pits Gingrich against an adversary whose approval ratings are the mirror image of his own. The Time-CNN survey found 51 percent saying they approved of Clinton's job performance and 37 percent saying they disapproved. As a result, some analysts said a high-profile role by Gingrich, who has pledged to be Dole's partner, could do the Kansan more harm than good. 'If you're Republican nominee and you've got the most unpopular speaker in American history, I'm not sure 'partner' is the term that comes to mind,' said GOP political analyst Kevin Phillips. 'The best thing he could do is not be around as much and occasionally say he's wrong.'" [[Washington Post](#), 5/21/96]

McCain and Dole: Washington Insiders Stuck in the Same Old Politics

IN THE SENATE FOR DECADES

McCain has been in the Senate for Decades. In 2007, Ross Douthat of the *Atlantic* appeared on MSNBC's "Hardball," and referred to "John McCain, who's been a leader in the Senate for decades." McCain was first elected to the Senate in 1986. [[MSNBC](#), "Hardball," 9/13/07]

Dole was in the Senate for Decades. In 1996, the *Washington Post* reported, "In the Senate, where he has been for nearly three decades, there are workhorses and show horses, and Dole has little patience for the latter." Dole served in the Senate from 1969 to 1996. [[Washington Post](#), 2/19/96]

MILLIONS IN SPECIAL INTEREST DOLLARS

McCain has Taken Millions in Special Interest Dollars.

- **McCain has Taken At Least \$ from the \$720,613 from the Oil & Gas Industry.** According to the Center for Responsive Politics, McCain accepted at least \$720,613 from the oil and gas industry. [[Center for Responsive Politics](#), accessed 4/2/08]

- **McCain has Taken Over \$1.2 Million from the Telecom Industry.** According to the Center for Responsive Politics, McCain accepted at least \$1,206,728 from the Telecom Services & Equipment and the Telephone Utilities Industries. [Center for Responsive Politics, accessed 4/2/08]
- **McCain has Taken Nearly \$1.1 Million from Commercial Banks.** According to the Center for Responsive Politics, McCain accepted at least \$1,092,266 from commercial banks. [Center for Responsive Politics, accessed 4/2/08]
- **McCain has Taken Over \$4.1 Million from the Securities & Investment Industry.** According to the Center for Responsive Politics, McCain accepted at least \$4,176,558 from the securities and investment industry. . [Center for Responsive Politics, accessed 4/2/08]
- **McCain has Taken Over \$3.1 Million from Real Estate Industry.** According to the Center for Responsive Politics, McCain accepted at least \$3,101,042 from the real estate industry. [Center for Responsive Politics, accessed 4/2/08]
- **McCain has Taken Over \$500,000 from the Defense Sector.** According to the Center for Responsive Politics, McCain accepted at least \$522,653 from the defense sector. [Center for Responsive Politics, accessed 4/2/08]
- **McCain has Taken Over \$850,000 from the Insurance Industry.** According to the Center for Responsive Politics, McCain accepted at least \$856,854 from the insurance industry. [Center for Responsive Politics, accessed 4/2/08]
- **McCain has Taken Nearly \$1.7 Million from the Transportation Sector.** According to the Center for Responsive Politics, McCain accepted at least \$1,699,006 from the transportation sector. [Center for Responsive Politics, accessed 4/2/08]

Dole “Raked in Special Interest Millions During his Career.” In 1996, *Washington Post* columnist Mary McGrory wrote, “One of the problems is that Dole was not perfectly cast to lob the first stone. He has raked in special interest millions during his career.” [Washington Post, 10/29/96]

- **Dole Took \$548,000 from the Finance and Insurance Industry PACs.** From 1980 through 1996, Dole took \$548,00 from finance and insurance industry PACs. [CQ Moneyline, accessed 4/2/08]
- **Dole Took \$236,303 from Agriculture Industry PACs.** From 1980 to 1996, Dole took \$236,303 from agriculture industry PACs. [CQ Moneyline, accessed 4/2/08]
- **Dole Took \$216,695 from Energy and Natural Resources PACs.** From 1980 to 1996, Dole took \$216,695 from energy and natural resources industry PACs. [CQ Moneyline, accessed 4/2/08]
- **Dole Took \$146,567 from Transportation PACs.** From 1980 to 1996, Dole took \$146,567 from transportation industry PACs. [CQ Moneyline, accessed 4/2/08]

ADVISED BY LOBBYISTS

Super-Lobbyist Charles Black Served as Adviser to both McCain and Dole. Super-lobbyist and Washington insider Charles Black, McCain’s senior political adviser, was also an adviser to Bob Dole during his 1996 presidential run. [Baltimore Sun, 10/7/96]

McCain and Dole Tapped Lobbying Partners to Run their Campaigns. McCain’s campaign manager, Rick Davis, founded the lobbying firm Davis, Manafort with his partner Paul Manafort. According to the Associated

Press, “Running Dole’s day-to-day campaign strategy is Paul Manafort, a long-time lobbyist who is a partner in a firm representing gambling equipment maker GTECH, Sports Services Corp. and the Embassy of Costa Rica.” [Associated Press, via [Charleston Gazette](#), 10/21/96]

McCain’s Campaign is Full of Lobbyists. McCain has more than 70 lobbyists working on his campaign or serving as top fundraisers. His lobbyists aides include campaign manager Rick Davis, deputy campaign manager Christian Ferry, senior political adviser Charlie Black, campaign co-chairman Thomas Loeffler, congressional liaison John Green, national finance co-chairman Wayne Berman, and national finance director Susan Nelson. [Public Citizen, accessed 4/2/08; [USA Today](#), 3/23/08]

Dole’s Campaign was Full of Lobbyists:

- **Lobbyist Stood with Dole as he Gave Acceptance Speech.** According to the Associated Press, one Dole adviser was “Tom Korologos, a Washington lobbyist and Dole adviser who stood on the platform as the GOP Nominee made his acceptance speech in San Diego.” Korologos was “an adviser to Dole throughout his Senate career.” [Associated Press, via [Charleston Gazette](#), 10/21/96]
- **Numerous Dole Aides were Lobbyists.** According to the Associated Press, Dole’s top aides included a number of lobbyists: “Other lobbyists joining [Tom] Korologos inside the Dole campaign include: [Charles] Black, whose firm was paid \$160,000 during the first six months of this year by Philip Morris. Other clients include Angola’s UNITA rebels, who the State Department has criticized for failing to follow through on a two-year-old peace agreement; GTECH and AT&T, Former congressman Vin Weber, who represents AT&T, Browning-Ferris, the Edison Electric Institute and West Publishing Co., among others. Campaign treasurer and fund raiser Robert Lighthizer, whose lobbying clients include steel companies like Bethlehem and U.S. Steel; drug maker Glaxo Wellcome; and Colgate-Palmolive. Former Senate aide Rod DeArment, who helped direct Dole’s vice-presidential search. His clients include the Association of American Medical Colleges, General Electric, GTE and IBM.” [Associated Press, via [Charleston Gazette](#), 10/21/96]

McCain and Dole: Campaigns Focused on the Past

McCain is Focused on the Politics of the 1980s. Trying to convince conservatives at the 2008 CPAC conference that he is in line with the conservative politics set forth by Ronald Reagan in the 1980s, McCain said, “I am proud, very proud, to have come to public office as a foot soldier in the Reagan Revolution. And if a few of my positions have raised your concern that I have forgotten my political heritage, I want to assure you, I have not, and I am as proud of that association today as I was then.” [CNN, 2/7/08]

Dole was Focused on the Politics of the 1980s. Appearing on “News Hour with Jim Lehrer,” Dole said: “I did call President Reagan yesterday about 4 o’clock. When I got him on the phone, I said, Mr. President, tonight I will give my acceptance speech, and I want to say, as I do, that I’ve talked to you, and that out of great respect from all Americans, for you, Mr. President, I want to be able to say that we’re going to win because we have the right agenda, because we are the party of ideas, and because we want to complete the Reagan revolution.” [PBS, “News Hour with Jim Lehrer, 8/16/96]

McCain and Dole: Angry Old War Horses

(Age and Using the War Hero Status, even though they claim they don’t like to talk about it)

MCCAIN IS KNOWN FOR HIS TEMPER:

McCain Was Frequently Rated As Having One Of Congress' "Hottest Tempers" By Washingtonian Magazine. John McCain was rated in the *Washingtonian* as having one of Congress' "hottest tempers" in 2006, 2004, 2000, and 1998. McCain had the second "hottest temper" in Congress in 2006, placed first in 2004, 2000, and placed second in 1998. [[Washingtonian](#), September 2006; [Washingtonian](#), September 2004; [Washingtonian](#), September, 2000; [Washingtonian](#), July 1998]

- **Sen. Thad Cochran: McCain Is Erratic, Hotheaded, Loses His Temper, And It Worries Me.** Senator Thad Cochran of Mississippi, who has endorsed Mitt Romney, criticized McCain's temper. Cochran said, "The thought of his being president sends a cold chill down my spine...He is erratic. He is hotheaded. He loses his temper and he worries me." [[Boston Globe](#), [1/27/08](#)]
- **Editor at McCain's Hometown Newspaper said McCain has "Volatile Temper."** Appearing on CNN in 1999, Keven Willey, Editorial Page Editor of the *Arizona Republic*, said, "The fact that Senator McCain has had a volatile temper is not news to those of us in Arizona." [CNN, "Inside Politics" 12/6/99]
- **Even Dole Says McCain has a Temper.** In 2008, the *Chicago Tribune* reported, "Dole says John McCain, the Republican Party's presumptive nominee in 2008, has a temper – but has gotten it under 'control.'" [[Chicago Tribune](#), 3/7/08]
- **Dole Pointed Out McCain's Temper.** Appearing on Larry King Live, Dole said, "He does have a...I guess you could say temper. But I always sort of rationalized that because the poor guy had been locked up in a little, you know, a space about as large as this table...about six years...He can control it. It's not a problem anymore." [CNN, "Larry King Live," 3/5/08, via [Hotline](#), 3/6/08]

DOLE WAS ANGRY AND UNFORGIVING

Dole Displayed "Intense" Anger. In 1988, the *New York Times* reported, "A senior aide to Mr. Dole remarked: 'There's a quiet intensity about Bob Dole's anger. I've never seen him shout or slam doors or curse or scream like some senators. He gets very quiet, very intense. It's controlled and targeted anger.'" [[New York Times](#), 2/8/88]

Dole "Never Forgives and Never Forgets." In 1988, the *New York Times* reported, "A Senate supporter of Bob Dole said recently: 'Bob Dole never forgives and never forgets. You know if you cross him, you've got problems.'" [[New York Times](#), 2/8/88]

Dole Angrily Confronted Vice President Bush During 1988 Campaign. According to the *New York Times*, in the midst of the 1988 Republican presidential primary, Dole angrily confronted Vice President Bush on the Senate floor: "Mr. Dole strode up to Mr. Bush at the Senate rostrum on Thursday and angrily shoved a press release in front of the Vice President, who was presiding over the chamber... Mr. Dole frowned and pounded the desk." The argument was over a press release issued by the Bush campaign. [[New York Times](#), 2/8/88]

MCCAIN AND DOLE MADE LONG-AGO MILITARY SERVICE A CENTERPIECE OF THEIR CAMPAIGNS

McCain Says he Doesn't Exploit Vietnam, but Raises Doubts. In *Free Ride: John McCain and the Media*, David Brock and Paul Waldman write: "A key part of McCain's Vietnam story as the press tells it is that the senator is reluctant to mention it. 'One of the things I've never tried to do is exploit my Vietnam service to my country because it would be totally inappropriate to do so,' McCain once said. But for someone who says he doesn't want to talk about his experience as a POW, McCain sure does bring it up a lot. ... From the very beginning of his political career, McCain has known just when to pull out his POW history for maximum effect." [Brock and Waldman, [Free Ride: John McCain and the Media](#), Media Matters]

Dole Used World War II Service as Centerpiece of Campaign. The *New York Times* reported: “But here and in Clifton, N.J., where he gave the speech, the day belonged to Mr. Dole, the presumptive Republican Presidential nominee, whose campaign hopes to turn his World War II combat service and resulting disability into a major theme to employ against President Clinton, who avoided the Vietnam War, in the struggle for the White House. ‘I can’t change his record, and he can’t change my record,’ Mr. Dole told reporters after talking to about 500 people. ‘These are the facts. I’m proud to have served my country.’” [[New York Times, 5/28/96](#)]

McCain and Dole: Same Record of Supporting Policies That Are Bad for American Families

TAX CUTS FOR THE WEALTHY

McCain Supports Making Bush Tax Cuts for the Wealthy Permanent. On NBC’s “Meet the Press,” McCain said, about Bush’s tax cuts, “We’ve got to make these tax cuts permanent. We have to, otherwise I think it’ll have a negative impact on our economy.” [NBC, “Meet the Press,” [1/27/08](#)]

- **Dole Pushed Cuts to Medicare to Finance Tax Relief for the Wealthy.** *St. Petersburg Times* editor Philip Gailey wrote in 1996, “Gingrich and Senate Majority Leader Bob Dole, the party’s presumptive presidential nominee, gave the Democrats the ammunition they needed to recast the debate as an attempt to cut health care for the elderly to finance a tax cut for the wealthy.” [[St. Petersburg Times, 6/9/96](#)]

AGAINST EDUCATION FOR AMERICA’S CHILDREN

McCain and Dole Voted Against Increasing Education Funding by \$56 Billion By Ending Corporate Tax Preferences. In 1996, McCain voted to kill an amendment to increase education spending by \$56 billion over six years and offset the costs by ending certain corporate tax preferences. Motion to table agreed to 52-48. [SCR 57, [Vote #126, 5/22/96](#)]

McCain and Dole Voted Against Protecting \$40 Billion For Education Student Loan Programs. In 1995, McCain voted against an amendment to restore \$40 billion over seven years from cuts in education programs and student loans. Motion rejected 47-51. [S 13, [Vote #175, 5/22/95](#)]

WOMEN AND CHOICE

McCain and Dole Voted Against Ensuring Patients Have Unfettered Access to Reproductive Health Clinics. In 1994, McCain voted against establishing federal criminal and civil penalties for anti-abortion activists who use force, the threat of force or physical obstruction to block access to abortion clinics. The measure passed 69-30. [S. 636, [Vote #112, 5/12/94](#)]

McCain and Dole Voted Against Giving Federal Employees The Right To Choose Health Plans Which Ensure Access To A Broad Range Of Reproductive Health Options. In 1995, McCain voted against a committee amendment to strike bill provisions to prohibit federal employees or their families from receiving abortion services through federal health insurance policies except when the life of the woman would be endangered. The measure passed 52-41. [HR 2020 , [Vote #369, 8/5/95](#)]

HEALTH AND MEDICAL

McCain and Dole Voted To Restrict Leave Granted Under FMLA. In 1993, McCain voted for an amendment to the Family and Medical Leave Act that would allow an employee to take unpaid leave under reduced leave schedule only if employer agrees. The motion to table the amendment passed 59-39. [S 5, [Vote #10](#), 2/4/93]

McCain and Dole Opposed Restoring Medicaid Eligibility To Pregnant Women And Children. In 1995, McCain voted against increasing tax collections in the bill by \$51 billion by reducing revenue reductions for “upper income taxpayers” and spending the money by restoring Medicaid benefits for pregnant women and children and by including prenatal care and delivery services for pregnant women. The motion to table passed 50-49. [S 1357, [Vote #532](#), 10/27/95]

SENIORS

1995: McCain and Dole Voted to Cut Medicare by \$270 billion. In 1995, McCain voted for budget that would cut Medicare by \$270 billion. [H.R. 2491, [Vote #584](#), 11/17/1995; H.R. 2491, [Vote #556](#), 10/27/1995; H.C.R. 67, [Vote #296](#), 6/29/1995]

McCain and Dole Voted to Allow Use of the Social Security Trust Fund to Balance The Budget. In 1995, McCain voted to kill an amendment that would reaffirm the commitment of the Congress not to use the surpluses in the Social Security Trust Fund to mask the true size of the deficit in any plan for a balanced budget. The motion to table passed 53-46. [H.J.R. 122, [Vote #578](#), 11/16/95]

McCain and Dole: Even Charlie Black Agrees

Super-Lobbyist Charles Black Served as Adviser to both McCain and Dole. Super-lobbyist and Washington insider Charles Black, McCain’s senior political adviser, was also an adviser to Bob Dole during his 1996 presidential run. [[Baltimore Sun](#), 10/7/96]

- **Black Thought Dole’s Vision Made him Look Presidential.** The *Akron Beacon Journal* reported, “Six new ads were cut last week, all positive, with Dole talking about his vision for the future and where he wants to take the country. He highlights his economic program in one, his school-choice plan in another. ‘He looks like a president,’ said senior adviser Charles Black. ‘They’re all positive Bob Dole, futuristic, uplifting, positive and visionary.’” [[Akron Beacon Journal](#), 11/3/96]
- **Black Thinks McCain is Ready to be Commander in Chief.** Appearing on CBS’s “Face the Nation,” Black said, “We’re moving on and want to talk about why John McCain is best qualified to be commander in chief and how he’ll solve the big problems facing the country.” [CBS, “Face the Nation,” 2/24/08]

McCain and Dole: Old Friends and Allies

McCain Demanded Romney Apologize for Insulting Dole. In 2008, *Esquire* reported that during the Republican primary, “McCain had started the flight from New York to San Diego by asking, through the gathered press, for Romney to apologize for slighting Bob Dole, a man for whom McCain feels something like love.” [[Esquire](#), 4/2008]

Dole Wrote to Limbaugh on McCain’s Behalf. In February 2008, *Politico* reported, “Bob Dole, the former Senate Republican leader, wrote an insistent letter to Rush Limbaugh on Monday and suggested that for the good of the party, the conservative talk-show host should stop his strafing of Sen. John McCain (R-Ariz.).... Dole strongly defended the senator’s conservative credentials, noting that his voting record is opposed to abortion and supportive of gun-owner rights.” [[Politico](#), 2/5/08]

Right Wing Writer Compared McCain Candidacy to Disastrous Dole-Kemp Ticket. In February 2005, right wing writer Michelle Malkin wrote: “John McCain continues to wrap himself in the mantle of Dole/Kemp to prove his winning conservative bona fides. He’ll probably invoke their name 100 times at CPAC later this week.” Malkin went on to remind her readers “what a disaster Dole/Kemp turned out to be 12 years ago.” [MichelleMalking.com, 2/5/08]

McCain was Dole’s “Preferred Candidate” in 2008. In 2007, Bloomberg reported that McCain was Dole’s preferred candidate for president. “My heart has always been with my good friend John McCain,” Dole said. [Bloomberg, 7/27/07]

Dole “Remained Close” with McCain in 2000, Only Withheld Endorsement Because of Wife’s Prospects for VP Spot on Bush Ticket. In 2000, CNN reported that Elizabeth Dole endorsed Governor George W. Bush for president. “Conspicuously absent from the press conference was Dole’s husband, former Kansas Sen. Bob Dole, who was the 1996 Republican presidential nominee. Mr. Dole remains close to McCain, who was a strong defender of Dole in 1996. The former senator has not endorsed anyone, but McCain advisers expect he will remain silent on the issue because of the possibility that his wife could fill the vice presidential slot if Bush wins the nomination.” [CNN, 1/4/00]

McCain Traveled on 1996 Campaign Plane to Stump for Dole. In 1996, the *Washington Post* reported that McCain “traveled frequently on Dole’s campaign plane.” [Washington Post, 11/2/96]

McCain was “Adviser” to Dole’s 1996 Campaign. In 1996, the *Palm Beach Post* called McCain “a close friend of Dole and adviser to the campaign.” [Palm Beach Post, 10/24/96]

McCain Advised Dole on Foreign Policy. In 1996, the *Atlanta Journal and Constitution* reported on “Dole’s foreign policy advisers – among them former pilot Sen. John McCain (R-Ariz.)” [Atlanta Journal and Constitution, 10/23/96]

Rich White Men

McCain is the 8th Richest U.S. Senator. According to the Center for Responsive Politics, McCain is the eight richest U.S. Senator. McCain and his wife’s net worth is between \$27,817,187 and \$45,045,011. [Center for Responsive Politics, accessed 4/2/08]

Dole’s Wife is 7th Richest U.S. Senator. According to the Center for Responsive Politics, Dole’s wife, Elizabeth, who currently serves as a U.S. Senator from North Carolina, is the seventh richest senator. Her and her husband’s net worth is between \$18,523,145 and \$69,211,000. [Center for Responsive Politics, accessed 4/2/08]

McCain and Conservatives

McCain has a complicated relationship with the right wing of his party. After calling Jerry Falwell and Pat Robertson 'agents of intolerance' during his 2000 campaign for the Presidency, McCain has tried to make amends with the far right. He traveled to Liberty University to deliver the keynote address at Falwell's right wing university. He has also been endorsed by controversial 'christian-zionist' past John Hagee, who is known for making remarks widely interpreted as 'anti-catholic.' In an effort to pander to the right wing, McCain has also stated that he's in favor of overturning Roe vs wade, and that he would appoint conservative judges to the federal bench.

Top Hits:

- McCain flip-flopped on Jerry Falwell
- McCain has promised to overturn Roe v Wade
- McCain is supported by flat tax crusaders and other supply side crazies
- McCain promised to support only conservative

Accomplishments:

- McCain is unpopular in his own party for taking on the right wing
- McCain is regarded as a maverick for not pandering in 2000

Roe V Wade

McCain Told Social Conservative Gary Bauer That He Would Appoint Pro-Life Judges. According to the *New Yorker*, in 1999 McCain had the support of social conservative Gary Bauer. In reference to appointing pro-life judges, Bauer said, "I wanted a commitment from either George Bush or John McCain that if elected he would appoint pro-life judges to the Supreme Court...Bush said he had no litmus test, and his judges would be strict constructionists. But McCain, in private, assured me he would appoint pro-life judges." [[New Yorker](#), 5/30/05]

McCain: "I Pledge to You to be Loyal and Unswerving Friend of the Right to Life Movement. "If I am fortunate enough to be elected as the next President of the United States, I pledge to you to be a loyal and unswerving friend of the right to life movement." [Statement by Sen. McCain read by Sen. Sam Brownback at the March for Life in Washington, DC, January 22, 2008. <http://www.catholic.org/politics/story.php?id=26539> (accessed January 30, 2008.)]

McCain Web Site Said Roe v. Wade was "Flawed Decision." Sen. McCain's 2008 presidential campaign website states that he "believes Roe v. Wade is a flawed decision that must be overturned." [John McCain for President 2008 campaign website, On the Issues: Human Dignity and the Sanctity of Life (accessed February 4, 2008). <http://www.johnmccain.com/Informing/Issues/95b18512-d5b6-456e-90a2-12028d71df58.htm>]

- **McCain Said Roe v. Wade Should Be Overturned.** McCain said, "I do not support Roe v. Wade. I think it should be overturned." [Ann Althouse, Rudy & Mitt Hem & Haw on Abortion, N.Y. Times, February 24, 2007.]

Judges

McCain Proud of Alito and Roberts. “I’m proud that we have Justice Alito and Roberts on the United States Supreme Court. I’m very proud to have played a very small role in making that happen.” [Transcript, Republican Presidential Candidates Participate in a Debate, May 3, 2007.]

Gun Control

After Virginia Tech Massacre, McCain Said There Should Be No Gun Control. Republican presidential candidate John McCain declared Wednesday he believes in “no gun control,” making the strongest affirmation of support for gun rights in the GOP field since the Virginia Tech massacre. And “when asked whether ammunition clips sold to the public should be limited in size, said, ‘I don’t think that’s necessary at all.’” [AP, 4/19/07]

Controversial Supporters

McCain Called Rev. Jerry Falwell an Agent of Intolerance, But Then Supported Him. “In 2000, the campaign of Sen. John McCain (R-Ariz.) was dealt a near-fatal blow in the state after he described the Revs. Pat Robertson and Jerry Falwell as ‘agents of intolerance.’” But then in 2006, “Senator John McCain earned widespread ridicule for publicly embracing Jerry Falwell, whom he had once described as ‘evil.’” [Washington Post, 10/28/07; New York Times, 11/4/07]

- **McCain Called Falwell “Evil Influence” on Republican Party.** McCain’s 2000 presidential bid tanked in Virginia and South Carolina when he called religious broadcasters Jerry Falwell and Pat Robertson “agents of intolerance” who exerted an “evil influence” on the Republican Party. [Kansas City Star, 5/28/05]

McCain Would Base Presidential Selection on Judeo Christian Tradition. During an interview on BeliefNet, McCain said, “I think the number one issue people should make [in the] selection of the President of the United States is, ‘Will this person carry on in the Judeo Christian principled tradition that has made this nation the greatest experiment in the history of mankind?’” [BeliefNet Interview, 9/28/07]

McCain Hired Liberty University’s Debate Coach, Who Boasted “I’m an Ideologue.” On November 16, the Lynchburg News & Advance reported that “Brett O’Donnell, who guided Liberty University’s debate team to a consensus No. 1 national ranking earlier this year, is taking a leave of absence to become an adviser to presidential hopeful Sen. John McCain.” O’Donnell will officially join McCain’s exploratory committee as “communications strategist,” beginning on January 8, 2007. O’Donnell indicated that he would “advise McCain on media interviews, help shape policy statements and prepare the senator for candidate forums and debates.” O’Donnell described his decision making process for taking on a 2008 presidential client as needing someone who shared his values, especially on Iraq, saying, “I believe in a preemptive strategy, in fighting over there and not over here. I don’t want to be just a hired gun. I have an agenda. I’m an ideologue.” [Lynchburg News & Advance, 11/16/06; New York Times, 3/19/06]

Despite Liberty University Speech, Conservatives Were Not Convinced. McCain’s speech at Liberty “was shorn of religious references and avoided controversial social issues,” and was received “politely but hardly enthusiastically” by the conservative crowd. Conservative leaders said that McCain’s test includes more than giving a speech. Gary Glenn, president of the American Family Assn. of Michigan, pointed to the upcoming federal marriage amendment vote, saying, “if he is making an attempt to pander to religious conservatives [at Liberty University], he will have missed an opportunity to do so if he fails to vote for the marriage protection amendment.” Louis Sheldon, chairman of the Traditional Values Coalition, said, “John McCain has to get in line behind a number of other people that have already won our respect and admiration and, in some cases, already our support.”

Gary Bauer, president of American Values, wasn't yet ready to give McCain his support, as he did in 2000, saying "It's one speech, and I think the jury is out as to whether it will lead to anything broader or more lasting." [[Washington Post](#), 5/14/06; [Newsday](#), 5/14/06; [Los Angeles Times](#), 5/14/06; [Sacramento Bee](#), 5/13/06]

- **McCain Bothered By Criticism About Pandering.** "When I asked McCain, in between his speeches to the Brussels Forum here, if the criticism bothered him, he answered quietly, 'Oh, yeah.' He says liberals need to understand that he's not a man of the left, or even the center. 'I haven't changed. My record is the same on all issues, which is that of a conservative Republican.' But in the next breath, he lists all the positions he has taken that have made him the darling of centrist Republicans and Democrats, from torture to ethics reform to climate change." [Byron York, [Washington Post](#), 5/3/06]

McCain And Falwell Joined The Stage In A Marriage Of Convenience. McCain went to Lynchburg as a "symbolic outreach to millions of religious conservatives" in a "public debut of the newfound, and potentially mutually beneficial, relationship between McCain and Falwell." Prior to the speech, "Falwell rolled out the red carpet" for McCain, "assembling about 150 church leaders from around the country" for a reception and private dinner. Arranging the meeting with religious leaders was a goal of Falwell's, who said "I don't think there's any question [that our relationship benefits McCain politically]. There are 80 million evangelicals in this country." [[Washington Post](#), 5/7/06; [Arizona Republic](#), 5/13/06; [Atlanta Journal Constitution](#), 5/14/06; [Chicago Tribune](#), 5/14/06; [Washington Post](#), 5/14/06; [Newsday](#), 5/14/06; [Sacramento Bee](#), 5/13/06]

McCain Said The Christian Right Had A Major Role In The GOP. In 2006, McCain affirmed his support of the Christian right's place in the GOP, saying, "I believe that the Christ--quote, 'Christian right,' has a major role to play in the Republican Party," and reasoned that Falwell was no longer intolerant, answering a question if he still believed his 2000 statement to be true, saying, "No, I don't." [NBC News, 4/2/06]

McCain Scheduled To Speak At Falwell's Liberty University Graduation. In 2006, McCain "will be Liberty University's graduation speaker on May 13. 'I was in Washington with him about three months ago,' Falwell said. 'We dealt with every difference we have. There are no deal breakers now. But I told him, 'You have a lot of fence mending to do.'" Falwell, LU's chancellor, said McCain, an Arizona Republican, is among the presidential candidates he could support in 2008...Falwell said McCain could very well be the Republican Party's best hope in 2008." [[Lynchburg News & Advance](#), 3/28/06]

McCain Agreed To Speak At Falwell's Liberty University And Discounted Previous Statement That Falwell Was An "Agent Of Intolerance." McCain will be Liberty University's graduation speaker on May 13. "I was in Washington with him about three months ago," LU's Chancellor Jerry Falwell said. "We dealt with every difference we have. There are no deal breakers now. But I told him, 'You have a lot of fence mending to do.'" Falwell said McCain is among the presidential candidates he could support in 2008. Speaking on "Meet The Press" on April 2, McCain doubled back on his statement in 2000 that Falwell was an "agent of intolerance." Asked if he still believed that to be the case, McCain replied, "No, I don't." McCain defended his decision to speak at LU, saying of himself and Falwell, "we agreed to disagree on certain issues and we agreed to move forward." [[Lynchburg News & Advance](#), 3/28/06; NBC News, 4/2/06]

McCain Pledged To Purge "Poison" From American Culture. McCain is "confident his '25-year record on pro-life' will satisfy social conservatives. About culture: 'I've done some terrible things in my life, so I try not to be a judge, but it seems to me there is a poison in our culture that we have to address. Maybe it's through the bully pulpit, but we can't pass a bunch of laws to control it all.'" [[New York Sun](#), 3/7/06]

McCain Met With Falwell To Lay Groundwork for 2008 Run. "Sen. John McCain is taking action to make it hard for conservatives to write him off in the 2008 presidential race. His office confirms that the maverick moderate recently met with the Rev. Jerry Falwell, a conservative icon who is influential with voters on the right." [[US News and World Report](#), 11/14/05]

McCain Said "Conservative" 17 Times In CPAC Speech. The *Washington Post's* Ruth Marcus wrote, "McCain packed 17 mentions of "conservative" into the speech: He was "proud to be a conservative" with "conservative

convictions.” He would run “a campaign based on conservative principles.” He would have “a clearly conservative approach to governing.” Candidates tend to run to the extremes in the primaries and veer back to the center for the general. McCain doesn’t have that luxury yet.” [[Washington Post, 2/8/08](#)]

2006: McCain Said The Christian Right Had A Major Role In The GOP. McCain affirmed his support of the Christian right’s place in the GOP, saying, “I believe that the Christ--quote, ‘Christian right,’ has a major role to play in the Republican Party,” and reasoned that Falwell was no longer intolerant, answering a question if he still believed his 2000 statement to be true, saying, “No, I don’t.” [NBC News, 4/2/06]

McCain Endorsed By Outspoken Pastor, John Hagee. McCain was endorsed by San Antonio televangelist John Hagee. The *Dallas Morning News* reported, “Mr. Hagee, a leading figure in the Christian Zionist movement, said he’s confident Mr. McCain can attract wary evangelicals by emphasizing his conservative positions on Israel and abortion.” McCain said, “All I can tell you is I’m very proud to have pastor Hagee’s support.” [[Dallas Morning News, 2/28/08](#)]

- **Hagee Made Anti-Catholic Remarks.** Hagee has offended Catholics with disparaging remarks. “In Hagee’s ‘black history’ of the Catholic Church, for example, Catholics were far from only guilty of sins of omission when it came to the Nazis, they also gave Hitler his blueprint, according to Hagee. In a speech this year, Hagee pointed to the Catholic Church as having provided the jumping-off point for the Holocaust.” Hagee’s anti-Catholic statements caused the Catholic League for Religious and Civil Rights to call him a ‘veteran bigot,’ accusing him of distorting Catholic teachings and misrepresenting Catholic history.” [[National Review, 12/21/07](#)]

McCain Endorsed By Oliver North. Oliver North, who was “convicted in 1989 of shredding documents, accepting an illegal gratuity and aiding and abetting in the obstruction of Congress,” endorsed John McCain. [[Washington Post, 2/12/08](#)]

McCain Endorsed By Gary Bauer. Gary Bauer, anti-abortion activist, has endorsed John McCain. Bauer said McCain, “has dedicated his life to defending human rights around the world, including the rights of the unborn.” McCain was grateful, “Gary has always been a forceful, unapologetic advocate for the sanctity of life and traditional marriage, judicial restraint and a strong American foreign policy based on our values” he said. [Politico, [2/11/08](#)]

McCain Endorsed By John Bolton. According to the *Associated Press*, “McCain’s campaign announced the endorsement of yet another prominent Republican, former United Nations Ambassador John Bolton, who praised McCain’s courage “to fight the liberals in the Senate” in the controversy over Bolton’s nomination to his former post.” [Associated Press, [2/10/08](#)]

Bush Offered Implicit Endorsement of McCain. President Bush gave a speech implying his steadfast support for John McCain, the likely Republican nominee. According to the *Washington Post*, “In a speech to the Conservative Political Action Conference in Washington, Bush offered an implicit endorsement of McCain’s bona fides as a true conservative in the face of deep skepticism on the right.” [[Washington Post, 2/8/08](#)]

- **McCain Thanked Evangelical Leaders for Their Support.** During a visit to Nashville, Tennessee, McCain said, “I was very pleased to see comments made by people like Tony Perkins and Dr. Richard Land.” Perkins is the head of the Family Research Council while Land is a leader in the Southern Baptist Convention. The two leaders have recently complimented McCain in the press. [Bloomberg News, [2/2/08](#)]

McCain Changed Message From Security And Spending Issues In N.H. To Moral Issues In S.C. According to the *Time Magazine*, while McCain campaigned on strong national security and limited government spending in New Hampshire, he campaigned on different issues in South Carolina. In South Carolina, McCain campaigned on issues such as Internet child pornography, his determination to nominate judges who “strictly interpret the constitutions and do not legislate from the bench, and his 24 year opposition to abortion. [[Time Magazine, 1/17/08](#)]

John Hagee

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- **McCain Actively Sought The Endorsement of John Hagee.** Controversial Pastor John Hagee told *New York Times Magazine* that, "It's true that McCain's campaign sought my endorsement." [Editor & Publisher, [3/20/08](#)]

Hagee Made Anti-Catholic Remarks. Hagee has offended Catholics with disparaging remarks. "In Hagee's 'black history' of the Catholic Church, for example, Catholics were far from only guilty of sins of omission when it came to the Nazis, they also gave Hitler his blueprint, according to Hagee. In a speech this year, Hagee pointed to the Catholic Church as having provided the jumping-off point for the Holocaust." Hagee's anti-Catholic statements caused the Catholic League for Religious and Civil Rights to call him a 'veteran bigot,' accusing him of distorting Catholic teachings and misrepresenting Catholic history." [[National Review, 12/21/07](#)]

- **McCain Defended Hagee's Anti-Catholic Remarks.** While appearing on Bill Bennett's radio show, McCain defended John Hagee's anti-Catholic statements. "I will say that he said that his words were taken out of context, he defends his position. I hope that maybe you'd give him a chance to respond. He says he has never been anti-Catholic, but I repudiate the words that create that impression." [Bill Bennett's radio show via Think Progress, [3/11/08](#)]
- **McCain was Forced to Repudiate Pastor Hagee's Remarks.** "We've had a dignified campaign, and I repudiate any comments that are made, including Pastor Hagee's, if they are anti-Catholic or offensive to Catholics," McCain said. He added, "And we can't have that in this campaign. We're trying to unite the country. We're uniting the country, not dividing it." [Associated Press, [3/7/08](#)]
- **McCain Rebuked By Catholic Groups For Being "Very Proud" Of Bigot's Support.** After enthusiastically accepting the support of John Hagee, McCain was criticized by the Catholic League and Catholics United. Bill Donahue, president of the Catholic League said McCain should "retract his embrace of Hagee," a man who has "waged an unrelenting war against the Catholic Church." Chris Korzen, executive director of Catholics United, released a statement saying, "By receiving the endorsement of an outspoken critic of the Catholic Church, McCain once again demonstrates that he is willing to sell out his principles for a chance to win the Presidency." [[Washington Post, 2/28/08](#)]

Hagee Opposes Two-State Israel Because he Believes Rapture is Coming. "Among Huckabee's leading evangelical backers is Pastor John Hagee," who is "the executive director of Christians United for Israel, a national lobbying group that organizes against a two-state solution to the Israel-Palestine crisis and in favor of a military strike on Iran. Hagee's zealous support for Israel is kindled by his belief that Jesus will one day return to 'biblical Israel' to usher in a kingdom of Heaven on Earth. 'As soon as Jesus sits on his throne he's gonna rule the world with a rod of iron,' Hagee told his congregation in a sermon this December. 'That means he's gonna make the ACLU do what he wants them to. That means you're not gonna have to ask if you can pray in public school... We will live by the law of God and no other law.'" [[The Nation, 1/11/08](#)]

McCain Repudiated Pastor Hagee's Remarks. "We've had a dignified campaign, and I repudiate any comments that are made, including Pastor Hagee's, if they are anti-Catholic or offensive to Catholics," McCain said. He added, "And we can't have that in this campaign. We're trying to unite the country. We're uniting the country, not dividing it." [Associated Press, [3/7/08](#)]

Supply Side Supporters

McCain Praised By Club For Growth. The Club For Growth released a statement in support of John McCain, it read, “Senator McCain deserves some credit for making a conscious effort to reach out to conservatives at CPAC today.” [TIME, [2/7/08](#)]

McCain Endorsed by Steve Forbes. Former presidential candidate Steve Forbes has endorsed John McCain. Forbes stated, “John McCain’s pro-growth plan to cut taxes stop wasteful spending and reform out healthcare system will secure our nation’s prosperity for generations to come.” [Chicago Tribune, [2/2/08](#)]

Former Solicitor General Endorsed McCain. Conservative former Solicitor General, Ted Olsen, endorsed John McCain. Olsen cited McCain’s “courage, character, and integrity.” [FOX News, [2/1/08](#)]

McCain Has Conservative Record

McCain Described as “Only Candidate Prepared to be Commander in Chief.” The *Wall Street Journal* writes that, “John McCain has a record of courageous service and broad experience of years of involvement in every military and national security issues that has face this nation. He is the only candidate prepared to be commander in chief from the first day in office.” [Wall Street Journal, [2/1/08](#)]

Wall Street Journal Defended McCain’s Conservative Credentials. In an effort to defend John McCain, *The Wall Street Journal’s* editorial page praised his experience handling tough national security, views on tax code reform, and fiscal responsibility. It added, “Mr. McCain will return the Republican Party to its principle that government should do its job, and can do it with less of America’s money.” [Wall Street Journal, [2/1/08](#)]

McCain Described as More Conservative Than Often Portrayed in the Press. According to Salon.com, “William Dixon, the head of the University of Arizona political science department, says that, “angry conservatives actually have the real McCain backward: Rather than a closet liberal, he is substantially more conservative than typically portrayed in the press. “If anyone is misinterpreting McCain,” says Dixon, “it’s Democrat-leaning independents who think he’s a Republican maverick.” [Salon.com, [2/4/08](#)]

Bob Dole Sent Rush Limbaugh a Letter Defending McCain. Former Senate Majority Leader Bob Dole sent Rush Limbaugh a letter defending John McCain’s conservative credentials. While admitting disagreements with McCain over campaign finance and the Bush tax cuts, Dole defended McCain’s pro-life record, his support for strict constructionist judges, and his desire to keep America safe. [CNN, [2/4/08](#)]

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McCain Has Solid Record On The Defining Principles Of Modern Conservative Movement. According to columnist Adrian Wooldridge, of the *New York Times*, John McCain’s “...willingness to squabble with fellow party member makes him look more like a moderate than he really is...” Wooldridge pointed out that despite McCain’s tendency to be a “maverick” and to often speak out against those in his own party, McCain “...has a solid record on the defining principles of the modern conservative movement — traditional values, the free market and national defense — a record that is far more solid on these core beliefs than Mr. Romney’s.” [Op-Ed, New York Times, [1/17/08](#)]

McCain Has Conservative Voting Record, Has 82% Rating From The American Conservative Union. According to Foxnews.com, McCain “...has had a very conservative voting record.” Apparently, he has a lifetime

rating of 82 percent from the American Conservative Union and “...he has generally been a solid and reliable vote for the anti-abortion side, rarely wavering from his pro-life stance.” [Foxnews.com, [1/14/08](#)]

Banking & Housing

John McCain offers no real solutions to the subprime mortgage and foreclosure crisis. He has largely ignored the issue or spoken broadly about the growing crisis without offering specific analysis of the situation or specific proposals to address it, showing his lack of knowledge and reluctance to help struggling American families. His disregard for Americans struggling financially is carried over in his position on bankruptcy issues. McCain has consistently voted to toughen bankruptcy laws, making it harder for families to recover from economic ruin.

Key Points:

- McCain doesn't think the subprime mortgage and foreclosure crisis is bad enough to warrant government assistance
- McCain has no plan to address the subprime mortgage and foreclosure crisis
- McCain has voted against measures to crack down on predatory lenders
- McCain has consistently voted for bankruptcy legislation that makes it harder for struggling families to get through hard times
- McCain's involvement in the Savings & Loan scandal draws comparison to subprime mortgage crisis

McCain – Out of Touch on the Foreclosure Crisis

February 2008: McCain said Housing Crisis was not yet Bad Enough to Warrant Intervention. During a February 2008 interview with George Stephanopoulos, McCain first tried to ignore the subprime mortgage and housing crisis, focusing his response to the troubled economy on pork-barrel spending. When pressed by Stephanopoulos, McCain first bumbled through a few lines, and then tried to change the topic again, until asked outright if he thought intervention to help borrowers whose homes were in foreclosure was a good idea. McCain's response shows his lack of knowledge on the topic, his timidity in taking a position, and his reluctance to help families hurt by the foreclosure crisis. The exchange went as follows:

Stephanopoulos: They have also said – both Senator Obama and Senator Clinton have said we need a government fund to provide – to help borrowers who are facing foreclosure on their homes. Good idea?

McCain: I don't think so yet. We have the FHA working. We have a number of institutions working with them. But I would be glad to do whatever is necessary to relieve the burden of people who are legitimate borrowers who see their home loan interest payments so high, mortgage payments, so high that they can't afford it anymore, but I don't want to reward people who engaged in speculation. And I certainly don't want to reward institutions that engaged in the practice of lending people that couldn't afford to pay that home.”

Stephanopoulos: But you're open to helping homeowners?

McCain: I am open to helping homeowners. I would rely to a large degree on the situation of time. But also to people like secretary of the treasury Paulson who the financial markets and a lot of us have a great deal of faith in. If more needs to be done, I'm for doing more. [ABC, “This Week,” 2/17/08, emphasis added]

January 2008: McCain Praised Minimal Efforts to Address Crisis, Shelled Out Blame But Offered No Solutions. During the January 30 Republican debate, McCain responded to a question about the subprime mortgage crisis: “I think the efforts that have been made so far are laudable. We may have to go further, but the fact that the FHA and the other organizations of government under Secretary Paulson's direction, and I think he is doing a good job of sitting down and fixing at least a significant number of these problems. I think that we've got to return to the principal that you don't lend money that you can't pay it back. I think that there's some greedy people on Wall Street that perhaps need to be punished. I think there's got to be a huge amount more of transparency as to how this whole thing came about so we can prevent it from happening again. [CNN, 1/30/08]

- **Romney Criticized McCain’s Debate Statement on Housing, Called it “Stream of Consciousness Walk.”** Mitt Romney said: “And if you question whether there's a difference in our understanding of how the economy works, go back and look at the debate last night and listen to Senator McCain's answer about the housing crisis. He took sort of a stream of consciousness walk and mentioned something about punishing people on Wall Street and something about a town in Norway. I'm not sure whether you followed that. I'm serious. The answer to our housing crisis and to our economy is of a very different nature than what he described last night, I'm afraid. I do understand the economy. It is in my DNA. He says it's not his strong suit. It is my strong suit. I'll strengthen our economy.” [CNN, 2/2/08]
- **Gingrich Said he Disagreed with McCain’s Statement that People Should be Punished.** Appearing on Fox News, Newt Gingrich said: “Let me say something beyond that, Sean. I was very jarred last night when Senator McCain talked about maybe some people need to be punished for the subprime mortgages. I don't -- I think if we started introducing a criminalization, class warfare model, we're going to wreck this economy. And I found what he said last night about going after some people, about they may need to be punished, I thought that illustrated a very bad understanding of the free market and how this world works.” [Fox News, 1/31/08]

McCain Timidly said “Maybe” Fed Should Cut Interest Rate to Address Subprime Crisis. In August 2007, the *Fort Worth-Star Telegram* reported: “Republican presidential candidate John McCain said the Federal Reserve Board should consider cutting interest rates by as much as a half percentage point to address the nation’s subprime mortgage crisis. ‘Maybe the Fed should be cutting interest rates, maybe by as much as 50 points,’ McCain said in an interview on Bloomberg TV’s *Night Talk* program. ‘I think we’ve got to get some confidence and liquidity back.’” [Fort Worth-Star Telegram, 8/17/07]

McCain Only Offered One Proposal. *American Banker* reported: “Sen. McCain has offered only one proposal related to the housing crisis, supporting the creation of a simplified, one-page mortgage disclosure form to help borrowers understand their loans.” [American Banker, 3/11/08]

McSame as Bush: McCain Supported Bush’s Voluntary Plan to Deal with the Mortgage Crisis. According to *Atlanta Journal-Constitution*, “MORTGAGE CRISIS: President Bush this month unveiled a voluntary plan under which lenders and investors would help financially struggling borrowers by freezing their adjustable-rate mortgages at current interest rates. Romney, McCain and Hunter support the Bush plan.” [Atlanta Journal-Constitution, 12/23/07]

- **McCain Said He Was “Cautiously Optimistic.”** According to the *New York Times*, “President Bush announced a voluntary agreement two weeks ago with mortgage servicing companies and institutional investors to freeze interest rates for some subprime borrowers. The agreement would help about 20 percent of the borrowers. Mr. McCain said that, after consulting with Alan Greenspan, the former chairman of the Federal Reserve, he was ‘cautiously optimistic’ that the action could stem the bleeding. But he said, the situation was still uncertain. ‘I don’t know how bad it will be,’ he said.” [New York Times, 12/19/07]

McCain’s Tough Talk on Predatory Lending Contradicted by Voting Record

McCain Suggested Cracking Down on Predatory Lenders. According to the *St. Petersburg Times*, “McCain hosted an economic roundtable at an Orlando bathtub manufacturer. He and other business leaders discussed the tanking economy, the housing slump and how the lack of immigration affects business owners. McCain suggested cracking down on predatory lenders and mortgage brokers that ‘deceived people’ as well as rating agencies ‘that gave high ratings based on nothing I know of.’ ‘We are paying a price for violating one of the fundamental principles of economics: Don’t lend money to people who can’t pay it back,’ McCain said.” [St. Petersburg Times, 1/24/08]

- **But, McCain Voted Against Discouraging Predatory Lending Practices.** In 2005, McCain voted against an amendment that discouraged predatory lending practices by prohibiting a creditor from collecting on its claim in bankruptcy court if the creditor has materially failed to comply with any applicable requirement under the Home Ownership and Equity Protection Act of 1994. Rejected 40-58. [S. 256, [Vote #22](#), 3/03/05]
- **McCain Skipped Vote on Bill to Overhaul Mortgage Lending Practices of FHA.** In December 2007, McCain failed to vote on passage of a bill that would overhaul the mortgage lending practices of the Federal Housing Administration (FHA). The bill would reduce the required minimum down payment for an FHA-insured loan and simplify its calculation, requiring a flat 1.5 percent of the appraised value of the home. It also would raise the dollar limit on mortgages that FHA can insure to the conforming loan limit, currently \$417,000. The bill would remove the current cap on the number of reverse mortgages made through the Home Equity Conversion Mortgage program and raise the current loan limit for the program to a single national loan limit. The bill would establish a pilot program to examine alternative automated credit rating systems for borrowers who have a history of making required payments in a timely fashion but have not established sufficient records at traditional credit bureaus. As amended, the bill would require a 12-month moratorium on the implementation of risk-based premiums for FHA insured mortgages. Passed 93-1; R 47-1; D 44-0; I 2-0. [S 2338, Vote #432, 12/14/07]

McCain has Opposed Measures to Protect Homeowners and Borrowers

McCain Voted Against Tax Deduction for Certain Mortgage Insurance Payments. In 2004, McCain voted against a cloture motion on Majority Leader Frist's motion to recommit the Corporate Tax Overhaul bill to Committee to include a tax deduction for certain mortgage insurance payments, a 50% tax credit to employers that are paying reservists and National Guard members called to active duty and a welfare-to-work tax credit. The bill included \$13 billion in tax cuts for the energy industry. Senator Clinton also voted against the cloture motion. The motion was rejected 50-47. [S. 1637, [Vote #67](#), 4/7/04; CQ, 4/7/2004]

McCain Voted Against Pilot Program to Provide Low-Interest Loans to Workers in Job Training or Assistance Programs. In 2002, McCain voted to kill an amendment would require the Labor Department to establish a pilot program that provides low-interest loans to workers in job training or job assistance programs to enable individuals to continue making mortgage payments on their primary residence. The motion to table passed 49-49. [H.R. 3009, [Vote #119](#), 5/21/2002]

McCain Opposed Protections Against Predatory Home Lenders who Routinely Target the Elderly. In 2001, McCain voted for a motion to table an amendment that would invalidate claims against borrowers if the creditor has committed material violations of the Truth in Lending Act. The motion passed 50-49. [S. 420, [Vote #18](#), 3/08/2001]

McCain Voted to Allow Greater Access to Consumer Financial Reports. In 2003, McCain voted for passage of a bill that would preempt state financial privacy laws and allow banks, retailers and other financial institutions access to consumer financial reports. Note: Before passage, the Senate struck all after the enacting clause and inserted the text of S. 1753, as amended. A 'yea' was a vote in support of the president's position. Senator Clinton also voted for the bill. The legislation passed 95-2. [H.R. 2622, [Vote #437](#), 11/05/03]

Subprime Crisis Similar to McCain's Role in Savings & Loan Scandal?

McCain's Links with Savings & Loans Crisis Compared to Sub-Prime Mortgage Collapse. *Alternet News* wrote: "Sen. McCain has a long legislative record and a scandalous relationship with the S&L crisis that is ripe for comparison to the sub-prime mortgage meltdown -- there is a lot of fodder for attack. Picking the right issues and using them at the right time has a lot to do with beating Sen. McCain in the fall." [Alternet News, [2/11/08](#)]

- **The Senate Ethics Committee Investigated McCain, One of the “Keating Five,” in 1991.** Five Senators, including McCain, “were investigated by the Senate ethics committee in 1991. The inquiry centered on whether the five pressured federal regulators on behalf of Charles H Keating Jr., a Phoenix financier, and his Lincoln Savings and Loan Association. Each senator had received campaign contributions from Keating...Lincoln’s collapse cost taxpayers \$3.4 billion, and investors, many who were retirees, lost an estimated \$285 million on high-risk bonds.” McCain had a “long-standing relationship with Keating” which included “use of a Keating vacation home and airplane while McCain was in the House of Representatives.” [[Arizona Republic](#), 1/10/07]
- **McCain’s “Darkest Hour” Was His Involvement With the Infamous Keating Five Scandal.** The *Washington Post* referred to Senator McCain’s “darkest hour” as the “Keating Five” scandal. The *Arizona Republic* reported on a recent book released by Ex-Sen. Dennis DeConcini, one of the “Keating Five,” in which he “depicts” McCain as “having backstabbed him” and the other Senators during the investigation by leaking information to the media. He also “asserts that McCain gained leniency” because of the “close relationship” he had with the attorney heading the investigation.” [[Washington Post](#), 6/8/07; [Arizona Republic](#), 1/10/07]
- **Senate Ethics Committee Said McCain Used “Poor Judgment” With Regard to Charles Keating.** According to the Associated Press, McCain and four other senators were accused two decades ago of trying to influence banking regulators on behalf of Charles Keating, a savings and loan financier later convicted of securities fraud. The Senate Ethics Committee said McCain had used “poor judgment” but also said his actions “were not improper” and warranted no penalty. McCain was faced with the favoritism question after the online Web site, the Drudge Report, said his aides and advisers had been trying to dissuade the newspaper from publishing a story. [[Associated Press](#), 12/20/07]
- **Keating Was Longtime Friend, Associate, and Major Fundraiser for McCain.** According to *Slate Magazine*, Charles Keating was “...was more than a constituent to McCain--he was a longtime friend and associate.” Apparently, McCain met Keating at a Navy League dinner in 1981, and the two became friends, especially since Keating shared a naval background with McCain. Keating fundraised for McCain’s 1982 and 1984 congressional campaigns, as well as his 1986 Senate campaign. According to *Slate*, “By 1987, McCain campaigns had received \$112,000 from Keating, his relatives, and his employees--the most received by any of the Keating Five.” [[Slate Magazine](#), 2/18/00]
- **McCain Failed To Disclose That He Made At Least 9 Trips At Keating’s Expense.** According to *Slate Magazine*, “After McCain’s election to the House in 1982, he and his family made at least nine trips at Keating’s expense, three of which were to Keating’s Bahamas retreat. McCain did not disclose the trips (as he was required to under House rules) until the [Keating Five] scandal broke in 1989.” After the scandal broke, and the trips were disclosed, McCain paid Keating \$13, 433 for the flights. [[Slate Magazine](#), 2/18/00]

Bankruptcy

McCain Voted for Strict New Bankruptcy Reform Overhaul. In 2005, McCain voted for passage of a bill that would create a means test tied to the median incomes of individual states to determine whether personal bankruptcy filers were able to repay some or all of their debts. Those deemed able to pay would be pushed into Chapter 13 bankruptcy, which would result in a court-ordered repayment plan; those with insufficient assets would be allowed to file under Chapter 7, which would erase debts after the forfeiture of certain assets. The bill would exempt disabled veterans from the means test if their debts were incurred primarily when they were on active duty or performing homeland defense duties. It also would make a number of debts non-dischargeable, including student loans, child support, alimony and luxury payments over \$500 made within three months of a bankruptcy filing. The bill passed 74-25. [S 256, Vote #44, 3/10/05]

McCain Voted Against Protecting Low-Income Americans from Strict New Bankruptcy Reform Law. In 2005, McCain voted against an amendment that would clarify that the means test would not apply to debtors whose incomes fell below the median. The amendment failed 42-58. [S 256, Vote #31, 3/09/05]

McCain Voted Against Banning Anti-Abortion Activists and Other Violent Protesters to File for Bankruptcy as a Way to Avoid Paying Court-Ordered Fines or Judgments. In 2005, McCain voted against an amendment that would prohibit violent protesters, such as anti-abortion activists, from escaping court-ordered fines or judgments by filing for bankruptcy protection. It would bar such debtors from discharging debts, such as damages, court fines, penalties, citations or attorney fees, incurred from acts of violence or potential acts of violence. The amendment failed 46-53. [S 256, Vote #28, 3/08/05]

- **Senate Republicans Voted to Allow Violent Anti-Abortion Protestors to Avoid Fines Through Bankruptcy.** In 2005, Senate Republicans voted to allow violent protestors, including anti-abortion activists, to escape court-ordered fines or judgments by filing for bankruptcy protection. The proposal “grew out of a 1994 federal law that bans the use of force, threats or blockades to keep patients out of abortion clinics. The law allows clinics to sue protestors who block clinic doors, but some protestors have filed for bankruptcy to escape paying court-imposed fines.” [S 256, Vote 28, 3/8/05; New York Times, 3/08/05]

McCain Voted to Invoke Cloture on Strict New Bankruptcy Reform Law. In 2005, McCain for a motion to invoke cloture (thus limiting debate) on the bill that would revise bankruptcy laws to make it easier for courts to move debtors from Chapter 7 of the bankruptcy code, which allows most debts to be discharged, to Chapter 13, which requires a reorganization of debts under a repayment. The motion passed 69-31. [S 256, Vote #29, 3/08/05]

McCain Voted Against Exempting Victims of Identity Theft From Bankruptcy Means Test. In 2005, McCain voted against an amendment that would exempt identity theft victims from the bill’s means test provisions and amend the bankruptcy code to include definitions of identity theft and identity theft victims. The amendment failed 37-61. [S 256, Vote #21, 3/03/05]

McCain Voted to Allow Debtors to Transfer More Than \$125,000 in Assets Into an Asset Protection Trust Within the 10-Year Period Prior to Filing Bankruptcy. In 2005, McCain voted against an amendment that would prohibit debtors from transferring more than \$125,000 in assets into an asset protection trust within the 10-year period prior to filing bankruptcy. The amendment failed 39-56. [S 256, Vote #23, 3/03/05]

McCain Voted Against Creating \$75,000 Homestead Exemption For Seniors in Bankruptcy Bill. In 2005, McCain voted against an amendment that would create a federal homestead exemption of \$75,000 for debtors over the age of 62. The amendment failed 40-59. [S 256, Vote #14, 3/02/05]

McCain Voted Against Exempting High Medical Bills from Bankruptcy Means Test. In 2005, McCain voted against an amendment that would exempt debtors from the means test if their financial troubles were caused by medical expenses. The amendment failed 39-58. [S 256, Vote #16, 3/02/05]

- **McCain Voted Against a Homestead Exemption Of at Least \$150,000 if an Individual's Bankruptcy Stems From Medical Expenses.** In 2005, McCain voted against an amendment that would provide a homestead exemption of at least \$150,000 of the equity in the property the debtor uses as a primary residence if the bankruptcy stems from medical expenses. The amendment failed 39-58. [S 256, Vote #17, 3/02/05]
- **McCain Voted Against Exempting a Family Member's Exorbitant Medical Expenses From Bankruptcy Means Test.** In 2005, McCain voted against an amendment that would exempt from the means test individuals who have incurred substantial medical debt on behalf of dependent or non-dependent family members, such as a parent or grandparent, or who have experienced a reduction in

employment status while caring for such a family member. The amendment failed 37-60. [S 256, Vote #18, 3/02/05]

McCain Voted Against Exempting Veterans and Active Military from Strict Bankruptcy Means Test. In 2005, McCain voted against an amendment that would exempt members of the armed forces, veterans and spouses of service members who die in military service from application of the bill's means test provisions. It also would allow such individuals to claim a minimum homestead exemption of \$75,000 or choose the exemption in the state in which they file, whichever is higher. The amendment failed 38-58. [S 256, Vote #13, 3/01/05]

- **Senate Republicans Voted Against Exempting All Military from Bankruptcy Means Test.** In March 2005, Senate Republicans voted against exempting all military personnel and veterans from means testing in bankruptcy cases. "Many men and women in the military are making extraordinary sacrifices," Sen. Dick Durbin said. "It's unfair that they should come home to face this new harsh bankruptcy law." The means testing was intended to determine whether people would need to repay their debts or whether they could see their debts canceled. Instead of supporting Durbin's proposal, Republicans chose to provide special accommodations for some military members and veterans. [S 256, Vote #13, 3/01/05; AP, 3/1/05]

Miscellaneous Banking Votes

McCain Voted To Allow Credit Card Issuers To Terminate Credit To Customers Based On Inabilities To Pay Off Balances. In 1998, McCain voted to table an amendment that would prohibit credit card issuers from charging fee or terminating account based solely on customer's failure to incur finance charges. The motion failed 47-52. [S 1301, Vote #273, 9/17/98]

McCain Voted To Increase Interest Rates On Government Commodity Credit Corporation Loans To Farmers. In 1996, McCain voted against an amendment to strike from the bill a provision increasing by 1 percentage point the interest rate on Commodity Credit Corporation loans. The amendment failed 37-59. [S 1541, Vote #11, 2/07/96]

Budget & Appropriations

After years of indoctrination, the press has branded John McCain as a “Pork-Buster” and “Deficit Hawk” while leaving his record thoroughly unexamined. McCain consistently criticizes those who attempt to secure federal money for their districts, however he took similar actions for companies in Arizona. And finally, despite his tough talk regarding pork-barrel spending; completely eliminating earmarks would decrease government spending by a mere \$16.8 billion, which is a far cry from a cure-all solution to the federal deficit. The press’s portrayal of McCain as a watchdog of the federal budget makes a compelling storyline, but unfortunately for McCain, it is a work of fiction.

Top Hits:

- McCain’s tax & budget proposals will dramatically worsen the federal deficit.
- Amid Keating Five scandal, McCain pressured the Pentagon to award a wasteful federal contract to an Arizona defense contractor.
- McCain claims to despise earmarks, yet he employs dozens of lobbyists who have made millions pushing for “pork-barrel projects.”
- McCain’s claims to be fiscally conservative are patently false. He routinely votes for proposals that will worsen the federal deficit by cutting taxes without cutting spending.
- McCain said he would like to have line-item veto, but the Supreme Court ruled it unconstitutional.

Accomplishments:

- McCain is an established opponent of wasteful spending, and has very few blemishes on his long record.
- By occasionally opposing irresponsible Republican initiatives, McCain has honed his reputation as a “maverick” who will buck the party establishment in order to do what’s right.

McCain Thinks Eliminating Earmarks Would Solve Everything

McCain Said Cutting Earmarks Would Have a “Confidence Impact” To Help Economy. McCain said, “It also has a confidence impact, a confidence impact that the American people see their tax dollars being frittered away in wasteful and unnecessary spending. Which by the way, Senator Obama has engaged in heavily, and Senator Clinton has engaged in heavily.” [This Week, [2/17/08](#)]

WSJ: McCain Often Cites Elimination of Earmarks As A Solution To The Country’s Financial Woes.

According to an article in the *Wall Street Journal*, “Sen. McCain often cites elimination of earmarks as a solution to the country’s financial woes. When asked Wednesday, after a town-hall meeting in Exeter, N.H., how he would balance his proposed budget, Sen. McCain responded, ‘By eliminating wasteful and pork-barrel spending, to start with.’” [[Wall Street Journal, 3/14/08](#)]

- **WSJ: Eliminating Earmarks Wouldn’t Restore Revenue Lost By McCain’s Other Propositions.**

According to an article in the *Wall Street Journal*, “eliminating earmarks wouldn’t restore revenue lost by Sen. McCain’s other propositions, including a litany of tax cuts. He plans to not raise taxes, but he also plans to increase the size of the military and institute health-care overhauls. ‘He’s going to add \$400 billion in tax cuts, keep the Bush tax cuts permanent and balance the budget by eliminating earmarks. Somebody

ought to do some addition on this,' says Robert Borosage, co-director of the left-leaning advocacy group Campaign for America's Future." [[Wall Street Journal, 3/14/08](#)]

- **WSJ: FY 2008 Earmarks Totaled \$16.8 Billion.** According to the *Wall Street Journal*, "In fiscal 2008, there were 11,737 appropriation earmarks totaling \$16.8 billion. That is down from a peak in 2005, when there were nearly 13,500 earmarks totaling almost \$19 billion." [[Wall Street Journal, 3/14/08](#)]

McCain: The Part-Time Crusader

McCain Fights Others Pork, Pushes His Own. According to the *Chicago Tribune*, "Arizona Sen. John McCain is sponsoring two interesting pieces of legislation. One mounts a direct assault on congressional earmarks, those little morsels of home district pork that lawmakers slip into unrelated spending bills. The other steers \$10 million to the University of Arizona to launch an academic center honoring the late Supreme Court Chief Justice William Rehnquist. Yes, McCain does seem to be saying to himself: Stop me before I sin again... McCain and co-sponsor Jon Kyl, Arizona's other GOP senator, insist their pork proposal isn't hypocritical because they aren't trying to hide anything. It is set out in stand-alone legislation to be vetted on its own merits...in Congress, it seems, the only bad pork projects are those sponsored by somebody else." [[Chicago Tribune, 3/4/06](#)]

McCain Claims He's Never Asked for an Earmark. McCain has repeated over and over again that he has never asked for or received an earmark for his state of Arizona. "In 24 years as a Member of Congress I have never asked for nor received a single earmark or pork barrel project for my state." [Town Hall Meeting in South Carolina, 1/10/08; Fox News Debate [1/6/08](#)]

McCain Supported Bush "Throwing Down the Gauntlet" Against Earmarks. According to *Salon.com*, commenting on President Bush's 2008 State of the Union address, McCain said "Tonight, the president of the United States is going to throw down the gauntlet to these pork-barrel appropriators and say, 'We're not going to spend any of that money that's in these committee reports'...My friends, watch the reaction of some of these pork-barrel appropriators in Congress. You're going to think it's the end of Western civilization as we know it. Watch them!" [[Politico, 1/28/08](#)]

McCain Said He Had Never Done Anything To Favor Any One or Any Organization. While speaking at a press conference after the Iseman scandal broke, McCain said, "At no time have I ever done anything that would betray the public trust nor make a decision which in any way would not be in the public interests, and would favor any one or any organization." [CNN, Lou Dobbs This Week, 2/23/08]

HOWEVER...

McCain Sponsored \$10 Million Earmark For Law Center In Arizona. McCain tried to push a bill through Congress to steer "10 million to the University of Arizona to launch an academic center honoring the late Supreme Court Justice William Rehnquist." At the same time, McCain was also sponsoring a bill which mounted "a direct assault on congressional earmarks." [[Chicago Tribune, 3/4/06](#)]

McCain Pushed For And Successfully Got \$14.3M For Arizona's Luke Air Force Base. *Roll Call* reported, "McCain pushed for, and got, \$14.3 million for Arizona's Luke Air Force Base inserted into the just-completed fiscal 2004 military construction appropriations conference report. The only problem is the project to acquire more land near the base was not requested by President Bush or fully authorized by the Senate Armed Services Committee - two of McCain's criteria for identifying so-called 'pork.'" [[Roll Call, 11/6/03](#)]

In 1992, McCain Requested \$5 Million Earmark for an Arizona Wastewater Project. In 1992, McCain wrote a letter to the head of the U.S. Environmental Protection Agency, William K. Reilly, saying "I would like to request that EPA either re-program \$5 million out of existing funds or earmark the amount from an appropriate account,"

McCain that the earmark was “crucial to protecting the public health and the environment.” The earmark was not approved. [[Washington Post, 12/31/07](#)]

- **McCain Made Kyl Do The Dirty Work.** After 15 years of trying, Senators McCain and Kyl wrote another letter to the EPA in October of 2007. According to the *St. Petersburg Times*, “Again the EPA left it out, so Kyl — not McCain — put an earmark in the 2008 omnibus spending bill.” [Congressional Quarterly/*St. Petersburg Times*, accessed on [2/13/08](#)]

McCain Was One of Five Senators To Reject Earmarks In 2007. According to the watchdog group Taxpayers for Common Sense, McCain was one of five senators to refuse to use earmarks in 2007 [[Washington Post, 2/14/08](#)]

- **Kyl Requested A Whopping \$129,342,500 In Earmarks In 2007.** According to a database compiled by Taxpayers for Common Sense, Arizona Senator Jon Kyl requested \$129,342,500 in earmarks during 2007. [Taxpayers for Common Sense, [2/14/08](#)]

McCain’s Pet Project Distraction

McCain Helped A Phoenix Space Lab Secure A \$25 Million Grant From The Federal Government. While they were busy fighting off charges from the Keating Five scandal, Arizona Senators Dennis DeConcini and John McCain helped secure a \$25 million federal contract for a space science lab in Phoenix. Senator DeConcini said, “There was the ability to sell it, to float it politically, that this was a good investment for America. I'm glad to have John McCain as a colleague to work for a \$25 million contract because it was not just good for Arizona, because it was good for small business and good for the nation, a partnership of the private sector and the federal government.” [MacNeil/Lehrer NewsHour, 1/22/90]

McCain “Talked Tough” To Secure Money From The Department of Defense. Senator Dennis DeConcini said, “Did we do anything wrong by interceding? Well, that's what I do for you, ladies and gentlemen. That's my job. Maybe you didn't know it, but that's what I do. That's what I did for McDonnell-Douglas. They came to me and said, you know, Sec. Cheney is only going to procure the grand total of 60 Apache helicopters; we think they ought to procure a lot more. What did we do? Sen. McCain and three Congressmen, including your Congressman here, went to see Mr. Cheney at his office with no staff. We sat down and we talked, we talked tough.”

McCain Helped Arizona Companies To Distract Arizonans From The Keating Scandal. “These are not happy times for DeConcini and McCain. They are both under a cloud. They are both under investigation by the Senate Ethics Committee. And they are both scrambling to convince Arizona that what they did to help the Orbital Science Corporation and other companies in Arizona like McDonnell-Douglas and Hughes Aircraft was nothing more, nothing less, than what they tried to do for Charles Keating and his scandal ridden Lincoln Savings & Loan Association, and that was to protect Arizona jobs.” [MacNeil/Lehrer NewsHour, 1/22/90]

With McCain’s Help, A Key Component To ‘Star Wars’ Was Produced In Arizona. “Orbital Sciences Corp. of Fairfax completed the first in a series of eight lightweight projectile missions for the Strategic Defense Initiative Organization. The LEAP-1 mission launch occurred Feb. 18 from the Army's White Sands Missile Range, the company said in a statement. Orbital Sciences said the vehicle used in the mission was designed, produced and integrated by Orbital's Space Data Division, based in Chandler, Ariz., and consists of an internally guided booster, a payload module bus, a target module and other associated hardware.” [[Washington Post, 2/24/92](#)]

McCain’s Earmark Helped Save Local Arizona Jobs. Orbital Sciences Corporation, which was in dire trouble in 1990, benefitted greatly from a defense contract valued at approximately \$20 million. According to the *Washington Post*, “the company's Chandler, Arizona based Space Data Division has won contracts totaling \$ 20 million from the Army, Air Force, Strategic Defense Initiative Organization and Titan Corp. covering suborbital launches.” [[Washington Post, 8/2/90](#)]

- **McCain Said He Has “Never Believed” Defense Contracts Should Create Jobs.** According to the *Associated Press*, “McCain said jobs were not the key issue. ‘I’ve never believed that defense programs, that the major reason for them should be to create jobs,’ he told reporters in Phoenix. ‘I’ve always felt that the best thing to do is to create the best weapons system we can at minimum cost to taxpayers.’ [Associated Press, [2/4/08](#)]

McCain’s Pet Project Was a Waste of Taxpayers’ Money

McCain’s Pet Project Was Plagued By Problems and Delays. Tests of the Aries rocket, manufactured by Orbital Sciences Corporations in Chandler, Arizona, were delayed due to “technical problems’ with the rocket. According to the *New York Times*, “The scheduled launching early this morning was delayed when a telemetry unit needed to monitor the rocket's flight performance appeared to malfunction.” They added, “An earlier scheduled launching of the rocket on Aug. 23 was called off because a nearly identical rocket had to be destroyed three days earlier when it veered off course. That problem was traced to a computer programmer's error.” [*New York Times*, 9/3/91]

The Pentagon Was Forced To Destroy A \$10 Million Rocket After It Veered Off Course. The Pentagon was forced to destroy a \$10 million Aries missile after it veered off course in a test of the Strategic Defense Initiative. “The rocket was manufactured by the Chandler, Ariz., Space Data Division of Orbital Sciences Corporation. One of its Prospector rockets was destroyed after experiencing guidance problems in a commercial launch last June.” [*Christian Science Monitor*, 8/21/91]

Well... He Promised to Make Them Famous

McCain Said He Would “Make The Authors of Those Pork-Barrel Items Famous All Over America.” During a Republican Presidential Debate on MSNBC, McCain said, “The first pork-barrel bill that crosses my desk, I'm going to veto it and make the authors of those pork-barrel items famous all over America. We're going to stop it.” [MSNBC, 5/3/07]

- **McCain Campaign Fundraiser, Loeffler, Earned \$3.9 Million for Creating \$40 Million in Federal Pork.** McCain’s new Presidential campaign consigliere, and chief fundraising strategist, Tom Loeffler, founder of Loeffler Group has spent much of the last decade as a lobbyist. According to documents filed with the Secretary of the Senate, Loeffler and his associates have collected \$3,920,000 over the years lobbying from the Texas cities of San Antonio, Houston, Pharr, Donna and Mercedes. In return, according to Citizens Against Government Waste, the cities received \$40 Million and possibly more in Federal Government pork. [*Politico*, 4/4/07; *Washington Post*, 4/4/07; Lobbyist Disclosure Documents Filled with Secretary of the Senate, Citizens Against Government Waste Pig Book 2003-06]
- **Loeffler Was Paid \$300K To Secure Funding For Expansion of Bridge To Mexico.** From midyear 2003 to midyear 2005 Loeffler and his associates were paid \$300K to lobby on Behalf of the City of Pharr, Texas. In papers filed with the secretary of the Senate Loeffler was to lobby the House and Senate on issues “relating to federal funding for transportation projects in Rio Grande Valley including construction of additional span on the Pharr/Renoyosa International Bridge.” [Lobbyist Disclosure Documents Filled with Secretary of the Senate]

McCain Said He Would Stop Pork Barrel Spending. During the Republican presidential debate, sponsored by MSNBC, McCain said, “I’m going to stop the pork barrel spending and we’re not going to have anymore bridges to nowhere.” [MSNBC GOP Presidential Debate, [1/24/08](#)]

- **McCain’s Campaign Co-Chair Was Paid At Least \$240,000 to Lobby for Bridge to Mexico.** In 2001 and 2002, The Loeffler Group was paid \$240,000 by the Donna-Mercedes Bridge Board as compensation for efforts to lobby the U.S. Senate, the U.S. House of Representatives, the U.S. Department of Justice and the U.S. Department of Transportation. The proposed bridge would connect the Rio Grande Valley cities

of Donna and Mercedes to Rio Bravo, in the Mexican state of Tamaulipas, a city of 150,000 residents. “Bridge advocates say it will improve commerce between the United States and Mexico and decrease air pollution along the Texas-Mexico border.” [[San Antonio Express-News](#), 4/19/02; [www.publicintegrity.org](#)]

- **2004 Appropriations Bill Included \$750,000 for Bridge to Mexico Project.** The Donna Bridge Corporation is the committee heading the project to build the \$14 million Donna-Rio Bravo International Bridge. The project dates back to 1979, when the city of Donna acquired a bridge permit, designating the crossing into Rio Bravo, as an inland port of entry. “Phase I is set for completion by January 2006. Phase II includes securing additional funds to build federal facilities, including the toll administration building and duty-free shop, bridge consultant Ernesto Silva said. The final phase will be the actual construction of the bridge corridor. The Mid-Valley Town Crier newspaper reported that \$750,000 of federal funds had been earmarked for the “design and preparation” of the Donna-Mercedes Bridge. The authorization to release the money was approved by Congress in the 2004 Omnibus Bill. [House Appropriations Bill, [2004](#); [Mid-Valley Town Crier](#), [3/12/05](#)]
- **Total Cost for Bridge Project Estimated at \$102 Million.** In 2007, “Donna city officials handed 70 acres of land over to the federal government for federal facilities to go up in support of the Donna-Rio Bravo International Bridge, a 1,005-foot span expected complete in December 2008. The cost for its construction and the project surrounding it is estimated at \$102 million. With the project moving forward and with support from the federal government, the city is hoping construction on buildings will start by October of next year. [[World Bridge News](#), [2/7/07](#)]

McCain’s False Hopes

McCain Said “Line-Item Veto Is The Best Tool” For Controlling Government Spending. During an MSNBC Republican Presidential Debate, McCain was asked what specific programs he would cut if he won the presidency, to which he responded, “Line-item veto is the best tool. President Reagan sought it, and we need it very badly.” [[MSNBC](#), [5/3/07](#)]

- **The Supreme Court Declared The Line-Item Veto Unconstitutional In 1998.** According to CNN, “The line-item veto is unconstitutional, the Supreme Court decided Thursday, ruling that Congress did not have the authority to hand that power to the president.” Justice Stevens wrote, “the procedures authorized by the line-item veto act are not authorized by the Constitution.” [[CNN](#), [6/25/98](#)]

Budgetary Irresponsibility

McCain Voted For Budget Plan With \$1.35 Trillion in Tax Cuts. In 2001, McCain voted for the adoption of the conference report on the concurrent resolution to adopt a 10-year budget plan that calls for approximately \$1.35 trillion in tax cuts through fiscal 2011, including a \$100 billion stimulus package. The agreement would cap discretionary spending at \$661.3 billion. Discretionary spending allocations would total \$325.1 billion for defense and \$336.2 billion for non-defense. The report passed 53-47. [[H.Con.Res.83](#), [Vote #98](#), [5/10/01](#)]

McCain Voted for Initial FY 2006 Budget Resolution; Included Even More Tax Cuts Than The President Requested. In 2005, McCain voted for the Senate version of the \$2.57 trillion FY 2006 Budget. The bill included \$134 billion in tax cuts, even more than the President requested, partially by extending capital gains and dividend tax cuts, while it called for about \$17 billion in mandatory spending cuts over five years. The budget also included parliamentary language that would make it easier to open ANWR to oil exploration and drilling. [[SCR 18](#), [Vote #81](#), [3/17/05](#)]

- **McCain Voted Against Requiring A 60-Member Vote For Any New Tax Cut Or Deficit-Increasing Measures.** In 2005, McCain voted against an amendment that would make the consideration of new tax cuts or net mandatory spending that would increase the deficit subject to a 60-vote point of order unless

Congress had restored the solvency of Social Security for 75 years. The amendment failed 45-55. [SCR 18, Vote #47, 3/15/05]

- **McCain Voted Against Reducing Deficit.** In 2005, McCain voted against an amendment that would, in addition to increase funding for first responders, but would also reduce the federal deficit by \$1.6 billion, which would be offset by a \$3.2 billion reduction in tax reconciliation provisions. The amendment failed 46-54. [SCR 18, Vote #50, 3/15/05]

McCain Voted For Sham Budget Resolution that Claimed It Would Reduce Deficit. In 2006, McCain voted for the budget resolution that Senate Republicans claimed would reduce the deficit. The cumulative deficit over five years was already forecasted to be \$1.14 trillion with this budget—before lawmakers added another \$16 billion for appropriations to help the package win approval. Under the Republican five-year budget, the U.S. debt would reach nearly \$12 trillion in 2011. According to the *Washington Post*, with no brakes on spending and no plans to raise revenues, the “federal debt is now raising at an unprecedented clip.” [S.Con.Res.83, Vote #74, 3/16/06; *Washington Post*, 3/17/06]

- **McCain Admitted “Did Not Face Up To Reality,” But Voted For It Anyway.** Prior to voting for a Republican budget supported by the president, McCain criticized its accumulation of spending proposals, saying, “we’re not yet ready to face up to the realities of having to make some tough decisions.” After making the statement, McCain, “eyeing a run for the 2008 GOP presidential nomination, joined the majority leader in voting for the budget resolution, which passed 51 to 49.” The budget proposal supported by McCain and the republicans was a “\$2.8-trillion annual budget that would boost funding for a number of politically popular domestic programs” including “guidelines for future legislation and “a new effort to open the Arctic National Wildlife Refuge to oil and gas drilling, a measure long sought by President Bush.” [*Los Angeles Times*, 3/17/06]

Campaign Finance Reform and Ethics

Senator McCain likes to tout his 'record of reform' on the campaign trail. The problem is there isn't much reform to go along with the rhetoric. Like other Senators, McCain is guilty of arranging, providing, or enabling the type of favors to special interests he rails against on the campaign trail. Just as McCain did regulatory favors for Charles Keating during the Keating five scandal, so too did McCain do favors for Vicki Iseman and her client. McCain's actions on behalf of Ms. Iseman are the 'regulatory equivalent of an earmark.' Besides doing favors for lobbyists, McCain takes their money, and employs them on his campaign.

Top Hits:

- McCain arranged Earmarks for Lobbyists, Others
- McCain is a special interest hypocrite
- McCain Supported 'Swiss Cheese Ethics'
- McCain rails against lobbyists on the campaign trail, then lets them run his campaign.

Accomplishments:

- McCain was co-sponsor of McCain-Feingold campaign finance reform
- Has Supported stricter ethics legislation
- Has supported Bans on gifts

McCain: Special Interest Hypocrite

McCain Claims the Special Interests Don't Get Favors from Him

McCain Claims the Special Interests Don't Give him Money. Speaking in New Hampshire, McCain absurdly claimed he is the only one the special interests don't funnel campaign money to. ["Everyone says they're against the special interests - I'm the only one the special interests don't give any money to."](#) [McCain Town Hall Meeting, New London, New Hampshire, 11/18/07, <http://youtube.com/watch?v=xLfSpYULGXY>]

McCain Said He Had "Never Done Any Favors For Anybody – Lobbyist Or Special Interest Group."

According to the Associated Press, in December 2007, McCain said, "I've never done any favors for anybody — lobbyist or special interest group — that's a clear, 24-year record." [[Associated Press](#) via [WST News](#), 12/20/07]

In Response to Keating Five Incident, McCain Wrote in Book About Not Intervening in Federal Decisions.

In his book *Worth the Fighting For*, McCain wrote, "Learning from my unhappy experience, I have refrained from ever intervening in the regulatory decisions of the federal government if such intervention could be construed, rightly or wrongly, as done solely or primarily for the benefit of a major financial supporter of my campaign." [*Worth the Fighting For*, Chapter 8, pp. 159-160]

The Problem Is, It just Isn't True

According to the New York Times, McCain Did Exactly what Iseman Asked. "When news organizations reported that Mr. McCain had written letters to government regulators on behalf of the lobbyist's client, the former

campaign associates said, some aides feared for a time that attention would fall on her involvement.” [[New York Times](#), 2/21/08]

McCain’s Action On Iseman’s Behalf ‘The Regulatory Equivalent of an Earmark.’ “Here’s the potential trouble for McCain: intervening with the FCC to force a vote on a lobbyist’s behalf is a lot like a self-dealing lawmaker earmarking money on a lobbyist’s behalf. In fact, what McCain admits to doing on Iseman’s behalf can be thought of as the regulatory equivalent of an earmark. [[The Atlantic](#), 3/21/08]

McCain Promised Never To Fly Directly To Phoenix, Did It Anyway on Corporate Jets. “Mr. McCain promised, for example, never to fly directly from Washington to Phoenix, his hometown, to avoid the impression of self-interest because he sponsored a law that opened the route nearly a decade ago. But like other lawmakers, he often flew on the corporate jets of business executives seeking his support, including the media moguls [Rupert Murdoch](#), [Michael R. Bloomberg](#) and Lowell W. Paxson, Ms. Iseman’s client. (Last year he voted to end the practice.)” [[New York Times](#), 2/21/08]

McCain: Double Talk on Lobbyists. Bad In DC, But OK for His Presidential Campaign

In Washington, McCain Has Voted For Bans on Gifts And Donations from Lobbyists...

- **McCain Voted to Ban PAC and Lobbyist Contributions.** In 1994, McCain voted for an amendment to prohibit Members of Congress from accepting contributions from political action committees and lobbyists. The amendment passed 66-29. [S.1935, [Vote #104](#), 5/5/1994]
- **McCain Voted to Ban All Gifts.** In 1994, McCain voted to ban a senator, senator’s spouse, or staff member from accepting any gifts from anyone but friends and relatives. The amendment passed 90-3. [S. 1935, [Vote #102](#), 5/5/1994]
- **McCain Voted for Campaign Finance Bill Restricting Donations from Lobbyists.** In 1993, McCain voted for campaign finance legislation that restricted donations from lobbyists. The legislation passed 60-38. [S. 3, [Vote #158](#), 6/17/1993]

But Now That He’s Running For President, Lobbyists and Their PACS are OK.

McCain Accepted At Least \$689,704 from the Lobbying Industry. According to the Center for Responsive Politics, McCain accepted at least \$689,704 from the lobbying industry. [[Center for Responsive Politics](#), accessed 1/18/08]

- **McCain’s Campaign Relies on 59 Lobbyist Fundraisers.** McCain has more lobbyists raising money for him than any other candidate. [[Public Citizen](#), Accessed January 30, 2008; [ABC News](#), January 29, 2008]
- **McCain Fundraising Event Claimed 24 Lobbyist Co-Chairmen.** 24 Washington lobbyists were listed as co-chairmen of a recent McCain fundraiser at the Charlie Palmer Steakhouse in Washington, D.C. [[ABC News](#), January 29, 2008]
- **McCain has Taken At Least \$1,163,727 from the Telephone Utility and Telecom Services Industries – More than Any Other Senator.** Senator McCain has taken at least \$1,163,727 in campaign contributions from the telephone utility and telecom service industries, more than any other Senator. [Analysis of Center for Responsive Politics data]
- **McCain has Taken Hundreds-of-Thousands from Top Telecom Companies.** McCain has taken at least \$146,950 from America’s six largest telecommunications companies alone – Verizon, AT&T, Sprint-Nextel, Comcast, Bell South and Qwest. [Analysis of CQ Moneyline data, 1985-2007; [Fortune](#), 7/26/06]

- **McCain Took Over \$55,000 from Communications Industry Special Interest PACs in 2007 Alone.** In 2007 alone, McCain took over \$55,000 from special interests representing the communications and telecommunications industries for his presidential campaign. As a member of the powerful Senate Commerce, Science and Transportation Committee, McCain regulates and oversees these industries. [FEC, accessed 2/1/08]
- **McCain Accepted At Least \$704,796 from Insurance Industry.** According to the Center for Responsive Politics, McCain accepted at least \$704,796 from the insurance industry. [Center for Responsive Politics, accessed 1/18/08]
- **McCain Accepted At Least \$447,962 from Oil & Gas Industry.** According to the Center for Responsive Politics, McCain has accepted at least \$447,962 from the oil and gas industry. [Center for Responsive Politics, accessed 1/08/08]
- **McCain Accepted At Least \$443,869 from Defense Industry.** According to the Center for Responsive Politics, McCain has accepted at least \$443,869 from the defense industry. [Center for Responsive Politics, accessed 1/18/08]
- **McCain Accepted At Least \$265,093 from the Pharmaceutical Industry.** According to the Center for Responsive Politics, McCain has accepted at least \$265,093 from the pharmaceutical industry. [Center for Responsive Politics, accessed 1/18/08]

Empty Rhetoric: McCain Supported Swiss Cheese Ethics Legislation

McCain Introduced Legislation To Regulate 527s, Allowed For 501(c) Loophole. On April 5, 2006, McCain introduced the 527 Reform Act of 2006, which was referred to committee. The bill was written to include 527s into the scope of the Federal Election Campaign Act of 1971. The bill specifies that nothing within it should be construed “as affecting the determination of whether a group organized under section 501(c) of the Internal Revenue Code of 1986 is a political committee[.]” [109th Congress, S. 2511, 4/5/06; thomas.loc.gov, 4/13/06]

- **McCain-Supported House Bill Would Limit 527s And Eliminate Restrictions On Coordination Between Parties And Candidates – To The Benefit Of The Republican 2008 Nominee.** McCain supported a bill passed in the House that would “sharply limit contributions to nonprofit advocacy groups” that operate under the “527” IRS tax code. “The measure would cap individual contributions to so-called 527 groups, which draw their name from a provision in the tax code, to \$25,000 a year for activities intended to mobilize voters behind issues, as opposed to specific candidates.” The bill that House Republicans and McCain agreed upon would “eliminate restrictions on coordination between national parties and federal candidates, a change in the law that would be of great benefit to the winner of the 2008 GOP presidential primary.” The change in the law “would be a boon to McCain’s campaign, if he wins his party’s nomination,” according to both Republican and Democratic campaign finance experts. [[New York Times](#), 4/6/06; [The Hill](#), 4/6/06]

McCain Proposed Strict 527 Reforms And Prepared Them For Constitutional Challenge. McCain “has unveiled a proposal to limit donations to 527 organizations to \$25,000 per person each year, or \$50,000 each election cycle, that if enacted could be a huge blow to the groups’ hopes of being a force in the 2006 elections. Those groups raised and spent more than \$500 million in the previous cycle...In addition to the \$50,000 cap on donations, McCain’s proposal also would require 527 organizations to use ‘hard money’ raised under federal campaign limits to pay for certain campaign activities. McCain also included a provision allowing a speedy judicial review of the proposal if it becomes law and is challenged on constitutional grounds.” [[Roll Call](#), 3/14/06]

McCain Sided With Conservative Lobbying Group Against Reporting Requirements For Grassroots Advocacy. Conservative grassroots activists, including Grover Norquist, formed LobbySense, a non-profit group aimed to “take on lobbying reform proposals that call for increased disclosure for the lobbying activities of certain grassroots groups, coalitions and associations,” championed by McCain. The spokesperson for LobbySense, Kerri Houston said that “her group is lobbying McCain’s office to consider redrafting their legislation to reflect the groups concerns,” and McCain seemed to have agreed with their opposition. Facing increasing opposition from groups such as LobbySense, “McCain, a leader in the push for the grassroots advocacy reporting] legislation, said he was ambivalent about the reporting requirement for citizen advocacy groups. ‘I don’t want it to take down the whole legislation,’ he said.” [White House Bulletin, 2/22/06; [Los Angeles Times](#), 3/8/06]

McCain’s Lobbying Reform Bill Proposed Disclosure Of Grass-Roots Lobbying Activities, Travel And Gift Restrictions, But Fell Short Of Feingold’s Proposed Reforms. “Sen. John McCain (R) of Arizona proposed greater disclosure of lobbyists’ activities, including for the first time those of grass-roots lobbying firms. His bill also mandates tighter restrictions on travel, gifts, and other favors lobbyists give lawmakers. Former members would have to wait two years instead of one before lobbying lawmakers. Rep. Christopher Shays (R) of Connecticut has introduced similar legislation in the House. Though Senator McCain and Sen. Russ Feingold (D) of Wisconsin worked together on campaign-finance reform, they have taken different paths on lobbying. Senator Feingold’s bill on lobbying and ethics reform, introduced in July, is more restrictive than McCain’s.” [[Christian Science Monitor](#), 1/9/06]

McCain Voted Against Landmark Ethics Bill. In 2007, McCain voted against the final version of S. 1, the Honest Leadership and Open Government Act, which required disclosure of bundled campaign contributions over \$15,000 in a six-month period, institute a two-year waiting period for former senators to become lobbyists, require quarterly lobbying disclosure reports, deny congressional pensions to members who’ve committed certain felonies, require senators and candidates to pay for charter planes, and alter House and Senate rules. McCain was one of only 14 Senators (all Republicans) to oppose the legislation. Senators Obama and Clinton both voted for it. The legislation passed 83-14. [S. 1, [Vote #294](#), 8/2/2007]

- **McCain Voted to Stall Ethics and Lobbying Reform Bill.** In 2007, McCain voted to stall S. 1, the Honest Leadership and Open Government Act. He voted against a motion to invoke cloture and thus end debate on Majority Leader Reid’s substitute amendment that would prohibit senators and staff from accepting gifts and meals, extend the waiting period for former senators to lobby, prohibit lobbyist-funded travel and require privately funded trips to be vetted by the Ethics Committee. Senators Obama and Clinton both voted to move the legislation forward. The motion to invoke cloture failed 51-46. [S. 1, [Vote #16](#), 1/17/2007]
- **After Voting to Stall Bill, McCain Voted for Senate Version.** The day after he voted to stall the Senate ethics and lobbying reform bill, McCain voted to pass the Senate version. Senators Obama and Clinton also back the bill. The legislation passed 96-2. [S. 1, [Vote #19](#), 1/18/2007]

McCain Opposed Efforts to Crack Down on Gifts

McCain Voted Against Expanding Lobbyist Gift and Meal Ban. In 2006, McCain voted to kill an amendment that would have expanded the definition of a lobbyist, as it relates to the gift and meal ban, to include not only an organization or person required to register as a lobbyist, but any employee of a registered lobbyist. Senators Obama and Clinton both voted in favor of the amendment. The motion to kill the amendment passed 68-30. [S. 2349, [Vote #80](#), 3/29/2006]

McCain Skipped Vote on Banning Lobbyist-Paid Gifts and Meals. In 1995, McCain skipped a vote on an amendment banning Members of Congress from accepting, meals, gifts and entertainment from lobbyists. Republicans offered a motion to kill the amendment. The motion to kill the amendment passed 52-39. [S. 2, [Vote #2](#), 1/5/1995]

McCain Voted Against Bringing Gift Legislation to a Vote. In 1994, McCain voted against moving S. 349, the Lobbying Disclosure Act, forward for a vote before the Senate. He voted against a motion to invoke cloture and end debate. The motion failed 52-46. [S. 349, [Vote #322](#), 10/6/1994]

- **McCain Switched Vote Next Day.** The day after voting against invoking cloture, McCain voted to end debate on S. 349. The motion failed 55-42. [S. 349, [Vote #325](#), 10/7/1994]

McCain Voted to Allow Campaign and Official Funds for Personal Use

McCain Opposed a Provision Prohibiting Members of Congress and Staff from Converting Frequent Flyer Miles from Official Travel to Personal Use. In 1995, McCain voted to kill an amendment that would have barred Members of Congress or their staffs from using frequent flyer miles accrued while on official travel for personal use. The motion to kill the amendment passed 54-45. [S. 2, [Vote #10](#), 1/10/1995]

McCain Led Effort to Allow Campaign Funds for Personal Use. In 1994, McCain introduced a motion to kill a Democratic amendment prohibiting the use of campaign contributions for personal purposes, including a salary for the candidate. McCain's motion to kill the amendment passed 64-35. S. 2, [Vote #9](#), 1/10/1995]

McCain Voted to Maintain the Financial Influence of Lobbyists on Politics

McCain Led Effort to Maintain Lobbyist Donations. In 2001, McCain made a motion to kill an amendment that would ban members of the House and Senate from accepting contributions from a registered lobbyist, lobbyist employee or lobbyist PAC while Congress is in session. McCain's motion to kill this amendment passed 74-25. [S 27, [Vote #40](#), 3/20/2001]

McCain Skipped Vote on Banning Lobbyists and Lobbyist PACs from Soliciting Contributions. In 1995, McCain skipped a vote on an amendment that would have prohibited a lobbyist or a lobbyist's PAC from contributing or soliciting contributions for a Member of Congress, a candidate for Congress, the president or a candidate for president for 12 months before and after a lobbying contact with their office. McCain skipped the vote on a motion to kill the amendment. The motion to kill passed 74-17. [S. 2, [Vote #3](#), 1/6/1995]

McCain Voted to Allow Federal Funds to be Used for Lobbying

McCain Skipped Vote on University Lobbying with Federal Funds. In 2007, McCain skipped a vote on an amendment to ban colleges and universities from using federal funds to finance lobbying and to bar the use of student aid funding to hire a registered lobbyist or pay any person for securing an earmark. Senator Obama also missed the vote. Senator Clinton voted for the amendment. The amendment passed 93-0. [S. 1642, [Vote #274](#), 7/24/2007]

McCain Voted to Allow Federal Merchant Marine Funds to Hire Lobbyists. In 1996, McCain voted to allow ship owners to use federal merchant marine program payments to hire a lobbyist or to support a political candidate. McCain voted to kill the amendment that would prohibit such activity. The motion to kill the amendment passed 50-48. [HR 1350, [Vote #299](#), 9/24/1996]

McCain Voted Against Stronger Disclosure Rules

McCain Voted to Weaken New Lobbying Disclosure Rules. In 2007, McCain voted for an amendment to the ethics and lobbying overhaul legislation that eliminated requirements for grassroots lobbying organizations to

disclose their fundraising activities. Both Senators Obama and Clinton voted against the amendment. The amendment passed 55-43. [S 1, [Vote #17](#), 1/18/2007]

McCain Voted Against Tougher Lobbying Restrictions. In 2006, McCain voted against an amendment to the Honest Leadership Act that would have implemented tougher lobbying rules. The amendment would have prohibited sitting members of Congress and senior legislative and executive branch aides from negotiating for private sector employment that would present or appear to present a conflict of interest. It would also provide criminal penalties for false filings under the Lobby Disclosure Act, require lobbyists to certify quarterly that they did not violate Senate gift rules and require trip sponsors to certify that the trip complies with new rules. It would prohibit all gifts from lobbyists, including meals, and would only allow privately funded travel paid for by groups not affiliated with any organization that lobbied Congress. The amendment failed 44-55. [S 2349, [Vote #35](#), 3/8/2006]

McCain Voted to Allow Non-Profits to Provide Privately Paid Travel

McCain Voted to Allow 501(C)3 Organizations to Pay for Member Travel. In 2007, McCain voted for an amendment that would permit travel by Members of Congress hosted by 501(C)3 organizations. Both Senators Obama and Clinton opposed the amendment. The amendment passed 51-46. [S. 1, [Vote #14](#), 1/17/2007]

McCain Voted to Allow Senators to Keep Taking Special Interest Payments for Giving Speeches

McCain Voted Against Ban on Senators Accepting Speaking Fees. In 1989, McCain voted against a measure that would prohibit senators from accepting honoraria, or speaking fees, while serving in the Senate. The fees were seen as a corrupting influence and a way for outside groups to influence Members of Congress. McCain voted against a substitute amendment that would ban senators from accepting honoraria and raise their salaries by almost 40 percent (from \$89,500 to \$125,000 in 1991). Given the large amount many Members of Congress collected in speaking fees, many saw this as a net pay increase despite the salary increase. The substitute amendment passed 56-43. [H.R. 3660, [Vote #308](#), 11/17/1989; [New York Times](#), 11/18/1989; [The MacNeil/Lehrer News Hour](#), 11/17/1989]

Other Ethics Votes

McCain Voted Against 2006 Ethics Bill. In 2006, McCain voted against S. 2349, the Lobbying Transparency and Accountability Act, which would have made it harder to add earmarks in conference, instituted a two-year ban on lobbying for former Members of Congress and key executive staffers, required lobbyists to file quarterly electronic reports and prohibit lobbyists from buying meals or drinks for senators or their staffs. The legislation was a watered-down version of the original. It was opposed by three Democrats (Obama, Feingold and Kerry) and five Republicans. The legislation passed 90-8. [S. 2349, [Vote #82](#), 3/29/2006]

McCain Voted to Block 2006 Ethics Bill. In 2006, McCain voted against invoking cloture on S. 2349, the Lobbying Transparency and Accountability Act, which would have made it harder to add earmarks in conference, instituted two-year ban on lobbying for former Members of Congress and key executive staffers, required lobbyists to file quarterly electronic reports and prohibit lobbyists from buying meals or drinks for senators or their staffs. The legislation was a watered-down version of the original. It was opposed by six Democrats (Obama, Feingold, Dayton, Kerry, Kohl, Lieberman) and ten Republicans. The motion was agreed to 81-16. [S 2349, [Vote #79](#), 3/28/2006]

McCain Voted Against Putting Funds Toward Public Financing of Campaigns. In 1993, McCain voted against a proposal to use new revenue derived from the elimination of lobbyist tax deductions for the public financing of campaigns. Opponents of the proposal claimed they wanted to use the revenue for deficit reduction. McCain voted for a motion to kill the amendment. The motion to kill failed 48-50. [S. 3, [Vote #126](#), 5/26/1993]

- **McCain Again Opposed Public Financing.** In 1993, McCain again voted against public financing for campaigns, voting against a measure that would use new revenue from the elimination of the lobbying tax deduction for both deficit reduction and for campaigns. McCain voted to kill the amendment. The motion to kill failed 43-47. [S. 3, [Vote #138](#), 6/8/1993]

McCain Voted Against Banning Honoraria and Increasing Senate Pay. In 1991, McCain voted against an amendment that would provide senators with the same salary as members of the House - \$125,000 per year – while banning honoraria and limiting outside income to 15 percent of a senator's salary. The amendment passed 53-45. [HR 2506, [Vote #133](#), 7/17/1991]

Crime and Guns

Senator John McCain is no friend to the brave law enforcement officers and first responders who keep us safe. He has a consistent record of opposing funding for critical law enforcement and first responder programs and has repeatedly chosen to protect tax breaks for millionaires instead of providing adequate funding to local law enforcement agencies to keep our families safe and secure.

When it comes to gun control, McCain has an incredibly inconsistent record. He has altered his position based on political expediency, claiming to support further gun control after the tragic shooting at Columbine, but voting against closing loopholes exempting gun shows from performing background checks less than a month later. McCain's inconsistency continues during his 2008 presidential run, as he finds himself in need of support from the far right. He pandered to the right during the Republican primary, even saying there should be "no gun control" after the Virginia Tech Massacre and naming a long-time lobbyist for the National Rifle Association to his campaign leadership team.

Key Points:

- McCain has a long record of voting against funding to put more police officers on the streets
- McCain has changed his position on gun control and school violence
- McCain pandered to gun lobby by hiring the NRA's long-time lobbyist as a member of his leadership team
- McCain opposes hate crime legislation

McCain Voted Against Funding for Law Enforcement

2007: McCain Skipped Vote to Provide Funding for COPS Programs. In 2007, McCain missed the vote on an amendment that that would have allowed for a \$1.15 billion increase in funding for the Community Oriented Policing Services program in Fiscal Year 2008. It would be offset by an assumed reduction in domestic discretionary spending and/or administrative expenses. Senators Obama and Clinton both voted for the amendment. The amendment passed 65-33. [SCR 21, [Vote #110](#), 3/23/2007]

2006: McCain Voted Against \$16.5 Billion in Funding for State and Local First Responders. In 2006, McCain voted against providing an additional \$16.5 billion for state and local first responder grant programs to be paid for by reducing some of the Bush tax cuts for people making more than \$1 million per year. Both Senators Obama and Clinton voted in favor of the funding. The motion failed 38-62. [H.R. 5441, [Vote #197](#), 7/12/2006]

2005: McCain Voted Against Additional Law Enforcement Funding. In 2005, McCain voted against increasing funding for the Community Oriented Policing Services (COPS) program by \$1 billion, the National Center for Missing and Exploited Children by \$10 million, and the Office of Violence Against Women by \$9 million. Both Senators Obama and Clinton voted in favor of the additional funding. The motion failed 41-56. [H.R. 2862, [Vote #226](#), 9/13/2005]

2005: McCain Voted Against Additional Funding for First Responders. In 2005, McCain voted against an amendment that would increase funding for first responder programs by \$1.6 billion in Fiscal Year 2006 and reduce the federal deficit by \$1.6 billion. It would be offset by a \$3.2 billion reduction in the Bush tax cuts that disproportionately favored the wealthy. Both Senators Obama and Clinton voted in favor of the amendment. The amendment failed 46-54. [S.C.R. 18, [Vote #50](#), 3/15/2005]

2004: McCain Sided with Millionaire Tax Breaks Over First Responder Funding. In 2004, McCain voted against increasing funding for police, firefighters and other state and local emergency personnel by \$15.8 billion, to be offset by reducing the Bush tax cuts for people making more than \$1 million. Senator Clinton missed the vote. The motion failed 41-53. [H.R. 4567, [Vote #170](#), 9/9/2004]

2004: McCain Voted Against Firefighter Assistance Grants. In 2004, McCain voted against increasing funding for firefighter assistance grants by \$150 million. Senator Clinton voted in favor of the funding. The motion failed 50-45. [H.R. 4567, [Vote #175](#), 9/14/2004]

2004: McCain Voted Against Reserve Fund for Law Enforcement and First Responder Funding. In 2004, McCain voted against an amendment to create a reserve fund that would allow up to \$11.2 billion in additional funding in Fiscal Year 2005 for law enforcement and first responder grants, as well as for education, veterans' medical care, global HIV/AIDS, surface transportation, medical research and Homeland Security Department programs. The spending would be offset by revenue increases. Senator Clinton voted for the amendment. The amendment failed 43-53. [S.C.R. 95, [Vote #48](#), 3/11/2004]

2003: McCain Voted Against Increasing Spending on COPS Program by \$1 Billion. In 2003, McCain voted against increasing spending on the Community-Oriented Policing Services programs by \$1 billion in Fiscal Year 2004 and put \$1 billion toward deficit reduction. The spending would be offset by a \$2 billion reduction in tax cuts. The amendment failed 48-52. [SCR 23, [Vote #78](#), 3/21/2003]

1999: McCain Skipped Close Vote to Extend COPS Program. In 1999, McCain skipped the vote on an amendment to extend the COPS program from Fiscal Year 2000 to Fiscal Year 2005 and authorize \$1.15 billion annually for 2001-2005. The amendment would have authorized \$600 million annually to fund up to 50,000 police officers, including hiring new officers. It also would have authorized \$350 million annually for new law enforcement technology. The amendment failed 48-50. [S. 254, [Vote #139](#), 5/20/1999]

1999: McCain Voted Against Extending COPS Program. In 1999, McCain voted against expanding the COPS program for two years to help hire 25,000 new police officers. The amendment also would have increased penalties for drug sales to children and for sales near schools, and increased penalties for transferring handguns and assault weapons to juveniles. The motion to kill the amendment passed 54-44. [S. 254, [Vote #109](#), 5/12/1999]

1996: McCain Voted Against Extending Violent Crime Reduction Trust Fund. In 1996, McCain voted against extending the Violent Crime Reduction Trust Fund by an additional two years. McCain cast the deciding vote. The motion to kill the amendment passed 51-49. [S.C.R. 57, [Vote #123](#), 5/22/1996]

1996: McCain Voted Against Cops on the Beat Program. In 1996, McCain voted against providing \$1.8 billion for the Cops on the Beat program in Fiscal Year 1996. The program aimed to put 100,000 police officers on the street and was established by the Crime Control Act of 1994. The cost would be offset by reducing law enforcement block grants in the bill. The motion to kill the amendment passed 52-48. [H.R. 3019, [Vote #31](#), 3/13/1996]

McCain Changed Position on Gun Control and School Violence

1999: McCain Called for Further Gun Control After Columbine. After the Columbine massacre, Senator McCain "reversed himself on a top-tier gun control issue," sponsoring a bill "to require criminal background checks on all public firearms sales, including those at gun shows." At the time McCain said, "Clearly, there were people who were taking advantage of this loophole, and obviously, Columbine had an effect on me." [[CQ Weekly](#), 9/6/02]

1999: Post-Columbine, McCain said People Should be Subject to Background Checks at Gun Shows. During an interview with *Salon.com* reporter Jake Tapper shortly after the Columbine massacre, McCain said, "It's obvious that at a gun show people should be subject to background checks. I don't get it why in stores you get a background check, but you go three blocks down, there's no background checks." McCain said that a loophole which existed to exempt gun shows from background checks "should be closed." [[Salon.com](#), 5/14/99]

- **McCain Voted Against Closing Loophole to Exempt Gun Shows From Background Checks.** Despite his statement in a *Salon.com* article that a loophole exempting gun shows from conducting background checks should be closed, McCain voted, a day after his interview, to kill an amendment offered by Sen. Frank Lautenberg, which would have closed that very loophole. [[Salon.com](#), 5/14/1999]
- **McCain Changed his Mind Again, “Signaled” he Support Closing Gun Show Background Check Exemption Loophole.** McCain changed his mind three times about whether or not to support actions to close a loophole that exempted gun shows from requiring background checks for gun buyers. First McCain said he thought the loophole should be closed, then he voted to kill legislation that would have closed the loop hole, and then he signaled that “he’d support legislation to close the loophole.” [[Salon.com](#), 5/14/1999]

2000: One Year After Columbine, McCain Missed Skipped Vote on Gun Violence in Schools. In 2000, McCain skipped two separate votes to express the sense of the Senate that “before April 20, 2000, Congress shall make schools safe for learning by implementing policies that will reduce the threat of gun violence in schools.” Each time, the amendment was rejected 49-49. McCain would have been the deciding vote. [S. 1134, [Vote #28](#), 3/2/00; S 1134, [Vote #27](#), 3/2/2000]

2000: McCain Featured in CO and OR Ads to Close Gun-Show Loophole. In 2000, McCain was featured in a \$1 million ad campaign in Colorado and Oregon by Americans for Gun Safety, urging state residents to vote for ballot initiatives requiring unlicensed dealers at gun shows to perform criminal background checks, checks that are required for all sales by federally licensed dealers. In the ad, McCain said: “I’m John McCain with some straight talk. Convicted felons have been able to buy and sell thousands of guns at gun shows because of a loophole in the law. Many were later used in crimes. That’s wrong. Here in Colorado, Amendment 22 will close this dangerous loophole by requiring criminal background checks by unlicensed dealers at gun shows. I believe law-abiding citizens have the right to own guns. But with rights come responsibilities. Close the loophole. Vote Yes on Amendment 22.” [[Americans for Gun Safety](#), accessed 3/26/08]

2007: After Virginia Tech Massacre, McCain said there Should be “No Gun Control.” Republican presidential candidate John McCain declared Wednesday he believes in “no gun control,” making the strongest affirmation of support for gun rights in the GOP field since the Virginia Tech massacre. And “when asked whether ammunition clips sold to the public should be limited in size, said, ‘I don’t think that’s necessary at all.’” [AP, 4/19/2007]

Top McCain Advisor Lobbies for NRA

McCain Advisor John Green has been Paid \$2.68 Million since 1999 to Lobby for the NRA. John Green, founder of Ogilvy Government Relations (formerly the Federalist Group) and a member of McCain’s leadership team, has lobbied for the National Rifle Association (NRA) for at least the past nine years. Senate Lobbying Disclosure records show that since 1999, the NRA has paid Green and his firm \$2,680,000 to lobby on its behalf. Green has lobbied on appropriations; firearms regulation; repealing the DC gun ban; relaxing concealed firearms regulations; protecting firearms and ammunition manufacturers from lawsuits seeking to hold them liable for the criminal acts of a third party; background checks; and other issues important to the gun lobby. [Senate Lobbying Disclosure records, 1999-2007, accessed 3/2008]

McCain Opposes Hate Crime Legislation

McCain Voted Against Classifying Crimes Motivated by Gender, Sexual Orientation or Disability as Hate Crimes. In 2004, McCain voted against an amendment that would broaden the categories covered by hate crimes to include crimes motivated by the victim’s gender, sexual orientation or disability. The amendment passed 65-33. [S 2400, [Vote #114](#), 6/15/2004]

McCain Opposed Expanding the Federal Hate Crimes Law. In 2000, McCain voted against broadening the categories covered by hate crimes to include gender, sexual orientation and disability. By broadening the

categories covered, it would become easier for the federal government to assist in the investigation and prosecution of hate crimes. The amendment passed 57-42. [S 2549, [Vote #136](#), 6/20/2000]

Defense

McCain's overzealous foreign policy views fuel his support for nearly every defense program that comes in front of the senate. In fact, the only types of defense legislation that seem to receive a "nay" vote from McCain are bills that would introduce accountability and fiscal responsibility into the equation. Americans deserve a president who looks beyond the size of our military and focuses on the effectiveness of our national defenses.

Top Hits:

- McCain believes that "The U.S. could have a military presence anywhere in the world for a long period of time."
- McCain wrote the law that allows defense contracts to be awarded to foreign companies.
- McCain voted against stricter penalties for war profiteering and fraud.
- McCain voted against allowing competition for defense contracts.
- McCain thrice voted against investigating intelligence failures leading to war with Iraq.
- McCain voted to violate anti-ballistic missile treaty and spend \$48 billion on a missile defense system.
- McCain voted to spend \$100 million to search for extraterrestrial life.
- McCain repeatedly voted to increase defense spending while rejecting proposals to monitor spending or increase revenue

Accomplishments:

- McCain voted to provide additional \$213 million for Army Humvees.
- McCain voted to provide \$200 million for intelligence unit to find Osama bin Laden.
- McCain voted to allow women to fly combat missions.
- McCain voted to ratify the threshold Test Ban Treaty.
- McCain voted to use diverted Russian aid to dismantle nuclear weapons in the former USSR.

McCain Believes In Increasing The Role of The Military

McCain Believes U.S. Should Be 'The Police of the World.' In regards to McCain's justification of the "100 years in Iraq" statement, the *Seattle Post-Intelligencer* wrote that, "The charitable view of this is that McCain is talking benignly of a military-police-of-the-world type of role for American troops. There are not many people in the streets complaining about our bases in Germany. But those bases were established after a "good war." Iraq is an invasion and occupation built on falsehoods, if not lies. It took a while, but Americans have figured that out." [Seattle Post-Intelligencer, [2/19/08](#)]

McCain Said U.S. Could Have Military Presence "Anywhere In The World." When asked if he regretted his "100 years" comment, McCain answered, "The U.S. could have a military presence anywhere in the world for a long period of time." [Good Morning America, [2/20/08](#)]

Defense Acquisitions

McCain Failed To Vote To Give Federal Employees The Right To Appeal Decisions To Outsource. In 2007, McCain failed to vote on an amendment that would require the Defense Department to exclude the costs of health care and retirement benefits from contract bids. It also would give federal employees the right to appeal outsourcing decisions to the Government Accountability Office. The amendment failed 51-44. [HR 1585, [Vote #358](#), 10/1/07]

McCain Wrote The Law That Allows Defense Contracts To Be Awarded To Foreign Companies. In 2004, McCain proposed and voted for an amendment to allow the Secretary of Defense to waive the application of any domestic source requirements with respect to items that are grown, reprocessed, reused, produced or manufactured in seven foreign countries that have a “declaration of principles” with the United States. The amendment passed 54-46. [S 2400, [Vote #135](#), 6/22/04]

McCain Voted Against Encouraging Defense Contracts To Be Executed In The United States. In 1996, McCain voted to table an amendment requiring defense contractors to indicate on contracts what percentage of the contract would be manufactured in the United States. The amendment would also have required that the Department of Defense treat this as an important factor when awarding contracts. The motion to table passed 69-21. [S 1894, [Vote # 194](#), 7/17/96]

- **The Air Force Awarded A Potentially \$100 Billion Contract To European Airbus.** In 2008, the U.S. Air Force awarded a coveted contract to provide fuel tanker planes to European-owned Airbus over Boeing. According to the *Seattle Post-Intelligencer*, “The decision was a major loss for Boeing because the tanker program is worth up to \$35 billion and has the potential to grow upward of \$100 billion.” [Seattle Post-Intelligencer, [3/4/08](#)]
- **McCain “Nearly Single Handedly” Killed Boeing’s Chances of Obtaining Tanker Contract.** According to *The Oregonian*, “It was McCain who cried foul when the Department of Defense awarded Boeing the tanker contract back in 2003. According to the Everett Herald, McCain ‘nearly single-handedly killed the firm’s multi-billion dollar deal’ to lease 100 Boeing air tankers.” [[The Oregonian](#), [3/1/08](#)]
- **Boeing Said Contract Would Support 44,000 American Jobs.** According to *MSNBC*, “The company said a win would have supported 44,000 new and existing jobs at Boeing and more than 300 suppliers in more than 40 states.” [MSNBC, [3/10/08](#)]

McCain Voted Against Cutting \$234 Million In Unrequested Navy Aircrafts. In 1996, McCain voted against saving \$234 million on Navy Aircrafts that were not requested by the Pentagon. The amendment would have cut \$234 million for the procurement of six additional F/A-18 C/D Navy fighters not authorized or requested. Amendment rejected -56. [S 1894, [Vote #197](#), 7/17/96]

ACCOMPLISHMENTS:

McCain Voted To Provide Additional \$213 Million For Army Humvees. In 2005, McCain voted to appropriate \$213 million for new Army humvees. “In addition to more money for the armored Humvees, the Kennedy-Bayh amendment also requires Secretary of Defense Donald H. Rumsfeld to provide more frequent reports of how many armored Humvees are needed in Iraq and Afghanistan and to update Congress on ways to speed the delivery of new vehicles to Iraq.” Amendment agreed to 61-39. [HR 1268 , [Vote #108](#), 4/21/05; [Boston Globe](#), 4/22/05]

Defense Contractor Accountability

McCain Voted Against Stricter Penalties For War Profiteering And Fraud. In 2004, McCain against the Leahy amendment that would make profiteering on contracts in connection with military or rebuilding activities in Iraq, Afghanistan or other countries punishable by up to 20 years in federal prison and \$1 million in fines. Amendment rejected 46-52. [S 2400, [Vote #120](#), 6/16/04]

McCain Voted To Protect Administration War Profiteering. In 2003, McCain voted against prohibiting the use of Iraqi reconstruction funds for any contract or financial agreement with an entity that pays deferred compensation to the president, the vice president, or a Cabinet-level official, or any entity in which the president, vice president, or Cabinet-level official holds options to purchase more than 1,000 shares of stock. It would be effective 90 days after the bill's enactment. Motion to table passed 65-34. [S 1689, [Vote #386](#), 10/16/03]

McCain Voted Against Allowing Competition For Defense Contracts. In 2002, McCain voted to kill a Kennedy amendment that would allow private and public agencies to compete for new Defense Department contracts based on current department standards. It also would codify a contracting prohibition on work currently performed in the public sector unless the agency can show a savings of at least 10 percent. Motion to table passed 50-49. [S2514, [Vote #162](#), 6/25/2002]

McCain Voted Against Holding Defense Contractors Accountable. In 2006, McCain voted to table an amendment that would make several changes to federal contracting and procurement laws and call for the suspension and debarment of unethical contractors, disclosure of audit reports by the head of each executive agency outlining unjustified contractor costs, and publication of information regarding federal contractor penalties and violations. It would bar monopoly contracts by requiring competition in contracting, ensure protections for whistleblowers and eliminate the revolving door between federal personnel and contractors. The motion to table passed 55-43. [S 2766, [Vote #169](#), 6/14/06]

McCain Voted Against Creating A Committee To Investigate Defense Contractors. In 2005, McCain voted against an amendment that would have established a Senate committee to investigate awarding and carrying out of contracts to conduct activities in Afghanistan and Iraq and to fight the war on terrorism. The amendment failed 44-53. [HR 2862, [Vote #228](#), 9/14/05]

McCain Voted Against Investigating Waste, Fraud, and Abuse. In 2005, McCain voted against an amendment that would establish a committee to investigate waste, fraud and abuse in the awarding contracts in Iraq and Afghanistan, and for the reconstruction after hurricanes Katrina and Rita. The amendment failed 44-54. [HR 3058, [Vote #259](#), 10/19/05; HR 2862, [Vote #228](#), 9/14/05; S 1042, [Vote #316](#), 11/10/05; S 2766, [Vote #176](#), 6/20/06]

Intelligence

McCain Voted Against Banning Waterboarding. In 2008, McCain voted against adoption of a conference report that would prohibit the use of any interrogation treatment not authorized by the U.S. Army Field Manual against any individual in the custody of the intelligence community. The conference report passed 51-45. [HR 2082, [Vote #22](#), 2/13/08]

McCain Voted Against Declassifying Scowcroft Commission Report. In 2004, McCain voted to table an amendment that would require the Bush administration to declassify a 2002 report by a commission led by former national security adviser Brent Scowcroft that recommended a stronger director of central intelligence. The motion to table passed 49-45. [HR 4567, [Vote #180](#), 9/14/04]

McCain Failed To Vote To Prohibit U.S. Businesses From Conducting Business With Sponsors of Terror. In 2004, McCain failed to vote on a motion to table an amendment that would bar foreign subsidiaries of U.S. companies from doing business with countries considered sponsors of terrorism. Motion to table agreed to 47-41. [S 2845, [Vote #194](#), 9/28/04]

McCain Voted Against Investigating Intelligence Failures In Iraq Used As A Pretext To War. In 2003, McCain voted against establishing a 12-member independent bipartisan commission to examine and report on the role of policy makers in the development and use of intelligence related to the Iraq war. The commission would be required to submit a report to the president and Congress within nine months of its first meeting on its findings and recommendations. The amendment also would authorize \$5 million for the commission. Motion to table passed 67-32. [S 1689, [Vote #395](#), 10/17/03]

McCain Voted Against Investigating Intelligence Failures Leading Up To The War In Iraq. In 2003, McCain voted to table an amendment that would authorize \$5 million for the creation of a 12-member commission to investigate the role of policymakers in the development and use of intelligence leading up to military operations in Iraq, and to investigate whether Iraq possessed weapons of mass destruction. The motion to table passed 51-45. [HR 2658, [Vote #284](#), 7/16/03]

McCain Voted Against A Report Detailing Executive Branch's Role In Intelligence Related To Iraq War. In 2003, McCain voted to table an amendment that would withhold \$50 million in intelligence funding from the bill until the president submits a report on the role executive branch policymakers had on the development and use of intelligence relating to the war in Iraq. The motion to table passed 62-34. [HR 2658, [Vote #287](#), 7/17/03]

McCain Voted Against Requiring President to Release Intelligence Budget Requests. In 1997, McCain voted against requiring the President's annual budget submission include, in unclassified form, aggregate appropriations and budget request for all U.S. intelligence and intelligence-related activities in current fiscal year. Amendment rejected 43-56. [S 858, [Vote #108](#), 6/19/97]

McCain Voted To Spend \$100 Million to Look For Extraterrestrial Life. In 1993, McCain voted to table an amendment that eliminated all funding for the search for extra-terrestrial intelligence program. The program was expected to cost \$100 million over ten years. The motion to table failed 23-77. [HR 2491, [Vote #276](#), 9/22/93]

McCain Voted Against Requiring Senate Approval of Key CIA Officials. In 1991, McCain voted against an amendment that required Senate confirmation of the Central Intelligence Agency's director of operations, deputy director for intelligence and the general counsel. The motion to table passed 38-59. [S 1539, [Vote #225](#), 10/16/91]

McCain Voted Against Ensuring The CIA Spends Money Effectively. In 1989, McCain voted to table an amendment creating an Office of the Inspector General within the CIA. The Inspector General would monitor spending and enhance the legitimacy of the CIA and protect the President from charges of abuse and misconduct by the CIA or its officers. The motion to table passed 64-34. [HR 2748, [Vote #289](#), 11/1/89]

McCain Voted Against Requiring The President To Notify Congress of Covert Activities. In 1988, McCain voted against a bill to require the president to notify Congress of all covert activities. Under "ordinary circumstances," the president would be required to tell Intelligence committees in advance of a covert operation. But in "rare occasions when time is of the essence," the president could wait up to 48 hours after a covert activity begins. The bill passed 71-19. [S 1721, 3/15/88; CQ Almanac]

ACCOMPLISHMENTS:

McCain Voted To Provide \$200 Million For Intelligence Unit To Find Osama Bin Laden. In 2006, McCain voted for an amendment that would provide \$200 million in emergency funding for an intelligence unit to find Osama bin Laden and other al Qaeda leaders, and require the Defense secretary to submit a classified report to Congress on progress after 60 days, and every subsequent 90 days. The amendment passed 96-0. [HR 5631, [Vote #235](#), 9/7/06]

Armed Forces Policy

McCain Voted Against Allowing The President To Determine The Military's Policy Toward Homosexuals. In 1993, McCain opposed an amendment that would strike a provision relating to homosexuality in Armed Forces and substitutes language expressing sense of Congress that Government policy concerning service of homosexuals in Armed Forces should be determined by President, as Commander-in-Chief, based upon advice provided by Defense Secretary and military advisors to President and Secretary. Amendment rejected 33-63. [S 1298, [Vote #250](#), 9/9/93]

McCain Failed To Vote Against The Enlistment Of Rapists And Terrorists Into The Armed Forces. In 2007, McCain failed to vote on a motion to table an amendment that would bar the use of funds in the bill to enlist individuals in the armed forces who have been convicted of aggravated assault with a deadly weapon, arson, hate crime, sexual misconduct, terrorist threatening, kidnapping, abducting or indecent acts with a minor, within five years. The motion to table passed 53-46. [HR 3222, [Vote #360](#), 10/2/07]

McCain Voted Against Allowing The President To Determine Policy of Gays in the Military. In 1993, McCain voted against a motion to express the sense of the senate that the policy on gays in the military should be determined by the President. The amendment failed 33-63. [S 1298, [Vote #250](#), 9/9/93]

McCain Voted To Suspend President Clinton's Executive Order That Lifted The Ban On Homosexuals In The Military. In 1993, McCain voted with the minority in support of a measure that would suspend all executive orders on homosexuals in the military until a review is completed. Further, all executive orders in this area must be approved by Congress. The motion to table passed 62-37. [S 5, [Vote #9](#), 2/4/93]

ACCOMPLISHMENT:

McCain Voted To Allow Women to Fly Combat Missions. In 1991, McCain voted against tabling an amendment allowing women to fly combat missions. Motion to table failed 30-69. [S 1507, [Vote #167](#), 7/31/91]

Consistently Voted To Spend More And More On Defense Spending...

McCain Voted for \$70B for Wars in Afghanistan and Iraq With No Conditions. In 2007, McCain voted for a amendment to the Omnibus Appropriations Bill to provide \$70 billion for the wars in Iraq and Afghanistan with no conditions. A "yea" was a vote in support of the president's position. The motion passed 70-25. [Council for a Livable World; CQ Floor Votes; HR 2764, [Vote #439](#), 12/18/07]

McCain Voted For \$82 Billion In Emergency Supplemental Spending For FY '05. In 2005, McCain voted for \$82 billion in emergency supplemental spending for FY05, including funding for military operations, reconstruction and security in Iraq and Afghanistan. The bill passed 100-0. [HR 1268, [Vote #117](#), 5/10/05]

McCain Voted To Maintain "Firewall" Between Defense And Discretionary Spending. In 1996, McCain voted to table an amendment that abolished the "firewall" between defense and domestic discretionary spending. The "firewall" prohibited funding from being taken out of defense spending without a 60 vote majority. The advocates of eliminating the "firewall" argued that it prohibited money from being taken out of the defense budget even in cases of natural disaster. Motion to table agreed to 57-41. [SCR 57, [Vote #147](#), 5/23/96]

McCain Voted To Spend \$1.5 Billion on 21 Peacekeeper Missiles. In 1985, McCain voted to approve authorization of \$1.5 billion to procure 21 MX missiles in fiscal 1985. The joint resolution passed 219-213. [SJR 71, 3/26/85; CQ Almanac]

...WHILE REJECTING PROPOSALS TO MONITOR SPENDING OR GENERATE REVENUE

McCain Voted Against Requiring the President To Submit A Budget For Military Operations In Iraq and Afghanistan for the Following Year. In 2003, McCain voted for the Stevens motion to table the Dorgan amendment which requires the President to submit a budget amendment for FY 2004, which sets forth the cost of U.S. military operations in Iraq and Afghanistan. The motion passed 53-41. [HR 2658, [Vote #278](#), 7/16/03]

McCain Voted Against Requiring the President To Seek Congressional Approval To Spend \$20 Billion On Iraq. In 2003, McCain voted to kill an amendment that would require the President to seek Congressional approval through the appropriations process to spend \$20 billion for the reconstruction of Iraq. The motion passed 49-46. [S 1689, [Vote #398](#), 10/17/03; Congressional Record, 10/17/03]

McCain Voted Against Forcing Bush To Offset Spending for the War In Iraq By Increasing Revenues. In 2003, McCain voted against an amendment that would express the sense of the Senate that the President should, within 60 days of enactment, submit a proposal to the Senate Finance Committee to raise sufficient revenues to offset the funds spent in this bill for the war in Iraq; and if the President does not submit such a proposal, the Finance Committee should put forward its own proposal. The motion to table the amendment passed 79-18. [S. 762, [Vote #121](#), 4/03/03; Hollings Floor Statement, CR page, S4781, 4/3/03]

McCain Voted Against Reducing Top Tax Cuts To Pay For \$87 Billion Request for Iraq. In 2003, McCain voted for the Stevens motion to table Biden, et al., amendment, which reduces tax cuts for top income tax rates from 2005-2010 in order to fund \$87 billion requested for Iraq. The motion passed 57-42. [S 1689, [Vote #373](#), 10/2/03]

Base Closures

McCain Voted To Expand Bureaucracy Involved With Base Closures. In 1990, McCain voted against tabling an amendment that would prohibit the closing of bases as provided by list released by the Defense Secretary in January and directs the Secretary to devise force-structure plan for base closure, for Congress to enact and bars any base closure before September 1991. The motion to table failed 43-54. [S 2884, [Vote #220](#), 8/3/90]

McCain Voted Against Taking Further Action To Minimize Negative Effects Of Base Closures On Local Communities. In 1990, McCain voted against an amendment that prohibits closing of bases as provided by the Defense Secretary's list as of January 1991. The amendment also requires the secretary to develop force-structure plan for base closure for Congress to enact and bars any base closing before September 1991. The amendment failed 43-54. [S 2884, [Vote #221](#), 8/3/90]

McCain Voted Against Allowing Judicial Review of Fraudulent Base Closures. In 1994, McCain voted to table an amendment to allow people affected by base closures to obtain a judicial review if they can show relevant information was fraudulently concealed from the base closure commission. The motion to table passed 71-27. [S 2182, [Vote #163](#), 6/23/94]

McCain Voted Against Requiring A Report On the Savings of Base Closures. In 1997, McCain voted against an amendment that required the Defense Secretary to report to Congress on costs and savings of base closures before 1996 and need for additional closures; prohibits funding new BRAC commission until Secretary submits report, or CBO or GAO reviews report, whichever is later; and expresses sense of Senate that Secretary should develop system to quantify actual costs and savings from base closures. The amendment passed 66-33. [S 936, [Vote #165](#), 7/9/97]

McCain Voted Against Limiting Defense Secretary's Authority To Close Military Bases. In 1998, McCain voted against an amendment that aimed to place greater limits on the Secretary of Defense's ability to close military bases without the consent of Congress. The amendment failed 48-45. [S 2057, [Vote #174](#), 6/25/98]

McCain Voted Against Limiting Base Closures to Those Overseas. In 2004, McCain voted against an amendment that would require the 2005 base realignment and closure round to apply only to U.S. military installations located overseas, delaying new U.S. domestic base closings until 2007. It also would require the Defense secretary to submit a detailed plan for reducing overseas bases. The amendment failed 47-49. [S 2400, [Vote #98](#), 5/18/04]

Missile Defense

McCain Voted To Deploy Missile Defense To Combat Threat From Iran. In 2007, McCain voted for an amendment that would make it official U.S. policy to develop and deploy a defense against the ballistic missile threat from Iran as soon as technologically possible and in conjunction with U.S. allies and other nations. The amendment passed 90-5. [HR 1585, [Vote #245](#), 7/12/07]

McCain Voted To Implement a National Missile Defense Shield. In 1998, McCain voted to close debate on a bill that would make it U.S. policy to implement a national missile defense shield. The measure would not establish a specific time frame, but would declare a national policy to deploy a system to protect U.S. territory from a limited number of incoming missiles “as soon as is technologically possible.” Cloture motion rejected 59-41. [S 1873, [Vote #131](#), 5/13/1998; S 1873, [Vote #262](#), 9/9/98]

McCain Voted Against Limiting Funds For Space-Based Laser Program. In 1997, McCain voted against imposing limits to \$28.8 million (as requested by Administration) funds available for space-based laser program, and reducing program’s authorization by \$118 million. Amendment rejected 43-56. [S 936, [Vote #171](#), 7/11/97]

McCain Voted Against Eliminating An Extra \$300 Million From National Missile Defense Spending. In 1996, McCain voted against lowering the level of national defense spending to the level requested by the president. It would have lowered the level to the \$508 million requested by President Clinton. Amendment rejected 44-53. [S 1745, [Vote #160](#), 6/19/96]

McCain Voted To Violate ABM Treaty And Spend \$48 Billion On Missile Defense System. In 1995, McCain voted to table an amendment that struck provisions of the bill that require deployment of anti-missile defense systems utilizing multiple sites. According to the Congressional Budget Office, such a program will cost at least \$48 billion to implement. Motion to table passed 51-49. [S 1026, [Vote #355](#), 8/3/95]

McCain Voted Against Limiting Space-Based ABM Systems. In 1987, McCain voted against tabling an amendment that struck a provision limiting the development or testing of space-based and other mobile anti-ballistic missile systems. Motion to table agreed to 58-38. [S. 1174, 9/17/87; CQ Almanac]

Nuclear Weapons

McCain Voted To Spend \$36.6 Million On Bunker Buster Nukes. In 2004, McCain voted against an amendment that prohibited the use of \$36.6 million authorized in the underlying bill for two Energy Department programs: a study of Robust Nuclear Earth Penetrator “bunker buster” weapons and a Stockpile Services Advanced Concepts Initiative, which includes research into a “low yield” nuclear weapon. The amendment failed 42-55. [S 2400, [Vote #113](#), 6/15/04]

McCain Voted To Spend \$6.5 Billion On Nuclear Weapons. In 2003, McCain voted for an appropriations bill that appropriate \$27.4 billion for the Energy Department, the Army Corps of Engineers, water projects, parts of the Interior Department and other independent agencies for fiscal 2004, including \$6.5 billion for Energy Department nuclear weapons, and \$4.4 billion for Army Corps of Engineers water projects. The bill passed 92-0. [HR 2754, [Vote #350](#), 9/16/03]

McCain Voted For \$4.1 Billion In Funding For Nuclear Weapons. In 1996, McCain voted for an Energy appropriations bill that included \$4.1 billion for atomic energy defense weapons activities. The bill passed 99-0. [HR 2203, [Vote #262](#), 9/30/97]

McCain Voted To Spend \$33 Million On Nuclear Weapons Research Instead of Renewable Energy. In 1994, McCain voted to kill an amendment to transfer \$33 million from nuclear weapons research to support renewable energy research. Motion to table passed 53-45. [HR 4506, [Vote #176](#), 6/30/94]

McCain Voted Against Limiting Nuclear Tests. In 1988, McCain voted to table an amendment that barred the deployment of multiple-warhead (MIRVed) intercontinental ballistic missiles, MIRVed ballistic missiles of any type, and MIRVed ballistic missiles plus bombers armed with long-range cruise missiles in excess of the number of each of those weapons categories that were deployed on Jan. 25, 1988. The motion to table passed 51-45. [S 2355, 5/11/88; CQ Almanac]

McCain Voted To Allow Manufacturing of Nuclear Weapons At Idaho Falls. In 1989, McCain voted to table an amendment that prohibited the use of funds in fiscal year 1990 for site preparation for special isotope separation project at Idaho Falls, Idaho, a proposed facility for converting spent nuclear fuel to manufacture nuclear weapons. Motion to table passed 50-49. [S 1352, [Vote #150](#), 7/31/89]

ACCOMPLISHMENTS:

McCain Voted To Ratify The Threshold Test Ban Treaty. In 1990, McCain voted for ratification of threshold test ban treaty (TTBT) which limits nuclear weapons tests to yields of no greater than 150 kilotons. Verification protocols allow each nation to use hydrodynamic or seismic methods to monitor the size of explosions. The resolution of ratification passed 98-0. [SRS 94, [Vote #249](#), 9/25/90]

McCain Voted To Use Diverted Russian Aid To Dismantle Nuclear Weapons In The Former USSR. In 1994, McCain voted for an amendment to allow the president to use Russian aid from the bill to finance the Nunn-Lugar cooperative threat reduction program, which helps to dismantle nuclear weapons in the former Soviet Union. The amendment passed 56-38. [HR 4426, [Vote #201](#), 7/15/94]

Disaster Relief

John McCain has no problem funneling billions of dollars in tax breaks to millionaires and big corporations, but he has repeatedly voted against critical disaster relief to American families hurting in the wake of both natural and man-made disasters. McCain's resistance to adequately fund disaster relief efforts shows his poor judgment, his misplaced priorities and a clear lack of compassion for those facing tragedy.

Top Hits:

- McCain Voted Against measures to aid those affected by 9/11
- McCain Voted Against aid to the victims of Hurricane Katrina

McCain Failed To Support Efforts To Aid Those Affected by 9/11

McCain Skipped Vote to Implement Recommendations of the 9/11 Commission. In 2007, McCain failed to vote to implement recommendations of the Sept. 11 commission, including requiring homeland security grants based mainly on risk while ensuring minimum amounts for each state. It would create a new grant program to support the development of interoperable communications. It also would require all cargo bound for the United States to be scanned for radiation and density before being placed on a ship in a foreign port. The bill would authorize new sanctions on foreign individuals or entities that engage in the improper transport or sales of nuclear weapons materials. The bill passed 85-8. [H.R. 1, [Vote #284](#), 7/27/07]

McCain Skipped Vote to Implement Recommendations of the 9/11 Commission. In 2007, McCain missed a vote that “would criminalize the recruitment of terrorists and the financial support for families of terrorists, expand the time frame for detaining certain illegal immigrants, allow for the deportation of suspected terrorists whose visas are revoked and increase penalties for phone calls to service members’ families falsely claiming the family member has been killed. The substitute would implement remaining recommendations of the Sept. 11 commission and aviation security screening measures; and authorize more than \$4 billion for rail and mass transit security, \$3.1 billion for homeland security grant programs, and \$3.3 billion for a new emergency grant program to improve communications among first-responders.” The cloture motion failed 46-49. [S. 4, [Vote #68](#), 3/9/07]

McCain Voted Against Implementing the Recommendations of the 9/11 Commission. In 2006, McCain voted against an amendment that would implement the recommendations of the Sept. 11 commission, including the screening of all cargo and enabling first-responders to communicate on a common radio spectrum. It also would call for a new direction in Iraq and authorize additional funds for intelligence activities. The amendment failed 41-57. [H.R. 4954, [Vote #243](#), 9/13/06]

McCain Voted to Form the 9/11 Commission. In 2002, McCain voted in favor of an amendment to establish the National Commission on Terrorist Attacks Upon the United States to investigate the facts and circumstances relating to the Sept. 11 terrorist attacks. The commission would be required to report its initial findings and recommendations to the president and to Congress within six months of its first meeting, followed by a second report within one year. [H.R. 5005, [Vote #223](#), 9/24/02]

McCain Voted Against Increasing 9/11 Recovery Funds. In 2001, McCain voted against a Byrd amendment to allocate \$7.5 billion in recovery funds to areas hit by the Sept. 11 terrorist attacks in New York, Virginia, and Pennsylvania. The substitute would provide \$317 billion for defense spending in fiscal 2002. Motion rejected 50-48. [HR 3338, [Vote #355](#), 12/6/01]

McCain Voted to Compensate Airlines For Losses After 9/11. In 2001, McCain voted to compensate airline companies for losses from the September 11th attacks and establish a victim's compensation fund to assist people killed or injured in the attacks or their survivors. Bill passed 96-1. [S 1450, [Vote #284](#), 9/21/01]

- **But, McCain Voted Against Providing Unemployment Benefits to Airline Workers Laid Off After 9/11.** In 2001, McCain voted against an amendment that would provide assistance for employees who are separated from employment as a result of reductions in services by air carriers, and closures of airports, caused by terrorist actions or security measures. Cloture motion rejected 56-44. [S 1447, [Vote #293](#), 10/11/01]

Hurricane Katrina

McCain Acknowledged Public Demand for Oversight. A week after Hurricane Katrina, McCain commented on the public's demand for accountability. McCain said, "There's clearly a mood for aggressive oversight on this issue, because people are demanding it. It's a national catastrophe ... I don't know if it affects the general mood of Congress on every issue, but there's a strong desire...to find out what went wrong and what went right." [[Dallas Morning News](#), 9/7/05]

- **But, McCain Voted Against a Commission to Examine Government Response to Katrina.** In 2005, McCain voted against creating a congressional commission to examine the federal, state and local response to Hurricane Katrina in the Gulf Region. Senators Obama and Clinton both voted in favor of creating the commission. The motion failed 44-54. [H.R. 2862, [Vote #229](#), 9/14/2005]
- **McCain Again Voted Against Katrina Commission in 2006.** In 2006, McCain again voted against establishing a commission to investigate the response to Hurricane Katrina, including the federal government's role and the impact of the disaster. Both Senators Obama and Clinton voted in favor of the commission. The motion failed 44-53. [H.R. 4297, [Vote #6](#), 2/2/2006]

McCain Voted Against Investigating Waste, Fraud, and Abuse. In 2005, McCain voted against an amendment that would establish a committee to investigate waste, fraud and abuse in the awarding contracts in Iraq and Afghanistan, and for the reconstruction after hurricanes Katrina and Rita. The amendment failed 44-54. [HR 3058, [Vote #259](#), 10/19/05; HR 2862, [Vote #228](#), 9/14/05; S 1042, [Vote #316](#), 11/10/05; S 2766, [Vote #176](#), 6/20/06]

McCain Said Americans Should "Come to the Aid" of Katrina Victims. In his statement following Hurricane Katrina, McCain said, "American citizens have proven time and again how generous and selfless a people we are, and now we have an opportunity to come to the aid of those in need." [Statement of Sen. John McCain, U.S. Fed News, 9/1/2005]

- **But, McCain Voted Against Expanding Unemployment Benefits in Wake of Katrina.** In 2005, just two weeks after Hurricane Katrina devastated the Gulf Coast, McCain voted against allowing up to 52 weeks of unemployment benefits to an individual as a result of a major disaster under the Disaster Unemployment Assistance Program. Both Senators Obama and Clinton voted in favor of extending the benefits. The motion failed 43-52. [H.R. 2862, [Vote #234](#), 9/15/2005]
- **McCain Voted Against Granting Katrina Victims Access to Medicaid.** In 2005, McCain voted against granting access to Medicaid to victims of Hurricane Katrina for up to five months. The amendment would also provide full federal funding for Medicaid in Louisiana, Mississippi and Alabama for up to one year and provide \$800 million to compensate providers caring for Katrina evacuees. Both Senators Obama and Clinton voted in favor of assisting the Katrina victims. [S. 1932, [Vote #285](#), 11/3/2005]

McCain Ally Hagee said New Orleans Punished Because of Gay Rights Movement. MSNBC's Keith Olbermann reported: "John McCain has to explain but won't. An endorsement from a televangelist, from John Hagee who said, Hurricane Katrina was God's retribution against gays, who called the Roman Catholic Church the great whore. McCain doesn't reject or denounce him." [MSNBC, 3/3/08]

Other Disasters

McCain Criticized Disaster Relief Money for Hawaii Flood Victims, then Apologized. When “Senator Daniel K. Inouye, Democrat of Hawaii, advanced two last-minute amendments seeking an extra \$1.9 million for his state,” to endure federal disaster relief funds designated by President Bush, the action “provoke[ed] heated criticism” from McCain. “My constituents live in Arizona,” Mr. McCain said. “A lot of us are getting sick and tired of this -- sick and tired.” Following McCain’s remarks, Democratic Leader Harry Reid noted that the money was for disaster relief and admonished McCain for making “offensive” remarks, which led to an apology from McCain. [[New York Times](#), 5/5/06; [www.azcentral.com](#), 5/5/06]

McCain Skipped Vote to Aid North Carolina Farmers after Hurricanes. In 1999, McCain skipped the vote on an amendment to provide \$81 million in loan forgiveness for North Carolina farmers who were victims of recent hurricanes. The amendment passed 88-1. [H.J.R. 82, [Vote #371](#), 11/18/1999]

Catastrophic Insurance

McCain Does Not Support National Catastrophic Insurance Policy. Campaigning in Florida, McCain told reporters that he did not support national catastrophe insurance. According to the *Associated Press*, at a round table discussion, McCain said that while he supports state efforts, “I do not support a national catastrophic insurance policy. That insurance policy is there, and it’s called FEMA, and it’s called disaster preparedness and it’s called addressing disasters.” Nevertheless, he said of the Federal Emergency Management Agency: “I still do not have confidence that FEMA is capable of handling all of those responsibilities.” McCain also said, “I believe that this nation and federal government has an obligation to help out in any tragedy or natural disaster... Very badly, we need to fix our ability to bring relief, help and assistance, both short term and long term, to the victims of disaster.” In response to an Associated Press questionnaire, McCain said that under certain conditions he “would consider a national catastrophe fund” to improve disaster response. [Associated Press, [1/22/08](#)]

- **Giuliani FL Chair: McCain “Out Of Touch” With FL Voters on National Catastrophic Relief Fund Issue.** According to CBS News, “Giuliani Florida chair and state attorney general Bill McCollum said McCain was ‘out of touch’ with Florida voters on the issue of having a National Catastrophic Relief Fund to keep insurance costs down for Floridians. The fund is a proposal Giuliani favors but McCain has not supported. Asked if Giuliani agreed with McCollum’s statement, Giuliani said, ‘No, I agree with the assessment that I gave...I am the one who supports it and I think people have a right to evaluate it that way. And have a right to evaluate all these different positions. In some cases we have the same positions, in some we have different positions.’ ” [CBS News, [1/22/08](#)]

Economy

John McCain is entirely out of touch with the struggles American families are facing as the economy slows and the United States faces a possible recession. McCain has remained obstinate, refusing to acknowledge that we are facing economic problems, maintaining that the economy is strong, and even asserting that any perceived economic problems are “psychological.” McCain is desperately out of touch on the economy because he has little knowledge, experience or expertise on economic issues. Even he admits that he knows little about the economy and that it’s not his strong suit. Not surprisingly, his lack of knowledge and disconnect to reality have led him to back misguided solutions to the current economic situation.

Top Hits:

- McCain is out of touch with the economic hardships facing American families.
- McCain thinks the economy is strong and that economic problems are merely “psychological.”
- McCain isn’t very interested in the economy and admits he isn’t very smart on economic issues.
- McCain single-handedly killed a stronger version of the economic stimulus package this year.
- McCain has supported the policies that led to recession.

Top Accomplishments:

- McCain has a reputation for fighting pork-barrel spending.
- McCain touts his fiscal conservatism and has received praise for fighting against wasteful spending.

McSame as Bush: McCain Out of Touch with American Families, Believes Economy is Still Strong

McCain Said U.S. is not Heading into a Recession. “I am not convinced that we are necessarily going into a recession. . . . And our economy, I think our fundamentals are strong and America’s greatest days are ahead of us economically and every other way,” said John McCain. [Rally, Hilton Head Island, SC 1/18/08]

McCain said Economy is Still Strong. “By the way, I don’t believe we’re headed into a recession. I believe the fundamentals of this economy are strong, and I believe they will remain strong,” McCain said at the January 10 Republican debate on Fox. [[Fox Republican Debate, 1/10/08](#)]

McCain Said Economic Worries are “Psychological” at Town Hall Meeting. “Now, as far as putting additional money in American taxpayers’ pocket, that’s fine, because a lot of this is psychological. A lot of it’s psychological. Because I believe the fundamentals of our economy is still strong.” [McCain Town Hall, 1/24/08, West Palm Beach, Florida]

McCain said Families’ Economic Problems are “Psychological” at GOP Debate. “And finally, could I just mention on the issue of rebates, fine, because part of this is psychological. Part of the problem we have, of course, in any recession is psychological. And I’m still optimistic that nothing is inevitable.” [CNN Debate, 1/30/08]

McCain: “I Still Believe Our Fundamental Underpinnings of our Economy are Strong.” In a report on CNN, McCain said, “I still believe our fundamental underpinnings of our economy are strong, but it’s obvious that we are facing challenges, which will require actions such as the Federal Reserve took today.” [CNN, 1/22/08]

McCain Admitted he Doesn’t Understand Economics

2000: McCain Said he “Didn’t Pay Attention” to Economic Issues. In 2000, Jonathan Chait of *The New Republic*, conducted an interview with John McCain in which McCain admitted not paying attention to economic issues. When asked about his sudden shift in economic policy, McCain said, “In the interest of full disclosure. I didn’t pay nearly the attention to those issues in the past. I was probably a ‘suppliesider’ based on the fact that I really didn’t jump into the issue.” [[New Republic](#), 1/31/08]

Russert Pushed McCain on Admitting Lack of Economic Knowledge. On NBC’s “Meet the Press,” Tim Russert reminded McCain of a quote from a 2005 *Wall Street Journal* article: “McCain is refreshingly blunt when he tells me I’m going to be honest, I know a lot less about economics that I do about military and foreign policy issues. I still need to be educated.” [NBC, “Meet the Press,” [1/27/08](#)]

- **McCain: “I Don’t Know Where You Got That Quote From. I’m Very Well-Versed In Economics.”** When asked about the quote at the Republican primary debate in Florida, McCain said, “Actually, I don’t know where you got that quote from. I’m very well versed in Economics.” [NBC, “Meet the Press,” [1/27/08](#)]
- **McCain Intellectually Uncurious on Domestic Issues.** In a *Washington Post* Op-ed, people close to McCain report a “lack of interest in domestic policy. “But those who know McCain report a general lack of interest in domestic policy compared with his engagement in foreign affairs. ‘It’s sometimes unfairly argued that Bush is intellectually uncurious,’ says one former member of Congress, ‘but on domestic issues that is really true of McCain.’ McCain’s foresight on Iraq has carried him far. But eventually he will need to engage Democrats on issues from health care to education to poverty. And being right on the war will not be enough.” [[Washington Post](#), [2/6/08](#)]
- **McCain Has Relied On Phil Gramm To Shape Domestic Policies.** Phil Gramm has shaped McCain’s policies on taxes, the economy, and healthcare. According to CNN, Gramm is “McCain’s chief economic adviser... and is the ultimate pure play in free market faith,” and his healthcare plan “bears the Gramm imprint.” [CNN, [2/19/08](#)]

McCain Admits Economics Isn’t His Thing. According to Paul Krugman of the *New York Times*, “In fact, recent statements by the candidates and their surrogates about the economy are quite revealing. Take, for example, John McCain’s admission that economics isn’t his thing. ‘The issue of economics is not something I’ve understood as well as I should,’ he says. ‘I’ve got Greenspan’s book.’ His self-deprecating humor is attractive, as always. But shouldn’t we worry about a candidate who’s so out of touch that he regards Mr. Bubble, the man who refused to regulate subprime lending and assured us that there was at most some ‘froth’ in the housing market, as a source of sage advice?” [Op-Ed, Paul Krugman, [New York Times](#), 1/14/08]

- **McCain Demurs on Economic Plan Saying “I’ve Got Greenspan’s Book.”** Like Mike Huckabee, who joked recently that he “may not be the expert that some people are on foreign policy, but I did stay in a Holiday Inn Express last night,” McCain suggested to reporters Monday that American consumer culture offered a short cut to expertise. “The issue of economics is not something I’ve understood as well as I should,” McCain said. “I’ve got Greenspan’s book.” [[Boston Globe](#) Political Intelligence, 12/18/07]

McCain Didn’t Know the President would be Able to Nominate a Fed Chair. During an appearance on ABC’s *This Week*, McCain was unaware that Ben Bernanke’s term as Chairman of the Federal Reserve would expire during the next president’s tenure. When asked if he would reappoint Bernanke, McCain said, “Oh I think... um, those terms of office...er...” George Stephanopoulos then told McCain that Bernanke’s term expires in 2010. [ABC, “This Week,” [2/17/08](#)]

- **McCain Plagued by Nervous Laughter When Discussing the Economy.** During an appearance on ABC’s *This Week*, McCain was repeatedly plagued by nervous laughter when asked about the economy by George Stephanopoulos. [ABC, “This Week,” [2/17/08](#)]

McCain Criticized For Lack Of Economic Knowledge. E. Thomas McClanahan wrote in his column, “Economics is clearly not McCain’s strength. He has admitted as much. But it’s the implied sneer that rankles. It doesn’t seem to occur to him that at some point, the existence of every business in the American economy depended on the willingness of an entrepreneur or group of gutsy investors to risk scarce capital in an uncertain future. Memo to McCain: Without the profit motive, none of us out here in the private sector would have jobs. Lacking a real understanding of the process of economic growth, a President McCain would be in a poor position to articulate and defend an effective economic program.” [Op-Ed, E. Thomas McClanahan, [Kansas City Star](#), 2/9/08]

McCain Admits Having A Poor Handle On Domestic Policy. In an op-ed appearing in the *New York Sun*, Cal Thomas explored McCain’s lack of knowledge on economic and domestic policy. “McCain said that while he has a good handle on foreign policy, he intends to learn more on domestic issues, including economics, tax policy and health care, saying, ‘I’m going to have to be smarter on some issues than I am now.’” [Cal Thomas, Op-Ed, [New York Sun](#), 3/7/06]

McCain Inconsistent on Economic Stimulus Package

Though he Denied the U.S. was heading into a Recession, McCain said he Supported the Economic Stimulus Package

Though He Denied American Economy Was In Trouble, McCain Said He Backed The Stimulus Plan.

Following an interview with John McCain, CNN’s John King said, “McCain says he opposed the Bush tax cuts because the plan did not also include spending cuts. Now he says he backs the White House plan to stimulate the economy with new tax cuts and rebates, but adds a warning.” MCCAIN: If Congress loads it up with the pork-barrel projects, which is a major reason why we have gotten into this mess, then, obviously, I would be in opposition to it.” [CNN, “The Situation Room,” 1/21/08]

McCain Even Proposed A \$1000 Tax Credit – Larger Than Bush Or Congress. According to the *Wall Street Journal*, McCain, at a campaign stop in South Carolina, “[A]lmost on the fly, proposed a new tax cut to illustrate how eliminating ‘pork’ would stimulate the economy. ‘Here’s one of my proposals: kill the pork-barrel spending. Give every child in America \$1,000 in tax credits,’ he said.” [[Wall Street Journal](#), 1/22/08]

McCain Called for Senate to Pass Stimulus Package on Campaign Trail. Speaking about the economy at a campaign event, McCain said the “first thing we gotta do is pass this stimulus package through the Senate, not loaded up with a bunch of pork barrel earmarked projects, and get it through the Senate and get that stimulus to our economy going so people can regain confidence.” [Think Progress, [2/6/08](#)]

McCain Called for Passage of Stimulus Package at GOP Debate. During the January 24 Republican debate, Brian Williams asked McCain if, “as the only member of the Senate on stage, will you vote for this compromise?” McCain responded, “Yes, I will.” [NBC, Republican Debate, [1/24/08](#),]

McCain Called for the Senate to “Stop Fooling Around and Pass” and the Stimulus Package. Campaigning in the south before Super Tuesday, McCain said the Senate must “stop fooling around and pass the president’s stimulus package...and restore some confidence.” [[Associated Press](#), 2/3/08]

McCain Said Even Though He Would have Changed Some Things, Congress Should Pass Package. “We have to pass this stimulus package, my friends. It wasn’t written exactly as I would have written it. But the fact is that it does have some incentives to get some people back to work, and get our economy going, and get some investment in our economy.” [[PBS](#), NewsHour, 2/1/08]

McCain Said Stimulus Package Should be Passed Quickly. Asked by Anderson Cooper what he thought of the economic stimulus package, McCain said, “I think it’s a good thing. Obviously, it can’t be written in a vacuum.

There are some things I would have changed. But the fact is that we should pass it quickly. And I worry about the Senate adding billions of dollars worth of pork in it. But I think time is very important right now to get it done and get on to other measures in order to get our economy in much better shape.” [CNN, 1/28/08]

Senior McCain Advisor Denounced Effectiveness of Stimulus Package

But, McCain Advisor Denounced Stimulus, Compared Rebates to Dropping Money from Helicopters. *The Hill* reported, “On Wednesday, a top economic adviser to [McCain’s] campaign sharply criticized the stimulus plans floated by the White House and the leading presidential candidates, declaring that they amount to “borrowing money from the Chinese and dropping it from helicopters. . . . Just raining cash down — which seems like what Congress wants to do—is not going to have much of an effect,” declared Kevin Hassett, a senior McCain adviser.” [The Hill, 1/24/08]

McCain Made Rare Appearance in D.C., but was “Too Busy” to Show Up and Vote on Economic Stimulus

McCain Skipped Vote on Stronger Stimulus Package. On February 6, 2008, McCain skipped a vote that would have bolstered the economic stimulus package to offer additional help for American families and businesses. “Senate Democrats trying to advance an economic stimulus plan likely will have to leave some of their priorities behind after falling just one vote short in a bid to move their preferred options. Democrats, joined by eight Republicans, wanted to expand the House-passed stimulus bill (HR 5140) to provide rebate checks for low-income seniors, extended unemployment benefits, more generous tax relief for businesses and extra money for home heating assistance for low-income households, among other things.” [CQ Today, 2/6/08]

- **McCain Would have been Deciding Vote.** Senate Democrats had 59 votes to end debate and bring the stimulus package to a vote – including Barack Obama and Hillary Clinton – meaning McCain would have cast the deciding vote. “The tally was 58-41 to end debate on the Senate measure” because Majority Leader Harry Reid “switched his vote to ‘no’ at the last moment” so he can “bring the measure up for a revote.” [Associated Press, 2/7/08]
- **McCain was in Washington for Vote.** McCain’s “decision to miss the vote appeared to come at the last minute, after his plane had landed at Dulles International Airport outside Washington just before the proceedings opened on the Senate floor.” [Associated Press, 2/6/08]
- **McCain “Too Busy” to Show Up and Vote, “Focused on Other Stuff.”** Asked on his plane to Washington about the vote, McCain said, “I haven’t had a chance to talk about it at all, have not had the opportunity to, even,” McCain said. “We’ve just been too busy, focused on other stuff. I don’t know if I’m doing that. We’ve got a couple of meetings scheduled.” [Associated Press, 2/6/08]
- **McCain Threatened Refund Checks.** The Associated Press reported: “The fate of \$600 - \$1,200 rebate checks for more than 100 million Americans is in limbo after Senate Republicans blocked a bid by Democrats to add \$44 billion in help for the elderly, disabled veterans, the unemployed and businesses to the House-passed economic aid package.” [Associated Press, 2/7/08]
- **McCain’s Decision to Ignore the Vote on the Stimulus Package Threatens America’s Most Vulnerable Citizens.** By skipping the Senate vote on the economic stimulus package, McCain not only put rebate checks for over 100 million Americans in jeopardy, he threatened important provisions for some of America’s most vulnerable citizens. The vote he skipped killed legislation that would have:
 - Sent stimulus checks to 21.5 million senior citizens
 - Sent checks to 250,000 wounded and disabled veterans unable to work because of the sacrifice they made for their country
 - Extended unemployment benefits for those whose jobs have fallen victim to the economy

- Provided small businesses with a greater ability to write-off purchases of machinery and equipment
- Addressed the housing crisis by including \$10 billion in mortgage revenue bonds that can be used by the states to refinance mortgages
- Extended energy efficiency and renewable energy incentives to create jobs, lower energy bills, and help slow the on-set of global warming

[<http://democrats.senate.gov/newsroom/record.cfm?id=292203&>, accessed 3/27/08]

Day After Skipping Vote On Strong Economic Stimulus Package, McCain Showed up to Vote for Weaker Version

McCain Showed up to Vote for Weaker Version. The Associated Press reported: “The Senate’s 81-16 vote capped more than a week of political maneuvering. The logjam broke when majority Democrats dropped their demand that rescue proposal offer jobless benefits, heating aid for the poor and tax breaks for the home building and energy industries.” With the additional benefits for vulnerable Americans taken out of the bill, McCain showed up to vote. [Associated Press, 2/8/08; H.R. 5140, [Vote #10](#), 2/7/08]]

McCain Supported Policies that Sent America into Recession

McCain Said Nation Could Afford Tax Cuts and Spending on the War. According to the *Miami Herald*, “... the so-called ‘Bush tax cuts.’ McCain voted against them in 2003, noting that cutting so many taxes in a time of war and increased spending would widen the budget deficit and hurt the economy. The deficit widened. The economy is getting worse. But McCain now says the tax cuts should stay. The reason: Eliminating a tax cut is a tax increase, he says. Asked about his former logic -- whether the nation could afford tax cuts and spending on the war -- McCain said: ‘Sure, with a healthy economy, absolutely.’” [[Miami Herald](#), 1/24/08]

McCain Proposed Misguided Solutions to Economic Problems

Despite Calls for Short-Term Economic Relief, McCain Proposed Long-Term Plan with Lower Corporate Income Tax Rate. According to the Associated Press, “Despite calls in Washington for short-term economic relief, John McCain proposed a long-term economic plan on Thursday that would lower the corporate income tax rate and provide a host of other tax breaks for business. ‘We will get through this rough patch, my friends,’ McCain told supporters. The Republican presidential candidate proposed cutting the corporate tax rate to 25 percent from 35 percent. McCain, speaking to a rally under a tent in the rain, said that would expand the economy, creating jobs and opportunity.” [Associated Press, 1/17/08]

McCain Said Cutting Earmarks Would Have a “Confidence Impact” To Help Economy. McCain said, “It also has a confidence impact, a confidence impact that the American people see their tax dollars being frittered away in wasteful and unnecessary spending. Which by the way, Senator Obama has engaged in heavily, and Senator Clinton has engaged in heavily.” [This Week, [2/17/08](#)]

McCain’s Economic Plan Would Cut Financing For Programs Deemed “Ineffective” Including Amtrak. According to the *New York Times*, “[McCain’s] campaign says it would also cut financing for programs that the White House budget office has deemed ineffective, a list that includes Amtrak.” [[New York Times](#), [1/26/08](#)]

McCain Fights to Battle Own Image on Economic Philosophy

McCain Said He Was “Free-Enterprise, Capitalist, Full-Bore Guy” In Mold Of Theodore Roosevelt.

According to the *New York Times*, in terms of economic philosophy, “Mr. McCain described himself as being in the

mold of Theodore Roosevelt, as a 'free-enterprise, capitalist, full-bore guy' who nonetheless believes that the economy depends on government institutions 'that need to do their job as well.'" [New York Times, [1/26/08](#)]

Goldman Sachs Sent Memo Warning Clients About McCain. According to the *Wall Street Journal*, "Economists at Goldman Sachs Group Inc., in a newsletter to clients this week, wrote that 'market participants' should be aware of areas in which Senator McCain differs from most Republicans, including pharmaceutical and tobacco regulation and climate change legislation. The newsletter said industries that would normally benefit from Republican control 'might not enjoy as benign a political and regulatory environment under a McCain Administration as they have under the Bush Administration, judging from McCain's policy stances while in the Senate.'" [Wall Street Journal, [2/7/08](#)]

- **McCain Has Alluded To Making Big Business Part of His Administration.** According to *USA Today*, "Over the past year, he often has talked about approaching U.S. business leaders to serve their country by taking on federal-government responsibilities. He specifically has mentioned Fred Smith of FedEx, John Chambers of Cisco Systems, Steve Ballmer of Microsoft and billionaire investor Warren Buffett as possible Cabinet members." [USA Today, [2/19/08](#)]

McCain Unsure of Bernanke's Handling of Economy

McCain Said It Was Unclear If Chairman Bernanke Was Adequately Handling Economic Slowdown. According to the *New York Times*, at a fundraiser in Florida, McCain "...said it was unclear whether Ben S. Bernanke, the current chairman, was adequately handling the present slowdown." McCain Said, "Depending on the depth of this crisis that we're in, we'll find out whether he acted soon enough and whether he acted appropriately enough...I don't think it's clear yet." [New York Times, [1/26/08](#)]

McCain Criticized Bernanke on Interest Rates. McCain criticized Federal Reserve Chairman Ben Bernanke by saying, "I personally would have liked to have seen those rate cuts earlier. That doesn't mean I want him fired, it doesn't mean I've lost confidence," McCain said. [Bloomberg, [2/17/08](#)]

Education

When it comes to education, John McCain has aligned himself against the needs of students, schools, and teachers. He has a consistent record of opposing funding for all types of educational initiatives, from Title I funding under ESEA that seeks to improve education in failing schools and disadvantaged communities, to after school programs that keep students off the streets, and programs to reduce class size by hiring additional teachers. While voting to deny public schools and public school students of the funds needed to improve American education, McCain simultaneously pushes for dangerous voucher programs that would divert even more crucial funding from our schools into private and religious schools. As with other issues, though, McCain engages in serious double-talk when it comes to education, claiming to support funding under NCLB and IDEA, but repeatedly voting against full funding for both. And he has taken positions that seriously undermine the caretakers of our children's future – our teachers – by threatening their labor rights, refusing to back professional development and opposing tax incentives to reward them for their service to our country.

TOP HITS:

- McCain supports vouchers, and has repeatedly voted to use public funds to pay for private school tuition.
- McCain supports No Child Left Behind, but has failed to support full funding.
- McCain has Voted At Least 18 Times Against Increased IDEA Funding.
- McCain has consistently voted against programs to help students, including: afterschool programs, Head Start, programs to reduce class size and improve teacher quality.
- McCain has repeatedly voted against college affordability programs.

McCain Supports Vouchers and Private Savings Accounts

McCain Supports Vouchers. In an interview, McCain said, “I support vouchers.” [[Spartanburg Herald-Journal](#), 7/26/07; NEA McCain Education Tracking Document]

McCain Voted for School Vouchers to Use Federal Money for Private Schools. In 2001, McCain voted for Bush's voucher proposal to establish 10 pilot programs to test the idea of vouchers. The Bush plan, which has been tested and failed before, would allow parents of kids who attend underperforming public schools to use federal money to pay for private school tuition. Amendment failed 41-58. [[S 1, Vote #179](#), 6/12/01]

McCain Voted to Expand Education Savings Accounts. In 1998, McCain voted for an amendment to increase the maximum Education IRA contribution from \$500 to \$2,000 and allow states to use funds to make awards to outstanding public schools. Amendment agreed to 58-42. [HR 2646, [Vote #96](#), 4/23/98]

McCain Voted Against Striking Education Savings Accounts. In 1998, McCain voted against provisions creating Education Savings Accounts. Motion to Table Agreed To 60-38. [HR 2646, [Vote #87](#), 4/21/98]

McCain Voted Against Replacing Education Savings Accounts With a Student Loan Forgiveness Program for Teachers. In 1998, McCain voted against expanding the education tax credits. He also voted against a new loan forgiveness program for teachers. Under that program, the Federal Government would forgive up to \$8,000 in Federal student loans over 5 years for loans made after July 1, 1998, for any borrower who worked full-time as an elementary or secondary school teacher: in a school eligible for Part A educational assistance (96 percent of public schools in America are eligible for such assistance); or who taught a subject area for which the local public school authority said it had a shortage of qualified teachers. The amendment's stated purpose would be to add 100,000 new people to the program each year for the next 10 years. Motion to Table Agreed To 56-41. [[HR 2646, Vote #86](#), 4/21/98]

McCain Voted to Create Education Savings Accounts for Public and Private Schools. In 1998, McCain voted to allow parents, relatives or outside corporations to contribute up to a combined total of \$2,000 a year of after-tax funds in tax-free savings accounts designated for educational expenses. The bill allows withdrawals of both principal and interest to pay tuition and other expenses at both public and private schools, including parochial schools. Cloture motion agreed to 74-24. [HR 2646, [Vote #34](#), 3/17/98]

McCain Voted for School Vouchers for Low-Income D.C. Students. In 1997, McCain voted to authorize and fund a new program to provide school vouchers for children in the District of Columbia public schools whose family incomes were at or below 185 percent of the poverty level. Those scholarships could be used to pay to attend public or private schools in the District or in adjacent counties in Maryland and Virginia. Cloture Motion Rejected 58-41. [S 1156, [Vote #260](#), 9/30/97]

McCain Voted to Expand Vouchers. In 1997 McCain voted for an amendment to expand the proposed education individual retirement account and allow tax credits to be spent penalty-free on elementary and secondary education expenses. The amendment was agreed to 59-41. [S 949, [Vote #150](#), 6/27/97]

McCain Voted to Instate School Voucher Program for Victims of Violent Crime. In 1997, McCain voted for an amendment to provide children who have been victims of violent crime the ability to transfer to another school by allowing states and local educational agencies to use Federal education funds. Amendment agreed to 51-49. [SCR 2, [Vote #89](#), 5/23/97]

McCain Voted to Authorize Vouchers for Students Attending Violent Schools. In 1994, McCain voted for an amendment to provide \$30 million each year in fiscal years 1995-1997 for a demonstration project at 20 violence-prone schools to allow students at such institutions to obtain vouchers to attend a public or private school of their choice. Amendment rejected 45-53. [S 1513, [Vote #238](#), 7/27/94]

McCain's Continued Support for and Refusal to Fund NCLB

McCain Is a Long Time Supporter of NCLB

2007: McCain Thinks NCLB is Beginning to Work. In Iowa, "Another issue McCain feels needs addressed is education. He feels that No Child Left Behind is beginning to work, but much more needs addressing the in the field of educating our children." [[Marshalltown Times-Republican](#), 9/05/07; NEA McCain Education Tracking Document]

2007: McCain Would Continue NCLB. McCain said in an interview he would "Continue No Child Left Behind and improve it ... and build on the progress that's been made, but realize that the economic future of America rests on our ability to improve education. I support vouchers; I support charter schools; and I want to reward good teachers and help bad teachers find another line of work." [[Spartanburg Herald-Journal](#), 7/26/07; NEA McCain Education Tracking Document]

2006: McCain Continued to Support NCLB. "Senator McCain generally supports No Child Left Behind," said Matt Davidson, spokesman for the John McCain (R-Ariz.) campaign." [[The Hill](#), 3/22/07]

2005: McCain Said NCLB is "Major Milestone" in Improving Education. On Larry King, McCain stated, "Senator Kennedy and President Bush worked together on the No Child Left Behind Act. The No Child Left Behind Act may have some flaws associated with it, but I still view it as a major milestone in trying to improve education in this country. [CNN transcripts, [11/03/05](#); NEA McCain Education Tracking Document]

2005: McCain Reiterated Support for NCLB. During a 2005 trip to Kansas City, Missouri, “McCain said he supports the president’s No Child Left Behind Act.” [[Kansas City Star](#), 12/17/05]

2004: McCain Praised NCLB During Re-Election Debate. During a debate with his 2004 Senate challenger, McCain praised NCLB. “Education to our children in Arizona was failing despite the best efforts of wonderful people like Mr. Starky,” McCain said, referring to his opponent Stuart Starky, a teacher. “We have to do things differently, and No Child Left Behind, I think, will contribute to that.” [[Tucson Citizen](#), 10/16/04]

- **McCain Supported NCLB in Face of Opponent’s Support.** During a 2004 debate, McCain’s opponent for his Senate seat – Phoenix teacher Stuart Starky – criticized NCLB, but McCain stood up for the law. “‘It does not help teachers teach in the classroom or help students,’ Starky said. ‘No Child Left Behind has to be put away and put away forever.’ McCain supports the Bush education plan, but he complimented Starky on his passion and knowledge of education.” [[Arizona Republic](#), 10/16/04]

2001: McCain Supported NCLB. In 2001, McCain rose on the Senate floor to express his support for NCLB. “I am supporting this measure today,” McCain said, adding, “the bill does make needed strides to improve our Nation’s schools.” [[Congressional Record](#), No Child Left Behind Act of 2001 – Conference Report (Senate – December 18, 2001), accessed 3/21/08]

McCain Said NCLB was a “Good Beginning” and Should not be Scrapped. “No Child Left Behind is ‘a good beginning’ that should be improved, not scrapped, said McCain, a proponent of ‘choice and competition’ in schools.” McCain made the comments in a speech at Clemson. [[The Greenville News](#) (South Carolina), 11/29/07; NEA McCain Education Tracking Document]

- **McCain Said NCLB Was Not Perfect But Good Beginning.** According to Michigan’s *Jackson Citizen Patriot*, “Earlier in [his] campaign, McCain said the No Child Left Behind Act of 2001 is not perfect, but it’s a good beginning, and that he supports vouchers and charter schools -- like most of his GOP opponents do.” [[Jackson Citizen Patriot](#), 1/14/08]
- **McCain Said NCLB “A Good Beginning.”** In New Hampshire, “McCain parried with a teacher in the audience about the federal No Child Left Behind Act, which the teacher argued takes away too much instructional time for assessment purposes. McCain disagreed, saying that while NCLB was not perfect, it allowed educational leaders to compare test scores from school to school and state to state, which he said is valuable. ‘I think that No Child Left Behind was a good beginning,’ he said. The senator expressed his support for vouchers and charter schools and emphasized the need for better training in math and science. While McCain failed to win the teacher over on NCLB, the two were able to find common ground on the importance of math and science.” [[Brattleboro Reformer](#), 7/26/07; NEA McCain Education Tracking Document]
- **McCain Wanted to Fix Problems, Build on Success of NCLB.** McCain pledged support for the “No Child Left Behind” act. “I don’t think we ought to discard the whole thing,” McCain said. “I think we ought to fix those areas where there’s problems and build **on the success of the ‘No Child Left Behind’ itself.**” [KSFY TV, 10/26/07; NEA McCain Education Tracking Document]
- **McCain Wanted To Revamp NCLB, But Not Scrap It.** On NCLB, it needs to be revamped, McCain said. The No Child Left Behind Act marked the first time schools and teachers have had their performance graded, he added, and changes need to be made, particularly where non-English speaking children are concerned. But McCain was quick to point out that the plan needed to be changed -- not scrapped altogether. “If we scrap it, we’ll just have to start over again,” McCain said. [[Fort Mill Times](#), 10/24/07; NEA McCain Education Tracking Document]
- **McCain Said NCLB Good Start, But Law Has Problems.** McCain addressed President George W. Bush’s No Child Left Behind legislation. He said the act was a good start toward improving teacher

performance and accountability but noted there was a lot more work to be done in this area. “It’s got lot of problems. We’ve got to sit down and fix those problems, particularly with minorities,” McCain said. [[Orangeburg Times and Democrat](#), 10/10/07; NEA McCain Education Tracking Document]

- **McCain Said NCLB Should Be Fixed, But Not Repealed.** From an NEA release, “New Hampshire NEA member Grace Nelson was able to ask Senator John McCain (AZ) about No Child Left Behind at a town hall meeting in Guilford, NH, today. When asked what he would do about NCLB if elected President, the Senator responded that the law should be fixed -- especially in the areas of testing students with disabilities and non-English speaking students -- but that the law should not be repealed. NEA agrees that this aspect of NCLB has been particularly unworkable.” [NEA Press Release, [6/05/07](#); NEA McCain Education Tracking Document]

Despite Rhetoric, McCain Opposed Full Funding for NCLB

2001: McCain Lauded NCLB for Helping Federal Funds Reach Classrooms. Speaking on the Senate floor in 2001, McCain applauded NCLB for getting federal funds to the classroom. “This bill provides support and guidance to our State and local communities to strengthen our schools, while also giving much needed flexibility for ever State related to the use of Federal education dollars. This education bill contains many initiatives that will help ensure that more Federal education dollars reach our classrooms rather than being lost in bureaucratic black hole,” McCain said. [[Congressional Record](#), No Child Left Behind Act of 2001 – Conference Report (Senate – December 18, 2001), accessed 3/21/08]

- **2004: McCain Voted Against Full Funding For No Child Left Behind.** In 2004, McCain voted against an amendment that would allow an increase of up to \$8.6 billion in education programs. The amendment failed 46-52. [SCR 95, [Vote #35](#), 3/10/04]
- **2003: McCain Voted Against Fully Funding No Child Left Behind.** In 2003, McCain voted to kill an amendment that would reduce tax cuts in the resolution by \$17.8 billion. That amount would be spent equally on debt reduction and provisions of the 2001 education overhaul law. Motion to table agreed to 50-48. [SCR 23, [Vote #60](#), 3/19/03]
- **2003: McCain Voted Against Increasing Funding For No Child Left Behind By \$6 Billion.** In 2003, McCain voted against an amendment that would provide \$6 billion for provisions of the 2001 education overhaul law. Democrats argued that Republicans have not fully funded “No Child Left Behind” and this amendment was an effort to fully fund the reforms. Amendment rejected 46-51. [HJR 2, [Vote #5](#), 1/16/03]
- **2003: McCain Voted Against \$6 Billion to Fully Fund NCLB.** McCain voted against \$6 billion for provisions of the 2001 education overhaul law that would have funding NCLB to the levels in the bill that President Bush signed into law. The vote was on the Kennedy, D-Mass. amendment to the Fiscal 2003 Omnibus Appropriations bill. Kennedy explained the bill as a way to match the funding agreed to by the conference committee for the overall omnibus bill. [Vote #5, [1/16/03](#); Kennedy Floor Statement, 1/16/03]

Despite Rhetoric, McCain Opposed Full Funding for IDEA

McCain Said he Supported Full Funding for Students with Disabilities. Speaking on the Senate floor in 2001, McCain claimed to support full funding for the Individuals with Disabilities Education Act (IDEA). “Finally, I am very disappointed that the conferees eliminated an important provision adopted during the Senate debate that would have ensured that the federal government finally fulfill its obligation to fund 40 percent of the cost for meeting the special educational needs of our nation's children through the Individuals with Disabilities Act,” McCain said. [[Congressional Record](#), No Child Left Behind Act of 2001 – Conference Report (Senate – December 18, 2001), accessed 3/21/08]

But, McCain has Voted At Least 18 Times Against Increased IDEA Funding.

- **1998: McCain Voted Against \$2.5 Billion Increase in IDEA Funding.** In 1998, McCain voted to kill an amendment that would have provided a \$2.5 billion increase in IDEA funding. The motion to table was agreed to 55-43. [SCR 86, [Vote #81](#), 4/02/98]
- **1999: McCain Voted Against Rolling Back Tax Cuts for the Wealthy to Increase IDEA and Other Education Funding by \$132 Billion.** In 1999, McCain voted against an amendment to express the sense of Senate that \$132 billion should be shifted from tax breaks that disproportionately benefit upper income taxpayers to education, in order to sustain nation's investment in public education and prepare children for 21st century, including investment in programs such as IDEA, special education, Pell grants, and Head Start, and full funding of class size initiative. Amendment rejected 48-52. [S 1429, [Vote #232](#), 7/30/99]
- **1998: McCain Voted Against Increased IDEA Funding.** In 1998, McCain voted against an amendment to the FY 1999 Budget Resolution to maintain the \$500 million increase for IDEA in the Senate budget. The motion to table passed 55-43. [SCR 86, [Vote #81](#), 4/2/98].
- **1998: McCain Voted Against Increased IDEA Funding.** In 1998, McCain voted against providing a \$3.6 billion (12 percent) increase in education programs, including increased funding for IDEA. The bill passed 65-29. [HR 4328, [Vote #314](#), 10/21/98]
- **2003: McCain Voted Against \$11.1 Billion Increase in IDEA Funding.** In 2003, McCain opposed a Dayton amendment to increase Fiscal Year 2004 funding for the IDEA by \$11.1 billion. Federal under-funding of IDEA puts excess pressure on state governments who often have to make up the difference with state funds. The Dayton motion was defeated 42-54. [HR 2660, [Vote #324](#), 9/3/03]
- **2003: McCain Voted Against \$229 Billion Increase in IDEA Funding.** In 2003, McCain voted against an amendment that would increase funding in the resolution on provisions of IDEA by \$229 billion over 10 years. Amendment rejected 28-70. [SCR 23, [Vote #103](#), 3/26/03]
- **2003: McCain Voted Against Fully Funding IDEA.** In 2003, McCain voted against an amendment that would create a reserve fund to provide \$73 billion in funding increases for IDEA, allowing the program to reach full funding in 10 years. Amendment rejected 47-52. [SCR 23, [Vote #70](#), 3/21/03]
- **2001: McCain Voted Against Fully Funding IDEA.** In 2001, McCain voted against an amendment to provide for full funding of 40 percent of the average per pupil expenditures for certain programs under the Individuals with Disabilities Act through mandatory funding in the first two years and continued authorizations in subsequent years. Amendment failed 34-65. [S 1, [Vote #110](#), 5/17/01]
- **2000: McCain Voted Against a \$3.1 Billion Increase In IDEA Funding.** In 2000, McCain voted against tabling an amendment that would eliminate a \$3.1 billion increase in funding for the Individuals with Disabilities Education Act. Motion to table failed 47-53. [SCR 101, [Vote #72](#), 4/7/00]
- **2000: McCain Failed to Vote on \$1.2 Billion Increase for Special Education Programs Under IDEA.** In 2000, McCain failed to vote for an amendment that would have eliminated the education savings accounts provision of the bill and instead provide \$1.2 billion over five years to states for special education programs under IDEA. The amendment failed 44-54. [S 1134, [Vote #15](#), 2/29/00]
- **2000: McCain Voted Against \$15.8 Billion For IDEA.** In 2000, McCain voted against an amendment to provide \$15.8 billion in funding for the Individuals with Disabilities Education Act. Amendment rejected 40-55. [HR 4577, [Vote #170](#), 6/30/00]

- **1999: McCain Voted Against Annual Increases in Funding for IDEA.** In 1999, McCain voted to table an amendment expressing the sense of the Senate that budget resolution shall include annual increases for IDEA Part B funding so that program can be fully funded within next five years, and that increases shall not come at expense of other important education programs that also serve children with disabilities. Motion to Table passed 55-44. [S 280, [Vote #44](#), 3/11/99]
- **1999: McCain Voted Against Directing Excess Funding to Individuals With Disabilities.** In 1999, McCain voted to table an amendment that authorized \$150.0 million in FY 2000 and would have allocated any funds appropriated above \$150.0 million to IDEA funding. Motion to table passed 55-44. [S 280, [Vote #43](#), 3/11/99]
- **1999: McCain Voted to Force States to Split Funding for IDEA and Reducing Class Sizes.** In 1999, McCain voted for an amendment to permit local educational agencies to use funds for either class size reduction or IDEA. Opponents were critical of the effort to pit two important education issues against each other. Funding for class size reduction should not be directed to other purposes because class size must be reduced in order to improve education. Both class size and special education are important issues that deserve adequate funding. Amendment passed 61-38. [S 280, [Vote #42](#), 3/11/99]
- **1999: McCain Voted to Force States to Split Funding for IDEA and Reducing Class Sizes.** In 1999, McCain voted for an amendment to permit local educational agencies to use funds for either class size reduction or IDEA. Opponents were critical of the effort to pit two important education issues against each other. Funding for class size reduction should not be directed to other purposes because class size must be reduced in order to improve education. Both class size and special education are important issues that deserve adequate funding. Amendment passed 60-39. [S 280, [Vote #40](#), 3/11/99]
- **1999: McCain Voted To Force States To Split Funding For IDEA and Reducing Class Sizes.** In 1999, McCain voted against tabling an amendment to permit local educational agencies to use funds for either class size reduction or IDEA. Opponents were critical of the effort to pit two important education issues against each other. Funding for class size reduction should not be directed to other purposes because class size must be reduced in order to improve education. Both class size and special education are important issues that deserve adequate funding. Motion to table failed 38-61. [S 280, [Vote #39](#), 3/11/99]
- **1999: McCain Voted Against Reducing Class Sizes And Increasing Funding For Special Education.** In 1999, McCain voted to kill an amendment that expressed the sense of the Senate that the budget resolution shall include annual increases for IDEA Part B funding so the program can be fully funded within the next five years, and that increases shall not come at the expense of other important education programs that also serve children with disabilities. Motion to table agreed to 55-44. [S 280, [Vote #41](#), 3/11/99]
- **1998: McCain Voted Against Providing \$762 Million Over 5 Years for IDEA.** In 1998, McCain voted against an amendment to provide \$762 million over five years for special education programs under the Individuals with Disabilities Education Act (IDEA). Amendment rejected 46-53. [HR 2646, [Vote #98](#), 4/23/98]

McCain Opposes Assistance to Disadvantaged Students

McCain has Voted to Decimate After-School Programs

McCain Voted Against Increasing Funding for the 21st Century Community Learning Centers Program. In 2004, McCain voted against an amendment that would create a reserve fund that would allow up to \$1 billion in additional spending for the 21st Century Community Learning Centers program. It also would increase the amount dedicated for deficit reduction by \$4.9 billion. The amendment was rejected 42-54. [SCR 95, [Vote #53](#), 3/11/04]

McCain Voted Against Increasing Funding for After-School Programs. In 2003, McCain voted against an amendment that increase spending on Head Start programs by \$24 billion and increase spending on after-school programs by \$18 billion, both over 10 years. This amendment would have increased from 850,000 to 2.5 million the number of children who would take advantage of afterschool programs. Amendment rejected 48-51. [SCR 23, [Vote #86](#), 3/25/03]

McCain Voted Against Increasing Funding for After-School and Vocational Programs. In 2003, McCain voted against an amendment that would increase spending on after-school and vocational programs in the resolution by \$2.2 billion in fiscal 2004 and by \$24 billion over 10 years. Amendment rejected 46-53. [SCR 23, [Vote #99](#), 3/25/03]

McCain Voted Against Funding for After-School Programs. In 2001, McCain voted against an amendment to express the sense of the Senate that the Congress should appropriate the authorized level of \$1.5 billion in fiscal 2002 for after school programs. It also would authorize a total of \$19.5 billion between fiscal 2003 through 2008 for after school programs. Amendment agreed to 60-39. [S 1, [Vote #105](#), 5/16/01]

McCain Voted Against Increasing Funding for After-School Programs. In 2000, McCain voted against an amendment to provide an increase from \$600 million to \$1 billion for 21st Century Community Learning Centers. Amendment rejected 48-51. [HR 4577, [Vote #154](#), 6/28/00]

McCain Failed to Vote To Provide Students with Safe After-School Learning Opportunities. In 1999, McCain failed to vote for increasing participation in after-school programs. The amendment increased funding for 21st Century Community Learning Centers program from \$400 million to \$600 million. Motion to table passed 54-45. [S 1650, [Vote #299](#), 9/30/99]

McCain Voted Against Funding for After-School Programs to Reduce Juvenile Crime. In 1999, McCain voted to table an amendment to authorize \$600 million in each of FY 2000-2004 for after-school programs. The programs' goals included reducing juvenile crime, increasing academic success of students, promoting safe and productive environments for students, and providing alternatives to drugs, tobacco, and gangs. Motion to table agreed to 53-47. [S 254, [Vote #132](#), 5/19/99]

McCain Voted Against Increasing Funding for After-School Programs. In 1999, McCain voted to kill an amendment that increased funding for the 21st Century Learning Center Program from \$200 million to \$600 million to help additional 1.1 million children participate in after-school and summer school programs. The funding would permit mentoring, academic assistance, drug, alcohol, and gang prevention programs to be funded through 21st Century Learning Center Program. Motion to table agreed to 55-44. [S 280, [Vote #44](#), 3/11/99]

McCain Voted Against Creating the 21st Century Community Learning Center Initiative. In 1998, McCain voted against an amendment to provide quality after school learning opportunities for children across the country. The initiative would have created mentoring programs, academic assistance, recreational activities, and technology training. Amendment rejected 49-51. [HR 2646, [Vote #100](#), 4/23/98]

McCain Voted Against Providing \$600 Million Per Year for Five Years to Community Learning Centers. In 1999, McCain voted against authorizing \$600 million per year of each of the next 5 fiscal years for the 21st Century Learning Centers Program. Motion to Table Agreed To 53-47. [[S 354](#), [Vote #132](#), 5/19/99]

McCain Failed to Vote for Increased Spending for Various Education Programs. In 1999, McCain failed to vote for a Senate Resolution expressing the sense of the Senate in favor of increasing Federal spending on various Federal education programs and proposals, including for hiring more teachers, to triple funding for after-school programs, and to modernize schools. Resolution Rejected 41-52. [SR 187, [Vote #294](#), 9/27/99]

McCain has Opposed School Breakfast and Nutrition Funding

McCain Voted Against Providing School Breakfasts For Low-Income Children. In 1997, McCain voted to kill and amendment that increased funds for supplemental nutrition program by \$5 million to fund outreach and startup for school breakfast program. Motion to table agreed to 54-45. [S 1033, [Vote #200](#), 7/24/97]

McCain Voted Against A \$5 Million Increase In School Breakfast Programs. In 1997, McCain voted to kill and amendment that required the Secretary of Defense to transfer at least \$5million to the Secretary of Agriculture to fund outreach and startup for school breakfast programs. Motion to table agreed to 65-33. [S 936, [Vote #162](#), 7/09/97]

McCain Voted Against Nutrition Programs For Low-Income Children. In 1997, McCain voted to kill an amendment that stated that in reaching balanced budget, nutrition, education, and health care of poor children shall not be disproportionately cut. Motion to table agreed to 64-36. [SJR 1, [Vote #8](#), 2/11/97]

McCain Voted To Eliminate Funding For School Breakfast Programs. In 1996, McCain voted to kill an amendment that would prevent the elimination of grants for the school breakfast and summer food programs. Motion to table agreed to 56-43. [S 1956, [Vote #213](#), 7/23/96]

McCain has Opposed Programs for Disadvantaged Communities

McCain Voted Against Hispanic Education Programs. In 2003, McCain voted against a Reid amendment to increase much needed funding for Hispanic education programs by \$210 million, including \$20 million for dropout prevention, \$85 million for language instruction, and \$4.5 million for migrant education. The motion was rejected 46-48. [HR 2660, [Vote #322](#), 9/3/03]

McCain Opposed Increasing Funding for Low-Income Education Assistance. In 2003, McCain voted against an amendment to prohibit the Department of Education from enforcing the implementation of the “No Child Left Behind Act,” if the amount appropriated for Title I in the underlying bill is less than \$18.5 billion. The amendment was rejected 28-67. [HR 2660, [Vote #342](#), 9/10/03]

McCain Opposed Funding for Failing Schools. In 2000, McCain voted against providing \$250 million to provide for accountability for Title I programs and to assist states in efforts to turn around failing schools. Amendment failed 49-50. [HR 4577, [Vote #147](#), 6/27/00]

McCain Voted Against Creating a Program To Prevent Students from Dropping Out. In 1999, McCain voted to kill an amendment that authorized funding for states to reduce dropout rates at middle and high schools with significant dropout problems. Motion to table agreed to 55-44. [S 280, [Vote #43](#), 3/11/99]

McCain Voted Against Funding For Disadvantaged Students. In 2000, McCain voted against an amendment to require \$10 billion to be provided for Title 1 education grants. Amendment rejected 47-52. [HR 4577, [Vote #146](#), 6/27/00]

McCain Voted To Allow States To Withhold Welfare From Children Who Skip School. In 1992, McCain voted against tabling an amendment giving states the option to withhold welfare benefits from parents whose children have poor school attendance records. Motion to table agreed to 55-43[S 2, [Vote #7](#), 1/28/92]

McCain Voted Against Funding For Early Childhood Development And Job Training. In 1992, McCain voted against an amendment to express the sense of Senate that the 1990 budget agreement be amended to allow shifting some military spending for education programs, early child development and job training. Amendment failed 45-53. [S 2, [Vote #8](#), 1/28/92]

McCain has Opposed Head Start

McCain Voted Against Increasing Funding for Head Start. In 2003, McCain voted against an amendment that increase spending on Head Start programs by \$24 billion and increase spending on after-school programs by \$18 billion, both over 10 years. Amendment rejected 48-51. [SCR 23, [Vote #86](#), 3/25/03]

McCain Voted Against Head Start. In 2003, McCain voted against a Democratic effort to add \$350 million to the federal Head Start program, for poor pre-school children. Overall, the amendment, offered by Senator Dodd, would have provided \$472.2 billion in fiscal 2004 for the departments of Labor, Health and Human Services and Education and related agencies. This amendment was rejected on a tie vote of 47-47. [HR 2660, [Vote #333](#), 9/9/03]

McCain Voted Against Fully Funding Head Start. In 2001, McCain voted against an amendment that would require the Health and Human Services secretary to certify to the Treasury secretary that adequate funding has been appropriated that would enable all eligible children to have access to Head Start programs before the bill's reductions in the top marginal income tax rate bracket in fiscal 2005 and 2007 would occur. Amendment rejected 45-54. [HR 1836, [Vote #154](#), 5/22/01]

McCain Voted Against Transferring \$525 Million to Head Start Program. In 1997, McCain voted against increasing funding for Head Start by \$525 million, which would decrease funding for the Defense Department by the same amount. Motion Rejected 27-72. [[S 1061](#), [Vote #229](#), 9/10/97]

McCain has Voted Against Making College More Affordable

McCain Voted Against Student Aid. In 2003, McCain voted against an amendment would prohibit funds in the bill from implementing Department of Education changes to financial aid eligibility formulas. The amendment was adopted 51-44. [[HR 2660](#), [Vote #339](#), 9/10/03]

McCain Voted Against Funding for Higher Education Including Money for Pell Grants. In 2003, McCain voted against the Kennedy amendment to provide an additional \$2.2 billion for higher education, including \$1.7 billion for Pell grants, \$157 million for federal work study programs and \$115 million for supplemental education opportunity grants. The motion to save the amendment was rejected 49-46. [[HR 2660](#), [Vote #331](#), 9/9/03]

McCain Voted Against Making College Tuition Tax Deductible. In 2001, McCain voted against an amendment that would provide for the full amount of the tuition deduction effective in Fiscal Year 2002. It would be offset by adjustments in the top income tax rate. Amendment rejected 44-55. [HR 1836, [Vote #152](#), 5/22/01]

McCain Voted Against Increasing Pell Grants. In 2001, McCain voted against an amendment to condition the reductions in the top marginal income tax rate on the appropriation of the funding required to raise the maximum Pell Grant to the authorized level of \$4,250 for the 2002-03 school year, and \$400 each subsequent year for eight years. Motion rejected 45-54. [HR 1836, [Vote #153](#), 5/22/01]

McCain Voted Against Assisting Poor Students with Higher Education. In 2001, McCain voted against an amendment that would expand the HOPE Scholarship tax credit to include all allowable applications of Pell Grants. It would help poor students with the additional cost of transportation, daycare, computers and books that are associated with attending higher education. Amendment rejected 43-56. [HR 1836, [Vote #155](#), 5/22/01]

McCain Voted Against Considering Making College Tuition Tax-Deductible For The Middle-Class. In 1999, McCain voted against making college tuition costs of up to \$12,000 per year fully deductible for taxpayers in the 28-percent tax bracket or lower. The 10-year cost of the amendment would be \$25 billion. That cost would be offset by delaying the implementation of the repeal of the alternative minimum tax (AMT) on individuals and families. Motion Rejected 53-47. [[S 1429](#), [Vote #241](#), 7/30/99]

McCain Voted Against A \$12,000 Annual College Tuition Tax Credit. In 2000, McCain voted against an amendment to provide that up to \$12,000 per year for college tuition may be tax deductible for taxpayers with a top marginal rate of 28 percent. Amendment rejected 46-52. [HR 8, [Vote #182](#), 7/13/00]

McCain Voted Against Providing Additional Funding For Gear-Up Education Program. In 2000, voted against increased spending on the “Gaining Early Awareness and Readiness For Undergraduate Programs” (GEAR UP) program to \$325 million. Motion Rejected 47-52. [HR 4577, [Vote #156](#), 6/28/00]

McCain Failed To Vote For Increased Funding For Pell Grants. In 2000, McCain failed to vote for replacing the proposed \$1.2 billion in ESA tax relief with mandatory spending of \$1.2 billion for the Pell Grant Program in order to increase the maximum annual grant from \$3,300 to \$3,700. Motion Rejected 41-57. [S 1134, [Vote #29](#), 3/2/00]

McCain Voted Against Reducing The Cost Of Student Loans. In 1997, McCain voted against lowering the guarantee to lenders on guaranteed student loans to 95 percent of the loans, instead of the current 98 percent, and would strike the guaranteed administrative cost allowance. Effective July 1, 1998, it would cut the loan origination fee for student loans from 4 percent to 2 percent, and it would forbid charging insurance premiums on student loans. Motion Rejected 43-57. [S 947, [Vote #126](#), 6/25/97]

McCain Voted Against New Middle Class Tax Deductions For College Tuition. In 1996, McCain voted against a sense of the Senate that the reconciliation instructions in the budget assume that any revenue raised by the Finance Committee for the per-child tax credit be used to fund a \$10,000 a year higher education tax deduction or reduce the deficit. Motion to Table Agreed To 56-44. [SCR 57, [Vote #121](#), 5/22/96]

McCain Voted Against Protecting \$40 Billion For Education Student Loan Programs. In 1995, McCain voted against an amendment to restore \$40 billion over seven years from cuts in education programs and student loans. Motion rejected 47-51. [S 13, [Vote #175](#), 5/22/95]

McCain Failed To Vote For Students Who Receive Federal Aid For College. In 1995, McCain failed to vote in favor of shielding college aid from the 1995 budget cuts. He skipped a vote for an amendment that said: “It is the sense of the Committee that in enacting the policy changes necessary to achieve the more than \$1 trillion in deficit reduction necessary to achieve a balanced budget, Congress should take no action which would result in significant reductions in assistance to students who want an opportunity to attend college.” Motion to Table Agreed To 60-35. [[HJR 1, Vote #78](#), 2/23/95]

McCain Voted To Approve Cuts Funding For Pell Grants. In 1995, McCain voted against increasing spending by \$8.8 billion over 7 years with the intention of restoring proposed funding reductions in the Pell Grant program. Motion to Table Agreed To 54-45. [[SCR 13, Vote #220](#), 5/25/95]

McCain Voted Against A Tax Cut For College Education. In 1995, McCain voted against providing a tax deduction of up to \$10,000 per year for the costs of college education. Motion to Table Agreed To 55-44. [S 1357, [Vote #516](#), 10/26/95]

McCain has Opposed Crucial Funding to Repair our Schools

McCain Voted Against School Construction. In 2003, McCain voted against an amendment to provide an additional \$1 billion for school construction projects through the Fund for the Improvement of Education. The motion to save the amendment failed 43-46. [[HR 2660, Vote #329](#), 9/5/03]

McCain Voted Against Funding For School Repairs. In 2001, McCain voted against an amendment to transfer \$925 million in funds provided for the school construction program to Title I target grants for the disadvantaged under the Elementary and Secondary Education Act. Amendment rejected 46-54. [HR 3061, [Vote #316](#), 11/01/01]

McCain Voted Against Funding the Construction of New Schools. In 2001, McCain voted against an amendment that would authorize the Education Department to award grants to school districts under Title V to construct new, smaller school facilities over the period of fiscal 2002 through 2006. It would require local education agencies to provide equal matching funds from non-federal sources and reduce school and classroom sizes. Amendment agreed to 52-46. [S 1, [Vote #181](#), 6/12/01]

McCain Voted Against Funding Repairs for Crumbling Schools. In 2001, McCain voted against an amendment to authorize \$1.6 billion for fiscal 2002 and such sums as necessary for each fiscal year between 2003 and 2006 for the construction and renovation of public elementary and secondary school buildings. According to the Democratic Policy Committee, the average American school is 42 years old and has an outdated electrical system, roof, or plumbing. Amendment rejected 49-50. [S 1, [Vote #108](#), 5/16/01]

McCain Failed to Vote to Replace ESA Tax Relief With Tax Credits for School Construction. In 2000, McCain failed to vote for replacing the proposed \$1.2 billion ESA tax relief with \$1.2 billion in tax credits to lenders who gave loans to qualifying states and school districts for school construction projects. Motion to Tabled Agreed To 57-42. [S 1134, [Vote #17](#), 3/1/00]

McCain Voted to Cut Funds for School Construction and Modernization. In 2000, McCain voted to decrease funding for school modernization by \$1.3 billion and shifting funds towards the Individuals with Disabilities Education Act. Rather than fully funding both programs, McCain voted to take the money from Title VI, which provides for school construction and modernization. The motion to table was agreed to 51-47. [HR 4577, [Vote #159](#), 6/28/00]

McCain Voted Against Funding Initiatives to Renovate or Rebuild Crumbling Schools. In 2000, McCain voted to kill an amendment that would provide \$5.9 billion in revenue from tax cuts over the next five years to fund school modernization projects. Motion to table agree to 54-45. [SCR 101, [Vote #62](#), 4/6/00]

McCain Voted Against Reducing Tax Breaks for the Wealthy to Fund School Repairs. In 1999, McCain voted against reducing \$5.7 billion worth of new tax breaks that benefit wealthy taxpayers. The purpose of the motion was to provide interest-free financing to states and localities with respect to school infrastructure by providing \$24.8 billion in tax credit bonds to build and renovate approximately 6,000 schools. The motion to table was agreed to 55-45. [S 1429, [Vote #242](#), 7/30/99]

McCain Voted Against Providing Funding to Renovate or Rebuild Crumbling Schools. In 1998, McCain voted to kill an amendment to create and expand tax incentives to help States and school districts meet their school modernization and construction priorities by authorizing \$22 billion for zero-interest bonds for school construction. Motion to table agreed to 56-42. [HR 2646, [Vote #90](#), 4/21/98]

McCain Voted Against Funding for Rebuilding and Repairing 5,000 Public Schools. In 1998, McCain voted against an amendment that provided \$22 billion in school renovation and construction over ten years, doubles the number of children receiving child care assistance and access to Head Start, places up to 500,000 in after school learning centers, and increases the child care tax credit. Amendment failed 42-55. [SCR 86, [Vote #69](#), 4/02/98]

McCain Voted Against Allowing School Districts and Local Government to Use School Modernization Bonds. In 1998, McCain voted to kill an amendment expressing the sense of the senate that to allow States and school districts to issue \$21.8 billion worth of zero-interest school modernization bonds, and to provide Federal income tax credits to purchasers of those bonds in lieu of interest payments. Motion to table agreed to 54-46. [SCR 86, [Vote #57](#), 4/01/98]

McCain Voted Against School Repairs. In 1997, McCain voted to kill an amendment that would allocate funds to assist State and local governments in repairing, renovating and modernizing elementary and secondary schools, and related construction priorities. Motion to table agreed to 56-43. [SCR 27, [Vote #79](#), 5/22/97]

McCain has Opposed Efforts to Reduce Class Size

McCain Voted Against Funding 100,000 New Teachers to Reduce Class Sizes. In 2001, McCain voted against an amendment to authorize a federal program to assist states and local educational agencies in recruiting, hiring and training 100,000 teachers in an effort to reduce class sizes. Amendment rejected 48-50. [S 1, [Vote #103](#), 5/15/01]

McCain Voted Against Efforts to Reduce Class Sizes. In 2000, McCain voted against an amendment to provide \$1.75 billion in fiscal 2001 to fund measures aimed at reducing class size, such as the recruiting and hiring of new teachers, testing new teachers, and providing professional development for teachers. The amendment would also provide that funds would go to local agencies based 80 percent on need and 20 percent on school enrollment. Amendment rejected 44-53. [S 2, [Vote #93](#), 5/04/00]

McCain Voted Against a \$1.75 Billion Class Size Reduction Plan. In 2000, McCain voted against an amendment that would provide \$1.75 billion for class-size reduction programs. Amendment failed 44-55. [HR 4577, [Vote #148](#), 6/27/00]

McCain Failed to Vote for \$1.2 Billion for Class Size Reduction. In 2000, McCain failed to vote for an amendment to authorize the use of \$1.2 billion for class size reduction; and requiring all funds to go to local education agencies – amounts being determined by poverty (80%) and school enrollment (20%). The amendment was rejected 42-56. [S 1134, [Vote #21](#), 3/1/00]

McCain Voted Against Reducing Class Sizes and Increasing Funding for Special Education. In 1999, McCain voted to kill an amendment that authorized funds for FY 2000-2005 to hire 100,000 new teachers; and expresses sense of Senate that budget resolution shall include annual increases for IDEA Part B funding so that program can be fully funded within next five years, and that increases shall not come at expense of other important education programs that also serve children with disabilities. Motion to table agreed to 55-44. [S 280, [Vote #41](#), 3/11/99]

McCain Voted Against an Effort to Reduce Class Sizes. In 1999, McCain voted against cloture on an amendment to authorize funds for additional teachers to reduce class size. Cloture motion rejected 44-55. [S 280, [Vote #36](#), 3/10/99]

McCain Skipped Vote to Reduce Class Sizes by Hiring 100,000 New Teachers. In 1999, McCain failed for vote for an amendment that specified that \$1.4 billion shall be available for year two of seven-year initiative to help local school districts meet goal of recruiting, hiring, and training 100,000 new, highly-qualified teachers to reduce class sizes in grades one through three. The motion to table passed 54-44. [S 1650, [Vote #298](#), 9/29/99]

McCain Failed to Vote For More Teachers to Reduce the Teacher- Student Ratio. In 1999, McCain failed to vote for reducing the tax relief in the bill over 10 years by \$157 billion and would spend the savings on reducing student-teacher ratio in public schools and paying the full Federal share of the Individual with Disabilities Education Act. Motion to Table Agreed To 54-45. [[SCR 20](#), [Vote #72](#), 3/25/99]

McCain Voted Against Efforts to Reduce Class Sizes by Hiring 100,000 New Teachers. In 1998, McCain voted against an amendment to express the sense of Congress that Congress should support efforts to hire 100,000 new teachers to reduce class sizes in first, second, and third grades to average of 18 students per class. Amendment rejected 49-50. [HR 2646, [Vote #93](#), 4/22/98]

McCain Voted Against Reducing Class Sizes in Public Schools by Hiring 100,000 Teachers. In 1998, McCain voted against an amendment to create a reserve fund of \$7.3 billion over five years to reduce school class size by hiring 100,000 teachers. Motion rejected 46-52. [SCR 86, [Vote #50](#), 3/31/98]

McCain Voted Against Providing 100,000 New Public School Counselors. In 1999, McCain voted against authorizing \$340 million per year for five years for the hiring of 100,000 new public school counselors, 21,000 new public school psychologists, and 20,000 new public school social workers. State and local governments would be

required to pay one-third of the costs. Local governments could pay their share in kind. Motion to Table Agreed To 61-38. [[S 254, Vote #128](#), 5/19/99]

McCain has Opposed Programs to Improve Teacher Quality

McCain Opposed Increasing Funding for Teacher Training Programs. In 2003, McCain voted against an amendment to provide for an additional \$437 million for teacher quality programs. The amendment was rejected 43-51. [HR 2660, [Vote #343](#), 9/10/03]

McCain Voted Against School Construction and Teacher Training Initiatives. In 2000, McCain voted against an amendment to fund various education programs, including \$1.3 billion in grants and loans for repairs for schools in high-needs areas, and \$2.2 billion for the recruitment, mentoring and professional development of qualified teachers. Amendment rejected 47-53. [HR 8, [Vote #184](#), 7/13/00]

McCain Voted Against Improving the Quality of Public School Teachers Through Training. In 2000, McCain voted against an amendment to authorize state funds to implement merit school programs for rewarding all teachers in schools that improve student achievement for all students, including the lowest achieving students. The amendment also would provide incentives and subsidies for helping teachers gain advanced degrees in the fields they teach, implement peer review, evaluation and recertification programs for teachers and provide incentives for highly qualified teachers to teach in the neediest schools. Amendment rejected 43-54. [S 2, [Vote #91](#), 5/04/00]

McCain Opposed Providing \$202 Million in Additional Funding for Teacher Quality Enhancement Grants. In 2000, McCain voted against spending an additional \$202 million on the successful Teacher Quality Enhancement Grants program, which would more than triple funding for the program (FY '00 funding level was \$77 million; FY 01 funding is \$98 million; this bill will provide \$98 million, which is equal to the amount requested by the Clinton/Gore Administration). Motion Rejected 51-48. [[HR 4577, Vote #153](#), 6/28/00]

McCain Failed to Vote for Recruiting and Developing Quality Teachers. Over the next 10 years, we will need more than 2 million new teachers to teach the record number of elementary and secondary students. McCain voted against providing targeted funds to improve teacher quality and expand professional development for teachers. Amendment failed 39-60. [S 1134, [Vote #25](#), 3/2/00]

McCain failed to Vote for Providing \$220 Million for Teacher Quality Enhancement Grants. In 1999, McCain failed to vote for adding \$220 million in advance appropriations for FY '01 for Teacher Quality Enhancement grants. Motion to Table Agreed To 56-43. [[S 1650, Vote #315](#), 10/6/99]

McCain Voted Against Tax Incentives for Advanced Training for Teachers. In 1998, McCain voted to kill an amendment that increase the lifetime learning tax credit from 20 percent to 50 percent for K-12 teachers who return to school to receive training in technology. Motion to table agreed to 61-39. [HR 2646, [Vote #99](#), 4/23/98]

McCain Voted Against \$4.3 Billion Funding Increase for Education and Training Programs. In 1997, McCain voted to freeze funding at the Fiscal Year 1997 level for programs without enacted appropriations bills as of October 1. The provision would have negated a \$4.3 billion FY 98 increase for education and training programs contained in the bipartisan budget plan. The motion to table passed by 55-45. [S 672, [Vote #61](#), 5/8/97]

McCain: Enemy of America's Teachers

McCain Voted for Pay-for-Performance Measure. In 2000, McCain voted for an amendment to authorize the use of state and local funds to overhaul teacher tenure systems, establish teacher compensation systems based on merit and performance, and test teacher periodically in the academic subjects they teach. The amendment passed 54-42. [S. 2, [Vote #92](#), 5/4/2000]

McCain Voted Against Tax Incentives for Teachers and Nurses. In 2001, McCain voted against an amendment that amendment would provide that K-12 teachers, Head Start teachers, nurses and health professionals working in areas the Health and Human Service Department defines as health professional shortage areas would be eligible for a 50 percent tax credit for any education loan paid during their employment in those professions. Amendment rejected 43-56. [HR 1836, [Vote #157](#), 5/22/01]

McCain Voted Against Replacing Education Savings Accounts With a Student Loan Forgiveness Program for Teachers. In 1998, McCain voted against expanding the education tax credits. He also voted against a new loan forgiveness program for teachers. Under that program, the Federal Government would forgive up to \$8,000 in Federal student loans over 5 years for loans made after July 1, 1998, for any borrower who worked full-time as an elementary or secondary school teacher: in a school eligible for Part A educational assistance (96 percent of public schools in America are eligible for such assistance); or who taught a subject area for which the local public school authority said it had a shortage of qualified teachers. The amendment's stated purpose would be to add 100,000 new people to the program each year for the next 10 years. Motion to Table Agreed To 56-41. [[HR 2646](#), [Vote #86](#), 4/21/98]

School Violence: not a McCain Priority

McCain Opposed Creating New Federal Programs to Combat School Violence. In 1999, McCain voted against creating several new Federal programs, costing \$1.4 billion. He voted against authorizing \$100 million for a National Resource Center for School Safety. Functions of that Center would include the operation of a national hotline for anonymous reporting on school violence. He voted against authorizing a new Federal grant program to give \$722 million annually for such purposes as educational reform. He also voted against authorizing more funding for alcohol and drug abuse prevention. Finally he voted against providing \$600 million more annually for after-school programs. , Motion to Table Agreed To 55-44. [[S 254](#), [Vote #107](#), 5/11/99]

McCain Failed to Vote For the Sense of the Senate Resolution to Reduce Gun Violence in Schools. In 2000, McCain failed to vote for the sense of the Senate that "before April 20, 2000, Congress shall make schools safe for learning by implementing policies that will reduce the threat of gun violence in schools." Amendment Rejected 49-49. [S 1134, [Vote #28](#), 3/2/00]

McCain Failed to Vote for the Sense of the Senate Resolution to Reduce Gun Violence in Schools. In 2000, McCain failed to vote for the sense of the Senate that "before April 20, 2000, Congress shall make schools safe for learning by implementing policies that will reduce the threat of gun violence in schools." Amendment Rejected 49-49. [S 1134, [Vote #27](#), 3/2/00]

Technology Centers

McCain Voted Against Funding Community-Based Technology Centers. In 2001, McCain voted against an amendment to provide for the establishment of 1,000 community-based technology centers. Funding for the centers would be split equally between competitive grants from the federal government and local community groups. It also would authorize \$100 million for fiscal 2002 and subsequent necessary sums for the next six fiscal years. Amendment agreed to 50-49. [S 1, [Vote #96](#), 5/09/01]

McCain Voted Against Increasing Funding For Improving Education Technology. In 2000, McCain voted against an amendment to provide an increase of \$92 million for the technology literacy challenge fund. Amendment rejected 48-51. [HR 4577, [Vote #155](#), 6/28/00]

Career & Technical Education (Vocational Training)

McCain Voted Against Increasing Funding for the Vocational Education Program. In 2003, McCain voted against an amendment would increase funding for vocational education programs in the resolution by \$326 million in fiscal 2004 and by \$3.6 billion over 10 years. Amendment rejected 49-50. [SCR 23, [Vote #98](#), 3/25/03]

McCain Voted Against Funding for Early Childhood Development and Job Training. In 1992, McCain voted against an amendment to express the sense of Senate that the 1990 budget agreement be amended to allow shifting some military spending for education programs, early child development and job training. Amendment failed 45-53. [S 2, [Vote #8](#), 1/28/92]

McCain Voted Against Increasing Funding for After-School and Vocational Programs. In 2003, McCain voted against an amendment that would increase spending on after-school and vocational programs in the resolution by \$2.2 billion in fiscal 2004 and by \$24 billion over 10 years. Amendment rejected 46-53. [SCR 23, [Vote #99](#), 3/25/03]

McCain Voted Against Funding for Innovative Education Reform Efforts. In 1998, McCain voted to kill an amendment that increased funding for Function 500 by \$200 million. Function 500 includes funding for the Department of Education, social services programs within the Department of Health and Human Services, and employment and training programs within the Department of Labor. Motion to table agreed to 54-44. [SCR 86, [Vote #78](#), 4/02/98]

McCain Voted Against Increasing Education Funding. In 1998, McCain voted to kill an amendment that would increase Function 500 by \$2.1 billion in budget authority and \$81 million in outlays along with a \$2.5 billion increase in IDEA funding. Function 500 includes funding for the Department of Education, social services programs within the Department of Health and Human Services, and employment and training programs within the Department of Labor. Motion to table agreed to 55-43. [SCR 86, [Vote #81](#), 4/02/98]

McCain has a Consistent Record of Opposing Education Funding

2005: McCain Voted Against Increasing Education Funding by \$500 Million. In 2005, McCain voted against an amendment that would increase fiscal 2006 funding for the National Institutes of Health by \$1.5 billion and education funding by \$500 million. It would be offset by a \$2 billion cut in the allowances account. The amendment was agreed to 63-37. [SCR 18, [Vote #56](#), 3/16/05]

McCain Voted Against Funding for Literacy, Library, and Museum Programs. In 2003, McCain opposed an amendment to provide an additional \$44 million for literacy, library, and museum programs. The motion to save the amendment was rejected 47-49. [HR 2660, [Vote #338](#), 9/10/03]

McCain Voted Against Fully Funding Education. In 2001, McCain voted against an amendment to express the sense of the Senate that Congress should appropriate all funds authorized for elementary and secondary education in fiscal 2002. Amendment rejected 49-50. [S 1, [Vote #186](#), 6/13/01]

McCain Voted to Underfund the Department of Education. In 2000, McCain voted for passage of the bill that would appropriate approximately \$354.6 billion for the Labor, Health and Human Services and Education departments and related agencies, including \$99.8 billion in discretionary spending. The bill, as amended, would

prohibit health insurers from using predictive genetic information to discriminate in the health care system, and prohibit insurance companies from raising or denying patients health care coverage based on the results of genetic tests. The measure also would prohibit the Occupational Safety and Health Administration from using funds to issue or propose any standards on ergonomic protection. Bill passed 52-43. [HR 4577, [Vote #171](#), 6/30/00]

McCain Voted Against Funding for Failing Schools. In 2000, McCain voted against an amendment that would provide \$250 million to provide for accountability for Title 1 programs and to assist states in efforts to turn around failing schools. Amendment failed 49-50. [HR 4577, [Vote #147](#), 6/27/2000]

McCain Voted Against Using Budget Surplus to Create an Education Reserve Fund. In 2000, McCain voted against an amendment to create a reserve fund that would allow discretionary funding to be increased by \$15 billion for fiscal years 2001 through 2005, once legislation reauthorizing the Elementary and Secondary Education Act is enacted. Amendment rejected 46-54. [SCR 101, [Vote #67](#), 4/07/00]

McCain Voted Against Rolling Back Tax Cuts for the Wealthy to Increase Education Funding by \$132 Billion. In 1999, McCain voted against an amendment to express the sense of Senate that \$132 billion should be shifted from tax breaks that disproportionately benefit upper income taxpayers to education, in order to sustain nation's investment in public education and prepare children for 21st century, including investment in programs such as IDEA, special education, Pell grants, and Head Start, and full funding of class size initiative. Amendment rejected 48-52. [S 1429, [Vote #232](#), 7/30/99]

McCain Voted Against Funding For Innovative Education Reform Efforts. In 1998, McCain voted to kill an amendment that increased funding for Function 500 by \$200 million. Function 500 includes funding for the Department of Education, social services programs within the Department of Health and Human Services, and employment and training programs within the Department of Labor. Motion to table agreed to 54-44. [SCR 86, [Vote #78](#), 4/2/1998]

McCain Voted Against Providing \$28 Billion for Education Programs. In 2000, McCain voted to kill an amendment that would provide \$28.33 billion of the tax cut provision toward education programs and increase the total amount for education over a five-year period by \$34.7 billion. The programs included in the amendment were aimed to ensure qualified teachers in every classroom, reduce class sizes, promote safe and modern schools, increase literacy rates, and provide resources to turn around failing schools. Motion to table agreed to 54-46. [SCR 101, [Vote #54](#), 4/05/00]

McCain Skipped Vote to Prevent Education Funding Cuts/Freezes. In 1999, McCain failed to vote on a bill that seriously undermined efforts to improve student achievement by block granting the class size reduction program; allowing use of class size reduction funds for private school vouchers; and freezing funding for Title I and other critical education programs. The agreement also included a 1 percent across-the-board cut, which cut overall education funding by nearly \$300 million. The conference agreement passed 49-48. [HR 3064, [Vote #343](#), 11/2/99]

McCain Skipped Vote to Improve Poorly Performing Schools. In 1999, McCain failed to vote for appropriating \$200 million for state and local accountability programs to identify schools that were performing poorly and to provide funding for activities, such as professional development, in order to improve those schools' performance. Motion to Table Agreed To 53-45. [[S 1650](#), [Vote #317](#), 10/7/99]

McCain Voted to Cut Education Funding by \$200 Million. In 1999, McCain voted for the Federal Tobacco Recovery and Medicare Prescription Drug Benefits Resolution of 1999, which cut \$200 million from the Department of Education in fiscal year 2000. Conference report agreed to 54-44. [HCR 68, [Vote #86](#), 4/15/99]

McCain Voted Against Increasing Education Spending by \$5.9 Billion. In 1998, McCain voted against an amendment by Sen. Murray to the FY 99 Budget Resolution, to strengthen public education by increasing investments in education and related programs by \$2.1 billion in FY 99 and a total of \$5.9 billion over five years. The amendment, maintained the \$500 million increase for IDEA in the Senate budget, while restoring more than \$2

billion in cuts from the President's budget for such programs as Head Start, Title I, education technology, professional development, Pell Grants, and education reform. The motion to table passed 55-43. [SCR 86, [Vote #81](#), 4/2/98].

McCain Voted Against \$3.6 Billion Education Funding Increase. In 1998, McCain voted against providing a \$3.6 billion (12 percent) increase in education programs. The bill would strengthen public education and help prepare students for jobs of the future by providing \$1.2 billion as a down payment to hire 100,000 new teachers to reduce class size, and increasing funding for IDEA, Title I, math and reading skills programs, education technology, professional development for teachers, and Pell Grants for college students. In addition, it increased funding for Head Start, providing \$200 million for after-school learning centers, and establishing a new \$210 million Safe Schools Initiative in the Justice Department. The bill passed 65-29. [HR 4328, [Vote #314](#), 10/21/98]

McCain Voted to Fund K-12 Education Programs Through Block Grants. In 1997, McCain voted against tabling an amendment that required the Education Department to fund certain K-12 education programs through block grants under new formula based on States' relative wealth. Motion to table failed 49-51. [S 1061, [Vote #232](#), 9/11/97]

McCain Voted for The Largest Education Funding Cut in U.S. History. In 1996, McCain voted to adopt a six-year plan to balance the federal budget by 2002, resulting in the largest education funding cut in the history of the United States. Conference report agreed to 53-46. [HCR 178, [Vote #159](#), 6/13/96; Daschle Floor Remarks, Congressional Record page S6183, 6/13/96]

McCain Voted Against Increasing Education Funding by \$56 Billion by Ending Corporate Tax Preferences. In 1996, McCain voted to kill an amendment to increase education spending by \$56 billion over six years and offset the costs by ending certain corporate tax preferences. Motion to table agreed to 52-48. [SCR 57, [Vote #126](#), 5/22/96]

McCain Voted Against Funding Crucial Education Programs. In 1996, McCain voted against an amendment that certain education programs, such as Head Start and School-to-Work, are funded through March 15 at 100 percent of fiscal 1995 levels, rather than at 75 percent in the resolution. Amendment rejected 51-40. [HR 2880, [Vote #1](#), 1/26/96]

McCain Voted Against Increasing Education Funding by Closing \$28 Corporate Tax Loophole. In 1995, McCain voted to kill an amendment to increase spending on education by \$28 billion over seven years by closing corporate tax loopholes. Motion to table agreed to 54-45. [SCR 13, [Vote #219](#), 5/25/95]

McCain Voted Against Closing Corporate Tax Loopholes to Restore Education Funding. In 1995, McCain voted to kill an amendment that would close corporate tax loopholes to generate \$28 billion over seven years to restore education cuts. Motion to table agreed to 51-48. [S 13, [Vote #184](#), 5/24/95]

McCain Voted Against Protecting \$30 Billion for Education. In 1995, McCain voted against an amendment to restore \$100 billion for Medicare, \$30 billion for education, \$17 billion for the earned-income tax credit, \$10 billion for agriculture, \$3 billion for veterans programs and \$10 billion for deficit reduction. Motion rejected 47-53. [S 13, [Vote #179](#), 5/23/95]

McCain Voted to Increase Education Spending by \$10 Million. In 1995, McCain voted against tabling an amendment to rescind \$11 million in defense funds for the purchase of two executive jet aircraft and restore \$5 million each to the Technology for Education of All Students Program and the Star Schools Program to help put computers in classrooms. Motion to table agreed to 48-46. [S 1158, [Vote #123](#), 3/30/95]

McCain Voted Against Rolling Back Tax Cuts For The Wealthy To Increase Education Funding By \$132 Billion. In 1999, McCain voted against an amendment to express the sense of Senate that \$132 billion should be shifted from tax breaks that disproportionately benefit upper income taxpayers to education, in order to sustain nation's investment in public education and prepare children for 21st century, including investment in programs

such as IDEA, special education, Pell grants, and Head Start, and full funding of class size initiative. Amendment rejected 48-52. [S 1429, [Vote #232](#), 7/30/99]

McCain Voted Against Increasing Education Spending By \$5.9 Billion. In 1998, McCain voted against an amendment by Sen. Murray to the FY 99 Budget Resolution, to strengthen public education by increasing investments in education and related programs by \$2.1 billion in FY 99 and a total of \$5.9 billion over five years. The amendment, maintained the \$500 million increase for IDEA in the Senate budget, while restoring more than \$2 billion in cuts from the President's budget for such programs as Head Start, Title I, education technology, professional development, Pell Grants, and education reform. The motion to table passed 55-43. [SCR 86, [Vote #81](#), 4/2/98].

McCain Failed to Vote to Shield Education from Spending Cuts. In 1999, McCain failed to vote to exclude funding for education from an across-the-board spending cut that might be made to protect part of the Social Security surplus from being spent. Motion to Table Agreed To 50-49. [[S 1650](#), [Vote #316](#), 10/6/99]

McCain Voted Against an Increase to Education Funding. In 2001, McCain voted against reducing the amount of the tax cut by \$448 billion to providing \$250 billion for education and \$224 billion to reduce the federal debt. Amendment passed 53-47. [[HCR 83](#), [Vote #69](#), 4/4/01]

McCain Voted Against Title I Funding. In 2003, McCain opposed the Byrd amendment to provide an additional \$6.2 billion for Title I programs. The substitute amendment would provide \$472.2 billion in fiscal 2004 for the departments of Labor, Health and Human Services and Education and related agencies. The motion to save the amendment was rejected 44-51. [[HR 2660](#), [Vote #330](#), 9/9/03]

McCain has Opposed Educational Accountability

McCain Voted Against Student Accountability Plans Aimed At Increasing Performance And Achievement. In 2000, McCain voted against an amendment to require states that receive assistance under the bill to craft an accountability plan for increasing student performance and achievement for the most disadvantaged students. It would hold schools accountable for increased student performance by requiring schools to ensure that all students meet or exceed state proficiency standards within 10 years. The amendment also would provide \$2 billion to help schools recruit and train teachers. It would provide \$1.75 billion to fund President Clinton's proposal to hire 100,000 new teachers to reduce class size and authorize \$1.3 billion in grants and loans for emergency school repairs and renovations. Amendment rejected 45-54. [S 2, [Vote #90](#), 5/03/00]

McCain Voted Against Requiring Education Agencies To Publish Report Cards On School Performance. In 1999, McCain voted against two separate important education proposals. The first proposal would create a new Federal program to give assistance to local or State educational agencies that bar social promotion. The second proposal would mandate, as a condition of receiving any assistance under the Elementary and Secondary Education Act, that States and individual schools must prepare and widely disseminate annual "school report cards" on school performance. Motion to Table Agreed To 59-40. [S 280, [Vote #46](#), 3/11/99]

McCain Voted Against Ensuring Accountability For Federal Education Funds. In 1999, McCain voted against the Education Flexibility Partnership Act that would have required States to demonstrate that they had a strong record of making standards-based education reforms in the previous 5 years before they could be granted waiver authority. Motion to Table Agreed To 55-42. [S 280, [Vote #30](#), 3/3/99]

Assessment Tests

McCain Voted Against Funding Quality State Assessment Tests. In 2001, McCain voted against an amendment to would authorize \$200 million in fiscal 2002 and additional funds to be determined for each of the following six

fiscal years to provide grants to help states devise assessment systems that characterize student achievement in a variety of proficiencies. Amendment agreed to 50-47. [S 1, [Vote #99](#), 5/10/01]

McCain Voted Against Creating Voluntary National Exams To Measure Student Success. In 1998, McCain voted for an amendment to prohibit federal spending to develop, plan, implement, or administer any federally-sponsored national test in reading and mathematics. Amendment agreed to 52-47. [HR 2646, [Vote #94](#), 4/22/98]

McCain Voted for Education Benefits for Illegals

McCain Co-Sponsored Bill to Eliminate Barriers To Higher Education For Undocumented Workers.

According to Michigan's *Jackson Citizen Patriot*, "McCain was among 48 Senate co-sponsors of a bill that would eliminate barriers to higher education for undocumented students." [Jackson Citizen Patriot, [1/14/08](#)]

McCain Voted To Fund Bilingual Education Programs. In 2001, McCain voted for an amendment to express the sense of the Senate that Congress should appropriate \$750 million in fiscal 2002 for bilingual education programs. It also would authorize a total of \$11.5 billion between fiscal 2003 through 2008 for bilingual programs. Amendment agreed to 62-34. [S 1, [Vote #100](#), 5/10/2001]

Energy

While McCain is often thought of as a forward thinking Republican on issues such as global warming and energy independence, he has allowed his affinity for helping big business to trump his conscience. While McCain's heart may be in the right place, his Bush-era, laissez-faire economic philosophy prevents him from doing what is necessary to solve America's problems.

Top Hits:

- McCain voted to allow manipulative practices in energy markets.
- McCain voted against taxing oil companies in order to finance tax rebates for consumers. His tax plan would cut taxes for the five largest U.S. oil companies by \$3.8 billion a year.
- McCain voted against reducing U.S. dependence on foreign oil.
- McCain flip-flopped on the using ethanol as a fuel additive.
- McCain opposes a carbon tax in order to reduce harmful emissions.
- McCain has accepted \$447,962 from the oil and gas industry.
- McCain received in \$72,600 Nuclear Power Industry Contributions

Accomplishments:

- McCain voted to develop alternative sources.
- McCain voted against \$13 billion in tax breaks for the energy industry.
- McCain voted for more transparency in energy markets.
- McCain voted against Cheney's energy bill.

Regulation

McCain Voted to Allow Energy Market Manipulation. In 2003, McCain voted against an amendment to prohibit manipulative practices in energy markets. It would have allowed the Federal Energy Regulatory Commission (FERC) to revoke a company's ability to sell power if the commission found that the company had knowingly tried to manipulate energy markets prohibit manipulative practices in energy markets. Electricity rates resulting from manipulative practices would not be considered 'just and reasonable' under the Federal Power Act. The Domenici amendment would repeal the 1935 Public Utilities Holding Company Act and lift restrictions on who can own utilities. It would clarify that FERC has no power to compel utilities to join regional power transmission organizations. Some of the cost of expanding wholesale power transmission networks would shift from households to major industrial utility customers and the utilities that serve them. The Senate rejected the amendment 48-50. [S.14, [Vote #311](#), 7/30/03]

McCain Supported "Cap and Trade" System; Opposed Carbon Tax. According to the *New York Times*, "One priority, he said, would be to establish 'cap and trade,' a system in which corporations are essentially rewarded for deep cuts in harmful emissions. Mr. McCain has written a bill on that and forced two votes, losing both. ... The senator opposes a measure that many environmentalists desire, a carbon tax, most likely as another gasoline tax. He told the warming and energy conference that he generally opposed new taxes but that he also believed that poor workers who tended to commute to work longer distances would be disproportionately affected." [[New York Times](#), 10/17/07]

McCain Opposed Environmentalist-Supported Idea of a Carbon Tax. The *New York Times* reported, "The senator [McCain] opposes a measure that many environmentalists desire, a carbon tax, most likely as another gasoline tax. He told the warming and energy conference that he generally opposed new taxes." [[New York Times](#), 10/17/07]

Tax Breaks For Oil Companies

McCain's Tax Plan Gives Oil Companies \$3.8 Billion A Year In Tax Breaks. According to a study conducted by the Center for American Progress, "The McCain plan would deliver approximately \$170 billion a year in tax cuts to corporations, including some corporations that are very large and profitable. Just one of the proposals—cutting the corporate rate from 35 percent to 25 percent—would cut taxes for five largest U.S. oil companies by \$3.8 billion a year." [Center for American Progress, [3/27/08](#)]

McCain Voted Against Taxing Oil Companies to Provide \$100 Rebate To Consumers. In 2005, McCain voted against an amendment to impose a temporary tax on oil company profits from the sale of crude oil. The funds would be used to provide every taxpayer with a \$100 non-refundable tax credit for 2005 for each person in their household. The amendment failed 33-65. [S 2020, [Vote #341](#), 11/17/05]

McCain Voted Against Temporarily Taxing Oil Companies to Finance Tax Rebate For Consumers. In 2005, McCain voted against an amendment to would impose a temporary 50 percent tax on oil company profits from the sale of crude oil. Funds collected from the tax would be used to provide a consumer tax credit for petroleum products. The amendment failed 35-64. [S 2020, [Vote #331](#), 11/17/05]

Energy Independence/Conservation

McCain Only Senator Who Failed To Vote On Energy Bill Aimed At Increasing Fuel Economy Standards. In 2007, McCain was the only senator who failed to vote on a motion to invoke cloture (thus limiting debate) on the Reid, D-Nev., motion to concur in the House amendment to the Senate amendment with an additional amendment to the bill that would require new Corporate Average Fuel Economy standards of 35 miles per gallon for cars and light trucks, and require the production and use of 36 billion gallons of biofuels by 2022. It would direct the Energy Department to set new energy efficiency standards. The additional amendment would strike a provision that would require utilities to produce 15 percent of their electricity from alternative sources by 2020. It also would increase to \$21.8 billion a package of tax incentives that would be offset in part by eliminating or reducing \$13 billion in subsidies for major oil and gas companies. The motion was rejected 59-40. [CQ.com; HR 6, [Vote #425](#), 12/13/07]

- **McCain Spokesman Said McCain Would Not Have Supported Breaking Filibuster.** According to Forbes.com, "Sen. John McCain, R-Ariz., was not present for the voting because he is on the presidential campaign trail. However, a spokesperson said that he would not have supported breaking the filibuster." [Forbes.com, [12/13/07](#)]

McCain Failed To Vote On Energy Independence Bill. In 2007, McCain failed to vote on a motion to invoke cloture (thus limiting debate) on the Reid, D-Nev., motion to concur in the House amendments to the Senate amendments to the bill that would require new corporate average fuel economy (CAFE) standards of 35 miles per gallon for cars and light trucks, and require 36 billion gallons of biofuels to be blended with gasoline by 2022. It would require electric utilities to produce at least 15 percent of their electricity from renewable energy sources by 2020 and direct the Energy Department to set new energy efficiency standards. It also includes a \$21.5 billion package of tax incentives that would be offset in part by eliminating or reducing \$13 billion in subsidies for major oil and gas companies. The motion was rejected 53-42. [HR 6, [Vote #416](#), 12/07/07]

McCain Failed to Vote To Establish \$32.1 Billion of Tax Incentives for Renewable Energy. In 2007, McCain failed to vote on a motion to invoke cloture (thus limiting debate) on the Reid, D-Nev., motion to proceed to the Baucus, D-Mont., amendment no. 1704 to the Reid substitute amendment no. 1502. The Baucus amendment would establish \$32.1 billion of tax incentives for alternative energy sources while imposing taxes on the oil and gas industry. It would create \$3.6 billion worth of renewable energy bonds, establish \$11 billion in tax incentives for renewable energy and authorize \$2.5 billion for the Secure Rural Schools and Community Self Determination Act. The substitute would overhaul national energy policies including requiring the annual use of 15 billion gallons of biofuels by 2015, increasing the Corporate Average Fuel Economy standards to 35 miles per gallon by 2020 and

making petroleum price gouging a federal crime in a “national energy emergency.” It would also encourage carbon sequestration research, require the federal government to purchase 15 percent of its electricity from renewable sources by 2015 and direct the State Department to pursue strategic partnerships with major energy-consuming and energy-producing nations. Motion rejected 57-36: R 10-34; D 45-2 (ND 41-1, SD 4-1); I 2-0. [HR 6, [Vote #223](#), 6/21/07]

McCain Opposed Measure to Reduce U.S. Dependence on Foreign Oil. In 2005, McCain voted against an amendment to encourage President Bush to develop measure to reduce the nation’s dependency on foreign petroleum by 40 percent by 2025. The amendment failed 47-53. [H.R. 6, [Vote #140](#), 6/16/2005]

McCain Voted To Cut \$23.5 Million Allocated Towards Energy Conservation. In 1993, McCain voted against tabling an amendment cutting \$23.5 million to the environmental protection agency for energy conservation. In particular, Bond and the Republicans took issue with a program to reduce methane gas produced by animals. The motion to table was agreed to 55-44. [H.R. 1335, [Vote #95](#), 4/1/93]

McCain Voted To Eliminate BTU Energy Tax And Offset Lost Revenues By Reducing Spending Increases. In 1993, McCain voted for a Nickles, et al., amendment, which would have reduced revenues by \$73 billion over five years, and make comparable reduction in Function 920--Allowances spending authority, assuming elimination of BTU energy tax. In other words, the amendment would have eliminated the energy tax and offset lost revenues by reducing spending increases. The amendment lost 46-53. [S.C.R. 18, [Vote #40](#), 3/18/93]

McCain Voted Against Proceeding To Bill Encouraging Energy Conservation And Increased Domestic Energy Production. In 1992, McCain Voted against a motion to invoke cloture, and proceed to the bill, to encourage energy conservation and increase domestic energy production. The cloture motion was rejected 58-33. [H.R. 776, [Vote #150](#), 7/23/92]

McCain Voted To Kill Creation Of Program To Collect Data On Energy Use By Industries That Consume Large Energy Amounts. In 1992, McCain Voted in favor of a Johnston motion, to table the Bryan amendment, to require the Secretary of Energy to create a volunteer program to collect data on energy use by industries that consume large amounts of energy. The motion to table was agreed to 58-40. [S. 2166, [Vote #23](#), 2/19/92]

McCain Flip-Flopped On Ethanol

FLIP: McCain Said Ethanol “Has Absolutely, Under No Circumstances, Any Value Whatsoever.” According to *Roll Call*, “John McCain, R-Ariz., called ethanol “a product that we have created a market for which has absolutely, under no circumstances, any value whatsoever except to corn producers and Archer Daniels Midland and other large agribusinesses.” [Roll Call, 5/2/04]

- **FLOP: McCain Said Ethanol “Ought To Be Something That Ought To Be Carefully Examined.”** According to the *Des Moines Register*, McCain “indicate[d] a slight softening of his earlier opposition to the corn-based alternative fuel, which he said in the past was too costly to produce.” McCain “who once described ethanol as ‘good for neither the environment nor the consumer,’ said that rising oil costs make the alternative fuel worthy of another look.” “McCain emphasized ... that his opposition to subsidies hasn’t changed, and said that economics, not politics, explains his revised position. ‘I think it ought to be something that ought to be carefully examined’ and researched, he added.” [Des Moines Register, 4/13/06, 4/14/06]

2005: Just Last Year, McCain Voted Against Ethanol. In 2005, John McCain “voted with ethanol’s critics” against Senate legislation which “would require 8 billion gallons of ethanol to be blended with U.S. gasoline by 2012.” [AP, 6/18/05; USA Today, 6/20/05; H.R. 6, 6/14/05, Roll Call #137, 6/15/05, Roll Call #138, 139]

2003, 2004: McCain Also Voted Against Ethanol in 2004, and 2003. In 2004, John McCain voted against an amendment to Senate Bill S 150 to promote ethanol, declaring that ethanol was “a product that we have created a market for which has absolutely, under no circumstances, any value whatsoever except to corn producers and

Archer Daniels Midland and other large agribusinesses.” In 2003, John McCain voted to block a final vote to an “energy bill coveted by Iowa farm interests” that “would double use of corn-based ethanol.” [S 150; Aberdeen American News, 5/2/04, S. Res. 150, 4/29/04, Roll Call #74; Des Moines Register, 11/22/03; H.R. 6, 11/21/03, Roll Call #456]

1999: McCain Opposed Ethanol Subsidies. In 1999, John McCain said, “Well, on ethanol subsidies, obviously, I oppose that, have always opposed it, as I have most other subsidies.” During a 1999 Presidential debate in Iowa John McCain said, “Ethanol is not worth it. It does not help the consumer,” McCain said. [Fox News, 6/15/99; Des Moines Register, 12/19/99]

Development

McCain Skipped Vote on Critical Environmental and Energy Funding. In 2005, McCain skipped the vote on the conference report for the Fiscal Year 2006 Energy-Water Appropriations bill. The funding bill provided \$30.5 billion for energy and water development projects, including \$5.4 billion for the Army Corps of Engineers and \$9.2 billion for the National Nuclear Security Administration. The bill appropriated \$6.2 billion for defense environmental cleanup and \$450 million for the Yucca Mountain nuclear waste repository. Senator Obama voted for the funding bill, but Senator Clinton also skipped the vote. The bill passed 84-4. [H.R. 2419, [Vote #321](#), 11/14/05]

McCain Voted Against Bill Funding Energy Programs. In 2005, McCain voted against the Fiscal Year 2006 Energy-Water Appropriations Bill. The legislation provided \$31.2 billion in funds for energy and water development projects, including \$5.3 billion for the Army Corps of Engineers and \$25 billion for the Department of Energy. Both Senators Obama and Clinton voted for the funding bill. The bill passed 92-3. [H.R. 2419, [Vote #172](#), 7/1/05]

McCain Voted Against Funding For A Superconducting Super Collider. In 1993, McCain voted to kill an amendment that would terminate funding to the superconducting super collider. The motion to table was agreed to 57-42. [S. Amdt. 983; H.R. 2445, [Vote #296](#), 9/30/93]

McCain Voted To Provide \$22.2B For Energy And Water Development For FY 1994. In 1993, McCain voted for adoption of a conference report, providing \$22.2 billion for energy and water development for FY 1994 (the request was \$100 million less than that requested by the Clinton administration). The conference report was adopted 89-11. [H.R. 2445, [Vote #333](#), 10/27/93]

McCain Voted In Favor Of \$22B In Budget Authority For Energy And Water Development. In 1993, McCain voted in favor of a bill to provide \$22 billion in new budget authority for energy and water development in FY 1994. This figure was some \$350 million less than the Clinton Administration’s request. The bill passed 89-10. [H.R. 2445, [Vote #301](#), 9/30/93]

McCain Voted Against Terminating Funding For An Advanced Liquid Metal Reactor/Integral Fast Reactor Program. In 1993, McCain to table an amendment terminating the advanced liquid metal reactor/integral fast reactor program. Supporters claimed the program might be a solution in efforts to dispose of nuclear waste. The motion to table was agreed to 53-45. [H.R. 2445, [Vote #298](#), 9/30/93]

McCain Voted for Appropriating Less Funding for Energy and Water Development Than the President Requested. In 1988, McCain voted for passage of the bill to appropriate \$17.96 billion for energy and water development in fiscal 1989. The president requested \$18.14 billion. The bill passed 92-5 [H.R. 4567, Vote #181, 6/15/88; CQ Almanac]

McCain Voted to Appropriate New Budget Authority for Energy and Water Development Programs. In 1987, McCain voted for passage of the bill to appropriate \$15,919,912,000 in new budget authority for energy and water development programs. The president had requested \$17,662,797,000. A “nay” was a vote supporting the president’s position. The bill passed 86-9. [H.R. 2700, Vote #383, 11/18/87; CQ Almanac]

Campaign Donations

OIL & GAS:

Big Oil and Gas Interests have donated more than \$500,000 to McCain's campaigns. Since 1989, oil and gas interests have donated \$548,712 to McCain's Senate and Presidential campaign accounts and his leadership Political Action Committee (PAC), according to an analysis of campaign finance data provided by the Center for Responsive Politics. [All analysis here includes contributions from individuals (\$200+) and PAC contributions to McCain's campaign committee and leadership PAC, Straight Talk America.]

Oil and Gas Employees Are Big Contributors to McCain's Campaign. Employees and PACs from the largest oil corporations have made significant donations to McCain's political committees, including Hess (\$36,800), Exxon Mobil (\$29,900), and Chevron (\$16,900). McCain also received \$9,500 from Enron. [Analysis of data from the Center for Responsive Politics]

Oil and Gas Interests Have Increased Donations to McCain From Previous Election Cycles. Of the \$548,712 McCain has raised from oil and gas interests since 1989, 42.3% (\$231, 935) has come since he launched his presidential campaign in 2007. In his last presidential campaign, McCain reported having raised much less from the industry, just \$103,597. [Analysis of data from the Center for Responsive Politics]

Lobbyists and Bundlers Are Raising Money for McCain

- More than a dozen staffers or fundraisers for McCain's campaign have lobbied for Big Oil, and as a group, they have received more than \$6.5 million in lobbying contracts, according to the Center for Responsive Politics. (Bundlers from WhiteHouseforSale.org; contract amount data from the Center for Responsive Politics)
- Top advisors and fundraisers for McCain include Charlie Black, whose BKSJ and Associates lobbied on behalf of Occidental International; John Green who has lobbied for Exxon Mobil, Chevron, the American Petroleum Institute, and El Paso Corporation; fundraiser-lobbyist Wayne Berman, who represents Chevron Texaco and the American Petroleum Institute for lobbying powerhouse Ogilvy; and Sloan Rappaport, who represented Koch Industries for lobbying firm Tew Cardenas. (Center for Responsive Politics)
- **McCain Twice Rejected Windfall Profits Tax for Big Oil in 2005.** In November 2005, McCain voted against imposing a temporary 50% tax on oil company profits from the sale of any crude oil above \$40 a barrel. Revenues from the tax would be used to provide income tax rebates to consumers. [S 2020, [Vote #331](#), 11/17/05; S 2020, [Vote # 341](#), 11/17/05; [Houston Chronicle](#), 11/17/05; [Las Vegas Review-Journal](#), 11/18/05; [Environment and Energy Daily](#), 11/18/05]

NUCLEAR POWER:

McCain Accepted \$72,600 from Nuclear Power Industry. Between 1997 and 2002, McCain received in \$72,600 Nuclear Power Industry Contributions to Senators. [Center for Responsive Politics, accessed [2/21/08](#)]

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- **McCain Voted to Dump Nuclear Waste at Yucca Mountain.** In 2002, McCain voted for a motion to proceed to the resolution which, pursuant to the Nuclear Waste Policy Act of 1982, approves of the site at Yucca Mountain, Nevada for the development of a repository for the disposal of high-level radioactive waste and spent nuclear fuel. According to the Center for Responsive Politics, Nuclear Energy Institute was "the nuclear power industry's trade association, representing 260 corporations in 15 countries. NEI is reportedly the

mastermind behind the Alliance for Sound Nuclear Policy, a coalition of pro-nuclear groups.” [S.J. Res 34, [Vote #167](#), 7/09/02]

- **McCain Agreed “Nuclear Power Should Be Greatly Expanded.”** McCain, along with the rest of the Republican presidential candidates, “agree that nuclear power should be greatly expanded.” [[New York Times](#), 10/17/07]

Accomplishments

McCain Called For Alternative Energy Development And Independent From Oil Producing Nations.

At a rally in Michigan, McCain “...called for the development of solar, wind and tide-powered energy sources. He called for battery-powered cars and independence from oil producing nations. He said he had long favored ‘green technologies’ and the ‘green revolution’ that’s spreading across America.” McCain talked about the necessity of solving global warming issues for the sake of young Americans and he “...based his call for energy independence on national security, claiming the U.S. sends about \$400 billion per year to oil producing nations, and some of that money ends up with terrorist organizations.” [MLive.com, [1/15/08](#)]

McCain Voted Against Energy Policy Act of 2005. In 2005, McCain voted against the Energy Policy Act. Both Senators Obama and Clinton voted for the legislation. The bill passed 85-12. [H.R. 6, [Vote #158](#), 6/28/05]

McCain Voted Against Moving Energy Policy Act Forward. In 2005, McCain voted against a motion to invoke cloture and move forward the Energy Policy Act. McCain was the only Republican to oppose cloture. Both Senators Obama and Clinton voted to move the bill forward. The motion passed 92-4. [H.R. 6, [Vote #152](#), 6/23/05]

McCain Voted Against Moving Flawed Energy Bill Forward. In 2003, McCain voted against a motion to invoke cloture and move forward on the conference report for the 2003 energy bill. Among its flaws, the legislation would authorize \$25.7 billion in tax breaks over 10 years, including \$11.9 billion to encourage oil and gas production; it would shield producers of the contaminant MTBE from defective product lawsuits, including some lawsuits already in court; and it would authorize \$18 billion in loan guarantees for a natural gas pipeline from Alaska. LCV called it “among the most anti-environmental pieces of legislation in recent history.” The Senate rejected the cloture motion, 57-40. [H.R. 6, [Vote #456](#), 11/21/03; [www.LCV.org](#)]

McCain Voted for More Transparency in Energy Markets. In 2003, McCain voted of an amendment that would require the Federal Energy Regulatory Commission to promulgate regulations establishing an electronic information system to facilitate price transparency and participation in markets subject to the agency’s jurisdiction. It would also prohibit “round trip” trades, which generate profit without any commodity actually changing hands, and it would increase criminal and civil penalties for violations of the Federal Power Act and general penalties of the Natural Gas Act. Senator Clinton also voted for the amendment. The amendment failed 41-56. [H.R. 2673, [Vote #436](#), 11/5/03]

McCain Voted Against Energy Overhaul Bill. In 2003, McCain voted against H.R. 6, the Energy Policy Act of 2003. The legislation provided for approximately \$15 billion in energy-related tax incentives. It would also direct the National Highway Traffic Safety Administration to set a new CAFE standard within 15 months to two years. It would encourage the use of alternative energy and require utilities to increase their reliance on renewable fuels. Before passage of the bill, the Senate struck the entire legislation and replaced it with the text of the energy bill the Senate passed in 2002 during the 107th Congress (H.R. 4). Senator Clinton also voted against the legislation. The bill passed 84-14. [H.R. 6, [Vote #317](#), 7/31/03]

McCain Voted Against \$13 Billion Tax Cuts for Energy Industry. In 2004, McCain broke with the GOP and voted against cloture on Majority Leader Frist’s motion to recommit the Corporate Tax Overhaul bill to Committee to include a tax deduction for certain mortgage insurance payments, a 50% tax credit to employers that are paying reservists and National Guard members called to active duty and a welfare-to-work tax credit. The bill included \$13 billion in tax cuts for the energy industry. [S 1637, [Vote #67](#), 4/7/04; CQ, 4/7/04]

- **McCain Called House Energy Bill “No Lobbyist Left Behind Act”** According to Joel Connelly of the *Seattle Post-Intelligencer*, “The Bush approach to energy can be summed up in four words: More of the same. The administration’s National Energy Policy has called for development of 1,300 new power plants by the year 2020. ... The House of Representatives has passed an expanded version of the Bush plan. It would ladle out subsidies to oil and gas, nuclear energy, coal and ethanol. ... Truthfully, the subsidies have been too much to swallow, for lawmakers in both parties. ... Sen. John McCain, R-Ariz., has dubbed House legislation the ‘No Lobbyist Left Behind Act’ and the ‘Hooters and Polluters Act.’ (One piece of fine print in the bill sends an energy-efficient grant to a shopping complex, anchored by a Hooters, in the home district of Louisiana’s powerful Congressman Billy Tauzin.)” [Op-ed, Joel Connelly, Seattle Post-Intelligencer, 10/15/04]

Environment

While proponents of Senator McCain like to paint him as a 'green' Republican on environmental issues, the real record shows that he would be more of the same on the environment. While his work on reducing carbon emissions is better than other members of his party, the rest of his record is knee jerk hostility to environmental rules, regulations, and laws designed to protect the public. He voted against 'polluter pays' superfunds, consistently flip-flopped on whether to drill in ANWR, and was an ardent supporter of the Presidents ill-named 'Healthy Forests Initiative'

Top Hits:

- McCain voted to gut EPA and environmental programs
- McCain consistently flip flopped on drilling in the Arctic National Wildlife Refuge
- McCain was an ardent supporter of the Presidents so called 'Healthy Forests Initiative'
- McCain opposes a carbon tax in order to reduce harmful emissions.
- McCain was an opponent of the Endangered Species Act
- McCain has accepted \$447,962 from the oil and gas industry.
- McCain received in \$72,600 Nuclear Power Industry Contributions
- Voted for more lax control on the disposal of medical, municipal and toxic waste
- Voted against Superfund 'Polluter Pays' legislation

Accomplishments:

- McCain was better than most Republicans on reducing Emissions
- McCain voted against \$13 billion in tax breaks for the energy industry.

Conservation

McCain Voted Against Funding for Conservation Programs. In 2006, McCain voted against an amendment to increase funding for the Corps of Engineers, the Federal Water Pollution Control State Revolving Fund, the National Park Service, the Forest Service, the National Oceanic and Atmospheric Administration, federal conservation programs and other natural resource programs by \$2.9 billion, to be offset by closing corporate tax loopholes. The amendment failed 48-49. [S.C.R. 83, [Vote #60](#), 3/16/2006]

McCain Voted Against Critical Funding for Environmental and Conservation Programs. In 2003, McCain voted against an amendment that would have increased funding for environmental and conservation programs by \$1.1 billion for Fiscal Year 2004 and by \$12.4 billion over 10 years. The spending would have been offset by a reduction in tax cuts. The amendment failed 47-52. [S.C.R. 23, [Vote #96](#), 3/25/2003]

McCain Voted in Favor of Studying Environmental Rule Proposed by Bush Before Implementation. In 2003, McCain voted in favor of an amendment delaying the implementation of the Bush Administration's proposed New Source Review (NSR) Clean Air Act changes by six months and requiring a study by the National Academy of Sciences (NAS). Senator Clinton also voted for the amendment. The amendment failed 46-50. [H.J.R. 2, [Vote #12](#), 1/22/2003]

- **McCain Opposed Studying Rules Without Delaying Implementation.** Before voting for the amendment to delay implementation of the NSR rules while the NAS studied them, McCain voted against a Republican amendment that would have provided for a NAS study without delaying implementation of those rules.

Senator Clinton also opposed the weaker amendment. The amendment passed 51-45. [H.J.R. 2, [Vote #11](#), 1/22/2003]

Labor standards/Trade

McCain Voted Against Prohibiting Trading Partners from Weakening Environmental Laws to Facilitate Trade. In 2002, McCain voted to kill an amendment that would require trade agreements negotiated under fast track authority to prohibit America's trading partners from weakening their labor or environmental laws in order to facilitate trade. The motion to kill the amendment passed 52-46. [H.R. 3009, [Vote #115](#), 5/16/2002]

McCain Opposed Ability to Enforce Labor and Environmental Standards in Trade Agreements. In 2002, McCain voted to kill an amendment that would allow legal retaliatory action based on a decision by a foreign government that does not comply with American labor standards and environmental protection provisions agreed to in the Andean Trade Promotion Agreement. The motion to kill the amendment passed 54-44. [H.R. 3009, [Vote #112](#), 5/15/2002]

Environmental programs

McCain Voted Against Billions in Funding for Environmental Programs. In 2001, McCain voted against an amendment that would increase funding for a wide variety of environmental programs by \$50 billion and set aside \$50 billion for debt reduction. The increases would be offset by reductions in the tax cut. The amendment failed 46-54. [H.C.R. 83, [Vote #77](#), 4/5/2001]

McCain Voted Against Funding for Environmental Programs. In 1996, McCain voted to kill an amendment that would increase spending on environmental programs by \$7.3 billion over six years to the level requested by President Clinton and offset the costs by ending certain corporate tax preferences. The motion to kill the amendment passed 55-45. [S.C.R. 57, [Vote #125](#), 5/22/1996]

McCain Voted Against \$487 Million Increase for Environmental Programs. In 1996, McCain voted against an amendment to increase funding for environmental programs by \$487 million, providing about \$6.5 billion for the EPA in Fiscal Year 1996, or about \$700 million less than the \$7.2 billion spent in Fiscal Year 1995, but about \$800 million more than the \$5.7 billion provided in the VA-HUD conference reported President Clinton vetoed in December 1995. The amendment passed 81-19. [H.R. 3019, [Vote #37](#), 3/19/1996]

McCain Voted Against Killing Amendment Funding Asbestos Removal From Schools. In 1993, McCain voted against a Mikulski motion, to kill a Simon Amendment, to use \$30 million for a program to remove asbestos from school buildings. The motion to table failed 31-68. [S.Amdt. 914 to H.R. 2491, [Vote #278](#), 9/22/1993]

McCain Voted Against Amendment To Cut \$51B From Defense For Health, Environment, And Education. In 1992, McCain Voted against an amendment that would cut \$51 billion from defense over five years, putting half the savings into health care, the environment and education. The amendment was rejected 36-62. [S.C.R. 106, [Vote #70](#), 4/9/1992]

McCain Voted To Kill Amendment Transferring Panamanian Aid To Domestic Environmental And Waste Needs. In 1990, McCain voted for a motion to table, the Byrd-Johnston-Inouye-Ford amendment, which reduces aid to Panama by \$63.6 million and transfers the money to domestic needs -- DOE environmental restoration & waste management, agriculture conservation, Indian health, and the WIC supplemental food program. The motion to table was agreed to 51-48. [H.R. 4404, [Vote #64](#), 4/26/1990]

McCain Voted to Allow Natural Gas Companies to Raise Rates for Cost of Violating Environmental Law. In 1989, McCain voted for a motion to table an amendment, which prohibited the Federal Energy Regulatory

Commission (FERC) FERC from permitting a natural gas company to recover, in rates, any costs from violating federal/state environmental law and bound the FERC to any judicial/administrative determination that environment violation occurred. The motion passed 66-31. [H.R. 1722, [Vote #87](#), 6/13/1989]

Agriculture

McCain Voted For \$13.4B Budget Authority To Dept. Of Interior That Stripped Grazing Fee Increases. In 1993, McCain voted for adoption of a conference report, providing approximately \$13.4 billion in budget authority, to the Department of Interior and other agencies--some \$225 million less than requested. the report also stripped grazing fee increases from the legislation. The conference report was agreed to 91-9. [H.R. 2520, [Vote #359](#), 11/9/1993]

McCain Voted Against Ending Debate Over Dispute Involving Grazing Fees For Livestock On Public Lands. In 1993, McCain voted against invoking cloture on a bill to provide \$13.4 billion in budget authority in FY 1994 to the Department of the Interior. The filibuster occurred over a dispute involving grazing fees for livestock on public lands. The cloture motion failed 54-44. [H.R. 2520, [Vote #340](#), 10/28/1993]

McCain Voted Against Ending Filibuster Over Dispute On Increased Livestock Grazing Fees On Public Lands. In 1993, McCain voted against motion to invoke cloture on a bill to provide \$13.4 billion, in budget authority, for the Department of the Interior for FY 1994. The filibuster occurred over a dispute on increased livestock grazing fees on public lands. The cloture motion was rejected, 51-45. [H.R. 2520, [Vote #329](#), 10/26/1993]

McCain Voted To Prohibit Certain Funding To Implement Higher Grazing Fees Or Public Land Management. In 1993, McCain voted Domenici Amendment prohibiting for up to one year the administration from using any of the funds in the bill to implement higher grazing fees or other public land management changes. In other words, the amendment prohibited the use of funds to implement the Rangeland Reform '94 program. The bill passed 59-40. [H.R. 2520, [Vote #266](#), 9/14/1993]

McCain Voted To Remove Chemical Reduction From Goal Of Sustainable Agriculture Research Program. In 1990, McCain voted in favor of a Grassley amendment that revises the definition of "sustainable agriculture", to remove references to chemical reduction as a research goal. The research section of the bill promotes sustainable agriculture and makes reduction of chemical inputs key part of definition. The amendment was rejected 32-60. [S. 2830, [Vote #164](#), 7/23/1990]

McCain Voted to Eliminate Environmental Position at Department of Agriculture. In 1995, McCain voted to eliminate the position of assistant under secretary for natural resources and environment at the Department of Agriculture. He voted against a motion to kill an amendment eliminating the position. The motion to kill the amendment failed 42-51. [H.R. 1976, [Vote #446](#), 9/19/1995]

Air Quality

McCain Voted Against Killing Amendment Requiring Certain Air Quality Federal Implementation Plans. In 1990, McCain voted against a motion, to table a Kerry-Wilson amendment, which requires federal implementation plan for states that do not attain air quality standards. The amendment also eliminates waiver for states who find pollution control is too costly, and requires smaller pollution emitters to install "ract". The motion to table was agreed to 53-46. [S. 1630, [Vote #37](#), 3/21/1990]

ANWR

McCain Voted for Budget that Counts ANWR Revenue as Part of Federal Budget. In 2006, McCain voted for the Fiscal Year 2007 Budget Resolution that included a provision counting revenues from Arctic drilling as part of the budget. The budget resolution passed 51-49. [S.C.R. 83, [Vote #74](#), 3/16/2006]

McCain Voted to Create Reserve Fund to Collect Receipts from Lease Sales in ANWR. In 2006, McCain voted for the creation of a reserve fund to collect receipts from lease sales in ANWR and to direct \$150 million a year from the fund for five years to pay for programs under the Energy Policy Act. The proposal paved the way for drilling approval in ANWR. The amendment passed 51-49. [S.C.R. 83, [Vote #72](#), 3/16/2006]

McCain has Flip Flopped Repeatedly on Drilling in the Arctic National Wildlife Refuge

Flip: McCain Voted for Drilling in ANWR. In 1995, McCain voted to kill an amendment that would strike provisions in the underlying bill allowing for oil drilling in ANWR. The Senate voted to kill the amendment 51-48. [S. 1357, [Vote #525](#), 10/27/1995]

- **McCain Voted in Favor of Drilling in ANWR.** In 1995, McCain voted to kill an amendment prohibiting oil drilling in ANWR. The motion to kill the amendment passed 56-44. [S. 13, [Vote #190](#), 5/24/1995]

Flop: McCain Voted Against Drilling in ANWR. In 2002, McCain voted to prohibit oil and gas development in ANWR. McCain voted against a cloture motion to move an amendment allowing drilling to move forward. The motion to invoke cloture and move the amendment forward failed 46-54. [S. 517, [Vote #71](#), 4/18/2002]

- **McCain Voted Against Drilling in ANWR.** In 2003, McCain voted for an amendment to eliminate provisions in the Fiscal Year 2004 Budget Resolution that could give procedural protection to legislation authorizing oil drilling in ANWR. The amendment passed 52-48. [S.C.R. 23, [Vote #59](#), 3/19/2003]
- **Flip: McCain Voted Against Drilling in ANWR.** In 2005, McCain voted for an amendment striking a provision relating to the establishment of an oil and gas leasing program in ANWR. Both Senators Obama and Clinton also voted for the amendment. The amendment failed 48-51. [S. 1932, [Vote #288](#), 11/3/2005]
- **McCain Voted to Allow American Oil and Gas Resources to be Shipped Overseas.** In 2005, shortly after the Senate voted to allow an oil and gas leasing program in ANWR, McCain voted against an amendment that would prohibit any oil or gas produced under leases in ANWR from being exported to a foreign country. The amendment would enhance American energy security if drilling in ANWR became an unfortunate reality. Both Senators Obama and Clinton voted for the amendment. The amendment passed 83-16. [S. 1932, [Vote #289](#), 11/3/2005]

Flip: McCain Voted to Allow Drilling in ANWR. In 2005, McCain voted to end debate and move forward on the FY 2006 Defense Appropriations bill that included \$50 billion for operations in Iraq and Afghanistan. In addition, it allowed drilling in ANWR. Both Senators Obama and Clinton voted against cloture. The motion to move forward failed 56-44. [H.R. 2863, [Vote #364](#), 12/21/2005]

- **McCain then Skipped Vote Removing ANWR Provision.** Shortly after voting for the FY 2006 Defense Appropriations bill that also allowed drilling in ANWR, McCain skipped a vote on an enrolling resolution that instructed the Clerk of the House to strike provisions from the conference report pertaining to drilling in ANWR. Both Senators Obama and Clinton voted to strike the ANWR provisions. The resolution passed 48-45. [S.C.R. 74, [Vote #365](#), 12/21/2005]

Flop: McCain Voted Against Drilling in ANWR. In 2005, McCain voted for an amendment that would strike language in the resolution giving procedural protection to legislation authorizing oil drilling in ANWR. The amendment failed 49-51. [S.C.R. 18, [Vote #52](#), 3/16/2005]

- **After Amendment Failed, McCain Voted for Budget without ANWR Protection.** After voting the right way to block procedural protection for drilling in ANWR (an amendment which failed), McCain voted for the Fiscal Year 2006 Budget Resolution that included procedural protection to legislation authorizing oil drilling in ANWR. The resolution passed 51-49. [S.C.R. 18, [Vote #81](#), 3/17/2005]

McCain Voted To Kill Amendment To Strike \$1.2 Billion Revenue Assumption For ANWR Receipts In F.Y. 2005. In 2000, McCain voted for a Murkowski, R-Alaska, motion to table (kill) the Roth, R-Del., amendment that would strike from the budget resolution the \$1.2 billion revenue assumption from oil exploration in the Arctic National Wildlife Refuge. Basically the Roth amendment strikes the revenue assumption for Arctic National Wildlife Refuge (ANWR) receipts in fiscal year 2005. The Senate agreed to the motion to table, 51-49. [S.C.R. 101, [Vote #58](#), 4/6/2000]

Brownfields

McCain Voted Against Brownfield Program. In 2004, McCain voted against an amendment to authorize \$2 billion in tax-exempt bonds for brownfield demonstration program for qualified green buildings and sustainable development projects. Senator Clinton voted for the amendment. The amendment passed 76-23. [S. 1637, [Vote #84](#), 5/5/2004]

McCain Voted Against Funding for Superfund Cleanup of Brownfield Sites. In 2003, McCain voted to kill an amendment that would provide \$100 million from the Superfund trust fund for the cleanup of brownfield sites. Senator Clinton voted against killing the amendment. The motion to kill the amendment passed 53-45. [H.J.R. 2, [Vote #27](#), 1/23/2003]

CAFE Standards

McCain Voted Against Increasing CAFE Standards. In 2005, McCain voted against an amendment that would mandate phased increases in CAFÉ standards. Passenger vehicles made before 2008 would have to average 25 miles per gallon, and the standard would gradually increase to 40 miles per gallon by model year 2016. By model year 2016, the standard would rise to an average of 27.5 miles per gallon. Senator Obama voted for the amendment, and Senator Clinton voted against it. The amendment failed 28-67. [H.R. 6, [Vote #157](#), 6/23/2005]

McCain Voted Against Raising CAFE Standards. In 2003, McCain voted against an amendment that would mandate an increase in CAFE standards. Passenger vehicles made before 2006 would have to average 25 miles per gallon. After that, the standard would gradually increase to 40 miles per gallon by model year 2015. Non-passenger vehicles made before 2006 would have to average 17 miles per gallon. By model year 2015, they would have to average 27.5 miles per gallon. Senator Clinton voted in favor of the amendment. The amendment failed 32-65. [S. 14, [Vote #309](#), 7/29/2003]

McCain Voted Against Limiting Fuel Standards. In 2002, McCain voted against an amendment that would prohibit any CAFE standard increases from being higher than 20.7 miles per gallon for pickup trucks manufactured after model year 2004. The amendment passed 56-44. [S. 517, [Vote #48](#), 3/13/2003]

McCain Voted Against Delaying Congressional Action on CAFE Standards. In 2002, McCain voted against an amendment to strike CAFE standards from the Senate energy plan and delay Congressional action on fuel standards for fifteen months. The amendment passed 62-38. [S. 517, [Vote #47](#), 3/13/2002]

McCain Failed to Vote On Amendment Expressing That DOT Should Be Permitted To Examine CAFE Standards. In 1999, McCain failed to vote on a Gorton amendment, expressing sense of Senate that Transportation Department should be permitted to examine issue of Corporate Average Fuel Economy (CAFE) standards so that consumers may benefit from any resulting increase in standards as soon as possible; and Senate should not recede to section 320 of bill (as passed by House) which prevents increase in CAFE standards. The Senate rejected the amendment, 40-55. [S.Amdt. 1677 to H.R. 2084, [Vote #275](#), 9/15/1999]

Clean Air Act

McCain Voted To Adopt Conference Report On Clean Air Act, To Attain And Maintain National Air Quality Standards. In 1990, McCain voted for adoption of conference report on the clean air act to attain and

maintain national air quality standards. The conference report was adopted 89-10. [S. 1630, [Vote #324](#), 10/27/1990]

McCain Voted For Bill To Strengthen Clean Air Act. In 1990, McCain voted for passage of bill to strengthen the Clean Air Act by providing a framework for achieving air quality standards; tighten controls on motor vehicle emissions; strengthens control of toxic air pollution; reduce acid rain; and phases out ozone-depleting chemicals. The bill passed 89-11. [S. 1630, [Vote #55](#), 4/3/1990]

Clean Coal

McCain Voted Against Killing Amendment Allowing Utilities To Use Feedstock Coal With Clean Coal Technology. In 1990, McCain voted against a motion to table the Murkowski amendment that alters the bill's system of pollution allowances, by allowing utilities to use new feedstock coal in conjunction with clean coal technology (rather than technology alone) to qualify for allowances and two-year compliance delay. The motion to table was agreed to 65-31. [S. 1630, [Vote #51](#), 4/3/1990]

McCain Voted To Table Amendment Expanding Technologies For Clean Coal Program. In 1990, McCain voted for a motion, to table the McClure-Murkowski amendment that expands technologies which may qualify for clean coal technology program. The amendment also provides a 2 year extension for emission reduction compliance, addresses the WEPCO issue, and weakens standards for plants that repower or rebuild. The motion to table was agreed to 64-33. [S. 1630, [Vote #49](#), 4/3/1990]

Confirmations

McCain Voted to Move Forward Stephen L. Johnson's Nomination to Head EPA. In 2005, McCain voted to invoke cloture and move forward President Bush's nomination of Stephen L. Johnson to be Administrator of the EPA. The motion to move the nomination forward passed 61-37. [A.P.T. 328, [Vote #115](#), 4/29/2005]

McCain Voted for Confirmation of Lujan to be Secretary of the Interior. In 1989, McCain voted for the confirmation of Manuel Lujan, Jr., of New Mexico, to be Secretary of the Interior. The nomination was confirmed 100-0. [A.P.T. 130, [Vote #7](#), 2/2/1989]

McCain Voted for the Confirmation of Reilly to be Administrator of the EPA. In 1989, McCain voted for the confirmation of William Kane Reilly, of Virginia, to be Administrator of the Environmental Protection Agency. The nomination was confirmed 100-0. [A.P.T. 144, [Vote #10](#), 2/2/1989]

McCain Voted for the Confirmation of Watkins to be Secretary of Energy. In 1989, McCain voted for the confirmation of Admiral James D. Watkins, United States Navy, Retired, of California, to be Secretary of Energy. The nomination was confirmed 99-0. [A.P.T. 137, [Vote #17](#), 3/1/1989]

Drilling & Exploration

McCain Voted Against Off-Shore Drilling. In 2005, McCain voted for an amendment that would strike language instructing the Interior Department to conduct a comprehensive inventory of Outer Continental Shelf oil and natural gas resources. The amendment failed 44-52. [H.R. 6, [Vote #143](#), 6/21/2005]

McCain Voted Against Off-Shore Drilling. In 2003, McCain voted against a provision requiring a survey and inventory of possible off-shore oil and natural gas deposits by the Secretary of the Interior. He voted for an amendment striking the provision. The amendment failed 45-53. [S. 14, [Vote #221](#), 6/12/2003]

McCain Voted Against Protecting National Park Land from Oil Drilling and Exploration. In 2001, McCain voted to kill an amendment prohibiting the use of funds for the pre-leasing or leasing of oil and gas, or other

exploration activities within lands designated as national monuments. The motion to kill failed 42-57. [H.R. 2217, [Vote #229](#), 7/11/2001]

McCain Voted for One-Year Moratorium on Oil and Gas Exploration in North Aleutian Basin. In 1989, McCain voted for a bill making appropriations for the Department of the Interior and related agencies for the fiscal year ending September 30, 1990, and for other purposes. The bill contained a total of \$956.4 million for the Bureau of Land Management of which \$442.1 million is for management of lands and resources; \$535.5 million for the Fish and Wildlife Service. The bill also imposed a one-year moratorium on oil and gas exploration and development in the North Aleutian Basin and ensured that the Department of the Interior will continue its assessment of damage from the Exxon Valdez oil spill through September 30, 1990. The bill also contained \$1.5 billion for the Department of Energy, which includes \$422.1 million for the fossil energy research program; \$192.1 million for the Naval Petroleum and Oil Shale Reserves; \$413.3 million for energy conservation. The bill passed 91-6. [H.R. 2788, [Vote #241](#), 10/7/1989]

Drinking Water

McCain Voted for Drinking Water Legislation. In 1995, McCain voted for legislation easing regulatory requirements for public drinking water systems and providing new funding sources for state and local drinking water safety programs by authorizing \$1 billion a year through 2003 for a state revolving loan fund. The bill would require the EPA to conduct cost-benefit analyses before setting any new standard for a drinking water contaminant and revoke the requirement under current law that the EPA set standards for 25 additional contaminants every three years. The legislation passed 99-0. [S. 1316, [Vote #588](#), 11/29/1995]

McCain Voted Against Reports on Drinking Water Contamination. In 1995, McCain voted to kill an amendment that would require each community water system serving over 10,000 people to issue to all of its customers a yearly report on the level of contaminants in the drinking water for the system. The amendment would allow states to opt out of the requirement, provided they inform customers about the reasons for the decision. The motion to kill the amendment passed 59-40. [S. 1316, [Vote #587](#), 11/29/1995]

McCain Voted Against Protecting the EPA Rules to Control Health Risks from Contaminated Drinking Water. In 1995, McCain voted to kill an amendment that would have exempted rules proposed by the EPA to control health risks from water-borne microbes in drinking water from the risk-assessment and cost-benefit analysis requirements in the underlying bill. The motion to kill the amendment passed 50-48. [S. 343, [Vote #303](#), 7/12/1995]

McCain Voted Against Assistance for State and Local Governments to Meet Clean Water Act Standards. In 1995, McCain voted in opposition to an amendment providing \$10.8 billion from the Tax Reserve/Fiscal Dividend Fund for the EPA to administer federal water infrastructure grants. The grants are used to assist state and local governments in meeting clean water and drinking water standards under the Clean Water Act. The Senate voted in opposition to the amendment 43-56. [S.C.R. 13, [Vote #211](#), 5/25/1995]

McCain Voted Against Killing Amendment Placing EPA Moratorium On Radon In Drinking Water Regulations. In 1992, McCain Voted against a Domenici amendment, to table the Chafee amendment, to his original amendment as modified. The amendment would place an EPA moratorium on regulations regarding radon in drinking water pending the completion of a mandated report due December 31, 1993. The motion to table failed 43-53. [H.R. 5679, [Vote #195](#), 9/9/1992]

Emissions

McCain Has Been Better Than Other Republican on Global Warming and Emissions

McCain Voted for Mandatory, Market-Based Limits on Greenhouse Gases. In 2005, McCain voted against killing an amendment that would have expressed the sense of the Senate that Congress should enact mandatory,

market-based limits and incentives on greenhouse gas emissions. Both Senators Obama and Clinton voted against killing the amendment. The motion to kill the amendment failed 43-54. [H.R. 6, [Vote #149](#), 6/22/2005]

McCain Proposed Amendment Allowing Emission Trading. In 2005, McCain introduced an amendment that would limit greenhouse gas emissions to 2000 levels by 2010. The amendment also would allow for trading of emission allowances and reductions through a government-sponsored greenhouse gas database that would maintain an inventory of emissions and a registry of reductions. Both Senators Obama and Clinton voted for the amendment. The amendment failed 38-60. [H.R. 6, [Vote #148](#), 6/22/2005]

McCain Voted for Voluntary Diesel Emission Reduction Program. In 2005, McCain voted for an amendment to establish a voluntary national and state-level grant and loan program to reduce diesel emissions. The amendment authorized the use of \$1 billion over five years. Both Senators Obama and Clinton also voted for the amendment. The amendment passed 92-1. [H.R. 6, [Vote #145](#), 6/21/2005]

McCain Voted to Reduce Greenhouse Gas Emissions. In 2003, McCain voted for a substitute amendment that would require greenhouse gas emissions to be reduced to 2000 levels by 2010. It would also establish a national greenhouse gas database and create a market-driven system of greenhouse gas tradable allowances. Senator Clinton also voted for the amendment. The amendment failed 43-55. [S. 139, [Vote #420](#), 10/30/2003]

McCain Failed To Vote To Kill Amendment Expressing That Imported Minivans Be Classified As Trucks. In 1992, McCain failed to vote for a Packwood motion, to table the Riegle amendment, expressing the sense of the Senate that imported minivan vehicles should be classified as trucks for tariff purposes and subject to a 25 percent duty. The motion to table failed 36-37. [H.R. 11, [Vote #244](#), 9/26/1992]

McCain Voted To Kill Amendment Reducing U.S.'s Dependence On South Africa With Regard To Catalytic Emission Reductions. In 1990, McCain voted for a motion to table the Symms amendment, that waives the bill's catalytic emissions reductions requirements (tailpipe standards) if the EPA finds that the standards would require the import of strategic minerals from South Africa to exceed 150% of 1990 levels. The motion to table was agreed to 91-5. [S. 1630, [Vote #41](#), 3/22/1990]

McCain Voted Against Killing Amendment To Tighten Motor Vehicle Emissions Regulation. In 1990, McCain voted against a motion, to table the Wirth-Wilson amendment, which would tighten the bill's regulation of motor vehicle emissions through stronger "useful life" emission standards. The amendment would also require a mandatory 2nd round of tailpipe emission reductions unless Congress cancels, and a broader alternative fuels program. The motion to table was agreed to 52-46. [S. 1630, [Vote #35](#), 3/20/1990]

McCain Voted To Kill Amendment Putting Stricter Controls On Toxic Pollutants From Motor Vehicles. In 1990, McCain voted for a motion, to table Lautenberg-Gore amendment, which puts stricter controls on toxic pollutants from motor vehicles. The amendment includes vehicles as "area sources" of air pollution whose emissions must be reduced to a level that will reduce cancer cases by 75%. The motion to table was agreed to 65-33. [S. 1630, [Vote #34](#), 3/8/1990]

McCain Voted To Kill Amendment That Deleted Dual Regulation Of Nuclear Air Emission By EPA And NRC. In 1990, McCain voted for a motion, to table Glenn-Heinz amendment, to strike a section of the bill which deletes the existing dual regulation of nuclear air emissions by both the EPA and NRC and thereby eliminates states' ability to preempt federal standards with stronger state standards. The motion to table failed 36-61. [S. 1630, [Vote #30](#), 3/7/1990]

But There are Also Critics:

McCain's Climate Message Is "Bush-Lite" And "Insubstantial." Michael Shank, of the Foreign Policy in Focus think tank, said that while John McCain's climate message "...may, comparatively speaking, have the upper hand among Republican candidates" it is "...not only Bush-lite, but also insubstantial." Shank pointed out that both Bush and McCain acknowledged that global warming exists and that something should be done, but "their

approaches are strikingly similar and sadly unassertive: let innovation, technology, and the free market solve the problem. According to both, business will lead and the greening of America will follow.” Shank pointed out, “The only main difference between the two is that Bush would rely on ethanol subsidies to reduce U.S. dependence on foreign oil while for McCain leans heavily toward nuclear energy.” [Foreign Policy in Focus, [1/15/08](#)]

McCain Supported “Cap and Trade” System; Opposed Carbon Tax. According to the *New York Times*, “One priority, he said, would be to establish ‘cap and trade,’ a system in which corporations are essentially rewarded for deep cuts in harmful emissions. Mr. McCain has written a bill on that and forced two votes, losing both. ... The senator opposes a measure that many environmentalists desire, a carbon tax, most likely as another gasoline tax. He told the warming and energy conference that he generally opposed new taxes but that he also believed that poor workers who tended to commute to work longer distances would be disproportionately affected.” [New York Times, 10/17/07]

McCain “Knew Little About the Climate Problem” in 1999. Senator McCain “acknowledges that he knew little about the climate problem when he sought his party’s presidential nomination eight years ago.” [New York Times, 10/17/07]

McCain Agreed “Nuclear Power Should Be Greatly Expanded.” McCain, along with the rest of the Republican presidential candidates, “agree that nuclear power should be greatly expanded.” [New York Times, 10/17/07]

McCain Opposed Environmentalist-Supported Idea of a Carbon Tax. The New York Times reported, “The senator [McCain] opposes a measure that many environmentalists desire, a carbon tax, most likely as another gasoline tax. He told the warming and energy conference that he generally opposed new taxes.” [New York Times, 10/17/07]

McCain Voted Against Reducing Dependence on Foreign Oil. In 2005, McCain voted against legislation calling on the President to submit a plan to reduce foreign petroleum imports by 40 percent. [Senate Roll Call Vote #140, 6/16/05]

Endangered Species

McCain Voted Against Ensuring DOD Land is Subject to Same Strong Standards as Those under Endangered Species Act. In 2003, McCain voted against an amendment that would bar the Interior Secretary from designating DOD-owned land subject to a Pentagon management plan as “critical habitat,” but only if the Interior Secretary certifies that the management plan would effectively conserve endangered species and would receive adequate funding. Senator Clinton voted for the amendment. The amendment passed 51-48. [S. 1050, [Vote #190](#), 5/21/2003]

McCain Voted Against Wolf Reintroduction Program. In 1995, McCain voted against funding to implement and carry out a program through the Interior Department’s Fish and Wildlife Service to reintroduce red wolves to former habitat areas in North Carolina from which the species had disappeared. McCain voted against a motion to kill an amendment that would have prohibited funding for the program. The motion to kill passed 50-48. [H.R. 1977, [Vote #376](#), 8/9/1995]

McCain Voted to Prohibit Adding Additional Species to Endangered Species List. In 1995, McCain voted to prohibit the addition of any new species to the endangered species list for the remainder of Fiscal Year 1995 by rescinding \$1.5 million for the enforcement of the Endangered Species Act of 1973. McCain voted against a motion to kill the amendment. The motion to kill failed 38-60. [S. 889, [Vote #106](#), 3/16/1995]

McCain Kept Pushing to Limit Endangered Species. After voting to bar the addition of any species to the endangered species list, McCain voted against the decision of the Chair that the amendment was non-germane. The amendment was made to the Emergency Supplemental Appropriations Bill. The Senate voted against the decision of the chair 42-57. [S. 889, [Vote #107](#), 3/16/1995]

Enforcement and Incentives

McCain Voted To Require That EPA Impose Penalties On Federal Agencies That Violate Waste Disposal Laws. In 1991, McCain voted for passage of a bill requiring the Environmental Protection Agency to impose orders and levy fines on federal agencies and facilities that do not comply with federal and state laws on waste disposal. The bill passed 94-3. [H.R. 2194, [Vote #230](#), 10/24/1991]

McCain Voted For Cloture On Act Requiring EPA To Impose Penalties On Federal Agencies That Violate Waste Disposal Laws. In 1991, McCain voted for a Mitchell motion, to invoke cloture, on Federal Facility Compliance Act that would require the Environmental Protection Agency to impose orders and require monetary penalties on federal agencies and facilities that violate waste and disposal laws. The cloture motion was agreed to 85-14. [S. 596, [Vote #226](#), 10/17/1991]

McCain Voted To Kill Amendment Prohibiting EPA From Closing Plant For Toxic Emissions Without 50% Of Community Approval. In 1990, McCain voted for a motion, to table the Symms amendment, which prohibits the EPA from closing a plant because of its toxic emissions, or jeopardizing it through fines or permit, until more than 50% of the nearby community has approved of the shutdown in a referendum. The motion to table was agreed to 82-15. [S. 1630, [Vote #52](#), 4/3/1990]

McCain Voted To Kill Amendment Providing Tax Credit For Equipment Complying With SO2 Limits. In 1990, McCain voted for a motion to table Specter-Metzenbaum amendment that provides 20% tax credit for investment in new equipment (“scrubbers”) to comply with SO2 limits under this act. Equipment must be installed between 1991 and 1997, and reduce SO2 emissions at source by 65%. The motion to table was agreed to 71-26. [S. 1630, [Vote #45](#), 3/28/1990]

McCain Voted To Weaken Enforcement Of Polluters And Broaden Permit Shield. In 1990, McCain voted for the Nickles-Heflin amendment, which weakens the permit and enforcement section by broadening the concept of permit shield, deferring new rules unless they prevent actual harm to public health, and permitting polluters to challenge enforcement orders before administrative law judge. The amendment was rejected 47-50. [S. 1630, [Vote #44](#), 3/27/1990]

McCain Voted Against Killing Amendment Weakening Enforcement On Polluters. In 1990, McCain voted against a motion to table, Nickles-Heflin amendment, that weakens the permit and enforcement section by broadening “permit shield” protection of polluters from enforcement, setting a weaker public health standard and letting polluters litigate before an administrative judge. The motion to table failed 47-50. [S. 1630, [Vote #43](#), 3/27/1990]

EPA

McCain Has Voted Against EPA Funding:

- **McCain Voted Against an Additional \$3 Billion for the EPA’s Clean Water Loan Fund.** In 2003, McCain voted against an additional \$3 billion in funding for the EPA’s clean water loan fund for sewer and waste water contamination. Senator Clinton missed the vote. Motion failed 44-49. [H.R. 2861, [Vote #449](#), 11/12/2003]
- **McCain Voted for 14% Cut to EPA.** In 1995, McCain voted for a funding bill that slashed funding for the EPA by 14 percent. The bill passed 54-44. [H.R. 2099, [Vote #606](#), 12/14/1995; [New York Times](#), 12/15/95]
- **McCain Voted For EPA And National Science Appropriations Bill Below House Levels.** In 1990, McCain voted for final passage of VA/HUD/NASA appropriations bill above House levels, but EPA and national science foundation below House levels. The bill provides more money for pre-1989 S&L failings

than either the House or the administration recommended. The bill passed 90-8. [H.R. 5158, [Vote #260](#), 10/3/1990]

McCain Voted to Express Congressional Disapproval of Controversial EPA Rule. In 2005, McCain voted in favor of a joint resolution providing for congressional disapproval of a rule by the EPA that removes coal and oil-fired electric generating units from the major sources of hazardous air pollutants list as defined by the Clean Air Act. Both Senators Obama and Clinton also voted for the resolution. The resolution failed 47-51. [S.J.R. 20, [Vote #225](#), 9/13/2005]

McCain Voted for EPA Monitoring of Air Toxins after Bad Fires. In 2003, McCain voted for an amendment to authorize a program for the EPA to monitor additional air toxins following a fire that is declared a federal disaster. Monitoring would end when the EPA has determined the danger has subsided. Senator Clinton also voted for the amendment. The amendment passed 78-17. [H.R. 1904, [Vote #418](#), 10/29/2003]

McCain Voted Against Allowing EPA Administrator to Keep Americans Safe. In 1995, McCain voted against an amendment that would allow the EPA administrator to disregard riders attached to the Fiscal Year 1996 VA-HUD Appropriations Bill if he or she determined they would weaken environmental protection or public health. The underlying bill had riders attached that would prevent the EPA from protecting Americans from contaminated drinking water, require the EPA to reevaluate the standards imposed on the oil refinery industry to control emissions, and delay cleanup efforts at some Superfund sites. The amendment failed 39-61. [H.R. 2099, [Vote #467](#), 9/27/1995]

McCain Voted for Corporate Loopholes in Toxic Chemical Disclosure. In 1995, McCain voted to kill an amendment that would eliminate provisions making it easier for businesses to avoid listing chemicals in their toxic release inventory. The amendment would have deleted provisions restricting the number of toxic pollutants that companies are required to file with the EPA's Toxic Release Inventory and permitted certain chemicals to be removed from the list, thus seriously diluting community right-to-know laws requiring corporations to alert the public to dangerous chemicals they have released from their facilities. The motion to kill the amendment passed 50-48. [S. 343, [Vote #306](#), 7/13/1995]

McCain Voted Against Protecting the EPA Rules to Control Health Risks from Contaminated Drinking Water. In 1995, McCain voted to kill an amendment that would have exempted rules proposed by the EPA to control health risks from water-borne microbes in drinking water from the risk-assessment and cost-benefit analysis requirements in the underlying bill. The motion to kill the amendment passed 50-48. [S. 343, [Vote #303](#), 7/12/1995]

McCain Voted to Require EPA to Analyze Risk, Costs and Benefits of Regulations. In 1994, McCain voted for an amendment to require an analysis of risk, costs and benefits for regulations issued by the EPA that would have an impact of \$100 million or more. The amendment passed 90-8. [S. 2019, [Vote #117](#), 5/18/1994]

McCain Voted To Give EPA Cabinet Status And Require Study Of Environmental Policy. In 1993, McCain voted for passage of a bill to elevate the Environmental Protection Agency to cabinet status as the Department of Environmental Protection. The bill also requires a two-year study of implementing environmental policy and creates a new statistics bureau. The bill passed 79-15. [S. 171, [Vote #114](#), 5/4/1993]

McCain Voted Against Killing Amendment To Raise EPA To Cabinet Level But Strike Other Environmental Provisions. In 1993, McCain voted against a Glenn motion to kill the Roth amendment raising the Environmental Protection Agency to cabinet-level status but striking all other provisions, including the creation of a Bureau of Environmental Statistics and eliminating the Council on Environmental Quality. The motion was agreed to 54-42. [S. 171, [Vote #106](#), 4/27/1993]

McCain Voted Against Killing Amendment Cutting \$23.5M To EPA For Energy Conservation. In 1993, McCain voted against a Byrd motion, to kill a Bond amendment, cutting \$23.5 million to the environmental protection agency for energy conservation. In particular, Bond and the Republicans took issue with a program to

reduce methane gas produced by animals. The motion to table was agreed to 55-44. [H.R. 1335, [Vote #95](#), 4/1/1993]

McCain Voted To Establish Mandatory Small Business Technical Assistance Program Within EPA. In 1990, McCain voted for an amendment, which establishes mandatory small business technical assistance program within EPA, and each state and a discretionary state compliance program to provide alternate means for small businesses to accomplish required emissions reductions. The amendment passed 98-0. [S. 1630, [Vote #36](#), 3/21/1990]

McCain Voted To Kill Amendment That Deleted Dual Regulation Of Nuclear Air Emission By EPA And NRC. In 1990, McCain voted for a motion, to table Glenn-Heinz amendment, to strike a section of the bill which deletes the existing dual regulation of nuclear air emissions by both the EPA and NRC and thereby eliminates states' ability to preempt federal standards with stronger state standards. The motion to table failed 36-61. [S. 1630, [Vote #30](#), 3/7/1990]

McCain Voted to Prohibit Use of Funds to Enforce EPA Financial Assurance Requirements. In 1989, McCain voted against a motion to table an amendment, prohibits use of funds to enforce EPA's financial assurance requirements relating to underground storage tanks. The motion passed 65-33. [H.R. 2916, [Vote #185](#), 9/19/1989]

McCain Voted to Appropriate for Agencies, Including EPA. In 1987, McCain voted for passage of the bill to appropriate \$57,293,562,000 for fiscal 1988 for the Department of Housing and Urban Development and 16 independent agencies, including the Veterans Administration, NASA, the Environmental Protection Agency, the National Science Foundation and the Federal Emergency Management Agency. The president had requested \$51,649,900,000. The bill passed 86-12. [H.R. 2783, [Vote #332](#), 10/15/1987; CQ Almanac]

Fisheries

McCain Skipped Vote on Commercial Fishing in Glacier Bay. In 1999, McCain skipped a vote on requiring the Secretary of the Interior to study the environmental impacts of subsistence fishing and gathering, and of commercial fishing in marine waters of Glacier Bay National Park in Alaska. The Senate voted to kill an amendment requiring the study, with opponents of the amendment arguing the issue had already been settled. The Senate voted to kill the amendment 59-38. [H.R. 1664, [Vote #175](#), 6/17/1999]

McCain Voted for Commercial Fishing in Glacier Bay National Park. In 1999, McCain voted in favor of an amendment to prohibit funds in the Emergency Supplemental Appropriations bill from being used to close or restrict subsistence of commercial fishing or subsistence gathering in Glacier Bay National Park, in Alaska. McCain voted against a motion to kill an amendment. The motion to kill failed 40-59. [S. 544, [Vote #56](#), 3/23/1999]

McCain Voted to Lift Tuna Embargo if Dolphin Safeguard were Implemented. In 1997, McCain voted to lift the embargo on Latin American tuna using purse-seine nets, as long as safeguards are taken to limit the number of dolphins killed in the nets. The legislation passed 99-0. [S. 39, [Vote #207](#), 7/30/1997]

Forests

McCain Consistently Voted To Give Bush a Blank Check for his Sham "Healthy Forests Initiative"

- **McCain Voted for Forest Policy Legislation Supported by Bush Administration.** In 2003, McCain voted for a forest management policy supported by President Bush and opposed by the League of Conservation voters. Senator Clinton voted against the conference report. The conference report passed 80-14. [H.R. 1904, [Vote #428](#), 10/30/2003]

- **McCain Voted Against Allowing Evaluation of New Forest Policy.** In 2003, McCain voted to kill an amendment that would allow a portion of the health forest restoration legislation to sunset after five years, allowing Congress to make changes based on its results and impact. The amendment would have allowed Title I, which significantly changed how the U.S. managers millions of acres of public land, to sunset after five years like most other major authorization bills, such as the Farm Bill and ESEA. Senator Clinton missed the vote. The motion to kill the amendment passed 61-31. [H.R. 1904, [Vote #427](#), 10/30/2003]
- **McCain Voted Against Protecting Old Growth Forests from Fire.** In 2003, McCain voted to kill an amendment that would close a loophole in old-growth forest protection. The amendment would have applied “old growth” to all five categories of federal lands and apply protection to older forests as well as those with new management plans. Senator Clinton voted against killing the amendment. The motion to kill the amendment passed 62-32. [H.R. 1904, [Vote #425](#), 10/30/2003]
- **McCain Voted Against Increasing Percentage of Funds to Reduce Fire Danger in At-Risk Communities.** In 2003, McCain voted to kill an amendment that would have increased the percentage of funds used to reduce fire danger close to at-risk communities from 50 percent to 70 percent. Proponents of the amendment claimed the underlying bill didn’t focus resources where they were most needed – near homes, businesses and communities on the edge of forests. Senator Clinton voted against the motion to kill the amendment. The motion to kill passed 61-34. [H.R. 1904, [Vote #424](#), 10/30/2003]
- **McCain Voted Against Forest Fire Prevention Technique.** In 2003, McCain voted to kill an amendment that would require the Secretary of Agriculture and the Secretary of the Interior to implement hazardous fuels reduction projects to clear branches, brush and other materials left behind after trees have been logged that serve as fuel for forest fires. Senator Clinton voted against killing the amendment. The motion to kill the amendment passed 58-36. [H.R. 1904, [Vote #422](#), 10/30/2003]

McCain Failed to Vote to Table An Amendment Reducing Subsidy For Below Cost Timber Program.

In 1999, McCain failed to vote for a Craig motion to table a Bryan, et al., amendment, which reduces subsidy for below-cost timber program administered by Forest Service and for construction of logging roads in national forests in order to increase funding for other National Forest programs; and makes following amounts available for following Forest Service programs: \$33.7 million for wildlife habitat management, \$22.1 million for inland fish habitat management, \$24.3 million for anadromous fish habitat management, \$29.5 million for threatened, endangered and sensitive species habitat management, \$196.9 million for timber sales management, \$86.9 million for road construction (of which not more than \$37.4 million shall be available for engineering support for timber program), and \$122.5 million for road maintenance. The Senate agreed to the motion to table, 54-43. [H.R. 2466, [Vote #272](#), 9/14/1999]

McCain Voted Against Environmental Reviews to Expedite Timber Harvesting. In 1995, McCain voted to kill an amendment that would have restored certain environmental reviews that the underlying bill sought to suspend in order to expedite timber harvesting. The motion to kill the amendment passed 48-46. [S. 1158, [Vote #121](#), 3/30/1995]

McCain Voted To Kill Amendment To Reduce Coal Liquefaction Funds And Limit Certain Timber Cutting. In 1993, McCain voted for a Byrd Amendment, to kill a Bradley Amendment, to reduce funds for the coal liquefaction program from about \$28 million to about \$16 million and to limit the amount of timber that may be cut in the Tongass National Forest in Alaska to 350 million board feet. The motion to table was agreed to 81-17. [H.R. 2520, [Vote #267](#), 9/14/1993]

TONGASS NATIONAL FOREST

McCain Voted to Ban Federal Funding of Roads in the Tongass National Forest for Private Timber Harvesting. In 2005, McCain voted for an amendment to the FY 2006 Interior Appropriations Bill that would prohibit any funds from being used to construct new roads in the Tongass National Forest in Alaska for the purpose

of harvesting timber by private entities or individuals. Senators Obama and Clinton also voted for the amendment. The amendment failed 39-59. [H.R. 2361, [Vote #164](#), 6/29/2005]

McCain Voted to Shorten Time Frame for Court Challenges to Logging Sales in Tongass National Forest. In 2003, McCain voted to kill an amendment that would eliminate an expedited review process for cases involving timber harvesting cases in the Tongass National Forest. Senator Clinton voted against killing the amendment. The amendment passed 52-44. [H.R. 2691, [Vote #359](#), 9/23/2003]

Gas

McCain Voted Against Killing Amendment To Terminate \$22M Funds For High Temp. Gas Reactor Program/Gas Turbine Modular Helium Reactor. In 1993, McCain voted against a Johnston motion, to kill a Bradley Amendment, to terminate the \$22 million in funds for the high temperature gas reactor program/gas turbine modular helium reactor. After the motion failed, the Amendment was adopted by a voice vote. The motion to table failed 41-58. [H.R. 2445, [Vote #299](#), 9/30/1993]

McCain Voted Against Killing Amendment To Eliminate 4.3 Cent Per Gallon Fuel Tax. In 1993, McCain voted against a Breaux motion, to kill the Nickles amendment, to eliminate the 4.3 cent a gallon fuel tax. The motion passed 50-48. [S.Amdt. 508 to S. 1134, [Vote #167](#), 6/24/1993]

McCain Voted To Kill Requirement To Establish Public Need Before Confiscating Land For Gas Pipelines. In 1992, McCain voted for a Johnston motion, to table the Craig amendment, requiring the Federal Energy Regulatory Commission to hold separate hearings that a specific public need must be met before confiscating private land under federal eminent domain laws for gas pipeline. The motion to table was agreed to 60-35. [S. 2166, [Vote #21](#), 2/18/1992]

McCain Voted Against Killing Amendment Providing For Use Of Oxygenated Fuels To Replace Toxic Aromatics In Gasoline. In 1990, McCain voted against a motion, to table the Daschle-Dole-Harkin amendment, to provide for the use of oxygenated fuels and other benign additives, to replace the toxic aromatics that are now used to boost octane in gasoline. The motion to table was [S. 1630, [Vote #48](#), 3/29/1990]

Global Environment

McCain Voted to Slash Global Environmental Funding. In 1994, McCain voted for an amendment to cut the amount of U.S. funding to the Global Environmental Facility by \$48.8 million and to cut the amount of funding to the International Development Association by \$110.8 million. The amendment would have increased the amount for international narcotics control by \$52.4 million. The amendment failed 38-57. [H.R. 4426, [Vote #199](#), 7/15/1994]

McCain Voted To Improve Coordination Of And Implement Research On Global Environmental Change. In 1990, McCain voted for bill that provides for improved coordination of national scientific research efforts on global environmental change (i.e. global warming, ozone depletion) and calls for the committee on Earth Sciences to develop 10-year national global research plan. The bill won 100-0. [S. 169, [Vote #5](#), 2/6/1990]

Impact Statements and Cost/Benefit Analysis

McCain Voted To Kill Amendment Requiring Environmental Cost Benefit Analysis Of New Regulations And Revocation Of Old Regulations. In 1993, McCain voted in favor of a Johnston motion, to kill the Hatch amendment, requiring the Department of Environment to provide a cost-benefit analysis of any proposed new regulation and to require that no new regulation be enacted without revoking an old one, as a cost saving measure. The motion to table was agreed to 70-26. [S. Amdt. 338 to S. 171, [Vote #112](#), 4/29/1993]

McCain Voted to Limit Number of Alternatives Considered in Environmental Impact Statements. In 2003, McCain voted to kill an amendment that would eliminate a provision limiting the number of alternatives considered in environmental impact statements, as was then required under the National Environmental Policy Act. Senator Clinton missed the vote. The motion to kill the amendment passed 57-34. [H.R. 1904, [Vote #426](#), 10/30/2003]

McCain Voted Against Killing Amendment Requiring Economic And Employment Impact Statements To Accompany Bills. In 1993, McCain voted against a Glenn motion, to kill the Nickles amendment, requiring economic and employment impact statements to accompany every bill considered by Congress or every regulation proposed by the executive. The motion to table was agreed to 50-48. [S. 171, [Vote #109](#), 4/29/1993]

Interior Department

McCain Voted To Provide \$12.7 Billion For Department Of Interior In FY92. In 1991, McCain voted in favor of passage of a bill, providing \$12.7 billion to the Department of the Interior for FY92. The bill passed 93-3. [H.R. 2686, [Vote #200](#), 9/19/1991]

McCain Voted For Interior Appropriations Bill For FY 1991. In 1990, McCain voted for Final passage of the Interior Appropriations Bill for FY 1991. The bill passed 92-6. [H.R. 5769, [Vote #309](#), 10/24/1990]

McCain Voted for \$9.5b for Interior Department. In 1988, McCain voted for passage of the bill to appropriate approximately \$9.5 billion for the Interior Department and related agencies in fiscal 1989. The president requested \$8,864,974,000. A “nay” was a vote supporting the president’s position. The bill passed 92-4. [H.R. 4867, [Vote #250](#), 7/13/1988; CQ Almanac]

McCain Voted for \$10,019,754,000 for Interior Department for FY 1988 In 1987, McCain voted for passage of the bill to appropriate \$10,019,754,000 for the Interior Department and related activities. The president had requested \$8,632,818,000. A “nay” was a vote supporting the president’s position. The bill passed 92-4. [H.R. 2712, [Vote #288](#), 9/30/1987; CQ Almanac]

Kyoto Protocol

McCain Voted to Re-Engage in Kyoto Protocol Negotiations. In 2005, McCain voted for an amendment to urge the United States to re-engage in international Kyoto Protocol negotiations. The amendment also would express the sense of the Senate that the U.S. should act to reduce the health risks caused by global climate change. Both Senators Obama and Clinton also voted for the amendment. The amendment failed 46-49. [H.R. 6, [Vote #151](#), 6/22/2005]

Land Management

McCain Failed to Vote on Striking Standard for Data Gathered by Land Management Agencies. In 1999, McCain failed to vote on striking section 329, which establishes new standard for data gathered by land management agencies when assessing impacts of agency activities on wildlife populations and limits data gathered to existing data. The Senate voted to reject the amendment, 45-52. [S.Amdt. 1583 to H.R. 2466, [Vote #266](#), 9/9/1999]

McCain Voted to Authorize President Clinton to Implement American Heritage Rivers Initiative Without Congressional Consideration of Land Rights. In 1997, McCain voted to kill an amendment that would require the president to submit nominations for American Heritage River designation to Congress, rather than pursuant to executive order. The amendment would have required consideration of comments of all property owners holding title to land directly abutting river bank. The motion to kill the amendment passed 57-42. [H.R. 2107, [Vote #247](#), 9/18/1997]

McCain Voted to Charge Miners Fair Market Rates for Value of Federal Lands they Claim. In 1995, McCain voted against killing an amendment that would require miners to pay fair market rates for the surface value of federal lands they claim under land “patenting,” instead of the current system under which patents can be obtained for as low as \$2.50. The motion to kill failed 46-53. [H.R. 1977, [Vote #373](#), 8/8/1995]

McCain Voted Against Killing Amendment Designating Assistant Secretary For Indian Lands. In 1993, McCain voted against a Glenn motion, to kill one an amendment he sponsored, requiring that one of the assistant secretaries of the environment be an Assistant Secretary for Indian lands. The motion to table failed 16-79. [S. 171, [Vote #108](#), 4/28/1993]

McCain Voted To Kill Requirement To Establish Public Need Before Confiscating Land For Gas Pipelines. In 1992, McCain voted for a Johnston motion, to table the Craig amendment, requiring the Federal Energy Regulatory Commission to hold separate hearings that a specific public need must be met before confiscating private land under federal eminent domain laws for gas pipeline. The motion to table was agreed to 60-35. [S. 2166, [Vote #21](#), 2/18/1992]

McCain Voted Against Increasing Funding for Resource Management and Land Acquisition Programs. In 1989, McCain voted against an amendment that would increase appropriations for resource management and land acquisition programs of the Fish and Wildlife Service, for operation of the National Park Service, for national recreation and preservation programs, for the Historic Preservation Fund, for State and private forestry programs, and for general expenses of the Forest Service, and to decrease appropriations for construction programs of the Forest Service. The amendment passed 55-44. [H.R. 2788, [Vote #146](#), 7/26/1989]

Lead in Toys, Paint

McCain Voted to Ban Lead in Toys, Paint and Other Items. In 1994, McCain voted for passage of legislation to gradually ban lead in products such as toys, paint, pesticides and plumbing fixtures. It would also require the EPA to maintain an inventory of the uses of lead, establish a pre-manufacture notification program for new lead products, and establish a mandatory recycling program for lead acid batteries. The legislation passed 97-1. [S. 729, [Vote #133](#), 5/25/1994]

Mining

McCain Failed To Vote For Amendment To Provide For Disposal of Excess Spoil and Coal Mine Waste. In 1999, McCain voted Byrd, et al., amendment: Provides for two year moratorium during which mountain mining will proceed under memorandum of understanding entered into by EPA, Interior Department, and Corps of Engineers; provides that during this moratorium an environmental impact statement will proceed to its conclusion and any new regulations required by environmental impact statement (if any) will be promulgated; states that enforcement of Federal water quality standards will continue under provisions of memorandum of understanding in effect prior to court decision; allows Interior Secretary to promulgate final regulations regarding hard-rock mining on public lands consistent with recent report of National Research Council of National Academy of Sciences; and exempts certain activities regarding mill sites from November 7, 1997, opinion of Solicitor of Interior Department with regard to 1872 mining law. The Senate agreed to the amendment 56-33. [S.Amdt. 2780 to S.C.R. 101, [Vote #370](#), 11/18/1999]

McCain Voted Against Limiting the Number of Mill Sites Used for Disposal of Mine Waste. In 1999, McCain voted against a motion to kill an amendment that would eliminate language in the underlying bill prohibiting the Interior and Agriculture Departments from limiting the number of millsites or acreage of millsites used for mining and disposal of mine waste tailings. The Senate voted to kill the amendment 55-41. [H.R. 2466, [Vote #223](#), 7/27/1999]

McCain Voted to Prohibit Interior Secretary from Revising Environmental Regulations Concerning Hardrock Mining on Public Land. In 1998, McCain supported requiring the National Academy of Sciences to

prepare a 24 month study on need to revise existing regulations regarding hardrock mining on federal lands and prohibiting the Interior Secretary from revising environmental regulations concerning hardrock mining on public lands until 90 days after the study is completed. McCain voted to kill an amendment that would have eliminated these provisions. The motion to kill passed 58-40. [S. 2237, [Vote #268](#), 9/15/1998]

McCain Voted to Charge Miners Fair Market Rates for Value of Federal Lands they Claim. In 1995, McCain voted against killing an amendment that would require miners to pay fair market rates for the surface value of federal lands they claim under land “patenting,” instead of the current system under which patents can be obtained for as low as \$2.50. The motion to kill failed 46-53. [H.R. 1977, [Vote #373](#), 8/8/1995]

McCain Voted Against Killing Amendment To Cut Revenue Assumptions By Increasing Mining Fees On Federal Lands. In 1993, McCain voted against a Sasser motion, to kill the Murkowski amendment, reducing the resolution instructions by cutting the revenue assumptions based on increased mining fees on federal lands. The motion to table was agreed to 61-38. [S.C.R. 18, [Vote #81](#), 3/25/1993]

McCain Voted Against Killing Amendment Reducing BTU Tax Revenues By \$4.5 Billion. In 1993, McCain voted against a Sasser motion to kill the Murkowski amendment reducing the revenues from the BTU tax by \$4.5 billion over five years. The amendment would exempt all airline fuel from the tax and mandate spending cuts totaling \$4.5 billion. The motion to table was agreed to 55-44. [S.C.R. 18, [Vote #53](#), 3/23/1993]

McCain Voted Against Motion To Kill An Amendment To Prevent Congress From Enacting Any Proposal To Increase Grazing Fees, Levy Royalties On Hard Rock Mining, & Issue Irrigation Surcharges. In 1993, McCain voted against motion to kill amendment reducing the reconciliation instructions by two-thirds, in an effort to prevent Congress from enacting any proposal to increase grazing fees, levy royalties on hard rock mining, & issue irrigation surcharges. [S.C.R. 18, [Vote #48](#), 3/23/1993]

McCain Voted Against Domestic Livestock Grazing On Federal Lands And Royalty Fees For Hardrock Mining. In 1993, McCain voted against an amendment to state the assumptions of the resolution for domestic livestock grazing on Federal lands and royalty fees for hardrock mining. The amendment was agreed to 54-45. [S.C.R. 18, [Vote #45](#), 3/23/1993]

McCain Voted Against Killing Reid Modifications To Amendment Placing One Year Moratorium On Land For Mining. In 1992, McCain Voted against a Bumpers motion to table, the Reid modifications to the Bumpers amendment. The Bumpers amendment places a one year moratorium on land for mining. The motion to table failed 44-52. [H.R. 5503, [Vote #172](#), 8/5/1992]

McCain Voted To Kill Amendment For Moratorium On Patenting Of Certain Mining Claims. In 1991, McCain voted for a Reid motion, to table the Bumpers amendment, to place a moratorium on the patenting of mining claims under the general mining laws. In other words, the amendment would place a one year moratorium on the Bureau of Land Management's accepting or processing applications under the patent vested mining claims of the 1872 mining act. The motion to table was agreed to 47-46. [H.R. 2686, [Vote #191](#), 9/13/1991]

McCain Voted Against Germaneness Of One year Moratorium On Processing Patent Applications For Mining Or Mill Site Claims. In 1990, McCain voted against a judgment as to whether a Committee amendment was germane. The amendment placed a one-year moratorium on processing patent applications for mining or mill site claims by amending the 1872 mining law. The amendment was voted not germane 48-50. [H.R. 5769, [Vote #301](#), 10/22/1990]

National Parks

McCain Sided with Mining and Hunting Interests in Opposing Mojave National Park. In 1994, McCain voted for an amendment to change the designation for the proposed Mojave National Park to the Mojave National Monument, to be maintained by the BLM instead of the National Park Service. Hunting is allowed in lands managed by the BLM, but prohibited in national parks. The amendment failed 35-62. [S. 21, [Vote #87](#), 4/12/1994]

McCain Voted for Cloture on California Desert Protection. In 1994, McCain voted in favor of invoking cloture and limiting debate on the motion to disagree to the amendments of the House on the bill to designate about 7.7 million acres of California desert as wilderness and to establish the Death Valley, Joshua Tree and Mojave National Parks. The motion to invoke cloture passed 73-20. [S. 21, [Vote #305](#), 9/23/1994]

McCain Voted Against Restoring Crucial Funding for National Parks System. In 1995, McCain voted in opposition to an amendment that would increase funding for the national parks system by using \$1 billion of the \$170 billion that will become available for a tax cut if Congress approves a reconciliation bill certified by the CBO to balance the budget by 2002. The Senate voted 46-53 in opposition to the amendment. [S.C.R. 13, [Vote #210](#), 5/25/1995]

McCain Voted To Protect Natural, Cultural Resources Of Grand And Glen Canyons. In 1991, McCain voted for his own motion to waive the Budget Act, to permit consideration of a McCain amendment, directing Interior Secretary to operate Glen Canyon Dam in manner that will fully protect Grand Canyon. The amendment ensures timely completion of environmental impact statement (EIS) on dam operations within two years of enactment, and directs Secretary to implement protective plans pending completion of EIS and long-term resource monitoring program to ensure ongoing protection of park. Opponents of the bill claimed that it would caused \$10-\$30 million loss in revenues and therefore violated the Budget agreement. The motion was rejected 34-65. [H.R. 2686, [Vote #190](#), 9/13/1991]

Noise Pollution

McCain Voted To Consider Motion Striking Establishment Of National Standards For Airport Noise Levels. In 1990, McCain voted in favor of a motion, to waive the Budget Act, to consider a D'Amato point of order, seeking to strike the bill's provision to establish national standards for noise levels around airports, and to impose a passenger facility surcharge. The motion was agreed to 69-31. [S. 3209, [Vote #290](#), 10/18/1990]

Nuclear Power

McCain Voted to Use Taxpayer Money to Subsidize Nuclear Power Companies. In 2003, McCain voted to provide billions of dollars in taxpayer subsidies to nuclear power companies to finance half the cost of up to seven new nuclear plants, with no cap on the amount. McCain voted against an amendment that would have stripped the taxpayer giveaway from energy legislation. The amendment to strip the funding failed 48-50. [S. 14, [Vote #214](#), 6/10/2003]

McCain Voted To Proceed To Bill For Improved Energy Efficiency And Alternative Fuels Development. In 1992, McCain voted in favor of a motion to invoke cloture, and proceed to a bill, to improve energy production and conservation through improved efficiency, easier licensing for nuclear and other power plants and development of alternative fuels. The cloture motion was agreed to 84-8. [H.R. 776, [Vote #266](#), 10/8/1992]

McCain Supported Amendment Allowing States No Prohibitions From Implementing More Stringent Radio-Nuclide Standards. In 1990, McCain voted against a motion to table, the Simpson amendment, to provide that nothing would prohibit States or localities from implementing more stringent standards for radio-nuclides. The amendment failed 33-67. [S. 1630, [Vote #54](#), 4/3/1990]

NUCLEAR WASTE/YUCCA MOUNTAIN

Senator McCain Supported Yucca in Senate in 2002. "I think we have to have a place to store the waste. I think that nuclear power has got to be a vital part of our effort to be independent of foreign oil, and I think it's (Yucca Mountain) a suitable place for storage." McCain said he had not been convinced that the site isn't safe or that transporting the waste to the site was unduly dangerous.

McCain Said He Would Not Be Comfortable With Nuclear Waste Being Transported To Yucca Going Through Arizona. In an interview in Las Vegas, Senator McCain advocated for the storage of nuclear waste in Yucca Mountain. When asked “What about the transportation? Would you be comfortable with nuclear waste coming through Arizona, you know, going through Phoenix on its way to Yucca Mountain?” McCain: “No I would not.” [<http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=GPlaHQCKc34> Accessed 4/3/08]

John McCain has been consistent in his support for storing nuclear waste within Yucca Mountain. He has said publicly that tough decisions regarding nuclear waste have to be made and that storing nuclear waste over many different states is a larger national threat than storing all the waste at Yucca Mountain. He supports going forward with building more nuclear power plants and believes storing waste inside Yucca Mountain will streamline that cause. [Las Vegas Sun Voters Guide <http://www.lasvegassun.com/politics/voterguide/2008/john-mccain/issues/yucca/> Accessed 8/03/08]

- **McCain Voted to Require the Department of Energy to Clean up Radioactive Waste.** In 2004, McCain voted in favor of an amendment to require the Department of Energy to continue activities related to the storage, retrieval, treatment and separation of tank waste from the reprocessing of nuclear fuel currently managed as high-level radioactive waste. Senator Clinton also voted for the amendment. The amendment failed 48-48. [S. 2400, [Vote #107](#), 6/3/2004]
- **McCain Voted in Favor of Shipping Nuclear Waste from New England to Texas.** In 1998, McCain voted in favor of legislation granting Congressional consent to an agreement allowing Maine and Vermont to send low-level radioactive waste to a dump site in Texas. The conference report passed 78-15. [H.R. 629, [Vote #255](#), 9/2/1998]

Ozone

McCain Voted To Accelerate Phase Out Period Of Chemicals Destructive To Ozone. In 1992, McCain Voted in favor of a Gore amendment to accelerate the phase out period of chemicals that destroy the ozone layer and to strengthen the 1987 Montreal protocol to protect the ozone layer. The amendment was agreed to 96-0. [S. 2166, [Vote #19](#), 2/6/1992]

McCain Voted To Freeze Base Production Of Methyl Chloroform At 1989 Levels And Add It To List Of Ozone-Depleting Chemicals. In 1990, McCain voted for a Chafee-Baucus-Mitchell amendment that freezes base production of methyl chloroform at 1989 levels. The bill also adds it to bill's list of ozone-depleting chemicals that must be phased out by 2000, by reducing production 10% per year. The amendment was agreed to, 95-2. [S. 1630, [Vote #3](#), 1/31/1990]

Pesticides

McCain Voted Against Amendment To Prohibit Application Of Toxic Pesticides In Certain National Parks. In 2000, McCain voted against a Boxer, D-Calif., amendment to the Boxer amendment. The Boxer amendment would re-insert language in the underlying Boxer amendment that would prohibit application of certain toxic pesticides in national parks and national monuments, where children may be present. The Senate rejected the amendment 41-58. [S.Amdt. 3912 to H.R. 4578, [Vote #210](#), 7/18/2000]

McCain Voted to Delay Farm Worker Pesticide Safety Requirements. In 1994, McCain voted to delay the implementation of farm worker pesticide safety requirements. McCain voted against a motion to kill an amendment delaying the implementation date by the EPA Administrator. The motion to kill the amendment failed 35-65. [S. 4, [Vote #50](#), 3/9/1994]

Public Health

McCain Voted To Require Surveys Of Public Health And Environment Risks In Proposed Policy Or Regulations Changes. In 1993, McCain voted in favor of a Johnston amendment requiring the Department of the Environment to conduct scientific surveys of the risks accompanying any proposed changes in policies or regulations. These studies must certify that policy changes will benefit public health and the environment. The amendment passed 95 to 3. [S. 171, [Vote #111](#), 4/29/1993]

McCain Voted To Reauthorize And Expand Programs To Reduce Radon Gas Contamination In Buildings. In 1992, McCain Voted for a bill, reauthorizing and expanding federal programs to reduce radon gas contamination in buildings. The bill passed 82-6. [S. 792, [Vote #37](#), 3/10/1992]

McCain Voted For Amendment To Weaken Public Health Tests And Enforcement Standards For Pollution Emitters. In 1990, McCain voted for the Dole-Nickles-Hefflin-Nunn amendment that broadens permit shield protection from enforcement for pollution emitters. The amendment also sets weaker public health test, permits litigation of enforcement orders in federal court, and requires timely state action on permit applications. The amendment failed 49-51. [S. 1630, [Vote #53](#), 4/3/1990]

McCain Voted To Require EPA to Broadcast Public Health Threshold For Ammonia Levels. In 1990, McCain voted for a Baucus-Symms amendment that requires the EPA to promulgate a health threshold for ammonia at levels which protect public health with an ample margin of safety, prior to establishing emission standards within 5 years. The amendment passed 97-0. [S. 1630, [Vote #29](#), 3/6/1990]

Renewable Energy

McCain Failed To Vote For Extending Certain Renewable Energy Tax Incentives And Bonds. In 2007, McCain failed to vote for an amendment that would create a reserve fund to adjust the budget and pay for the impact of any legislation to extend tax credits for electricity produced from renewable resources and energy tax incentives for energy efficient buildings until Dec. 31, 2012. It also would provide for \$1.2 billion in bond authority for Clean Renewable Energy Bonds. It would be offset by an across-the-board cut in discretionary spending. The Senate rejected the amendment, 42-53. [S.Amdt. 577 to S.C.R. 21, [Vote #98](#), 3/22/2007]

McCain Failed To Vote For Creating Deficit-Neutral Reserve Fund To Extend Certain Energy Tax Incentives. In 2007, McCain failed to vote for a Conrad, D-N.D., amendment that would create a reserve fund to adjust the budget and pay for the impact of any legislation to extend renewable energy and energy efficiency tax incentives. The Senate agreed to the Amendment, 54-42. [S.Amdt. 598 to S.C.R. 21, [Vote #97](#), 3/22/2007]

McCain Voted Against Funding for Renewable Energy, Extending Tax Credit and Low-Income Energy Assistance. In 2006, McCain voted against an amendment to provide \$500 million for LIHEAP and \$3.5 billion for other energy programs. It would also extend the renewable energy production tax credit and clean renewable energy bonds programs for four years. The amendment failed 46-52. [S.C.R. 83, [Vote #42](#), 3/14/2006]

McCain Voted to Slash \$20 Million from Renewable Energy and Energy Efficiency Program for Farmers. In 2005, McCain voted for a Republican budget package that almost entirely eliminated the popular and successful Renewable Energy and Energy Efficiency program for farmers, cutting it from \$23 million to \$3 million. The program had funded \$66 million for 400 clean energy projects in rural America since 2003, including ethanol plants. These projects include bioenergy, wind and energy efficiency improvement. Both Senators Obama and Clinton voted against the budget. The resolution passed 50-50, with Vice President Cheney casting the deciding vote. [S. 1932, [Vote #363](#), 12/21/2005]

McCain Introduced Amendment to Eliminate Renewable Energy Tax Incentives. In 2004, McCain introduced an amendment that would strike provisions in S. 1637, the Jumpstart Our Business Strength (JOBS) Act, that would provide \$18 billion in energy tax breaks. McCain's amendment would have eliminated Title VIII of the legislation, which included the Renewable Electricity Production Tax Credit, Alternative Motor Vehicle and Fuels Incentives, conservation and energy efficiency provisions, ethanol tax credits, and fuel fraud prevention. Senator Clinton voted against the McCain amendment. The amendment failed 13-85. [S. 1637, [Vote #89](#), 5/11/2004]

McCain Voted Against Renewable Fuel Mandate. In 2004, McCain voted to close debate on an amendment that would have required use of \$3.1 billion gallons of renewable fuels in 2004, increasing each year to 5 billion gallons in 2012. Senator Clinton also voted to close debate on the amendment. The motion failed 40-59. [S. 150, [Vote #73](#), 4/29/2004]

McCain Voted to Increase Liability Standards for Renewable Fuels and Ethanol. In 2003, McCain voted for an amendment that would add language that would require renewable fuel used for motor vehicles or a fuel containing a renewable additive be subject to liability standards equal to or greater than those used for any other fuel or fuel additive. Senator Clinton also supported the amendment. The amendment failed 38-57. [S. 14, [Vote #208](#), 6/5/2003]

McCain Voted to Weaken Renewable Energy Standards. In 2002, McCain voted for an amendment to reduce the penalty for utilities that do not meet the 10 percent renewable energy mandate by 50 percent, from 3 cents per kilowatt hour to 1.5 cents per kilowatt hour. McCain voted against a motion to kill the amendment. The motion to kill the amendment failed 38-59. [S. 517, [Vote #83](#), 4/24/2002]

McCain Voted Against Renewable Energy Technology. In 2001, McCain voted against establishing tax credits for investments in renewable energy technologies, incentives for new energy efficient residential construction and tax deductions for increased energy efficiency in commercial buildings. The motion failed 43-56. [H.R. 1836, [Vote #125](#), 5/21/2001]

McCain Voted Against Funding for Renewable Energy Programs. In 1999, McCain opposed an amendment that would increase funding for energy supply and research & development activities for renewable energy sources by reducing unnecessary Energy Department contractor travel expenses. McCain voted to kill an appeal made by the chair that this amendment was out of order, effectively voting to kill the amendment. The motion to kill the appeal (and thus the amendment) passed 60-39. [S. 1186, [Vote #171](#), 6/16/1999]

Superfund

McCain Voted to Increase Superfund Funding. In 2004, McCain voted for an amendment to increase spending by \$8.3 billion for the Superfund program for Fiscal Years 2005-2009. It would provide for reinstating polluter fees to fund the cleanup of superfund sites. It would also increase the amount dedicated to deficit reduction by \$8.3 billion. Senator Clinton also voted in favor of the amendment. The amendment failed 44-52. [S.C.R. 95, [Vote #45](#), 3/11/2004]

McCain Voted Against Holding Corporate Polluters Responsible for Clean Up Rather than American Taxpayers. In 2003, McCain voted against an amendment to reinstate the Superfund corporate environmental income tax and the Superfund excise taxes on petroleum and various industrial chemicals, which would have forced corporate polluters to be responsible for clean up. The amendment failed 43-56. [S.C.R. 23, [Vote #97](#), 3/25/2003]

McCain Voted Against Funding for Superfund Cleanup of Brownfield Sites. In 2003, McCain voted to kill an amendment that would provide \$100 million from the Superfund trust fund for the cleanup of brownfield sites. Senator Clinton voted against killing the amendment. The motion to kill the amendment passed 53-45. [H.J.R. 2, [Vote #27](#), 1/23/2003]

McCain Voted Against Restoring Slashed Superfund Cleanup Funding. In 1995, McCain voted in opposition to an amendment that would restore Republican funding cuts to the Superfund hazardous waste cleanup program, bringing funding levels back up to the previous year's level of \$1.4 billion. Republicans had slashed the program by \$431.6 million. The Senate voted 45-54 in opposition to the amendment. [H.R. 2099, [Vote #469](#), 9/27/1995]

McCain Voted Against Striking Law Preventing Communities From Being Named As 3rd Parties In Superfund Clean Up Cases. In 1992, McCain Voted against a Lautenberg motion, to table the Chafee amendment, to strike the section of the Riegle amendment preventing communities and municipalities from being named (in

certain cases) as third parties to a lawsuit involving Superfund clean up costs. The motion to table was agreed to 52-44. [S. 2733, [Vote #126](#), 6/23/1992]

- **McCain Voted Against Killing Amendment Delaying Effective Date Of Municipal Liability Changes.** In 1992, McCain Voted against a Lautenberg motion, to table the Brown amendment, delaying the effective date of municipal liability changes (see vote 126). Supporters of the Brown amendment wanted the issue of municipal liability addressed when Superfund was up for reauthorization. The motion to table was agreed to 54-42. [S. 2733, [Vote #129](#), 6/24/1992]

Technology

McCain Voted to Strike Incentives for Innovative Technology. In 2005, McCain voted for an amendment that would strike a provision providing incentives in the form of loan guarantees for the development of innovative technology, such as those used in nuclear power plants. Both Senators Obama and Clinton voted against the amendment. The amendment failed 21-76. [H.R. 6, [Vote #155](#), 6/23/2005]

McCain Voted for Environmental Technology Bill. In 1994, McCain voted for passage of S. 978, the Environmental Technology Act. The legislation encouraged the development and commercialization of environmental technologies through a coordinated federal effort, including seed money for private sector research and development, a reduction in market barriers to the development and utilization of green technologies, and the collection and dissemination of information on environmental technologies. The bill passed 85-14. [S. 978, [Vote #108](#), 5/11/1994]

Utilities

McCain Voted to Prohibit Manipulative Practices in Electricity Markets. In 2003, McCain voted for an amendment providing for broad prohibition on all manipulative practices in electricity markets and specifies that electricity rates resulting from manipulative practices are not legal under Federal Power Act. Senator Clinton also voted for the amendment. The amendment passed 57-40. [H.R. 2673, [Vote #439](#), 11/5/2003]

McCain Voted to Undermine Increases in Efficiency Standards for Central Air Conditioners. In 2002, McCain voted for an amendment that would strike provisions requiring a 30 percent increase in the minimum efficiency standards for central air conditions and air conditioning pumps by 2006. Instead, it would insert language in the underlying measure to direct the Energy Secretary to revise the seasonal energy efficiency ratio standard for central air and pumps. The amendment passed 52-47. [S. 517, [Vote #89](#), 4/25/2002]

Waste

Mine Waste

- **McCain Failed To Vote For Amendment To Provide For Disposal of Excess Spoil and Coal Mine Waste.** In 1999, McCain voted Byrd, et al., amendment: Provides for two year moratorium during which mountain mining will proceed under memorandum of understanding entered into by EPA, Interior Department, and Corps of Engineers; provides that during this moratorium an environmental impact statement will proceed to its conclusion and any new regulations required by environmental impact statement (if any) will be promulgated; states that enforcement of Federal water quality standards will continue under provisions of memorandum of understanding in effect prior to court decision; allows Interior Secretary to promulgate final regulations regarding hard-rock mining on public lands consistent with recent report of National Research Council of National Academy of Sciences; and exempts certain activities regarding mill sites from November 7, 1997, opinion of Solicitor of Interior Department with regard to 1872 mining law. The Senate agreed to the amendment 56-33. [S.Amdt. 2780 to S.C.R. 101, [Vote #370](#), 11/18/1999]

- **McCain Voted Against Limiting the Number of Mill Sites Used for Disposal of Mine Waste.** In 1999, McCain voted against a motion to kill an amendment that would eliminate language in the underlying bill prohibiting the Interior and Agriculture Departments from limiting the number of millsites or acreage of millsites used for mining and disposal of mine waste tailings. The Senate voted to kill the amendment 55-41. [H.R. 2466, [Vote #223](#), 7/27/1999]

Nuclear Waste

- **McCain Voted in Favor of Shipping Nuclear Waste from New England to Texas.** In 1998, McCain voted in favor of legislation granting Congressional consent to an agreement allowing Maine and Vermont to send low-level radioactive waste to a dump site in Texas. The conference report passed 78-15. [H.R. 629, [Vote #255](#), 9/2/1998]
- **McCain Voted to Require the Department of Energy to Clean up Radioactive Waste.** In 2004, McCain voted in favor of an amendment to require the Department of Energy to continue activities related to the storage, retrieval, treatment and separation of tank waste from the reprocessing of nuclear fuel currently managed as high-level radioactive waste. Senator Clinton also voted for the amendment. The amendment failed 48-48. [S. 2400, [Vote #107](#), 6/3/2004]
- **McCain Voted Against Increased Funds to Accelerate Cleanup of Toxic Waste Sites.** In 1998, McCain voted in opposition to an amendment allowing revenue, spending aggregates and other appropriate budgetary levels and limits to be adjusted and allocations to be revised for legislation to improve the quality of the nation's air, water, land and natural resources, as long as enactment would not increase the deficit through Fiscal Year 2009. The Senate voted in opposition to the amendment 47-52. [S.C.R. 86, [Vote #65](#), 4/2/1998]

Municipal Waste

- **McCain Voted For Bill Allowing Governors To Limit Or Prohibit Certain Out-Of-State Municipal Waste.** In 1992, McCain voted for passage of a bill which amends the Solid Waste Disposal Act, to provide State Governors with authority, subject to specified conditions, to limit or prohibit the disposal of out-of-State municipal waste in any landfill or incinerator that is subject to the Governor's jurisdiction. The bill passed 89-2. [S. 2877, [Vote #151](#), 7/23/1992]
- **McCain Voted To Kill Amendment Allowing Governors Certain Authority Over Municipal Transported Waste.** In 1992, McCain voted for Baucus motion to table the Reid amendment, that allows governors the authority to ban, limit or impose differential fees on out-of-state municipal waste transported to their states. The motion to table was agreed to 60-31. [S. 2877, [Vote #149](#), 7/22/1992]
- **McCain Voted To Require That EPA Impose Penalties On Federal Agencies That Violate Waste Disposal Laws.** In 1991, McCain voted for passage of a bill requiring the Environmental Protection Agency to impose orders and levy fines on federal agencies and facilities that do not comply with federal and state laws on waste disposal. The bill passed 94-3. [H.R. 2194, [Vote #230](#), 10/24/1991]
- **McCain Voted For Cloture On Act Requiring EPA To Impose Penalties On Federal Agencies That Violate Waste Disposal Laws.** In 1991, McCain voted for a Mitchell motion, to invoke cloture, on Federal Facility Compliance Act that would require the Environmental Protection Agency to impose orders and require monetary penalties on federal agencies and facilities that violate waste and disposal laws. The cloture motion was agreed to 85-14. [S. 596, [Vote #226](#), 10/17/1991]

Medical Waste

- **McCain Voted to Prohibit Ocean Dumping of Medical Waste.** In 1988, McCain voted for passage of the bill to amend the Marine Protection, Research and Sanctuaries Act (PL 92-532) to prohibit the ocean dumping

of sewage sludge after Dec. 31, 1991, and to prohibit the ocean dumping of medical waste. The bill passed 97-0. [S. 2030, Vote #300, 8/9/1988; CQ Almanac]

Wetlands

McCain Voted To Kill Amendment To Make Soil Conservation Service Responsible For Technical Determinations On Wetlands. In 1993, McCain voted in favor of a Bond motion, to kill the Baucus amendment, to his amendment on wetlands. The Baucus amendment required that within 90 days of enactment, recommendations will be made to make the soil conservation service responsible for all technical determinations on wetlands. The motion to table failed 40-54. [S. 171, [Vote #113](#), 5/4/1993]

Wildlife Protection

McCain Voted Bill To Designate 1.2 Million Acres In Montana As Wilderness. In 1992, McCain Voted in favor of a bill to designate 1.2 million acres in Montana as wilderness. The bill would also create recreation areas and wilderness study areas, and releases 4 million acres for multiple use purpose. The bill passed 75-22. [S. 1696, [Vote #55](#), 3/26/1992]

McCain Traveled With Bush To Promote Healthy Forests In Arizona. In Summerhaven, Arizona, the President remarked, "Senator McCain and I drove up the hill and he was saying, you know, this part of Arizona is a lot prettier than anywhere in Texas. I didn't believe it at first. But it is beautiful. And all of us are sorry that fire has devastated life in the countryside here." [Remarks of the President, 8/11/03]

Foreign Policy

John McCain's favorite foreign policy tool is the use of force. He has made a habit of pushing for invasions, regime changes, and military assistance in countries all over the globe. McCain has allowed his fondness for war to distract him from the necessary steps that must be taken to keep Americans safe. During his time in public life he has supported nearly every military skirmish and war the United States has been engaged in, while calling for many more.

Top Hits:

- McCain said that, “there are going to be more wars.”
- McCain has favored militarily intervening in at least 15 countries around the world.
- McCain is hostile to negotiation and diplomacy, but eager for war.
- McCain once said he was “relieved” about sending troops to war because it took the focus off his wife’s drug addiction.
- McCain voted against sanctioning South Africa for apartheid.
- McCain threatened to return to Iran with the “Full Force of Desert Storm.”
- McCain voted against controlling Russia’s tactical nuclear weapons.
- McCain voted against \$118 million famine assistance for Darfur.

Accomplishments:

- McCain eventually supported \$95 million in emergency funding for Darfur.
- McCain voted to provide humanitarian and military aid in the Balkans.
- McCain voted to encourage China to end human rights abuses in Tibet.
- McCain has been a passionate advocate of NATO, voting to establish a dispute resolution process and ensure allies help account for U.S. POWs.
- McCain voted to require the U.N. to establish an Inspector General.

The Real John McCain

McCain “Hopeful” About Becoming Inextricably Involved in the Destiny of Other Nations Where American Ideals Have a Realistic Chance of Becoming a Universal Creed. In his 2002 book *Worth The Fighting For*, McCain wrote, “A world where our ideals had a realistic chance of becoming a universal creed was our principal object in the last century. In the process, we became inextricably involved in the destiny of other nations. That is not a cause for concern. It is a cause for hope.” [[Reason](#), [4/1/07](#)]

McCain Called An “Unapologetic Hawk.” Gary Kamiya wrote that McCain, “is an unapologetic hawk at a time when only right-wing die-hards cling to that position. His hard-line insistence that U.S. troops must remain there until “victory,” whatever that is, puts him at odds with a clear majority of the American people, who want the troops withdrawn soon.” [[Salon.com](#), [2/12/08](#)]

“McCain’s Worldview is Undiluted Hubris.” The February 11, 2008 issue of *American Conservative* wrote, “McCain’s reasoning is circular: according to him, our government’s edicts must be obeyed because they are, by definition, non-negotiable—even by Americans. A certain course, once taken, must be pursued to the bitter end, even if it acts against our long-term interests. McCain’s worldview, which admits no possibility of error, is undiluted hubris.” [[American Conservative](#), [2/11/08](#)]

McCain: The War President

McCain: There Are Going To Be More Wars. During a town hall meeting in Polk City, Florida, McCain said, "I'm sorry to tell you, there's going to be other wars. We will never surrender but there will be other wars." [CNN, [1/27/08](#)]

McCain: "War Is A Miserable Business. Let's Get On With It." In a *Wall Street Journal* op-ed, McCain wrote, "War is a miserable business. The lives of a nation's finest patriots are sacrificed. Innocent people suffer and die. Commerce is disrupted, economies are damaged. Strategic interests shielded by years of patient statecraft are endangered as the exigencies of war and diplomacy conflict. However heady the appeal of a call to arms, however just the cause, we should still shed a tear for all that will be lost when war claims its wages from us. Shed a tear, and then get on with the business of killing our enemies as quickly as we can, and as ruthlessly as we must." He added, "War is a miserable business. Let's get on with it." [Wall Street Journal, [10/26/01](#)]

McCain Was Called A "Relentless Hawk." The *Seattle Post-Intelligencer* wrote, "If Americans want to continue the Iraq war, then Sen. John McCain ... [the] relentless hawk -- is their man." [Seattle Post-Intelligencer, [2/15/08](#)]

Conservative Magazine Said That McCain Was A War Monger. The February 11, 2008 issue of *American Conservative* wrote, "To hear McCain tell it, there is apparently no crisis anywhere in the world that cannot be resolved by the presence of U.S. armed forces." [American Conservative, [2/11/08](#)]

McCain "Out-Demagogued" Giuliani. According to *American Conservative*, "In the warmonger sweepstakes... John McCain out-demagogued even Rudy Giuliani." [American Conservative Magazine, [2/11/08](#)]

McCain Admired Roosevelt's "Global Projection of Power." In his 2002 book *Worth The Fighting For*, McCain wrote of Roosevelt that, "He transformed the American navy from a small coastal defense force to an instrument for the global projection of power." Having formed his world philosophy by studying Teddy Roosevelt, McCain admired projecting American power across the globe. [Reason, [4/1/07](#)]

McCain is Willing To Sacrifice Others :

McCain Was "Relieved" When America Went to War. In his memoir, McCain wrote that he was relieved when the United States invaded Kuwait because it would take the focus off of his wife's drug problems. McCain wrote in *Worth the Fighting For*, "As self-interested as this sounds, I was relieved when Iraq's invasion of Kuwait in August of that year gave reporters some other reason to talk to me and something else to report." [American Conservative, [2/11/08](#)]

McCain Said U.S. Could "Make Do" Without South Korea If They Oppose Attack on North Korea. Responding to South Korean President Roh's statement that a war with North Korea would be catastrophic for South Korea, McCain said, "While they may risk their populations, the United States will do whatever it must to guarantee the security of the American people. And spare us the usual lectures about American unilateralism. We would prefer the company of North Korea's neighbors, but we will make do without it if we must." [Weekly Standard, [1/20/03](#)]

McCain Said Strategy in Kosovo Was a Higher Priority Than Keeping Troops Safe. Appearing on ABC's *This Week*, McCain stated, "...all of us would grieve at the loss of a single American, but when you go into these things, your primary purpose cannot be the safety of our forces, it has to be the achievement of your strategic and tactical goals." [ABC This Week, [3/28/99](#)]

What The Experts Say

Economist: McCain Has a Militaristic Foreign Policy. McCain biographer Matt Welch said McCain offers, “offers a more militaristic foreign policy than any US president in a century.” [[Economist](#), [2/7/08](#)]

George Will Implied McCain Will Use War to Increase Personal Power. George Will wrote, “War especially enhances presidential power, which probably is one reason Theodore Roosevelt, [*sic*] one of McCain’s heroes, relished war. “No triumph of peace,” Roosevelt said, “is quite so great as the supreme triumphs of war.” Roosevelt, who also said, “I don’t think that any harm comes from the concentration of power in one man’s hands,” was the archetype of the modern, hyperkinetic president.” He added, “McCain, who sometimes seems to regard his enthusiasms and disgusts as self-legitimizing and grounds for government action, probably would be TR’s sort of president.” [[Washington Post](#), [2/17/08](#)]

Former Presidential Adviser: “There’s A Sense That, With McCain, The Way To Solve Problems Is Through The Military.” David Gergen, former adviser to presidents Nixon, Ford, Reagan, and Clinton, said, “There’s a sense that, with McCain, the way to solve problems is through the military.” He added, “The question is whether he can convince people that he will not only keep us safe but also be cautious in using military power.” [[Bloomberg](#), [3/31/08](#)]

McCain Was “Unleashed” By 9/11. The February 11, 2008 issue of *American Conservative* wrote, “Other politicians were transformed by 9/11. McCain was unleashed. His strategy of “rogue state rollback” was exactly what the neoconservatives in the Bush administration had in mind, and yet, ever mindful to somehow stand out from the pack while still going along with the program, the senator took umbrage at Rumsfeld’s apparent unwillingness to chew up the U.S. military in an endless occupation. He publicly dissented from the “light footprint” strategy championed by the Department of Defense. More troops, more force, more of everything—that is McCain’s solution to every problem in our newly conquered province.” [[American Conservative](#), [2/11/08](#)]

Bloomberg News: McCain More “Hawkish” Than Bush. In an article entitled, “McCain More Hawkish on Foreign Policy Than Bush, Comments Show,” *Bloomberg* wrote, “John McCain is at least as determined as George W. Bush to stay the course in Iraq and more confrontational than the president on foreign policy issues ranging from Russia and China to North Korea.” [[Bloomberg](#), [3/12/08](#)]

McCain “Hasn’t Seen A Country He Doesn’t Want To Bomb.” According to Ivo Daalder, former National Security Council aide, “This is a man who hasn’t seen a country he doesn’t want to bomb or invade.” Daalder said McCain has been able to hide his “more hawkish position on non-proliferation, China and Russia.” [[Bloomberg](#), [3/12/08](#)]

Bloomberg News: McCain Has Telegraphed A More Unilateral Approach Than Bush. According to *Bloomberg News*, on issues including China, North Korea, and Russian “McCain has telegraphed a more unilateral approach than Bush.” Gary Schmitt, a McCain adviser and senior fellow at the American Enterprise Institute said, “He thinks we need to make sure that the hard edge of the balance is kept up.” Schmitt added, “The jury is still out on North Korea, and Senator McCain has been a little more skeptical about the route they’ve gone.” [[Bloomberg](#), [3/12/08](#)]

McCain Has “Positioned Himself as the Most Hawkish” of the Republicans. In addition to lining up Bush’s campaign team, McCain has positioned “himself as the most hawkish of all the nomination-chasing Republican hawks. [[Reason](#), [4/1/07](#)]

McCain Was Called A “Relentless Hawk.” The *Seattle Post-Intelligencer* wrote, “If Americans want to continue the Iraq war, then Sen. John McCain -- the apparent Republican presidential candidate and relentless hawk -- is their man.” [[Seattle Post-Intelligencer](#), [2/15/08](#)]

McCain’s Foreign Policy Flip-Flops

FLIP: McCain Strongly Disagreed With Allowing Waterboarding As An American Interrogation Technique. According to an opinion article in the *Nation*, the *National Review* criticized him for his stance against

waterboarding. McCain said “How in the world anybody could think that that kind of thing could be inflicted by Americans on people who are held in our custody is absolutely beyond me.” [[The Nation](#), 1/10/08]

FLOP: McCain Voted Against Waterboarding Ban. Although McCain once appeared as a passionate advocate of the ban on waterboarding, he voted against the bill. In a statement, McCain said, “I believe that our energies are better directed at ensuring that all techniques, whether used by the military or the CIA, are in full compliance with our international obligations and in accordance with our deepest values.” [[Los Angeles Times](#), 2/14/08]

FLIP: McCain Voted Against Allowing Warrantless Wiretapping. In 1996, McCain voted to table a motion allowing law enforcement agencies to get short-term emergency wire-taps without a court order in cases involving terrorist conspiracies. Motion to Table agreed to 56-43. [S 735, [Vote #69](#), 4/17/96]

FLOP: McCain Voted To Allow Warrantless Wiretapping. In 2003, McCain voted for passage of the bill that would amend the Foreign Intelligence Surveillance Act to allow surveillance of a foreigner if the government had evidence that person came to the United States to commit a terrorist act, even if there was no evidence linking that person to a foreign state or terrorist group, a so-called foreign power. FISA judges would be prohibited from denying a warrant on grounds that the target had no connection to a foreign power. The bill passed 90-4. [S 113, [Vote #146](#), 5/8/03]

FLIP: McCain Long Opposed Military Options in Bosnia. McCain was adamantly opposed to U.S. involvement in the humanitarian crisis in Bosnia, and then co-authored a resolution that backed US peacekeepers on the ground. He said, “I have long opposed this action. I am very concerned about the ultimate outcome of the use of air power without a full commitment of the US forces because I do not believe it is a viable military option.” [[Boston Globe](#), 4/29/99]

FLOP: McCain Changed Position to Support Dole in 1996. Likely presidential nominee, Bob Dole, and John McCain co-sponsored a resolution that called for 20,000 US ground forces to keep the peace in Bosnia. The resolution gives “assent to the operation while insisting on a U.S.-led effort to begin immediate arming and training of the Muslims. According to *U.S. News & World Report*, McCain supported the measure “not because he agrees with the policy and not because he can make a case that Bosnia is vital to America's national security. “I have no choice,” he said. [[Boston Globe](#), 4/29/99; [Washington Post](#), 12/12/95; *U.S. News & World Report*, 12/18/1995]

FLIP: McCain Accused the Clinton Administration of Misleading Congress on Kosovo. According to *CNN*, McCain accused the President of misleading congress in U.S. involvement in Kosovo. He said, “They have not made the case either to Congress or the American people, and the president has to explain why our interests are there.” [CNN, 10/7/98]

FLOP: MCCAIN: We are a Superior Power, and We Must Win This Conflict With Whatever It Takes. Speaking about the conflict in Kosovo, McCain stated, “I saw we’re in it, and we have to win it.” He added, “That means that we have to exercise every option,” and, “We are a superior power, and we must win this conflict with whatever it takes.” [ABC This Week, 3/28/99]

FLIP: McCain said Rumsfeld Did a “Fine Job.” According to *Salon.com*, “In the wake of the Abu Ghraib scandal, McCain was asked on ‘Hannity & Colmes’ whether Rumsfeld could still be effective in his job. ‘Yes, today I do and I believe he’s done a fine job,’ McCain responded. ‘He’s an honorable man.’” [Salon.com, 1/17/08]

FLOP: McCain Said Problem With Iraq Was Mishandling by Rumsfeld. McCain has said, “The problem was the mishandling of Iraq by nearly four years by Rumsfeld. Again, I railed against that, I was criticized by Republicans.” [MSNBC, 1/24/08]

McCain’s Consistent Call for Use of Force

AFGHANISTAN: McCain Voted to Authorize Use of Force Against Countries, Organizations, People Who Aided 9/11 Attacks. In 2001, McCain voted for passage of the joint resolution that would authorize the president to use all necessary and appropriate force against the nations, organizations or people that he determines planned, authorized, committed or aided the terrorist attacks that occurred on Sept. 11, 2001, or that harbored such organizations or people, to prevent future acts of terrorism against the United States. Passed 98-0: R 47-0; D 50-0 (ND 41-0, SD 9-0); I 1-0. [S J Res 23, Vote #281, 9/14/01]

ARGENTINA: McCain Expressed Desire to Offer “Defense Assistance” to South American Countries. While speaking to the Florida Association of Broadcasters, McCain focused on the need for the U.S. to offer defense assistance in the “ungoverned tri-border region of Brazil, Argentina, and Paraguay [that] is a haven for smugglers and radical groups. McCain followed by saying, “ Hamas, Hezbollah and similar groups are active in the region.” He said, “Our security priority in this hemisphere is to ensure that terrorists, their enablers and their business partners, including narcotraffickers, have nowhere to hide.” [Targeted News Service, [6/20/07](#)]

- **McCain’s Website Featured A “Stop The Dictators of Latin America” Petition.** According to Counterpunch, “McCain's campaign Web site even featured an online petition calling for support in his quest to “stop the dictators of Latin America.” The petition called for the ouster of Chávez “in the name of democracy and freedom throughout our hemisphere.” [Counterpunch, [2/13/08](#)]

BOSNIA: McCain Supported Military Escalation in Bosnia. According to *U.S. News and World Report*, McCain supported “President Clinton’s deployment of 20,000 American peacekeepers to Bosnia – not because he agrees with the policy and not because he can make a case that Bosnia is vital to America’s national security.” McCain said, “I have no choice. The word of the United States has to mean something.” [[U.S. News and World Report](#), 12/18/95]

BRAZIL: McCain Expressed Desire to Offer “Defense Assistance” to South American Countries. While speaking to the Florida Association of Broadcasters, McCain focused on the need for the U.S. to offer defense assistance in the “ungoverned tri-border region of Brazil, Argentina, and Paraguay [that] is a haven for smugglers and radical groups. McCain followed by saying, “ Hamas, Hezbollah and similar groups are active in the region.” He said, “Our security priority in this hemisphere is to ensure that terrorists, their enablers and their business partners, including narcotraffickers, have nowhere to hide.” [Targeted News Service, [6/20/07](#)]

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COLUMBIA: McCain Criticized Democrats for Opposing Military Aid to Colombia. McCain attacked Democrats for endangering success by opposing “military aid to a democracy under siege.” McCain added, “You don’t build strong alliances by turning your back on friends.” [Targeted News Service, [6/20/07](#)]

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CUBA: McCain Told Latin Voters He Would Focus On Iraq And Ousting Fidel Castro. According to the *Washington Post*, at a campaign rally with the Latin Builders Association, McCain told latin voters “...that he will focus on pursuing the war in Iraq as well as pushing to oust Cuba’s leader, Fidel Castro.” Also according to the *Post*, “He recalled how decades ago he stood on the deck of the U.S.S. Enterprise during the Cuban missile crisis, knowing that he and others might have to risk their lives ‘for other people’s freedom.’” McCain told the crowd, “My friends, many years ago I was committed to the freedom of the people of Cuba. I am just as committed today. I will pursue the cause of freedom in Cuba.”, adding that he is hoping to prosecute a Cuban who tortured and killed

some of his fellow prisoners in Vietnam. ‘We’ll get him and bring him to justice as well.’” [[Washington Post, The Trail, 1/25/08](#)]

- **McCain Said He Would Not “Passively Await” Castro’s Demise.** Speaking to the Florida Association of Broadcasters, McCain stated, “I will not passively await the long-overdue demise of the Castro dictatorship.” Targeted News Service, [6/20/07](#)
- **McCain’s Website Featured A “Stop The Dictators of Latin America” Petition.** According to Counterpunch, “McCain's campaign Web site even featured an online petition calling for support in his quest to “stop the dictators of Latin America.” The petition called for the ouster of Chávez “in the name of democracy and freedom throughout our hemisphere.” [Counterpunch, [2/13/08](#)]

IRAN: McCain: “Bomb, Bomb, Bomb Iran.” In April 2007, McCain, speaking to voters in South Carolina, responded to a question about Iran by singing “Bomb, bomb Iran” to the tune of the Beach Boys’ “Barbara Ann.” A man had asked McCain about sending “an air mail message to Tehran.” McCain answered by singing, “Bomb bomb bomb, bomb bomb Iran.” He then added: “Iran is dedicated to the destruction of Israel. That alone should concern us, but now they are trying for nuclear capabilities. I totally support (President George W. Bush) when he says we will not allow Iran to destroy Israel.” [UPI, 4/19/07]

- **McCain Threatened to Return to Iran with the “Full Force of Desert Storm.”** In a 1995 press release, McCain wrote of Iraq and Iran, “[a]ggressors in the region should know that, if we must, we will return to the Persian Gulf with the full force of Operation Desert Storm. At the same time, our friends and adversaries elsewhere in the world should understand that the United States will do everything in its legislation will serve as an indication of just how serious we are.” [McCain Press Release, 4/28/95]
- **Pat Buchanan: You Get John McCain in the White House, and I Do Believe We Will Be At War With Iran.** Former Republican Presidential candidate Pat Buchanan said, “That is straight talk... You get John McCain in the White House, and I do believe we will be at war with Iran. That’s one of the things that makes me very nervous about him” He added, “There’s no doubt John McCain is going to be a war president... His entire career is wrapped up in the military, national security. He’s in Putin’s face, he’s threatening the Iranians, we’re going to be in Iraq a hundred years.” [[National Interest, 2/4/08](#); [Huffington Post, 2/4/08](#)]

IRAQ: McCain Promised to Overthrow Iraqi Government in 2000. During a 2000 presidential primary debate, McCain discussed his “Rogue State Rollback” policy. He mentioned Iraq, Libya, and North Korea and added, “I’d institute a policy that I call “rogue state rollback.” I would arm, train, equip, both from without and from within forces that would eventually overthrow the governments and install free and democratically elected governments.” [[Washington Transcript Service, 2/15/00](#)]

KOSOVO: McCain Voted for Use of Force in Yugoslavia. In 1999, McCain voted against motion to table (kill) the joint resolution that would authorize the president to “use all necessary force and other means,” in concert with U.S. allies, to accomplish U.S. and NATO objectives in Yugoslavia. Motion agreed to 78-22: R 46-9; D 32-13 (ND 28-9, SD 4-4); I 0-0. [S J Res 20, Vote #98, 5/04/99]

- **McCain Routinely Prefers Ground Troops To Air Strikes.** McCain referred to air strikes as a “military half-measure.” The *Arizona Republic* wrote, “. The campaign needed ground troops, not just air power and military “half-measures,” he wrote. McCain, the former Navy pilot, seldom wants to rely solely on air power. It's a fundamental tenet of how McCain believes America should make war. Most presidents generally resist deploying ground troops because they inevitably mean more U.S. casualties. Time and again, McCain has argued that they are needed. In 1999, he urged President Clinton to consider ground forces in Kosovo. Later, he would criticize Bush for not sending adequate ground forces to Iraq.” [[Arizona Republic, 3/1/07](#)]

- **McCain Voted for Deployment of US Ground Troops in Yugoslavia.** In 1999, McCain voted for a motion to table (kill) the Specter, R-Pa., amendment that would prohibit the use of Defense Department funds for deployment of U.S. ground troops in Yugoslavia, except for peacekeeping personnel, unless Congress declares war or enacts a joint resolution authorizing the use of military force. Motion agreed to 52-48: R 17-38; D 35-10 (ND 29-8, SD 6-2); I 0-0. [S 105, Vote #145, 5/25/99]
- **Senate Rejected McCain's Resolution to "Use All Necessary Force."** The Senate rejected, 78-22, the McCain resolution to use "all necessary force" to defeat Milosevic. [[Miami Herald](#), 5/5/99]

McCain Supported Military Action in Kosovo. According to the *American Conservative*, McCain repeatedly said "We're in it, and we've gotta win it!" [[American Conservative Magazine](#), 2/11/08]

- **McCain: Victory Will Not Be Hastened by Pretending That Things Have Just Gone Swimmingly.** While speaking to the Center for Strategic and International Studies, McCain said, "I think it is safe to assume that no one, including me, anticipated the speed with which Serbia would defeat our objectives in Kosovo, and the scope of that defeat. After stating that NATO would eventually prevail, he said, "victory will not be hastened by pretending that things have just gone swimmingly." [[American Conservative Magazine](#), 2/11/08]

KUWAIT: McCain Voted Against Continuing Sanctions and Diplomatic Efforts to Pressure Iraq to Withdraw from Kuwait. In 1991, McCain voted against passage of the joint resolution to express the sense of Congress that the wisest course of action at the time was to continue international sanctions and diplomatic efforts to pressure Iraq to withdraw from Kuwait. The resolution declared that the president must obtain congressional approval before undertaking an offensive action against Iraq and provides for expedited procedures for a presidential request for the use of such force. Rejected 46-53: R 1-43; D 45-10; I 0-0. [Vote #1, 1/12/91]

- **McCain Voted for Use of Force in Iraq in 1991.** In 1991, McCain voted for the passage of the joint resolution to authorize the use of military force if Iraq has not withdrawn from Kuwait and complied with U.N. Security Council resolutions by January 15. The resolution authorizes the use of force and the expenditure of funds under the War Powers act and requires the president to report to Congress every 60 days on the efforts to obtain Iraqi compliance with the U.N. resolutions. Passed 52-47: R 42-2; D 10-45 (ND 3-35, SD 7-10); I 0-0. [Vote #2, 1/12/91]

LIBYA: McCain Promised to Overthrow Libyan Government. During a 2000 presidential primary debate, McCain discussed his "Rogue State Rollback" policy. He mentioned Iraq, Libya, and North Korea and added, "I'd institute a policy that I call "rogue state rollback." I would arm, train, equip, both from without and from within forces that would eventually overthrow the governments and install free and democratically elected governments." [Washington Transcript Service, 2/15/00]

NICARAGUA: McCain Was "One of Few" Who Called For Tougher Action Against Ortega in Nicaragua. According to the *Washington Post*, McCain opposed the lackadaisical manner in which Congress and President Bush were handling the crisis in Nicaragua. McCain said, "the United States must make clear that, this time, their broken promises, infidelity and brazen lies will not go unanswered." [[Washington Post](#), 11/2/89]

- **McCain's Website Featured A "Stop The Dictators of Latin America" Petition.** According to Counterpunch, "McCain's campaign Web site even featured an online petition calling for support in his quest to "stop the dictators of Latin America." The petition called for the ouster of Chávez "in the name of democracy and freedom throughout our hemisphere." [Counterpunch, 2/13/08]

NORTH KOREA: McCain Promised to Overthrow North Korean Government. During a 2000 presidential primary debate, McCain discussed his "Rogue State Rollback" policy. He mentioned Iraq, Libya, and North Korea and added, "I'd institute a policy that I call "rogue state rollback." I would arm, train, equip, both from without and from within forces that would eventually overthrow the governments and install free and democratically elected governments." [Washington Transcript Service, 2/15/00]

PARAGUAY: McCain Expressed Desire to Offer “Defense Assistance” to South American Countries. While speaking to the Florida Association of Broadcasters, McCain focused on the need for the U.S. to offer defense assistance in the “ungoverned tri-border region of Brazil, Argentina, and Paraguay [that] is a haven for smugglers and radical groups. McCain followed by saying, “ Hamas, Hezbollah and similar groups are active in the region.” He said, “ Our security priority in this hemisphere is to ensure that terrorists, their enablers and their business partners, including narcotraffickers, have nowhere to hide.” [Targeted News Service, [6/20/07](#)]

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VENEZUELA: Since 1998, McCain’s Think Tank Has Funded Groups That Are “Militantly Opposed” to Hugo Chavez. The International Republican Institute, chaired by John McCain, has “generously funded anti-Chávez civil society groups that were militantly opposed to the regime. Starting in 1998, the year Chávez was elected, IRI worked with Venezuelan organizations to produce anti-Chávez media campaigns, including newspaper, television and radio ads. Additionally, when politicians, union and civil society leaders went to Washington to meet with U.S. officials just one month before the April 2002 coup, IRI picked up the bill. The IRI also helped to fund the corrupt Confederation of Venezuelan Workers (which played a major role in the anti-Chávez destabilization campaign leading up to the coup) and Súmate, an organization involved in a signature-gathering campaign to present a petition calling for Chávez's recall.” [Counterpunch, [2/13/08](#)]

- **McCain’s Website Featured A “Stop The Dictators of Latin America” Petition.** According to Counterpunch, “McCain's campaign Web site even featured an online petition calling for support in his quest to “stop the dictators of Latin America.” The petition called for the ouster of Chávez “in the name of democracy and freedom throughout our hemisphere.” [Counterpunch, [2/13/08](#)]
- **McCain Protested The Removal Of U.S. Radio Station In Venezuela.** “Dismantling an agency dedicated to promoting America and the American message amounted to unilateral disarmament in the struggle of ideas,” McCain has said. “We need to re-create an independent agency with the sole purpose of getting America's message to the world. This would aid our efforts to communicate accurately with the people of Latin America.” [Counterpunch, [2/13/08](#)]
- **McCain’s Think Tank Sent RNC Staffers To Help Chavez’s Opposition.** According to the Fall 2002 Newsletter of The International Republican Institute, the IRI sent Michael Collins, former RNC spokesman to Venezuela to train Chavez’s opposition. [IRI [Fall 2002](#) Newsletter]

McCain Unwilling to Negotiate

IRAN: McCain Would Not Enter Into Unconditional Dialogues With Iran And/Or Syria, Like Bush.

According to Michael Shank of the Foreign Policy in Focus think tank, unlike his opponent Mike Huckabee, “... McCain would not, in his words, ‘enter into unconditional dialogues with these two dictatorships [Iran and/or Syria]’ but rather ensure that the United States ‘bolster its regional military posture to make clear to Iran our determination.’” Shank said that McCain’s remarks were “...straight up President Bush speaking.” [Foreign Policy in Focus, [1/15/08](#)]

- **McCain Vowed to Prevent Iran from Acquiring Nuclear Weapons.** Senator McCain stated, “At the end of the day, we cannot allow the Iranians to acquire nuclear weapons. And as president of the United States, I will not allow it to happen!” McCain also pledged to, at minimum, consult members of Congress before resorting to military options. [MSNBC, 10/16/07]

- **McCain Called Iran Dangerous and Possibly Deranged.** While speaking to a pro-Israel group in New York, McCain said that Iran is a “possibly deranged and surely dangerous regime.” He went on to say that while war with Iran will remain a last resort, a nuclear-armed Iran would be a worse outcome than war. [[New York Daily News](#), 12/11/06]

IRAQ: McCain Sponsored Motion to Kill Amendment to Require Administration to Report That Diplomatic Options Have Been Exhausted Before Action Would Begin. In 2002, McCain sponsored a motion to kill an Graham, D-Fla., amendment to the Lieberman, D-Conn., substitute amendment. The Graham amendment would substitute the underlying amendment with language that would authorize the use of force against the threat posed by Iraq and five terrorist organizations, including Hamas, Hizbullah, and the Palestine Islamic Jihad. It also would require the administration to report to Congress that diplomatic options have been exhausted before, but not more than 48 hours, after action would begin. The president also would be required to submit a progress report to Congress at least every 60 days. The substitute amendment would authorize the use of force against Iraq and require the administration to report to Congress that diplomatic options have been exhausted before, but not more than 48 hours, after action would begin. The president would also be required to submit a progress report to Congress at least every 60 days. Motion agreed to 88-10: R 48-0; D 39-10 (ND 35-6, SD 4-4); I 1-0. [S J Res 45, Vote #231, 10/09/02]

- **McCain Voted to Invoke Cloture on Amendment that Required Administration to Report All Diplomatic Options Have been Exhausted.** In 2002, McCain voted for a motion to invoke cloture (thus limiting debate) on the Lieberman, D-Conn., substitute amendment that would authorize the use of force against Iraq and require the administration to report to Congress that diplomatic options have been exhausted before, but not more than 48 hours after, action would begin. The president also would be required to submit a progress report to Congress at least every 60 days. Motion agreed to 75-25: R 47-2; D 28-22 (ND 20-21, SD 8-1); I 0-1. [S J Res 45, Vote #233, 10/10/02]

KUWAIT: McCain Voted Against Continuing Sanctions and Diplomatic Efforts to Pressure Iraq to Withdraw from Kuwait. In 1991, McCain voted against passage of the joint resolution to express the sense of Congress that the wisest course of action at the time was to continue international sanctions and diplomatic efforts to pressure Iraq to withdraw from Kuwait. The resolution declared that the president must obtain congressional approval before undertaking an offensive action against Iraq and provides for expedited procedures for a presidential request for the use of such force. Rejected 46-53: R 1-43; D 45-10; I 0-0. [Vote #1, 1/12/91]

NORTH KOREA: McCain Said Clinton’s Bilateral Negotiation With North Korea Was Responsible For Allowing Them To Develop Nuclear Arms. McCain blamed Clinton’s policy for creating the existing crisis with North Korea. McCain said, “the negotiations that took place in 1994, which many of us opposed, resulted in North Korea being vastly more dangerous and a greater threat than they were then.” McCain noted that North Korea went back on their word from the 1994 agreement, saying, “resulting from an agreement we never should have made back in 1994 when we agreed to give them, over time, over \$1 billion in aid while they promised not to develop these weapons. And clearly they have done something.” [NBC News, 1/7/03; NPR, 8/29/03]

- **McCain Criticized The Fuss Over Multi Party Talks With North Korea.** McCain said, “We’ve had the, quote, ‘six-party talks.’ [The North Koreans] want two-party talks and some people talk about four party. It -- look, what it’s all about, Norah, is whether people want to sit down and seriously negotiate. That’s like the shape of the table in the Paris peace talks during the Vietnam War.” McCain reiterated his problem with talks, saying, “I don’t know why we should reward bad behavior by making concessions. It’s not whether it’s six party, four party, two party, whatever. That’s not the problem ... The problem is will the North Koreans comply with the commitments that they made in the past?” [MSNBC, 6/21/06; CBS News, 7/9/06]
- **McCain Called A Nuclear Armed North Korea “Unacceptable,” Ruled Out Negotiations.** McCain said, “[F]irst of all, I think you make it very clear that--that it’s unacceptable [for North Korea to develop nuclear weapons]. Two, we will not negotiate. Three, the Chinese, in particular, but also the Russians, the

South Koreans and the Japanese, can play a very key role; the Chinese, in particular, who have been less than helpful so far.” [CBS News, 1/5/03]

RUSSIA: McCain Undermined U.S. Talks with Russia. According to *National Interest*, ‘When the administration was trying to reach an understanding with the Kremlin on missile defense sites in Poland and the Czech Republic, McCain undermined the talks by saying, “the first thing I would do is make sure that we have a missile defense system in place in Czechoslovakia and Poland, and I don’t care what his [Putin’s] objections are to it.”’ [National Interest, [2/4/08](#)]

- **McCain’s Has Been ‘Uncompromising and Confrontational’ Towards Russia.** According to *National Interest*, “While Washington should address mounting concerns about Russian domestic issues with Moscow, McCain’s stance has been so uncompromising and confrontational that as president he would fatally undermine any effort to rally consensus at the Council on Iran and other matters. [National Interest, [2/4/08](#)]

al Qaeda

McCain Said He Knew How To Get Osama Bin Laden, And Would If President. According to *Guardian Unlimited*, McCain said, “McCain boasted that he knew how to get Osama bin Laden and, if he became president, he would get him.” [Guardian Unlimited, [1/7/08](#)]

- **McCain Dodged Questions Over Tactics to Fight al-Qaeda.** When asked how he would go about capturing Osama bin Laden and delivering him to the ‘Gates of Hell,’ McCain dodged the question. “One thing I will not do is telegraph my punches.” McCain also said that he would not share his ideas with Bush. [The Atlantic, [1/31/08](#)]

McCain Failed To Vote To Require A Report On the U.S.’s Global Strategy Against al Qaeda. In 2008, McCain failed to vote on a bill to require President Bush to report to Congress on “the global strategy of the United States to combat and defeat al Qaeda and its affiliates.” The cloture motion passed 89-3. [S 2634, [Vote #34](#), 2/27/08]

McCain Failed To Vote To Raise The Reward For The Capture Of bin Laden. In 2007, McCain failed to vote for an amendment that would increase the reward for the capture of Osama bin Laden to \$50 million and require that intelligence leaders submit quarterly reports to Congress on the status of capturing al Qaeda leaders. The amendment passed 87-1. [HR 1585, [Vote #247](#), 7/13/07]

McCain Voted Against Assisting In The Prosecutions Of al Qaeda Officials. In 2002, McCain voted to table an amendment that would allow the U.S. to assist the International Criminal Court through Sept. 30, 2002, in cases involving Saddam Hussein, Slobodan Milosevic, Osama bin Laden, Islamic Jihad, al Qaeda or any nationals accused of genocide, war crimes or crimes against humanity. The motion to table passed 55-40. [HR 4775, [Vote #139](#), 6/6/02]

ACCOMPLISHMENTS:

McCain Voted To Provide \$200 Million For Intelligence Unit To Find Osama Bin Laden. In 2006, McCain voted for an amendment that would provide \$200 million in emergency funding for an intelligence unit to find Osama bin Laden and other al Qaeda leaders, and require the Defense secretary to submit a classified report to Congress on progress after 60 days, and every subsequent 90 days. The amendment passed 96-0. [HR 5631, [Vote #235](#), 9/7/06]

Africa

McCain Voted Against \$118 Million In Famine Assistance For Darfur. In 2004, McCain voted to table an amendment that would add \$118 million in emergency funding for disaster and famine assistance efforts in response to the humanitarian crisis in the Darfur region of Sudan and Chad. The motion to table passed 53-45. [HR 4613, [Vote #148](#), 6/24/04]

McCain Voted To Assist Paramilitary Operations In Angola. In 1985, McCain voted to repeal the prohibition of assistance for military or paramilitary operations in Angola. The amendment passed 236-185. [HR 1555, 7/10/85; CQ Almanac]

McCain Voted Against South African Sanctions To Oppose Apartheid. In 1985, McCain voted against a bill to impose sanctions immediately against South Africa, including a ban on bank loans to the South African government, and prohibitions against the sale of computer goods and nuclear power equipment and supplies to that country. Subject to review by the president and Congress, the bill also would bar new U.S. business investment in South Africa and prohibit the importation into the United States of South African gold coins, called Krugerrands. The bill passed 295-127. [HR 1460, 6/5/85; CQ Almanac]

SOMALIA:

McCain Voted Against Eliminating Peacekeeping Operations In Somalia. In 1994, McCain voted against an amendment to eliminate \$1.2 billion for peacekeeping operations in Somalia, Bosnia, Iraq, and Haiti. The amendment failed 19-76. [HR 3759, [Vote #40](#), 2/10/94]

McCain Voted Against Prohibiting Funding Continued Presence in Somalia. In 1994, McCain voted against an amendment to prohibit money in the bill from supporting the continued presence of troops in Somalia after Sept. 30, 1994. The amendment passed 54-44. [HR 4650, [Vote #278](#), 8/10/94]

McCain Voted For A Date For Withdrawal From Somalia. In 1993, McCain voted for an amendment that expressed the sense of the Senate that the President outline to Congress the goals of the mission Somalia by October 15 and that unless the President seek reauthorization of the mission by November 15, it should be ended. The amendment passed 90-7. [S 1298, [Vote #252](#), 9/9/93]

McCain Proposed Cutting Off Funding For Troops In Somalia. In 1993, McCain proposed an amendment that terminated all funds for U.S. military operations in Somalia. McCain argued that no further funds should be authorized for U.S. operations in Somalia, except to support a prompt and safe withdrawal of American forces from the area. American lives have already been lost in a mission which does not serve a national security purpose. The mission in Somalia of feeding starving people was met, and it is time for American forces to come home. There is no justification for keeping American troops in Somalia. In the post Cold War world, American troops and resources should be committed only to support achievable and well-understood goals. McCain voted against a motion to table the amendment. The motion to table passed 61-38. [HR 3116, [Vote #313](#), 10/15/93]

McCain Voted Against Clarifying U.S. Mission In Somalia. In 1993, McCain voted against an amendment that asserted that the U.S. must clarify its mission in Somalia, given that the humanitarian relief effort has been successful, and U.S. forces have increasingly been subject to violent attacks. It stated that the U.S. should end its military mission in Somalia and withdraw all troops by March 31, 1994. The amendment passed 74-23. [SR 3116, [Vote #314](#), 10/15/93]

McCain Voted Against Restricting Covert Military Aid. In 1986, McCain voted against restricting covert military aid to UNITA rebels in Angola. Amendment passed 229-186. [HR 4759, 9/17/86; CQ Almanac]

ACCOMPLISHMENTS:

McCain Voted For \$95 Million In Emergency Funding For Darfur. In 2004, McCain voted for passage of a bill that would provide \$95 million in emergency funding for disaster and famine assistance efforts in the Darfur region of Sudan and Chad. The bill passed 98-0. [HR 4613, [Vote #149](#), 6/24/04]

Afghanistan

McCain Voted Against Combating Opium & Heroine Production In Afghanistan. In 2006, McCain voted to table an amendment that would add \$700 million in emergency funding to combat opium and heroin production and trade, and help prevent proceeds from being used for terrorist activities in countries such as Afghanistan and Iraq. The motion to table failed 45-51. [HR 5631, [Vote #237](#), 9/7/06]

McCain Voted Against A \$400 Million Increase In Afghanistan Reconstruction Funding. In 2003, McCain voted to table an amendment that would decrease the amount in the bill for Iraqi reconstruction by \$600 million and increase the amount available to the Iraqi Civil Defense Corps by \$50 million, increase funding for Afghanistan by \$400 million, and increase the amount available for Liberia by \$150 million. The motion to table passed 55-43. [S 1689, [Vote #399](#), 10/17/03]

McCain Voted Against Acceleration Reconstruction In Afghanistan. In 2003, McCain voted to table an amendment that would limit the use of reconstruction funds for certain programs and projects and reduce reconstruction funding by \$1.65 billion and reallocate the funds to other purposes such as destroying conventional weapons in Iraq and accelerating reconstruction in Afghanistan. The motion to table passed 51-47. [S 1689, [Vote #396](#), 10/17/03]

McCain Voted Against Requiring A Cost Estimate of War In Afghanistan. In 2003, McCain voted to table an amendment that would require the president to submit to Congress a cost estimate for fiscal 2004 military operations in Iraq and Afghanistan not covered by the underlying bill. The motion to table passed 53-41. [HR 2658, [Vote #278](#), 7/16/03]

ACCOMPLISHMENTS:

McCain Voted To Reimburse Soldiers Who Were Forced To Purchase Their Own Body Armor. In 2004, McCain voted for an amendment that would require the Defense secretary to reimburse members of the armed forces deployed in operations in Iraq or Afghanistan for the cost of any protective, safety or health equipment purchased by or on behalf of such members by their families, nonprofit organizations or community groups for use in connection with the operations. The amendment passed 91-0. [S 2400, [Vote #112](#), 6/14/04]

Balkans

BOSNIA

McCain Voted Against Limiting Military Involvement in Bosnia. In 1998, McCain moved and voted to table an amendment to limit the scale of military involvement in Herzegovina and Bosnia. Motion to table passed 68-31. [S 2132, [Vote #249](#), 7/30/98]

McCain Voted To Keep U.S. Peacekeeping Forces In Bosnia. In 1998, McCain moved and voted to kill an amendment that prohibited the use of funds, after March 31, 1999, to support continued deployment of U.S. ground forces in Bosnia and Herzegovina unless, prior to that date, both Houses vote on passage of legislation to specifically authorize deployment. Motion to Table was agreed to 65-31. [S 2057, [Vote #171](#), 6/24/98]

McCain Voted Against Open-Ended Occupation in Bosnia. In 1998, McCain voted to express the sense of the senate that, "that U.S. ground combat forces should not remain in Bosnia and Herzegovina indefinitely in view of world-wide commitments of U.S. Armed Forces." Motion passed 90-5. [S 2057, [Vote #170](#), 6/24/98]

McCain Voted Against Requiring President To Seek Congressional Approval for Troop Deployment to Bosnia. In 1998, McCain voted against an amendment to require the president to receive congressional approval for continued troop deployment in Bosnia. Motion failed 16-83. [[Vote #116](#), 4/30/98; [Vote #110](#), 4/30/98]

McCain Voted For A Timetable For Withdrawal From Bosnia. In 1998, McCain voted to express the sense of Congress that U.S. ground combat forces should not remain in Bosnia and Herzegovina indefinitely. The motion would also force the withdrawal of U.S. ground combat forces within reasonable period of time. The amendment passed 90-5. [S 2057, [Vote #170](#), 6/24/98]

McCain Voted Against Prohibiting Deployment of U.S. Ground Troops In Bosnia. In 1998, McCain voted to table an amendment that prohibits the obligation of funds for U.S. ground troops in Bosnia and Herzegovina, except to the extent necessary for U.S. ground forces to protect themselves during drawdown, to support limited number of U.S. military personnel sufficient only to protect U.S. diplomatic facilities in existence on date of enactment, to support non-combat military personnel sufficient only to advise NATO commanders' peacekeeping operations in Bosnia and Herzegovina, and to support U.S. ground forces that may be deployed as part of NATO containment operations in regions surrounding Bosnia and Herzegovina. The motion to table passed 68-31. [S 2132, [Vote #249](#), 7/30/98]

McCain Voted For \$1.9 Billion For Military Operations in Bosnia. In 1997, McCain voted for \$1.9 billion in new budget authority for the Department of Defense, including \$1.5 billion in contingency funding for operations in Bosnia and Southwest Asia. Supplemental appropriations bill passed 78-21. [HR 1871, [Vote #100](#), 6/12/97]

McCain Voted To Support President Clinton's Decision Sending Peacekeepers To Bosnia. In 1995, McCain voted against the resolution which expresses Congressional opposition to President Clinton's decision to deploy U.S. military ground forces into Bosnia and Herzegovina to implement the General Framework Agreement for Peace in Bosnia and Herzegovina and its associated annexes. Concurrent Resolution agreed to 47-52. [SCR 35, [Vote #602](#), 12/13/95]

McCain Voted Against U.S. Arms Embargo On Bosnia. In 1995, McCain voted to require the president to end the participation of the United States in the international arms embargo on Bosnia after the 25,000-person United Nations Protection Force is withdrawn or 12 weeks after Bosnia requests such a withdrawal. Bill passed 69-29. [S 21, [Vote #331](#), 7/26/95]

McCain Voted For Timetable For U.S. Involvement in Bosnia. In 1995, McCain voted to limit the deployment of troops to Bosnia to approximately one year and require the president to limit the use of U.S. troops in Bosnia to the enforcement of the military provisions of the peace agreement and provide for an exit strategy from Bosnia that would include an international effort to achieve a military balance in Bosnia. Motion passed 69-30. [SJR 44, [Vote #603](#), 12/13/95]

McCain Voted In Favor of Requiring Congressional Approval. In 1995, McCain voted in favor of an amendment to express the sense of the Senate that U.S. troops should not be deployed in Bosnia and Herzegovina unless Congress approves the deployment. Resolution passed 94-2. [HR 2076, [Vote #479](#), 9/29/95]

McCain Voted Against A \$1.1 Billion Funding Increase For Ongoing Operations in Bosnia. In 1995, McCain voted to table an amendment to reduce the shipbuilding funds by \$1.3 billion, thus canceling construction of a helicopter carrier while adding \$1.1 billion to cover the cost of ongoing operations in Iraq, Cuba and Bosnia. The motion to table passed 73-26. [S 1087, [Vote #385](#), 8/10/95]

McCain Voted Against Prohibiting Deployment of U.S. Ground Troops In Bosnia. In 1995, McCain voted against a bill to prohibit the use of federal money for the deployment of U.S. ground troops in Bosnia-Herzegovina as part of any peacekeeping operations unless specifically appropriated by Congress. The bill failed 22-77. [HR 2606, [Vote #601](#), 12/13/95]

McCain Voted To Lift The Arms Embargo Against Bosnia. In 1994, McCain voted for an amendment to express the sense of the senate that the President should lift the U.S. arms embargo against the government of Bosnia and Herzegovina. The amendment passed 87-9. [S 1281, [Vote #8](#), 1/27/94]

McCain Voted To Terminate The U.S. Arms Embargo Against Bosnia. In 1994, McCain voted for an amendment to require the president to terminate the U.S. arms embargo of Bosnia-Herzegovina upon receipt of a request from that government for assistance in its right of self-defense and to prohibit interference with the transfer of conventional arms by the executive branch. The amendment passed 50-49. [S 2042, [Vote #111](#), 5/12/94]

McCain Voted To Set A Deadline For The Termination of U.S. Arms Embargo Against Bosnia. In 1994, McCain voted for an amendment to terminate the Bosnia arms embargo no later than Nov. 15, 1994. The amendment passed 58-42. [HR 4650, [Vote #280](#), 8/11/94]

McCain Voted Against Cooperating With NATO To Bring About Peaceful Settlement in Bosnia. In 1994, McCain voted against an amendment to express the sense of Congress that the U.S. should work with NATO member nations and the U.N. Security Council to endorse the efforts of the contact group to bring about a peaceful settlement of the conflict in Bosnia-Herzegovina. The amendment passed 52-48. [S 2182, [Vote #180](#), 7/1/94]

McCain Voted Against Lifting the Arms Embargo Against Bosnia. In 1994, McCain voted against an amendment to direct the president to seek the immediate agreement of NATO allies to terminate the arms embargo against Bosnia-Herzegovina, direct the president to seek a U.N. Security Council resolution to terminate the arms embargo and require the president to consult Congress within five days about unilateral termination of the embargo, if the U.N. Security Council resolution fails. The amendment passed 50-49. [S 2042, [Vote #110](#), 5/12/94]

McCain Voted To Support President Bush's Efforts In Bosnia. In 1992, McCain voted to express support for President Bush's efforts in the crisis in Bosnia-Herzegovina, particularly his steps announced on August 6, 1992. The amendment passed 90-5. [SRS 30, [Vote #184](#), 8/10/92]

McCain Voted Against Ensuring Humanitarian Relief In Bosnia. In 1992, McCain voted against a sense of the senate resolution that the President should call upon the United Nations to authorize all means--including multilateral military action, if necessary--to ensure humanitarian relief reaches Bosnia-Herzegovina. The resolution passed 74-22. [SRS 330, [Vote #186](#), 8/11/92]

McCain Voted To Prohibit Funding Troop Deployment To Bosnia. In 1993, McCain voted for an amendment to express the sense of Congress that none of the funds in the bill should be used to deploy troops in Bosnia/Herzegovina unless authorized by Congress. The amendment passed 99-1. [HR 3116, [Vote #320](#), 10/20/93]

KOSOVO

McCain Voted To Prohibit Military Operations In Kosovo. In 1999, McCain voted to prohibit the use of funds to conduct military operations by U.S. Armed Forces in Kosovo. The cloture motion passed 55-44. [S 544, [Vote #55](#), 3/23/99]

- **McCain Voted To Conduct Air Strikes In Kosovo.** In 1999, McCain voted to adopt the resolution which authorizes the President of the United States to conduct military air operations and missile strikes, in cooperation with our NATO allies, against the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia (Serbia and Montenegro). The resolution passed 58-41. [SCR 21, [Vote #57](#), 3/23/99]
- **McCain Voted To Use "All Necessary Force" In Kosovo.** In 1999, McCain voted against tabling a resolution to authorize the President to use all necessary force in concert with allies of U.S., to accomplish U.S. and NATO objectives in Federal Republic of Yugoslavia. The motion to table passed 78-22. [SJR 20, [Vote #98](#), 5/4/99]

McCain Voted Against Funding Military And Humanitarian Assistance In Kosovo. In 1999, McCain voted against a conference report that provided emergency spending for military operations and humanitarian assistance in the Kosovo region along with disaster relief in Central America and Caribbean. The conference report passed 70-30. [HR 1141, [Vote #135](#), 5/20/99]

McCain Failed to Vote To Provide Resources to Investigate War Crimes In Kosovo. In 1999, McCain failed to vote for an amendment that expressed the sense of congress that the U.S., in coordination with other United Nation contributors, should provide sufficient resources for expeditious and thorough investigation of allegations of atrocities and war crimes committed in Kosovo and U.S. should provide all possible cooperation in gathering of evidence of sufficient specificity and credibility to secure indictment of those responsible for commission of war crimes, crimes against humanity, and genocide in former Yugoslavia. The amendment passed 90-0. [S 1059, [Vote #141](#), 5/24/99]

McCain Voted Against Requiring Congressional Approval Of Military Action In Yugoslavia. In 1999, McCain voted to table an amendment that prohibited the obligation or expenditure of any funds for deployment of ground troops from U.S. Armed Forces in Yugoslavia, except for intelligence operations, missions to rescue U.S. military personnel or citizens of U.S., or to otherwise meet military emergencies unless authorized by declaration of war or joint resolution authorizing use of military force. The motion to table passed 52-48. [S 1059, [Vote #145](#), 5/25/99]

McCain Voted To Keep Military Options on the Table In Serbia. In 1999, McCain voted to table an amendment that prohibited funding for all U.S. military operations, including air operations and peacekeeping, in Serbia and Montenegro other than intelligence or intelligence related activity, surveillance, provision of logistical support, or any measure necessary to defend U.S. forces against immediate threat, unless Congress first enacts specific authorization for conduct of these operations. Motion to table passed 77-21. [S 1059, [Vote #151](#), 5/26/99]

McCain Voted To Condemn Serbia For Human Rights Violations. In 1998, McCain voted for a resolution to express the sense of the congress that the U.S. should condemn the Serbian government controlled by Slobodan Milosevic in the strongest possible terms for the gross human rights violations against its citizens, including the indiscriminate use of Serbian paramilitary police units against the Albanian population of Kosovo and the U.S. should condemn any terrorist actions by any group or individual in Kosovo. The amendment passed 98-0. [SCR 85, [Vote #37](#), 3/18/98]

ACCOMPLISHMENTS:

McCain Voted To Provide Humanitarian And Military Aid In The Balkans. In 1992, McCain voted for an amendment expressing the sense of the Senate that, pending a U.N. mandate, the U.S. will provide the necessary funds for participation in humanitarian and multilateral military action in the Balkans. The amendment passed 82-13. [SRS 330, [Vote #185](#), 8/11/92]

China

McCain Voted Against Studying The Effects Of China Holding U.S. Debt. In 2006, McCain voted against an amendment that required the Secretary of the Treasury to conduct a study “on the economic consequences of foreigners holding an increasing portion of the U.S. debt.” Foreigners now hold about 42% of all publicly held debt, with Japan, China and the United Kingdom topping the list of debtors. The amendment failed 44-55. [HJR 47, [Vote #53](#), 3/16/06; AP, 3/16/06]

McCain Voted Against Banning Loans For Nuclear Projects In China. In 2005, McCain voted against an amendment to prohibit any funds from being used by the Export-Import Bank of the United States to approve a loan or a loan guarantee related to a nuclear project in China. The amendment failed 37-62. [HR 3057, [Vote #192](#), 7/19/05]

McCain Voted To Spend Only \$600,000 On Democracy Training Programs In China. In 1994, McCain voted against an amendment to delete the \$600,000 for democracy training in programs in China. Proponents of the motion to delete the funding believed there is no way this sum of money could have any influence on a nation that has a population of 1.2 billion people. The amendment passed 60-38. [HR 4426, [Vote #197](#), 7/14/94]

McCain Voted Against Encouraging China To Account For American POWs From The Wars In Korea And Vietnam. In 2000, McCain voted against an amendment that would require the Congressional-Executive Commission to monitor and encourage China in accounting for POWs and MIAs from the Korean War, Vietnam War, and the Cold War. It would require the commission to report annually on the assessment of China's cooperation in accounting for U.S. personnel. The amendment failed 30-68. [HR 4444, [Vote #248](#), 9/14/00]

McCain Voted To Condemn Chinese Missile Tests Near Taiwan. In 1996, McCain voted to express the sense of the congress that the United States deplores the Chinese missile tests near Taiwan and urges China to cease the military exercises and instead enter into a meaningful dialogue with Taiwan. The resolution passed 97-0. [HCR 148, [Vote #51](#), 3/21/96]

McCain Voted To Allow Chinese Students To Stay In The United States. In 1989, McCain voted for an amendment that removes the requirement that Chinese students return to China for 2 yrs before seeking change in immigration status in U.S.; and gives students until 6/5/92 to adjust status; prohibits Attorney General from ordering return to China until it is safe. The amendment passed 97-0. [S 358, [Vote #104](#), 7/11/89]

- **McCain Caved To Bush & Voted Against Allowing Chinese Students To Stay In The United States.** In 1990, McCain change his vote to align himself with President Bush. He voted against overriding a vetoed bill that allowed Chinese nationals to extend their stay in the U.S. barring their deportation for an indefinite period, in response to China's crackdown on pro-democracy movement. The veto-override failed 62-37. [HR 2712, [Vote #1](#), 1/25/90]

McCain On Human Rights With China:

McCain Voted Against Encouraging China To Implement Human Health And Environmental Laws. In 2000, McCain voted against an amendment that would require the Congressional-Executive Commission to monitor and encourage the cooperation of China in the implementation and enforcement of laws for the protection of human health and the environment that are at least as comprehensive and effective as comparable U.S. laws. The amendment failed 24-74. [HR 4444, [Vote #249](#), 9/14/00]

McCain Voted Against Urging The Chinese To Cease Forced Abortions. In 2000, McCain voted against an amendment that would express the sense of Congress that the president should urge the People's Republic of China to cease forced abortion and sterilization policies and practices, and to cease its detention of those who resist. The amendment failed 43-53. [Hr 4444, [Vote #243](#), 9/13/00]

McCain Failed To Vote To Monitor Organ Harvesting In China. In 2000, McCain failed to vote for an amendment that would require the Congressional-Executive Commission to monitor the cooperation of the People's Republic of China with respect to eliminating the practice of harvesting and transporting organs for profit from prisoners that it executes. The amendment failed 29-66. [HR 4444, [Vote #241](#), 9/13/00]

McCain Voted Against Ensuring China Improved Its Stance On Human Rights. McCain voted against an amendment that would delay the effective date of permanent normal trade relations status to China until the president certifies that China has ratified the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights. The amendment failed 32-63. [HR 4444, [Vote #239](#), 9/12/00]

McCain Voted Against Encouraging the President To Press The Chinese To Improve Human Rights. In 1994, McCain voted against an amendment to express the sense of the Senate that the president should use all opportunities to press the Chinese for further concrete progress toward meeting the standards for renewal of that country's most-favored-nation trade status. The amendment passed 61-39. [S 1281, [Vote #16](#), 2/1/94]

McCain Voted Against Holding China Accountable For Human Rights Abuses. In 1992 McCain voted against a bill to prohibit an extension of most-favored-nation trading status to China until the President certifies that there have been improvements in China's human rights situation. The veto override failed 59-40. [HR 5318, [Vote #255](#), 10/1/92]

McCain Voted Against Holding China Accountable For Human Rights Abuses. In 1992, McCain voted against prohibiting the renewal of most-favored nation trade status (MFN) for China unless the President certifies that the Chinese government has accounted for and released non-violent pro-democracy demonstrators who were jailed during and after the repression against the Tiananmen Square demonstrators in 1989, and made overall significant progress toward human rights, trade, and weapons proliferation. Bill Passed 55-44. [HR 2212 , [Vote #142](#), 7/23/1991; HR 2212 , [Vote #31](#), 2/25/1992; HR 2212 , [Vote #52](#), 3/18/92]

McCain Voted To Condemn China For Human Rights Violations. In 1989, McCain voted for an amendment to condemn the Chinese government for arrests and executions of students and workers participating in prodemocracy rallies. The amendment passed 81-10. [S 1160, [Vote #118](#), 7/14/89]

McCain Voted Against Improving Human Rights In China. In 1991, McCain voted against an amendment to express Congress' findings with respect to the trade practices of the People's Republic of China, to specify additional areas of trade in which the People's Republic of China needs to make significant progress, to require the President to take action with respect to certain trade practices and human rights violations, and for other purposes. The amendment passed 55-35. [S 1367, [Vote #141](#), 7/22/91]

ACCOMPLISHMENTS:

McCain Voted To Encourage China To End Human Rights Abuses In Tibet. In 1999, McCain voted to express the sense of the senate that the United States should introduce and make all efforts necessary to pass a resolution calling upon the People's Republic of China to end its human rights abuses in China and Tibet. The amendment passed 99-0. [SRS 45, [Vote #27](#), 2/25/99]

Cuba

McCain Called Obama's View on Cuba "Dangerously Naive." In response to Obama's offer to meet with the new leader of Cuba, McCain said, "Meet, talk and hope may be a sound approach in a state legislature, but it is dangerously naive in international diplomacy where the oppressed look to America for hope and adversaries wish us ill." [[Kansas City Star](#), [2/23/08](#)]

McCain Failed To Vote For Referendum On Cuban Civil Liberties. In 2002, McCain failed to vote on a resolution that would express the sense of the Senate to call on the Cuban government to give serious consideration to the Varela Project, a petition drive that has resulted in 10,000 certified signatures in support of a national referendum on civil liberties. The resolution was adopted 87-0. [SRS 272, [Vote #146](#), 6/10/02]

McCain Voted Against Examining U.S. Relations With Cuba. In 2000, McCain voted to table an amendment that would establish a 12-member bipartisan commission to examine U.S. relations with Cuba, including whether Cuba still poses a security risk, to assess the Cuban government's role in international terrorism and drug trafficking, and evaluate the impact of the U.S. trade embargo against Cuba. The motion to table passed 59-41. [S 2549, [Vote #137](#), 6/20/00]

McCain Voted Against Allowing the Sale of Food And Medicine to Cuba. In 2000, McCain was one of eight senators to vote against a bill that included \$3.6 billion in emergency aid for farmers and a deal that would allow the sale of food and medicine to five nations, including Cuba, but bar public or private U.S. financing of Cuban purchases. It also would codify the executive order restricting travel to Cuba. U.S. pharmacies and wholesalers would be allowed to re-import U.S.-made prescription drugs that are sold abroad for less than they cost in the United States. The conference report was adopted 86-8. [HR 4461, [Vote #277](#), 10/18/00]

McCain Voted To Enforce The Cuba Travel Ban. In 2003, McCain voted to enforce a ban on U.S. citizens traveling to Cuba. The motion failed, marking the first time the Senate went on record opposing the travel ban. Agricultural interests see an untapped market in Cuba and make the case that economic engagement, rather than

isolation, is the way to change the behavior of Fidel Castro's government. [HR 2989, [Vote #405](#), 10/23/03; HR 927, [Vote #492](#), 10/19/95; S 1234, [Vote #189](#), 6/30/99]

McCain Voted Against Allowing U.S. Resident From Sending Money To Family Members Living In Cuba. In 1997, McCain voted against an amendment allowing Allows persons subject to U.S. law to (1) send up to \$200 per month to parents, siblings, or children residing in Cuba to purchase basic necessities, and (2) to travel to Cuba for up to 30 days to attend to medical emergency involving, or to attend funeral of parent, sibling, spouse, or child; and eliminates restrictions on U.S. participation in multilateral humanitarian relief efforts made in aftermath of natural disaster in Cuba. The amendment failed 38-61. [S 955, [Vote #183](#), 7/17/97]

McCain Voted To Facilitate The Ability Of Cuban Refugees To Obtain Permanent U.S. Residency. In 1996, McCain voted against eliminating the Cuban Adjustment Act, which facilitates the ability of Cuban refugees to obtain permanent residency. The amendment passed 62-37. [S 1664, [Vote #91](#), 4/30/96]

McCain Voted to Strengthen Cuban Trade Embargo And Discourage Foreign Investment. In 1996, McCain voted to adopt the conference report to strengthen the trade embargo against Cuba, to discourage foreign investment in Cuba and to direct the president to prepare to support a transition to democracy in Cuba. The bill would allow U.S. nationals to bring lawsuits against entities that traffic in confiscated Cuban property; it would codify all existing Cuban economic sanctions dating back to 1962; it would deny entry into the United States to foreigners who traffic in confiscated Cuban property; and it would proportionally reduce U.S. foreign aid to countries that support Cuba. The conference report passed 74-22. [HR 927, [Vote #22](#), 3/5/96]

McCain Voted To Strengthen Sanctions And Establish Democratic Reforms In Cuba. In 1995, McCain voted to strengthen economic sanctions against Cuba and attempt to establish democratic reforms in Cuba. The bill would allow for traffickers of American property confiscated by the Cuba government to be sued in U.S. federal courts and encourage foreign countries to restrict trade and credit relations with Cuba. The cloture motion failed 56-37. [HR 927, [Vote #491](#), 10/18/95]

McCain Voted To Sanction Countries That Assist Cuban Dictatorship. In 1992, McCain voted against tabling an amendment that would incorporate the "Cuban Democracy Act" into the bill. the Cuban Democracy Act would extend sanctions against countries that assist Cuba as long as it remains a dictatorship. The motion to table failed 24-61. [S 3144, [Vote #222](#), 9/18/92]

McCain Voted To Prevent The Export Food And Medicine To Cuba. In 1992, McCain voted to table an amendment that would exempt food and medicine expenses from the bill that prohibits American companies from taking tax deductions for any business done with Cuba. The motion to table passed 51-37. [HR 11, [Vote #241](#), 9/25/92]

McCain Voted To Extend Cuba Embargo. In 1989, McCain voted against tabling an amendment that restores economic embargo on Cuba as it existed prior to 1975, when it applied to U.S. subsidiaries in foreign countries. The motion to table failed 13-82. [S 1160, [Vote #129](#), 7/20/89]

El Salvador

McCain Voted To Against Limiting Military Aid To El Salvador. In 1989, McCain voted to table an amendment to limit military aid to El Salvador to \$85 million, to be provided in 3 installments; 3rd installment may be withheld if majority of four relevant Congressional committees disapproves. The motion to table passed 68-32. [HR 2939, [Vote #189](#), 9/20/89; HR 5114, [Vote #293](#), 10/19/90]

McCain Voted For \$90 Million In Military Sales Funds For El Salvador. In 1989, McCain voted for an amendment to earmark \$90 million of foreign military sales funds for El Salvador and express the sense of Congress supporting a political solution to the Salvadoran conflict. The amendment passed 82-18. [HR 2939, [Vote #190](#), 9/20/89]

McCain Voted To Authorize Military Aid For El Salvador. In 1984, McCain voted for an amendment to authorize President Reagan's requests for military, economic and development aid for Central American countries in fiscal 1984–85, and to allow military aid for El Salvador in fiscal 1985 if the president certified to Congress that the government had made “demonstrated progress” on human rights and other issues. The amendment passed 212-208. [HR 5119, 5/10/84; CQ Almanac]

Grenada

McCain Voted To Send U.S. Troops To Grenada. In 1983, McCain voted to invoke the War Powers Acts and grant the president 60 days of military actions in Grenada before requiring a Congressional extension. The resolution passed 403-23. [HJR 402, Vote #437, 11/1/83]

Haiti

McCain Voted To Deny Visas To Those Suspected Of Being Involved In Political Killings. In 1997, McCain voted for an amendment to deny visas to any individual who is known or suspected of having been involved in political killings or other illegal acts in Haiti between September 1991 and October 1994. The amendment passed 98-0. [S 903, [Vote #101](#), 6/17/97]

McCain Voted To Require Congressional Approval For Military Action In Haiti. In 1993, McCain voted for an amendment expressing the sense of the Congress that it must be up to Congress to approve any U.S. military operation in Haiti unless the President must act to save U.S. citizens in Haiti that face imminent danger. The amendment passed 98-2. [HR 4426, [Vote #173](#), 6/29/94]

- **McCain Voted Against Requiring Congressional Approval For Military Action In Haiti.** In 1994, McCain voted for his own motion to kill an amendment to prohibit the president from deploying U.S. troops to restore the legitimately elected government in Haiti unless authorized by Congress. The motion to table passed 63-31. [HR 4606, [Vote #263](#), 8/5/94]

McCain Voted For A Prompt Troop Withdrawal From Haiti. In 1994, McCain voted to express the sense of Congress favors a prompt and orderly withdrawal of all U.S. forces from Haiti as soon as possible and require reports on the scope and duration of the U.S. mission in Haiti. The resolution passed 91-8. [SJR 229, [Vote #323](#), 10/6/94]

McCain Voted To Condemn Haitian Coup. In 1991, McCain voted for a resolution expressing the sense of the Senate condemning the coup in Haiti and urging the international community to support measures to restore the presidency of Jean-Bertrand Aristide. The resolution passed 97-0. [SRS 186, [Vote #217](#), 10/2/91]

McCain Voted Against Eliminating Peacekeeping Operations In Haiti. In 1994, McCain voted against an amendment to eliminate \$1.2 billion for peacekeeping operations in Somalia, Bosnia, Iraq, and Haiti. The amendment failed 19-76. [HR 3759, [Vote #40](#), 2/10/94]

Iran

McCain: “Bomb, Bomb, Bomb Iran.” In April 2007, McCain, speaking to voters in South Carolina, responded to a question about Iran by singing “Bomb, bomb Iran” to the tune of the Beach Boys’ “Barbara Ann.” A man had asked McCain about sending “an air mail message to Tehran.” McCain answered by singing, “Bomb bomb bomb, bomb bomb Iran.” He then added: “Iran is dedicated to the destruction of Israel. That alone should concern us, but now they are trying for nuclear capabilities. I totally support (President George W. Bush) when he says we will not allow Iran to destroy Israel.” [UPI, 4/19/07]

McCain Threatened to Return to Iran with the “Full Force of Desert Storm.” In a 1995 press release, McCain wrote of Iraq and Iran, “[a]ggressors in the region should know that, if we must, we will return to the Persian Gulf with the full force of Operation Desert Storm. At the same time, our friends and adversaries elsewhere in the world should understand that the United States will do everything in its legislation will serve as an indication of just how serious we are.” [McCain Press Release, 4/28/95]

McCain Said Bush Sanctions Against Iran Were “Necessary.” The “Bush administration announced sanctions yesterday on a unit of the Iranian military... The measures proposed by President Bush today are necessary, Mr. McCain said.” [[New York Times](#), 10/26/07]

McCain Voted To Enforce The Iran-Iraq Non-Proliferation Act. In 1997, McCain voted for an amendment to express the sense of the senate that the Clinton Administration should enforce provisions of Iran-Iraq Arms Non-Proliferation Act of 1992 with respect to Iranian acquisition of C-802 model cruise missiles. The amendment passed 96-0. [S 903, [Vote #103](#), 6/17/97]

McCain Failed to Vote To Impose Sanctions For Those Selling Missiles To Iran. In 1998, McCain failed to vote for passage of a bill which imposed sanctions against individuals, companies, and research facilities for which there is credible reason to believe that they have provided Iran with the technology and materials needed to develop ballistic missiles; and includes language to implement the Chemical Weapons Convention Treaty. The bill passed 90-4. [HR 2709, [Vote #146](#), 5/22/98]

McCain Failed To Vote To Impose Sanction On Entities Transferring Weapons To Iran. In 2000, McCain failed to vote for final passage of a bill that would require the President to submit a report to Congress identifying entities that have transferred missile components or technology to Iran since January 2000. The bill, as amended would also authorize, but not require, the president to impose sanctions against entities that transfer the components or technology, including denying arms export licenses. The bill would also prohibit the U.S. from making ‘extraordinary’ payments to the Russian Aviation and Space Agency for the international space station unless Russia demonstrates a sustained commitment to prevent weapons proliferation in Iran. The bill passed 98-0. [HR 1883, [Vote #12](#), 2/24/00]

McCain Voted To Sanction Firms Who Invest In Iranian Oil & Gas Industries. In 2001, McCain voted for final passage of a bill that would extend for five years the Iran-Libya Sanctions Act, which authorizes the president to impose sanctions on foreign firms that invest more than \$20 million in the development of oil and gas industries in Iran or Libya. The bill passed 96-2. [S 1218, [Vote #251](#), 7/25/01]

McCain Voted Against Pro-Democracy Programs For Iran. In 2006, McCain voted against authorizing an amendment that offered assistance for prodemocracy programs and activities inside and outside Iran, to make clear that the United States supports the ability of the people of Iran to exercise self-determination over their form of government, and to make enhancements to the Iran-Libya Sanctions Act of 1996. The amendment failed 54-54. [S 2766, [Vote #172](#), 6/15/06]

McCain Voted to Support Bush’s Position On Iran. In 2006, McCain voted for an amendment to express the sense of Congress that Congress endorses the president’s Iran policy to pursue an international diplomatic effort to resolve the threat of efforts by Iran to acquire the capability to produce nuclear weapons. It also would call on Iran to suspend its nuclear enrichment and reprocessing activities, cooperate fully with the International Atomic Energy Agency, and enter into negotiations. The amendment passed 99-0. [S 2766, [Vote #173](#), 6/15/06]

McCain Voted To Require Report On Iranian Support Of Insurgency In Iraq. In 2007, McCain voted for an amendment to require the commander of multinational forces in Iraq and the U.S. ambassador to Iraq, in coordination with the director of national intelligence, to submit a report on support provided by the Iranian government for attacks against coalition forces in Iraq. The amendment passed 97-0. [HR 1585, [Vote #242](#), 7/11/07]

McCain Voted To Designate The Iranian Revolutionary Guard As A Terrorist Organization. In 2007, McCain voted for an amendment that would express the sense of the Senate that it is in the critical national interest of the United States to prevent the government of the Islamic Republic of Iran from turning Shiite militia extremists in Iraq into a Hezbollah-like force that could serve its interests inside Iraq. It also would express that the United States should designate Iran's Islamic Revolutionary Guards Corps as a foreign terrorist organization. The amendment passed 76-22. [HR 1585, [Vote #349](#), 9/26/07]

Kuwait

McCain Voted Against Encouraging Further Sanctions Rather Than Military Force. In 1991, McCain voted against a resolution authorizing military force while stressing that continued sanctions are the wisest course at this time and the military option will be used if necessary. The resolution failed 46-53. [SJR 1, [Vote #1](#), 1/12/91]

McCain Voted To Use "All Necessary Force" To Reverse Iraq's Occupation of Kuwait. In 1991, McCain voted in support of a Joint Resolution authorizing the use of force against Iraq if it fails to withdraw from Kuwait and comply with U.N. Security Council resolution #678 by January 15, 1991. Joint resolution passed 52-47. [SJR 2, [Vote #2](#), 1/12/91]

McCain Voted To Encourage The President To Take Additional Action Regarding Iraq's Occupation of Kuwait. In 1990, McCain voted for a resolution to commend the president for his initial response and urge him to take additional unilateral and multilateral steps aimed at securing withdrawal of all Iraqi forces from Kuwait. The resolution passed 97-0. [SR 318, [Vote #211](#), 8/2/90; CQ Almanac]

Lebanon

McCain Opposed Reagan's Peacekeeping Force in Lebanon. On the floor of the House, McCain stood up as one of 27 Republicans to oppose Reagan's mission in Lebanon. McCain stated, "The longer we stay in Lebanon, the harder it will be for us to leave. We will be trapped by the case we make for having troops there in the first place." Additionally McCain said, "What can we expect if we withdraw from Lebanon? The same as will happen if we stay. I acknowledge that the level of fighting will increase if we leave. I regretfully acknowledge that many innocent civilians will be hurt. But I firmly believe this will happen in any event." [[America Conservative Magazine](#), 2/11/08]

- **Lebanon Vote Gained McCain National Spotlight By Bucking GOP.** In 1983, McCain opposed a resolution allowing President Reagan to keep troops deployed in Lebanon for an additional 18 months. McCain stated, "I do not foresee obtainable objectives in Lebanon. I believe the longer we stay, the more difficult it will be to leave, and I am prepared to accept the consequences of our withdrawal." [[Arizona Republic](#), [3/1/07](#)]
- **McCain "Eager" to Become Maverick After Vote Gained Attention.** The Lebanon vote "caught the attention of the Washington press corps, who tend to notice acts of political independence from unexpected quarters," wrote McCain. "Now I was debating Lebanon on programs like the *MacNeil/Lehrer News Hour* and in the pages of the *New York Times* and the *Washington Post*. I was gratified by the attention and was eager for more. [[[Arizona Republic](#), [3/1/07](#)]

McCain Voted Against Sending Peacekeeping Forces To Lebanon. In 1983, McCain voted against providing statutory authorization under the War Powers Resolution for continued U.S. participation in the multinational peacekeeping force in Lebanon for up to 18 months after the enactment of the resolution. The bill passed 270-161. [HJR 364, [Vote #342](#), 9/28/83; HJR 364, [Vote #356](#), 9/28/83; HR 4185, [Vote #441](#), 11/2/83]

NATO

McCain Voted To Expand NATO To Include Poland, Hungary, And The Czech Republic. In 1998, McCain voted to ratify the protocols to the North Atlantic Treaty of 1949 which provides for the accession of Poland, Hungary, and the Czech Republic to full NATO membership, with all the rights, privileges, obligations, responsibilities, and protections that are afforded to other NATO members. Resolution of Ratification was agreed to 80-19. [S 0, [Vote #117](#), 4/30/98]

McCain Voted Against Limiting The Future Enlargement Of NATO. In 1998, McCain voted against an amendment that require the President to certify, prior to U.S. deposit of instrument of ratification, that it is U.S. policy not to encourage, participate in, or agree to any further enlargement of NATO for period of at least three years beginning on earliest date by which Poland, Hungary, and Czech Republic have all acceded to North Atlantic Treaty. The amendment failed 41-59. [S 0, [Vote #112](#), 4/30/98]

McCain Voted Against Cooperating With NATO To Bring About Peaceful Settlement in Bosnia. In 1994, McCain voted against an amendment to express the sense of Congress that the U.S. should work with NATO member nations and the U.N. Security Council to endorse the efforts of the contact group to bring about a peaceful settlement of the conflict in Bosnia-Herzegovina. The amendment passed 52-48. [S 2182, [Vote #180](#), 7/1/94]

McCain Opposed Cutting 30,000 U.S. Troops From NATO. In 1989, McCain voted against an amendment to reduce U.S. forces in NATO by 30,000 troops below the Senate-passed authorization level and reduce the Department of Defense military personnel level by a corresponding 30,000 below the authorized level. The amendment was rejected 46-5. [S 3189, 10/15/90]

ACCOMPLISHMENTS:

McCain Voted To Establish NATO Dispute Resolution Process. In 1998, McCain voted for an amendment that required the U.S. representative at the North Atlantic Council (NAC) to introduce a resolution to establish a process for dispute resolution among NATO members, prior to entry of Poland, Hungary and Czech Republic into NATO. The amendment failed 37-62. [S 0, [Vote #109](#), 4/29/98]

McCain Voted To Ensure NATO Members Are Cooperating With The U.S.'s Efforts To Account For POWs. In 1998, McCain voted for an amendment to require the President to certify to Congress that governments of Poland, Hungary, and Czech Republic are fully cooperating with U.S. efforts to obtain fullest possible accounting of captured and missing U.S. personnel from past military conflicts or Cold War incidents. The amendment passed 97-0. [S 0, [Vote #108](#), 4/29/98]

Nicaragua

McCain Voted For \$50 Million In Non-Military Aid For Nicaraguan Contras. In 1989, McCain voted for a bill to provide \$49.75 million in non-military aid to the contras. The bill also includes \$5 million for administration of the Agency for International Development, an unspecified amount for transportation of the aid, and \$4.2 million for medical aid to victims of the war in Nicaragua. The bill passed 89-9. [HR 1750, 4/13/89]

McCain Voted Against Aid For Nicaraguan Contras. In 1988, McCain voted against an amendment to authorize \$27.14 million in humanitarian aid to the Nicaraguan contras and to establish procedures for congressional consideration of a request by the president for authority to release up to \$16.5 million worth of stockpiled military aid to the contras as well. The amendment passed 49-47. [HR 4781, 8/10/88; CQ Almanac]

McCain Voted To Support Paramilitary Operations In Nicaragua. In 1983, McCain voted against a bill to prohibit, at a classified date specified by the House Intelligence Committee, support by U.S. intelligence agencies for military or paramilitary operations in Nicaragua and to authorize \$30 million in fiscal 1983 and \$50 million in

fiscal 1984 to help friendly countries in Central America interdict cross-border shipments of arms to anti-government forces in the region. The bill passed 228-195. [HR 2760, 7/28/83]

North Korea

McCain Voted To Prohibit Foreign Aid To North Korea Until Nuclear Certification. In 1994, McCain voted for an amendment to prohibit North Korea from receiving any U.S. money until the president certifies that North Korea does not possess nuclear weapons, has halted its nuclear weapons program and has not exported weapons grade plutonium. Amendment passed 95-0. [HR 4426, [Vote #200](#), 7/15/94; S 2334, [Vote #257](#), 9/2/98]

McCain Voted To “Take All Necessary Action To Repel North Korea.” In 1994, McCain proposed and voted for an amendment to express the sense of the Senate that the United States should take all necessary and appropriate action to enhance U.S. and South Korean readiness to deter and, if necessary, repel an attack from North Korea. The amendment passed 93-3. [S 1491, [Vote #150](#), 6/16/94]

McCain Voted To Keep Troops On Korean Peninsula. In 1989, McCain voted for an amendment that stated U.S. military presence is vital, and troops will remain there until North Korea abandons the desire to reunite Korea by force. The amendment passed 65-34. [HR 3072, [Vote #206](#), 9/26/89]

Nuclear Proliferation

McCain Voted Against An International Ban On Nuclear Weapons Testing. In 1999, McCain voted against a resolution of ratification accompanying the Comprehensive Nuclear Test Ban Treaty. Resolution of ratification rejected 48-51. [Treaty Doc. 105-28, [Vote #325](#), 10/13/99]

McCain Voted To Address United States Nonproliferation Operations. In 2005, McCain voted for an amendment to address urgent nonproliferation crises and United States nonproliferation operations. The amendment would “lift congressional restrictions on releasing funds for eliminating weapons of mass destruction in the former Soviet Union.” The amendment passed 78-19. [S 1042, [Vote #200](#), 7/21/05]

McCain Voted Against Controlling Russia’s Tactical Nuclear Weapons. In 1998, McCain voted against an amendment expressing the sense of Senate that future nuclear arms control agreements with Russian Federation should address non-strategic nuclear weapons in Europe and U.S. should work with Russian Federation to increase transparency, exchange data, and increase warhead security and facilities weapon dismantlement. The amendment failed 16-84. [TD 105-36, [Vote #113](#), 4/30/98]

ACCOMPLISHMENTS:

McCain Voted To Sanction Countries For Selling Weapons of Mass Destruction. In 2000, McCain voted against tabling an amendment that would provide for sanctions against China and other countries for selling illicit weapons of mass destruction. The proposal would establish an annual review process to assess the behavior of each key supplier country as identified by the Director of Central Intelligence, and require the president to impose non-trade related sanctions on individuals, companies and groups if they are found to be spreading weapons of mass destruction. The president also would be authorized to impose additional sanctions on key supplier countries. The motion to table passed 65-32. [HR 4444, [Vote #242](#), 9/13/00]

Pakistan

McCain Voted To Allow Non-Military Aid To Pakistan Regardless Of Nuclear Weapons Program. In 1995, McCain voted against tabling an amendment to allow non-military aid to Pakistan and military aid for counter-narcotics control, humanitarian assistance, peacekeeping and anti-terrorism activities. The amendment also allows for transfer of \$368 million in military equipment other than the F-16 aircraft paid for by Pakistan but withheld since 1990 because of Pakistan's nuclear weapons program. The motion to table failed 37-61. [HR 1868, [Vote #452](#), 9/20/95; HR 1868, [Vote #454](#), 9/20/95]

United Nations

McCain Failed To Vote To Ensure Transparency of United Nations Spending. In 2007, McCain failed to vote on an amendment that would bar funding for the U.S. contribution to the United Nations unless copies of all grants, contracts and other financial and procurement related information is posted on a publicly available Web site. The amendment passed 92-1. [HR 2764, [Vote #322](#), 9/6/07]

McCain Voted To Cut \$4 Million From The United Nations Human Rights Council. In 2006, McCain voted for an amendment that would allow \$4 million in United Nations Human Rights Council to be shifted from the International Account to provide additional border security funding. The amendment failed 50-50. [SCR 83, [Vote #73](#), 3/16/06]

McCain Voted To Confirm John Bolton As U.N. Ambassador. In 2005, McCain voted for cloture on the nomination of John Bolton to be ambassador to the United Nations. The cloture motion failed 54-38. [APT 326, [Vote #142](#), 6/20/05]

McCain Voted Against Assisting In The Prosecutions Of Terrorists. In 2002, McCain voted to table an amendment that would allow the U.S. to assist the International Criminal Court through Sept. 30, 2002, in cases involving Saddam Hussein, Slobodan Milosevic, Osama bin Laden, Islamic Jihad, al Qaeda or any nationals accused of genocide, war crimes or crimes against humanity. The motion to table passed 55-40. [HR 4775, [Vote #139](#), 6/6/02]

McCain Voted To Prohibit U.S. Cooperation with the International Criminal Court. In 2001, McCain voted for an amendment that would prohibit any U.S. cooperation with the International Criminal Court except for assistance to defend U.S. or allied citizens. It also would prohibit the transfer of intelligence or law enforcement information to the court, or to any government that is a party to the court. The amendment passed 78-21. [HR 3338, [Vote #359](#), 12/7/01]

McCain Failed To For The United Nations Reform Act of 1999. In 1999, McCain failed to vote for a bill that mandated the implementation of reforms at the United Nations, and authorized the payment of U.S. arrearages to the UN in light of such reforms. The bill passed 97-2. [S 886, [Vote #180](#), 6/22/99]

McCain Voted Against Paying U.S. Debt To The United Nations. In 1997, McCain voted for an amendment to delete provisions that provide for payment, over three years, of \$819 million in U.S. arrears to U.N., and condition payment on specified U.N. reforms; and insert language that provides that \$819 million U.S. payment shall be paid over two years, and is limited to U.S. share of regular U.N. budget, peacekeeping operations, and specialized agencies. Amendment rejected 25-73. [S 903, [Vote #102](#), 6/17/97]

McCain Voted Against Quickly Paying U.S. Debt To The United Nations. In 1997, McCain voted against an amendment that provides that \$819 million U.S. payment shall be paid over two years, rather than three, and is limited to U.S. share of regular U.N. budget, peacekeeping operations, and specialized agencies. The amendment failed 25-73. [S 903, [Vote #102](#), 6/17/97]

McCain Voted To Prohibit Funding The United Nations If It Advocates Taxes. In 1996, McCain voted for an amendment to prohibit money in the bill from being used for voluntary contribution to the United Nations or any of its specialized agencies if the U.N. attempts or plans to tax U.S. citizens or borrows funds from any international bank. Proponents contended that the United Nations should not be allowed to develop, advocate, promote, or publicize the idea of imposing taxes on U.S. citizens in order to fund its activities. The amendment passed 70-28. [HR 3540, [Vote #240](#), 7/25/96]

McCain Voted To Prohibit Inspectors From Terrorist-Sponsored Nations From Inspecting U.S. In 1997, McCain voted against an amendment that would strike the condition which requires U.S. to bar entry of inspectors and inspection assistants from countries that U.S. designates as supporters of international terrorism, or President determines have violated U.S. non-proliferation law in last five years. Amendment agreed to 56-44. [SRS 75 , [Vote #49](#), 4/24/97]

McCain Voted to Withhold \$10 Million From U.S. Contribution To The United Nations. In 1995, McCain voted for an amendment to withhold at least \$10 million from the fiscal 1996 contribution to the United Nations until the State Department reports to Congress the names of diplomatic personnel who have accrued overdue debts in the United States and reports that the United Nations secretary- general is cooperating fully to resolve such debts. The amendment passed 94-2. [S 908, [Vote #343](#), 7/31/95]

McCain Voted Against Supporting The United Nations' Goals Of Eliminating Land Mines. In 1995, McCain voted against an amendment to put a one-year moratorium beginning three years after enactment on most uses of anti-personnel land mines. The amendment would express the sense of Congress that the president should support proposals to implement United Nations' goals of eventually eliminating land mines and should support sanctions against countries that export land mines. The amendment passed 67-27. [S 1026, [Vote #368](#), 8/4/95]

McCain Voted To Prohibit Funding The United Nations Population Fund. In 1995, McCain voted for an amendment to prohibit money in the bill for the United Nations Population Fund (UNFPA), unless the president certifies that the UNFPA has terminated all activities in China or no coercive abortions have taken place as the result of the policies of Chinese government. The amendment failed 43-57. [HR 1868, [Vote #456](#), 9/21/95]

McCain Voted Against Cooperating With The United Nations To Bring About Peaceful Settlement in Bosnia. In 1994, McCain voted against an amendment to express the sense of Congress that the U.S. should work with NATO member nations and the U.N. Security Council to endorse the efforts of the contact group to bring about a peaceful settlement of the conflict in Bosnia-Herzegovina. The amendment passed 52-48. [S 2182, [Vote #180](#), 7/1/94]

McCain Voted To Cut \$350 Million From U.S. Contribution To The United Nations. In 1994, McCain voted against tabling an amendment to transfer \$350 million from the U.S. contribution to the United Nations for international peacekeeping operations to reimburse states for the incarceration of illegal aliens. The motion to table failed. [HR 4603, [Vote #226](#), 7/22/94]

McCain Voted To Establish An International Criminal Court To Punish Individuals After Crisis In Kuwait. In 1991, McCain voted for a resolution to encourage the President of the United States to confer with the sovereign state of Kuwait, countries of the coalition or the United Nations to establish an International Criminal Court or an International Military Tribunal to try and punish all individuals, including President Saddam Hussein, involved in the planning or execution of crimes against peace, war crimes, and crimes against humanity as defined under international law. The resolution passed 97-0. [SRS 76, [Vote #27](#), 3/14/91]

ACCOMPLISHMENTS:

McCain Voted To Require The United National To Establish An Inspector General. In 1994, McCain voted for an amendment to withhold 10 percent in fiscal 1994 and 20 percent in fiscal 1995 and thereafter from U.S.-

assessed contributions to the United Nations unless the president certifies that the U.N. has established an independent and objective Office of Inspector General. The amendment passed 93-6. [S 1281, [Vote #4](#), 1/26/94]

Terrorism

McCain Voted To Prohibit Punitive Damages After Terrorist Attacks. In 2002, McCain voted against tabling an amendment would prohibit punitive damages unless the defendant is convicted of a criminal offense related to the plaintiff's injury. It also would require the secretary of the Treasury to approve any class action lawsuit settlements. The motion to table passed 50-46. [S 2600, [Vote #152](#), 6/13/02]

McCain Voted Against Requiring Insurance Companies To Disclose Charges Related To Terrorism Insurance. In 2002, McCain voted to table an amendment that would require insurance companies to identify the portion of the total premium charged that can be attributed to terrorism risk and establish a separate account for the portion of the premium based on terrorism risk. The motion to table passed 70-24. [S 2600, [Vote #153](#), 6/13/02]

McCain Voted To Require the Federal Government To Reimburse Insurance Companies After Terrorist Attacks. In 2002, McCain voted for passage of a bill that would require the federal government to reimburse insurance companies for 90 percent of catastrophic losses related to terrorism between \$10 billion and \$100 billion in 2002, with an option to renew the program the following year to cover 90 percent of claims between \$15 billion and \$100 billion. The bill passed 84-14. [S 2600, [Vote #157](#), 6/18/02]

McCain Voted Against Increasing Counterterrorism funding By \$2.7 Billion. In 2003, McCain voted to table an amendment that would increase spending for the counterterrorism provision by \$2.7 billion, including increases of \$200 million for the Coast Guard, \$366 million for the Customs Service and border protection, \$1 billion for the Transportation Security Administration, \$225 million for the FBI, and increased spending on the FBI and other agencies. The motion to table passed 52-46. [S 762, [Vote #119](#), 4/3/03]

McCain Voted Against Providing \$93.2 Million To Train A Bioterrorism Workforce. In 2003, McCain voted against an amendment that would provide \$93.2 million to train members of the bioterrorism workforce. The amendment failed 41-47. [HR 2660, [Vote #328](#), 9/5/03]

McCain Voted Against Stopping Corporations From Funding Terrorism. In 2005, McCain voted against an amendment to stop corporations from financing terrorism. The amendment would have closed legal loopholes that allowed foreign subsidiaries of U.S. Companies to do business with those who fund terrorism. The amendment failed 47-51. [S 1042, [Vote #203](#), 7/26/05; CQ Weekly, 7/29/05]

McCain Voted Against Stopping Corporations From Funding Terrorism. In 2005, McCain voted against an amendment that would make certain foreign subsidiaries controlled by U.S. parent companies subject to sanctions under the International Emergency Economic Powers Act if they engage in business with terrorist nations. It also would require all firms subject to U.S. law to annually disclose an ownership stake of more than 10 percent in companies that are engaged in transactions that violate the terrorist financing law. The amendment failed 47-51. [S 1042, [Vote #203](#), 7/26/05]

McCain Failed To Vote To Criminalize The Recruitment And Financing Of Terrorists. In 2007, McCain failed to vote for an amendment that would criminalize the recruitment of terrorists and the financial support for families of terrorists, expand the time frame that the Homeland Security Department can detain certain illegal immigrants, allow for the deportation of suspected terrorists whose visas are revoked and increase penalties for phone calls to service members' families falsely claiming the family member has been killed. The cloture motion failed 46-49. [S 4, [Vote #68](#), 3/9/07]

Treaties

McCain Voted Against Certifying That Intelligence Community Could Detect Treaty Violations. In 1997, McCain voted for an amendment striking the requirement that the President certify to Congress, prior to ratification of the Chemical Weapons Convention Treaty, that U.S. intelligence community has ‘high degree of confidence’ in its ability to detect militarily significant treaty violations within one year of violation, and patterns of marginal violation. The amendment passed 66-34. [SRS 75, [Vote #48](#), 4/24/97]

McCain Voted To Adopt Treaty Prohibiting Chemical Weapons. In 1997, McCain voted to ratify the Chemical Weapons Convention (CWC) which bans the development, production, stockpiling and use of toxic chemicals as weapons by all its signatories; includes a three-tiered verification regime to ensure compliance; and requires its members to enact laws criminalizing civilian violations of its terms. Resolution Agreed to 74-26. [SRS 75, [Vote #51](#), 4/24/97]

- **McCain Voted To Spend \$124 Million Producing Chemical Weapons.** In 1985, McCain voted to authorize the appropriation of \$124 million to produce binary chemical weapons subject to certain conditions. The amendment passed 229-196. [HR 1872, 6/19/85; CQ Almanac]
- **McCain Voted Against Banning The Production of Chemical Weapons.** In 1986, McCain voted against an amendment to prohibit the production of binary chemical weapons before Oct. 1, 1987. The amendment passed 210-209. [HR 4428, 8/13/86; CQ Almanac]

McCain Voted Against An International Ban On Nuclear Weapons Testing. In 1999, McCain voted against a resolution of ratification accompanying the Comprehensive Nuclear Test Ban Treaty. Resolution of ratification rejected 48-51. [Treaty Doc. 105-28, [Vote #325](#), 10/13/99]

McCain Voted Against Funding the Comprehensive Nuclear Test Ban Treaty Preparatory Commission. In 1998, McCain voted against the bipartisan Specter-Biden amendment which required that not less than \$28.9 million be made available for Comprehensive Nuclear Test Ban Treaty Preparatory Commission expenses. Amendment agreed to 49-44. [S 2334, [Vote #254](#), 9/1/98]

McCain Voted To Ratify The Threshold Test Ban Treaty. In 1990, McCain voted for ratification of threshold test ban treaty (TTBT) which limits nuclear weapons tests to yields of no greater than 150 kilotons. Verification protocols allow each nation to use hydrodynamic or seismic methods to monitor the size of explosions. The resolution of ratification passed 98-0. [SRS 94, [Vote #249](#), 9/25/90]

USSR/Russia

McCain Failed to Vote To Ensure The Destruction Of The Former USSR’s Nuclear Weapons. In 1996, McCain failed to vote for an amendment to transfer \$235 million from various accounts in the bill to add to the \$508 million provided to broaden the scope of activity in the former Soviet Union to dismantle chemical, biological, and nuclear weapons and to authorize the U.S. Customs Service to help other countries to tighten control of the flow of nuclear, biological, and chemical weapons. The amendment passed 96-0. [S 1745, [Vote #177](#), 6/26/96]

McCain Voted To Decrease Russian Aid In Favor Of Dismantling Nuclear Weapons. In 1994, McCain voted for an amendment to allow the president to use Russian aid from the bill to finance the Nunn-Lugar cooperative threat reduction program, which helps to dismantle nuclear weapons in the former Soviet Union. The amendment passed 56-38. [HR 4426, [Vote #201](#), 7/15/94]

McCain Failed To Vote To Use Oil As Collateral For Loans To The Former Soviet Union. In 1994, McCain failed to vote on a motion to table an amendment that would require that bilateral and international loans to the independent states of the former Soviet Union be collateralized by petroleum products, minerals or other commodities. The motion to table passed 60-33. [S 1281, [Vote #11](#), 1/28/94]

McCain Voted For \$2.5 Billion In Foreign Aid For The Republics of the Former Soviet Union. In 1993, McCain voted for a bill that provided \$12.5 billion for foreign aid, including \$2.5 billion for humanitarian assistance, scholarships, democracy building, and private sector development in Russia and other former republics of the Soviet Union. The bill passed 88-10. [HR 2295, [Vote #287](#), 9/23/93]

McCain Voted To Provide For A \$24 Billion Aid Package For Nations of The Former Soviet Union. In 1992, McCain voted for passage of a bill that provided up to \$24 billion in multilateral aid to the nations of the former Soviet Union. The bill passed 76-20. [S 2532, [Vote #148](#), 7/2/92]

McCain Voted Against Preventing Food Shortages In The Soviet Union. In 1991, McCain voted against a resolution to urge the Administration to expeditiously and prudently complete its review of the Soviet request for \$1.5 billion in agricultural credit guarantees, and to approve such request under certain conditions. The resolution passed 70-28. [SRS 117, [Vote #62](#), 5/15/91]

McCain Voted To Tell Soviet Union To Stop Military Assistance To Nicaragua. In 1989, McCain voted for an amendment to call on the Soviet Union to end further military assistance to Nicaragua and withdraw military/security advisors from Nicaragua. The amendment passed 98-0. [S 1160, [Vote #133](#), 7/20/89]

ACCOMPLISHMENTS:

McCain Voted To Reduce the Number of Long Range Missiles Held By U.S. & USSR. In 1992, McCain voted to ratify the Strategic Arms Reduction Treaty that enables the U.S. and the former republics of the Soviet Union to reduce intercontinental missiles and long-range bombers by one third. The resolution of ratification passed 93-6. [TR1 220, [Vote #253](#), 10/1/92]

McCain Voted For Police Training Programs In The Former Soviet Union. In 1994, McCain voted for an amendment to earmark \$15 million for an International Criminal Investigative Training Assistance Program to support police training and a professional criminal justice system based on democratic and human rights principles in the states of the former Soviet Union. The amendment passed 100-0. [HR 4426, [Vote #193](#), 7/14/94]

McCain Voted To Help The Former Soviet Union Combat Organized Crime. In 1994, McCain voted for an amendment to provide \$15 million to the Federal Bureau of Investigation to help countries of the former Soviet Union and Eastern Europe combat organized crime. The amendment passed 100-0. [HR 4426, [Vote #192](#), 7/14/94]

McCain's Rare Dove Moments

HAITI: McCain Opposed U.S. Intervention in Haiti. McCain spoke out against Clinton's decision to send troops to Haiti. He remarked, "The situation in Haiti, as deplorable as it is, as distasteful and odious as those people who are running that country are, is not worth the sacrifice of any American lives." He then added, arguably Haiti now is as bad or worse off." [[Boston Globe](#), 4/29/99]

- **McCain: We Cannot Involve Ourselves Militarily Without the Support of the American People.** While speaking about the situation in Haiti, McCain said, "It's a lesson of the Vietnam War we cannot forget, which is: we cannot involve ourselves militarily without the support of the American people." [[New York Times](#), [9/16/94](#)]

KUWAIT: McCain Criticized Clinton for Sending U.S. Troops to Enforce No-Fly Zone in Kuwait. In September of 1996, McCain criticized President Clinton for sending 3,500 troops in an effort to "put Saddam Hussein on notice." McCain questioned how 'meaningful sending several thousand troops to Kuwait was.' McCain even defended Hussein by insisting that he was behaving much better than in previous weeks, and "we have done nothing but launch 44 cruise missiles." [[Agence France Presse](#), 11/17/96]

LEBANON: McCain: I am Prepared to Accept the Consequences of Our Withdrawal. In 1983, McCain opposed a resolution allowing President Reagan to keep troops deployed in Lebanon for an additional 18 months. McCain stated, “I do not foresee obtainable objectives in Lebanon. I believe the longer we stay, the more difficult it will be to leave, and I am prepared to accept the consequences of our withdrawal.” [[Arizona Republic, 3/1/07](#)]

McCain Opposed Reagan’s Peacekeeping Force in Lebanon. On the floor of the House, McCain stood up as one of 27 Republicans to oppose Reagan’s mission in Lebanon. McCain stated, “The longer we stay in Lebanon, the harder it will be for us to leave. We will be trapped by the case we make for having troops there in the first place.” Additionally McCain said, “What can we expect if we withdraw from Lebanon? The same as will happen if we stay. I acknowledge that the level of fighting will increase if we leave. I regretfully acknowledge that many innocent civilians will be hurt. But I firmly believe this will happen in any event.” [[America Conservative Magazine, 2/11/08](#)]

- **Lebanon Vote Gained McCain National Spotlight By Bucking GOP.** In 1983, McCain opposed a resolution allowing President Reagan to keep troops deployed in Lebanon for an additional 18 months. McCain stated, “I do not foresee obtainable objectives in Lebanon. I believe the longer we stay, the more difficult it will be to leave, and I am prepared to accept the consequences of our withdrawal.” [[Arizona Republic, 3/1/07](#)]
- **McCain “Eager” to Become Maverick After Vote Gained Attention.** The Lebanon vote “caught the attention of the Washington press corps, who tend to notice acts of political independence from unexpected quarters,” wrote McCain. “Now I was debating Lebanon on programs like the *MacNeil/Lehrer News Hour* and in the pages of the *New York Times* and the *Washington Post*. I was gratified by the attention and was eager for more. [[Arizona Republic, 3/1/07](#)]

SOMALIA: McCain Opposed ‘Nation Building’ in Somalia. While speaking against keeping troops in Somalia, McCain said, “What are we supposed to accomplish by staying there until [March 31st]? Will five months be enough for whatever it is when 200 years hasn’t been?” [[Chicago Sun-Times, 10/17/93](#)]

United Nations

McCain Opposed Increasing U.S. Share of UN Peacekeeping Operations. McCain opposed the Biden amendment would have raised the U.S. share of assessments for U.N. Peacekeeping operations from 25 percent to 27.1 percent for calendar years 2005 to 2007, which is the amount the U.S. had agreed to pay. [[Citizens for Global Solutions](#), accessed on 1/30/08]

McCain Supported the Nomination of John Bolton as Ambassador to the United Nations. McCain vote to end debate and restrict the amount of information Senators were able to have access to before voting to confirm. [[Citizens for Global Solutions](#), accessed on 1/30/08]

ACCOMPLISHMENTS:

McCain Called On U.N. To Condemn Palestinian Rocket Attacks Against Israel. According to the Jewish Telegraphic Agency, in a letter to Secretary of State Condoleezza Rice, McCain has called on the United Nations to condemn Palestinian rocket attacks against Israel. McCain wrote, “The United States should oppose any U.N. statement or resolution that fails to condemn vociferously the terrorist tactics employed by Hamas, including its rocket attacks against Israeli civilians...For the Security Council to address the humanitarian situation in Gaza without reference to the Israeli security situation would constitute a failure of responsibility.” [JTA, [2/25/08](#)]

Russia

McCain Adamantly Criticized Russian Elections. Taking a much harder line than President Bush on the Russian elections, McCain said, “These elections were clearly rigged, the opposition was repressed, and it's unfortunate.” McCain added that the election, “would not pass the smell test in any functioning democracy.” The *Wall Street Journal* wrote, “Sen. John McCain issued a harsh critique of this week's Russian elections, going well beyond the White House reaction, in a news conference aimed at showcasing his foreign-policy credentials.” [[Wall Street Journal](#), [3/4/08](#)]

McCain Called For Russia's Expulsion From The G-8. “Asked what he would do about Russia if he were president, Sen. McCain reiterated a call for the Group of Eight leading nations -- Canada, France, Germany, Italy, Japan, Russia, the United Kingdom and the U.S. -- to remove Russia. ‘The G-8 is based on membership of different countries that believe in free and open economies, free and open societies and free and fair elections,’ he said.” [[Wall Street Journal](#), [3/4/08](#)]

GLBT

McCain's sometimes rocky relationship with the religious right has led some to believe that he is more tolerant than others in his party. This is not the case. McCain has a long, clear record as an opponent of equality for the GLBT community. He has consistently voted against protecting those in the gay community from discrimination and hate crimes. His partiality towards states' rights spurred his widely publicized vote against the Federal Marriage Amendment, but he adamantly supported a similar proposition in his home state of Arizona.

Top Hits:

- McCain opposes prohibiting job discrimination on the basis of sexual orientation.
- McCain opposes expanding hate crimes legislation to cover sexual orientation.
- McCain voted against allowing the president to determine the military's policy toward gays.
- McCain opposes gay marriage.

Accomplishments:

- McCain voted against the Federal Marriage Amendment in order to protect states' rights, not because he objected with the spirit of the amendment.

Discrimination

McCain Voted Against Prohibiting Job Discrimination on the Basis of Sexual Orientation. In 1996, McCain voted against passage of a bill to prohibit job discrimination based on sexual orientation by extending the remedies of the 1964 Civil Rights Act, the 1991 Government Employees Rights Act, and the 1995 Congressional Accountability Act to sexual orientation. The bill failed 49-50. [S 2056, [Vote #281](#), 9/10/96]

McCain Voted To Prohibit The USDA From Encouraging The Recruitment of Employees On The Basis of Sexual Orientation. In 1994, McCain voted for an amendment to prohibit the Agriculture Department from carrying out seminars or financing any position that encourages its employees to recruit on the basis of homosexual orientation or to accept homosexuality as a legitimate lifestyle. The amendment passed 92-8. [HR 4554, [Vote #212](#), 7/19/94]

McCain Voted To Allow D.C. Entities To Exclude Participants on the Basis of Sexual Orientation. In 1990, McCain voted for an amendment that amended the DC to permit any DC entity the right to restrict participation in a program for minors if parent or guardian objects to adult participant's sexual orientation or if adult has been charged with sexual offense. The amendment passed 97-1. [S 1430, [Vote #24](#), 3/1/90]

Hate Crimes

McCain Failed To Vote To Expand Hate Crimes To Cover Sexual Orientation. In 2007, McCain failed to vote on an amendment that would make violent crimes that cause bodily harm based on the victim's race, color, religion or national origin punishable by a fine and up to 10 years in prison, and punishable by a life sentence if the victim dies, is kidnapped or subjected to aggravated sexual abuse. It also would create the same penalties for crimes motivated by gender, sexual orientation, gender identity or disability. The amendment passed 60-39. [HR 1585, [Vote #350](#), 9/27/07]

McCain Voted Against Classifying Crimes Motivated By The Victim's Gender, Sexual Orientation Or Disability As Hate Crimes. In 2004, McCain voted against an amendment that would broaden the categories

covered by hate crimes to include crimes motivated by the victim's gender, sexual orientation or disability. The amendment passed 65-33. [S 2400, [Vote #114](#), 6/15/04]

McCain Opposed Expanding Federal Hate Crimes Law To Include Sexual Orientation. In 2002, McCain voted against cloture on the bill that would broaden the definition of hate crimes to include acts committed because of the victim's sex, sexual orientation or disability and allow the federal government to help states prosecute hate crimes even if no federally protected activity was involved. [S 625, [Vote #147](#), 6/11/02]

McCain Opposed Expanding Federal Hate Crimes Law To Include Sexual Orientation. In 2000, McCain voted against broadening the categories covered by hate crimes to include gender, sexual orientation and disability. By broadening the categories covered, it would become easier for the federal government to assist in the investigation and prosecution of hate crimes. The amendment passed 57-42. [S 2549, [Vote #136](#), 6/20/00]

McCain Voted To “Study,” Rather Than Outlaw, Hate Crimes Against Gays. In 2000, McCain voted for an amendment that would authorize \$5 million per year for fiscal 2001 and 2002 for the Justice Department to assist state and local authorities in investigating and prosecuting hate crimes. It also would authorize the Justice Department to conduct a year-long study on hate crimes, including 10 jurisdictions with hate crime classifications and 10 jurisdictions without hate crime classifications, and require the Comptroller General to report to Congress on hate crime activity. The amendment passed 50-49. [S 2549, [Vote #135](#), 6/20/00]

Gays in the Military

McCain Voted Against Allowing The President To Determine Policy of Gays in the Military. In 1993, McCain voted against a motion to express the sense of the senate that the policy on gays in the military should be determined by the President. The amendment failed 33-63. [S 1298, [Vote #250](#), 9/9/93]

McCain Voted To Suspend President Clinton's Executive Order That Lifted The Ban On Homosexuals In The Military. In 1993, McCain voted with the minority in support of a measure that would suspend all executive orders on homosexuals in the military until a review is completed. Further, all executive orders in this area must be approved by Congress. The motion to table passed 62-37. [S 5, [Vote #9](#), 2/4/93]

Gay Marriage

McCain Said Private Gay Marriage Ceremonies Should Be Allowed, But Not Legal. According to an article in *Vanity Fair*, during a taping of MSNBC's *Hardball* in Iowa, McCain explained his stance on gay marriage. He said, “I think that gay marriage should be allowed, if there's a ceremony kind of thing, if you want to call it that... I don't have any problem with that, but I do believe in preserving the sanctity of the union between a man and a woman.” Several minutes later, McCain reverted back to the gay marriage subject and added, “I believe if people want to have private ceremonies, that's fine, I do not believe that gay marriages should be legal.” [[Vanity Fair](#), February 2007]

- **McCain Opposed Constitutional Amendment To Ban Gay Marriage, But Supported Ballot Measure To Do So In AZ.** According to *Vanity Fair*, McCain has said that he opposes a constitutional amendment to ban gay marriage, but supports a ballot measure to do so in his home state of Arizona. [[Vanity Fair](#), February 2007]

2006: Falwell Announced McCain Willing To Support Federal Marriage Amendment. The *Lynchburg News & Advance* reported, “Falwell said McCain has expressed a willingness to support a Federal Marriage Amendment, an issue dear to conservative Christians. The amendment would define marriage as a union between one man and one woman... McCain previously has said the matter of defining marriage should be handled by state legislatures, but now concedes that a federal statute may be necessary, Falwell said.” [[Lynchburg News & Advance](#), 3/28/06]

McCain Voted Against GOP On Gay Marriage Amendment; Falwell Called It “Political Suicide” And Buchanan Called McCain “Out Of Step” With The GOP. McCain was one of seven Republicans who voted against the Marriage Protection Amendment, which would have sought to define marriage as being between one man and one woman, in opposition to all but six other Republicans. Speaking about the vote, Jerry Falwell said, “it’s my opinion that anyone in the Senate running on the national level will be committing political suicide by voting against it.” Patrick Buchanan, in writing that McCain was “out of step with his party and country,” said that “to the Christian base of the party, protection of marriage is an imperative if we are to slow America’s slide into decadence.” [AP, 6/7/06; Senate vote #163, S.J.Res.1, 6/7/06, failed 49-48, McCain “Nay;” Richmond Times Dispatch, 6/6/06; San Jose Mercury News, 6/11/06]

2004: McCain Opposed The Federal Marriage Amendment And Reasoned State’s Individual Decisions Wouldn’t Impact Other States. Though John McCain believed that “marriage should be limited to a man and a woman,” he did not support a constitutional amendment to achieve that end. In fact, McCain said the Federal Marriage Amendment proposed in 2004 was “antithetical in every way to the core philosophy of Republicans” because it “usurps from the states a fundamental authority they have always possessed.” In taking his stance against the amendment, McCain was “once again a burr in Bush’s saddle” while “handing President Bush a big election-year defeat.” [Tucson Citizen, 2/25/04; Senate floor statement, 7/13/04; Boston Herald, 4/1/04; Washington Post, 7/15/04]

2004: McCain Voted Against Enshrining Discrimination Of Gays And Lesbians In The Constitution. In 2004, McCain voted against the joint resolution to propose a constitutional amendment that would define marriage as consisting only of the union of a man and a woman. It would provide that the U.S. Constitution or any state's constitution could not be construed to require that marriage or any other constructs of marriage be conferred to any other union. The motion to limit debate failed 48-50. [SJR 40, [Vote #155](#), 7/14/04]

Health Care

As over 45 million Americans lack health insurance and as the costs are rising for middle class families, John McCain offers solutions that may make the problem worse and has a voting record that is classic in its GOP indifference to the problems affecting average American families. While McCain gets credit for his work on the bipartisan Patients' Bill of Rights, the record shows he opposed many efforts to strengthen or pass the bill. He also opposed increasing funding for veterans' health care, expanding the children's health insurance and expanding access to health care. Here is a look at McCain's key points on this issue of major importance.

Top Hits:

- The *New York Times* reported that McCain's health care plan could actually "drive up spending."
- McCain touts his "genuinely conservative vision" on health care.
- McCain has repeatedly voted against improving access to health care.
- McCain has opposed key investments

Accomplishments

- McCain worked with Senators Edwards and Kennedy to pass the patients' bill of rights.
- McCain supported the Family and Medical Leave Act, but opposed key amendments to strengthen its implementation.

McCain: "I Offer A Genuinely Conservative Vision For Health Care Reform." In 2007, McCain wrote, "We have an approaching perfect storm in health care, and no one seems to be watching the clouds gather. ... I offer a genuinely conservative vision for health care reform, which preserves the most essential value of American lives -- freedom. We should not attempt to substitute government coercion for the right of individuals to decide what is best for them. Our citizens should not pay for the collective sins of a failed health care system. We must use the tools that have served us so well in the past -- competition, American ingenuity and personal responsibility. My reforms will make the entire health care system responsive to the needs of the American family and are built on the pursuit of three goals: paying only for quality medical care, having insurance choices that are diverse and responsive to individual needs, and restoring our sense of personal responsibility. American families know quality when they see it, and the private sector is the proven source of innovation and quality. We must promote competition and give Americans the information and tools to make better health care decisions. Patients need more treatment choices in the health care system to build better value for them and their families." [Op-Ed, John McCain, *Union Leader*, 12/28/07]

McCain's Health Care Plan Could Drive Up Spending.

McCain Said His Health Care Plan Focused On 'Containing Spending,' But It Could Actually "Drive Up Spending." While unveiling his health care plan, McCain said, "that any health care proposal must first focus on containing spending. To accomplish that, he said, the emphasis should be on better treating chronic diseases, like diabetes and heart disease, which account for 75 percent of all health care cost." However the *New York Times* reported, "Mr. McCain's plan could **drive up spending**, for instance to add clinics or pay more to doctors who are deemed effective in treating their patients. But the campaign said it had not done a full analysis." [*New York Times*, 10/12/07, emphasis added]

McCain Said He Would Treat Employer Sponsored Health Care as Taxable Income. The Tax Policy Center wrote that McCain "He says he would treat employer sponsored health benefits as taxable income, while giving individuals a tax credit for the insurance they buy. On its own, taxing employer insurance just like wages would be a huge tax increase—OMB estimates in the neighborhood of \$1 trillion from 2009–2013. To many on the right, that alone would violate the no-tax pledge." [Tax Policy Center, [2/19/08](#)]

Patients' Bill of Rights and Medical Malpractice

McCain Co-Sponsored Patients' Bill Of Rights With Kennedy And Edwards. According to the *New Yorker*, McCain co-sponsored the Patients Bill of Rights in 2001 with Senators Edward Kennedy and John Edwards. The legislation was intended to regulate the managed-care industry. [[New Yorker](#), 5/30/05]

- **McCain Voted For The Patients' Bill Of Rights.** In 2001, McCain voted for a bill that would provide federal protections, such as access to specialty and emergency room care, and allow patients to appeal a health plan organization's decision on coverage and treatment. It also would allow patients to sue health insurers in state courts over quality-of-care claims and at the federal level over administrative or non-medical coverage disputes. The bill passed 59-36. [S 1052, [Vote #220](#), 6/29/01]

McCain Voted For An Insurance Industry-Friendly Patients' Bill Of Rights. In 1999, McCain voted for a Patients' Bill of Rights bill that did not allow consumers to hold their HMO's accountable for denial of treatment decisions or protect consumers from their HMO's interfering with medical decisions. According to the *New York Times*, "the extent of the other new protections -- including consumer information, the right to a hospital stay after a mastectomy if recommended by a doctor, access to an emergency room outside of a managed-care network -- would vary according to a person's insurance coverage. Many of the new rights would apply only to the 48 million people in self-financed plans offered primarily by large companies." The bill passed 53-47. [S 1344, [Vote #210](#), 7/15/99; [New York Times](#), 7/16/99]

McCain Voted Against Requiring Continued Care For HMO Patients. In 1999, McCain voted against an amendment that would require HMOs to provide at least a 90-day extension of coverage for patients undergoing treatment if their plan changes or their doctor's contract with the plan is terminated. The amendment failed 48-52. [S 1344, [Vote #209](#), 7/15/99]

McCain Voted Against Prohibiting HMOs From Interfering In Decisions Between Doctors And Their Patients. In 1999, McCain voted for an amendment that prevented the establishment of protections to prevent inappropriate interference between health care professionals and their patients. The amendment passed 54-46. [S 1344, [Vote #208](#), 7/15/99]

McCain Voted Against Holding HMOs Accountable For Denial Of Treatment Decisions That Lead To Death Or Injury. In 1999, McCain voted to prohibit patients from suing in state courts for damages if they are harmed by an HMO plan's denial of treatment. The amendment to strike language allowing patients to sue passed 53-47. [S 1344, [Vote #206](#), 7/15/99]

McCain Voted Against Requiring Managed Care Access To Medical Specialists. In 1999, McCain voted against an amendment that would allow patients in need of a specialist to visit one outside their plan network at no additional cost if the plan cannot provide necessary care by a qualified provider within the network. The amendment failed 47-53. [S 1344, [Vote #205](#), 7/14/99]

McCain Voted Against Guaranteeing Patients Access To Clinical Trials. In 1999, McCain voted against an amendment that would require health plans to allow patients with life-threatening or serious illnesses, for whom standard treatments are ineffective, to participate in approved clinical trials. The amendment was defeated 55-45. [S 1344, [Vote #203](#), 7/14/99]

McCain Voted To Deny Basic Health Protections To More Than 100 Million Americans. In 1999, McCain voted for an amendment which stated findings that attempted to justify excluding 113 million Americans from patient protection legislation and supported enacting legislation that affects only 48 million self-insured Americans; and speeds previously scheduled deductibility of health insurance costs of self-employed individuals. The amendment passed 53-47. [S 1344, [Vote #202](#), 7/13/99]

McCain Voted Against Ensuring Insurance Coverage For Emergency Room Care. In 1999, McCain voted against an amendment that would require group health plans to cover emergency room treatment and follow-up care for plan members without prior authorization if a “prudent layperson” would determine that the member requires immediate medical attention. The amendment failed 47-53. [S 1344, [Vote #201](#), 7/13/99]

McCain Voted For A Narrow Patients’ Bill Of Rights Which Would Exempt HMOs From Its Provisions For Multiple Reasons. In 1999, McCain voted for an amendment that would require that the bill’s provisions do not apply to any group health plan if the provisions result in: a greater than 1 percent increase in the cost of the plan’s premiums in a plan year, or a 100,000-person decrease in any given year of the number of individuals in the United States with private health insurance. The amendment passed 52-48. [S 1344, [Vote #200](#), 7/13/99]

McCain Voted Against Mandating HMOs Provide Medically Necessary Procedures And For Limiting Patients’ Abilities To Appeal Decisions. In 1999, McCain voted for an amendment that would strike the medical necessity and independent appeals provisions in the underlying Patients’ Bill of Rights legislation and replace them with language to establish a narrower internal and external appeals process that would not codify a federal definition of medical necessity. The amendment passed 52-48. [S 1344, [Vote #199](#), 7/13/99]

McCain Voted to Kill a Patient’s Bill of Rights. In 1999, McCain voted against an amendment that would have enacted a Patient’s Bill of Rights. The motion to table passed 53-47. [S 1233, [Vote #182](#), 6/22/99]

McCain Voted To Limit Protections In The Patients’ Bill Of Rights. In 1999, McCain voted against a motion to table a bill that only covered people in self-funded plans and excluded 113 million Americans. It provided coverage for only one-third of HMO patients and provided limited assurances of services and no liability for HMO error. The amendment fell when Dorgan (for Daschle) amendment was tabled -- Vote No. 182. [S 1233, [Vote #181](#), 6/22/99]

McCain Voted Against Providing New Patient Protections Under Group Health Plans. In 1998, McCain voted to kill a bill that would revise managed care and medical insurance regulations. The bill would provide a range of patient protections, create a two-step appeals process for challenging a health plan administrator’s decisions and expand the availability of medical savings accounts. The motion to table passed 50-47. [HR 4250, [Vote #311](#), 10/9/98]

McCain Voted Against A Patients Bill Of Rights That Generated Access To Health Coverage. In 1998, McCain voted to kill an amendment that would express the sense of the Senate that a “patient’s bill of rights” should be established for participants in health plans. The “bill of rights” would guarantee access to coverage, prohibit so-called gag clauses, and establish a procedure to provide for an independent, impartial entity to review appeals when a health plan decides to deny care. The motion to table passed 51-47. [SCR 86, [Vote #73](#), 4/2/98]

McCain Voted To Set Strict Liability Caps For Jury Awards Against Doctors Involved In Malpractice Lawsuits. In 2004, McCain voted to end the Democratic filibuster of a bill that set minimal caps in malpractice lawsuits against doctors and medical professionals. The motion to invoke cloture failed 48-45. [S 2061, [Vote #15](#), 2/24/04]

McCain Voted Against Protecting Victims Of Medical Malpractice. In 2002, McCain voted for an amendment that would limit punitive damages for victims of medical malpractice to twice the sum of compensatory damages. It would place limits on attorney’s fees and require lawsuits to be filed within two years of the discovery of an injury. The amendment was tabled by a vote of 57-42. [S 812, [Vote #197](#), 7/30/02]

McCain Voted Against Allowing Women To Choose Their OB/GYN Doctors As Primary Health Care Providers. In 1999, McCain voted against an amendment that would allow women in group health plans to designate an obstetrician/gynecologist as their primary care physician, and to determine, with their physicians, using “generally accepted medical standards,” the “appropriate” length of a hospital stay following a mastectomy, lumpectomy or lymph node dissection for the treatment of breast cancer. The amendment failed 48-52. [S 1344, [Vote #198](#), 7/13/99]

McCain Voted To Require The Federal Government To Pay Malpractice Judgments For Health Care Professionals Who Provide Services To Medically Underserved Communities. In 1996, McCain voted for an amendment that extended medical malpractice coverage under the Federal Tort Claims Act to doctors who volunteer to work with poor people in underserved areas under certain conditions. Democrats raised objections concerning accountability and funding and based on their desire to have consensus on the underlying bill. The motion to table the amendment failed 47-51. [S 1028, [Vote #77](#), 4/18/96]

McCain Voted To Limit Punitive Damages In Medical Malpractice Suits. In 1995, McCain voted for an amendment that would limit punitive damages in medical malpractice law suits to two times the sum of economic and non-economic awards. The amendment passed 53-47. [S 956, [Vote #144](#), 5/2/95]

McCain Voted To Limit Non-Economic Damage For Pain And Suffering In Medical Malpractice Suits. In 1995, McCain voted for an amendment to limit non-economic damages for pain and suffering in medical malpractice suits to \$500,000. The amendment was tabled 56-44. [S 956, [Vote #141](#), 5/2/95]

McCain Voted To Protect Doctors, Rather Than Families, In Obstetrical Malpractice Suits. In 1995, McCain voted in support of an amendment that would raise the standards to require “clear and convincing” evidence in medical malpractice cases involving labor or delivery of a baby, if the doctor had not provided prenatal care. The motion to table was rejected 39-61. [S 956, [Vote #137](#), 5/2/95]

McCain Opposed Protecting People Forced into Bankruptcy by Medical Issues

McCain Voted Against Providing Increased Bankruptcy Protection To Family Caregivers Facing Medical Debt Or Reduced Employment. In 2005, McCain voted against an amendment that would exempt from the means test individuals who have incurred substantial medical debt on behalf of dependent or non-dependent family members, such as a parent or grandparent, or who have experienced a reduction in employment status while caring for such a family member. The amendment failed 37-60. [S 256, [Vote #18](#), 3/2/05]

McCain Voted Against Protecting Debtors’ Homes During Bankruptcy Derived From Medical Expenses. In 2005, McCain voted against an amendment that would provide a homestead exemption of at least \$150,000 of the equity in the property the debtor uses as a primary residence if the bankruptcy stems from medical expenses. The amendment failed 39-58. [S 256, [Vote #17](#), 3/2/05]

McCain Voted Against Providing Bankruptcy Protection To Citizens That Have Faced High Medical Bills. In 2005, McCain voted against an amendment to the bankruptcy overhaul legislation that would have allowed extra leeway for citizens who have faced high medical bills to seek bankruptcy protection. The amendment failed 39-58. [S 256, [Vote #16](#), 3/2/05]

McCain Opposed Quality of Care Mandates

McCain Voted Against Protecting The Regulation Of Human Carcinogens From Limits On Federal Mandates. In 1995, McCain voted to table an amendment that would exempt federal mandates that regulate known human carcinogens (i.e., asbestos, arsenic, tobacco smoke, benzene, vinyl chloride, chromium, & radon) from the underlying bill regarding unfunded mandates. The motion to table passed 63-36. [S 1, [Vote #48](#), 1/26/95]

McCain Voted Against Efforts to Increase Access to Coverage

McCain Voted Against Preserving Employer Coverage. In 2003, McCain voted against legislation that would have shored up the private health insurance market and prevented private employers from dropping coverage. The bill undermines the private health insurance market and is projected to cause over 3 million seniors to lose their retiree coverage. [S 1, [Vote #233](#), 6/24/03]

McCain Voted Against Providing Tax Credits to Small Businesses That Offer Health Insurance To Employees. In 2000, McCain voted against considering an amendment that would have provided a tax credit to small businesses that offered health insurance coverage to their employees. The amendment failed 49-49. [HR 4810, [Vote #205](#), 7/17/00]

McCain Opposed Expanding COBRA Coverage to Retirees. In 2000, McCain voted against an amendment that would have expanded COBRA coverage to include retirees whose employer-sponsored health care coverage was terminated and to provide a 25-percent tax credit for COBRA coverage. The amendment failed 30-68. [HR 4810, [Vote #202](#), 7/17/00]

McCain Voted To Allow Medical Savings Accounts. In 1996, McCain voted in support of an amendment that established medical savings accounts, which allow individuals to make tax deductible contributions to special accounts set up to pay medical expenses. The Washington Post reported critics' attacks of MSA's: "Opponents call them a lavish tax break for the rich and a bad idea for the country as the healthy and wealthy choose them and leave the poor and sick in the traditional insurance pool." The amendment was defeated 52-46. [S 1028, [Vote #72](#), 4/18/96; Washington Post, 4/19/96]

McCain Opposed Funding Priorities to Research and Combat Disease

McCain Voted Against Funding Against The West Nile Virus. In 2003, McCain voted against an amendment that provided \$25 million to the Centers for Disease Control for programs related to West Nile Virus and \$100 million for mosquito control. The amendment was rejected 46-49. [HR 2660, [Vote #345](#), 9/10/03]

McCain Opposed An Amendment To Increase Funding For A National Immunization Program. In 2003, McCain voted against an amendment to provide for an additional \$50 million for the Centers for Disease Control and Prevention national immunization program. The amendment was rejected 47-49. [HR 2660, [Vote #337](#), 9/10/03]

McCain Voted For An Under-Funded Labor/HHS Appropriations Bill. In 2000, McCain voted for a bill that would appropriate approximately \$354.6 billion for the Labor, Health and Human Services and Education departments and related agencies, including \$99.8 billion in discretionary spending. The bill passed 52-43. Secretary of Labor Alexis M. Herman later recommended that the president veto the bill, stating "This bill is a missed opportunity for America's businesses because it fails to fully invest in worker training initiatives. This bill is a missed opportunity because it does not include a real Patients' Bill of Rights, and because it does not protect Americans against genetic discrimination, including such discrimination in the workplace. I strongly recommend the president veto S. 2553 and believe he will do so." [HR 4577, [Vote #171](#), 6/30/00; PR Newswire, 6/30/00]

McCain Voted Against Protecting Funding For Health Care Providers. In 1999, McCain voted against a motion to recommit the Tax Reconciliation bill to the Senate Finance Committee with instructions to reserve \$20 billion over ten years by reducing or deferring tax cuts in the bill, in order to assist health care providers hurt unintentionally by the 1997 balanced-budget act. The motion to recommit failed 50-50. [S 1429, [Vote 234](#), 7/30/99]

McCain Opposed Grant Programs To Aid Children Who Have Witnessed Domestic Violence. In 1999, McCain voted against authorizing \$183 million for a variety of new grant programs for children who have witnessed domestic violence. The motion to table passed 55-44. [S 254, [Vote #125](#), 5/18/99]

McCain Voted Against Increasing Funding For The Health Care Financing Administration To Hire More Employees. In 1998, McCain voted to kill an amendment that would provide \$8 million for Health Care Financing

Administration to enforce Health Care Portability and Accountability Act. The motion to table passed 51-49. [S 1768, [Vote #45](#), 3/26/98]

McCain Proposed Banning Financial Incentives For Teaching Hospitals to Reduce Their Residency Programs. In 1997, McCain proposed a revision to the Labor HHS Bill that would prohibit the secretary of Health and Human Services from entering into any agreement with any institution to provide incentive payments for reducing medical education training programs. The revision failed 45-54. [S 1061, [Vote #223](#), 9/9/97]

McCain Voted Against Increasing NIH Funding By \$1.5 Billion Despite Spending Offsets. In 2005, McCain voted against an amendment that increased for the National Institutes of Health by \$1.5 billion and education funding by \$500 million. It was offset by a \$2 billion cut in the allowances account. The amendment passed 63-37. [SCR 18, [Vote #56](#), 3/16/05]

McCain Voted Against Increasing NIH Funding For Healthcare Centers Despite Spending Offsets. In 2004, McCain voted against increased funding for the National Institutes of Health by \$2 billion. The spending would be offset by using unspecified funds contained in the measure. The amendment passed 72-24. [SCR 95, [Vote #56](#), 3/11/04]

McCain Opposed Appropriating Any Extra Funds From Future Legislation Regarding Tobacco to the National Institute of Health. In 1999, McCain voted against creating a reserve fund to permit higher taxes and spending in the event that Congress passed legislation later that year to disallow a Federal income tax deduction for any payment to the Federal Government or to any State or local government in connection with any tobacco litigation or settlement. In the event of passage of such legislation, \$1.4 billion of the increased tax revenue (an estimated \$1.8 billion would be raised in fiscal year 2000 if the tax deduction were disallowed) would be used to fund biomedical research at the National Institutes of Health (NIH). The amendment was rejected 47-52. [SCR 20, [Vote #64](#), 3/25/99]

McCain Voted Against Increased National Institutes Of Health Funding. In 1998, McCain voted to kill an amendment intended to increase FY 1999 funding for biomedical research by \$2 billion by decreasing all discretionary spending by \$2 billion through a four-tenths of 1 percent across-the-board cut. The motion to table passed 57-41. [SCR 86, [Vote #70](#), 4/2/98]

McCain Opposed Considering A Measure Increasing Funding For The National Institute of Health. In 1997, McCain voted against an amendment that would have put in a trust fund any savings achieved from reforming Medicare and Medicaid above the amounts that the bill estimated to be used for research by the National Institutes of Health. The motion was rejected 46-54. [S 947, [Vote #117](#), 6/25/97]

McCain Voted to Kill a Measure Providing a \$1.1 Billion Increase in Funding to the National Institutes of Health. In 1997, McCain voted against increasing funding for the National Institutes of Health by \$1.1 billion over 5 years and paying for that increase by reducing non-defense administrative costs in other functions of the budget by 4 percent. The motion to table the amendment passed 63-37. [SCR 27, [Vote #91](#), 5/23/97]

McCain Voted to Weaken Family & Medical Leave Act:

McCain Voted For Final Passage of the Family and Medical Leave Act. In 1993, McCain voted in favor of final passage of the Family and Medical Leave Act. [HR 1, [Vote #11](#), 2/4/93]

- **McCain Voted To Restrict Leave Granted Under FMLA.** In 1993, McCain voted for an amendment to the Family and Medical Leave Act that would allow an employee to take unpaid leave under reduced leave schedule only if employer agrees. The motion to table the amendment passed 59-39. [S 5, [Vote #10](#), 2/4/93]

- **McCain Voted To Establish Mediation As Way To Settle FMLA Disputes.** In 1993, McCain voted in support of an amendment that would establish mediation as a way to settle disputes under FMLA. The motion to table passed 56-42. [S 5, [Vote #6](#), 2/3/93]
- **McCain Voted To Provide Voluntary Arbitration Process For FMLA Lawsuits Rather Than Enforcement.** In 1993, McCain voted in support of an amendment that replaced the enforcement provisions of the FML bill with provisions establishing binding arbitration procedures. The motion to table the amendment passed 54-46. [S 5, [Vote #3](#), 2/3/93]
- **McCain Voted To Require An Employee To Provide 30 Days Written Notice Before Taking Unpaid Leave.** In 1993, McCain voted in support of an amendment to the FMLA that required an employee to give written notice of intended leave that included the dates of the leave or a schedule for intermittent or reduced leave; and required the employee to comply with the dates in the notice unless: (1) birth was premature (2) the employee must care for a child because the mother was incapacitated during delivery, (3) there is an unanticipated date of adoption, or (4) the employer and employee agree to alter the dates listed in the written notice. The motion to table the amendment passed 60-40. [S 5, [Vote #2](#), 2/3/93]

McCain Opposed HIV/AIDS Funding

McCain Opposed Money For The Global AIDS Initiative. In 2003, McCain voted against an amendment to provide an additional \$200 million for the Global AIDS Initiative. The amendment was rejected 41-51. [HR 2800, [Vote #432](#), 10/30/03]

McCain Opposed Extending The Time For AIDS Money To Be Available. In 2003, McCain opposed providing an additional \$589.7 million for the Global AIDS Initiative, to remain available until Sept. 30, 2006, for programs for the prevention, treatment and research of HIV/AIDS, tuberculosis and malaria. The amendment fell 42-50. [HR 2800, [Vote #431](#), 10/30/03]

McCain Voted Against Increasing International AIDS Funding. In 2003, McCain voted against an amendment that would provide an additional \$879.7 million for the prevention, treatment, and research of HIV/AIDS. The motion to table the amendment passed 56-43. [S 1689, [Vote #394](#), 10/17/03]

McCain Opposed An Amendment To Increase Funding For HIV/AIDS Programs. In 2003, McCain voted against an amendment which would have increased funding for the Ryan White Care Act by \$401 million. The amendment was rejected 44-53. [HR 2660, [Vote #335](#), 9/10/03]

McCain Opposed Increased Funding To Fight HIV/AIDS, Tuberculosis, And Malaria. In 2003, McCain voted against an amendment to provide an additional \$940 million in funding for HIV/AIDS prevention programs through the Global Fund to Fight HIV/AIDS, Tuberculosis, and Malaria. The amendment was rejected 43-51. [HR 2660, [Vote #332](#), 9/9/03]

McCain Opposed Assisting People Who Care For Children Orphaned As A Result Of AIDS. In 2003, McCain voted against an amendment that would require the development and implementation of a plan to assist those who are caring for children orphaned after losing their parents to AIDS. The amendment failed 45-50. [HR 1298, [Vote #182](#), 5/16/03]

McCain Voted Against Increased Funding To Combat The Global HIV/AIDS Epidemic. In 2003, McCain voted against an amendment that would increase funding by \$800 million on global AIDS treatment and prevention and programs to fight tuberculosis and malaria. The amendment failed 47-51. [SCR 23, [Vote #104](#), 3/26/03]

Insurance Industry

McCain Opposed Requiring Health Plans To Pay For Post-Stabilization Services At Hospitals Under Certain Circumstances. In 1999, McCain voted to require all group health plans to allow their participants to go to emergency rooms for treatment without prior authorization under the “prudent layperson” standard. McCain voted against requiring a health plan to pay for any post-stabilization services if a health plan could not be reached for instructions on further care within 1 hour after stabilization of a patient and if the care given met the regulatory definition for covered post-stabilization care currently used by Medicare and Medicaid for their health maintenance organization (HMO) participants (that definition is “medically necessary, non-emergency services furnished to an enrollee after he or she is stabilized following an emergency medical condition”). The amendment failed 47-53. [S 1344, [Vote #201](#), 7/13/99] move this under access.

McCain Voted Against Help for Costs of Long Term/ Home Care

McCain Voted Against A \$3,000 Tax Credit To Help Seniors Or Their Families Pay For Long-Term Care. In 2000, McCain voted against an amendment that would increase the general estate tax exemption and provide seniors with long term care needs or their caregivers a \$3000 tax credit phased beginning in 2001. The credit would be \$1000 the first year and increase in \$500 increments each year. Taxpayers with long term care needs, or with spouses or dependents with long term care need would be eligible for the tax credit. The amendment failed 46-51. [HR 8, [Vote #193](#), 7/14/00]

McCain Opposed Providing \$20 Billion Over 10 Years To Home Health Care Providers. In 1999, McCain voted against an amendment to reserve \$20 billion over 10 years for relief from the unintended consequences of the Balanced Budget Act on teaching hospitals, skilled nursing facilities, home health care providers, rural and other community hospitals, and other health care providers, by reducing or deferring certain new tax breaks in the bill. The motion was rejected 50-50. [S 1429, [Vote #234](#), 7/30/99]

McCain Supported Cuts to Medicare and Medicaid

McCain Voted For GOP Budget That Cut \$10 Billion From Future Medicare And Medicaid Recipients. In 2005, McCain supported President Bush’s budget that would have slashed \$4.3 billion in benefits by cutting Medicaid and \$5.76 billion from Medicare cuts and extend prescription drug rebates to Medicaid recipients enrolled in HMOs or PPOs. The budget passed 52-47. [S 1932, [Vote #303](#), 11/3/05]

McCain Opposed Allocating Additional Medicare Funds For Cancer, Heart Disease, and Alzheimer Patients. In 2003, McCain voted to table an amendment that would have allocated \$12 billion for additional treatment for Medicare beneficiaries with cancer, heart disease, Alzheimer’s disease and disabilities. The motion to table passed 57-41. [S 1, [Vote #253](#), 6/26/03]

McCain Opposed A Program To Encourage Community-Based Services To Individuals With Disabilities. In 2003, McCain voted against an amendment that would establish a demonstration project under Medicare to encourage community-based services to individuals with disabilities. The amendment failed 50-48. [S 1, [Vote #247](#), 6/26/03]

McCain Voted Not To Improve Health Care Under the Medicare and Medicaid Programs. In 2003, McCain voted against a measure which would have increased funding for health care programs under Medicare and Medicaid by \$4.1 billion. The motion was rejected 41-56. [HJR 2, [Vote #21](#), 1/23/03]

McCain Voted Against Increased Medicare Funding For Home Health Care Agencies. In 2001, McCain voted against an amendment that would redirect \$13.7 billion from Bush’s tax cuts for mandatory funding over 10 years

to permanently repeal the 15 percent cut in home health reimbursements that was scheduled to go into effect on Oct. 1, 2002. The amendment failed 47-53. [HCR 83, [Vote #73](#), 4/5/01]

McCain Voted Against A Medicare/Social Security Lockbox. In 2000, McCain voted against adding a Medicare/Social Security lockbox protection intended to prevent Social Security surpluses and Medicare Part A trust fund surpluses from being spent on non-Social Security or non-Medicaid purposes. The amendment passed 60-37. [HR 4577, [Vote #162](#), 6/29/00]

McCain Voted Against Efforts To Protect The Future Solvency Of Both Social Security And Medicare. In 1999, McCain voted against a motion to recommit the Tax Reconciliation bill to the Senate Finance Committee with instructions that would direct the committee to reduce the bill's tax cuts enough to allow reservation of the entire Social Security surplus for Social Security and one-third of the non-Social Security surplus for Medicare. The motion to recommit the bill failed 42-58. [S 1429, [Vote #228](#), 7/29/99]

McCain Voted For A Phony Social Security and Medicare "Lockbox." In 1999, McCain voted for an amendment that would create a Social Security "lockbox," establish declining limits on the public debt and create a Senate point of order against any provision that would exceed the debt limit. The amendment failed 54-46. A Washington Post editorial stated "This is phony legislation, and it would do no good, and it is possible to imagine circumstances in which it would do harm. Its purpose is to protect the politicians, not the program, and most of it is merely a showy restatement of the status quo. But it also implicitly would ease the current definition of fiscal discipline and in doing that could end up weakening precisely the values it pretends to strengthen." [S 1429, [Vote #227](#), 7/29/99; Washington Post, 6/7/99]

McCain Voted Against Using The Budget Surplus To Extend Medicare's Solvency. In 1999, McCain voted against including provisions that would allow targeted tax relief for low- and moderate-income working families and that would reserve a sufficient portion of projected non-Social Security surpluses extend Medicare's solvency significantly before any budget surpluses could be used to give tax breaks that mostly benefited wealthy Americans or before any new, non-offset spending could be approved. The motion to table passed 54-45. [HCR 68, [Vote #84](#), 4/13/99]

McCain Skipped A Vote To Allow New Subsidies To The Hospital Trust Fund. In 1999, McCain missed a vote to amend the Medicare reserve fund language in the resolution (section 209). That language would allow adjustments to be made to the functional totals to accommodate the passage of legislation that would significantly extend the solvency of the Medicare Hospital Insurance Trust Fund (Part A), provided that legislation does not transfer new subsidies to that trust fund, and provided that legislation does not cause an on-budget deficit in the years scored by the resolution. Such legislation may provide a new Medicare prescription drug benefit. The amendment failed 54-44. [SCR 20, [Vote #76](#), 3/25/99]

McCain Prioritized Tax Cuts For The Wealthy Over Saving Medicare. In 1999, McCain voted to kill an amendment that would strike the Budget Resolution's proposed \$320 billion in tax cuts for the wealthiest Americans over ten years and direct the funds to Medicare or debt reduction. The motion to table passed 53-46. [SCR 20, [Vote #66](#), 3/25/99]

McCain Voted Against Protecting Social Security And Medicare. In 1999, McCain voted against an amendment that would reserve 40 percent of the non-Social Security budget surplus to ensure the solvency of Medicare through 2020 and would establish a Senate point of order against spending money reserved for Social Security or Medicare. The amendment failed 45-54. [SCR 20, [Vote #61](#), 3/24/99]

McCain Voted to Destroy Medicare By Codifying The Right For Doctor's To Price Gauge Medicare Recipients. In 1998, McCain voted for an amendment that expressed the sense of the Congress that seniors have the right to see the physician or health care provider of their choice, and should not be limited in that right by the imposition of unreasonable conditions on providers who are willing to treat seniors on a private basis. A journalist with *Healthcare Financial Management* quoted the AARP's objection to the proposal: "Private contracting without limitations, they say, will inevitably destroy the basic principles under which Medicare has operated, leading the

nation ever closer to a two- or three-tiered system of health care.” The amendment passed 51-47. [SCR 86, [Vote #53](#), 4/1/98; [Healthcare Financial Management](#), 2/98]

McCain Opposed Requiring States To Ensure The Federal Government That Their Medicaid Reimbursement Rates Were Sufficient To Ensure Access To Quality Services. In 1997, McCain voted against requiring states to provide assurances to the Federal Government that their Medicaid reimbursement rates for hospitals, nursing homes, and other medical care facilities were “actuarially sufficient to ensure access to and quality of services.” The motion failed 39-60. [S 947, [Vote #125](#), 6/25/97]

McCain Voted Against Providing Medicaid Reimbursement Rates To Hospitals, Nursing Homes, and Other Medical Facilities. In 1997, McCain voted against requiring states to have Medicaid reimbursement rates for hospitals, nursing homes, and other medical facilities that are reasonable and adequate to meet the cost of operating the facilities. The motion to table passed 66-34. [S 947, [Vote #124](#), 6/25/97]

McCain Opposed Allowing Disabled Children Of Legal Immigrants To Receive Medicaid Benefits. In 1997, McCain voted against an amendment to retain eligibility for the 30,000 disabled children of legal immigrants who currently receive Medicaid benefits based on their receipt of Supplemental Security Income (SSI) welfare benefits (the welfare reform bill denied those benefits and other welfare benefits to legal immigrants because a condition of immigration is that one will not become a public charge.) The motion failed 49-51. [S 947, [Vote #118](#), 6/25/97]

McCain Supported Increasing The Medicare Eligibility Age. In 1997, McCain voted for an increase in the eligibility age of Medicare, creating a home health co-payment, and means testing Medicare part B. McCain voted to drive healthy people from the Medicare system. The motion failed 25-75. [S 947, [Vote #115](#), 6/25/97]

McCain Voted To Raise The Medicare Eligibility Age From 65 to 67. In 1997, McCain voted in favor of raising the eligibility age for receiving Medicare from 65 to 67 with the change being phased in between 2003 and 2027. The motion passed 62-38. [S 947, [Vote #112](#), 6/24/97]

McCain Voted To Require A \$5 Co-Payment For Medicare Home Health Care Services. In 1997, McCain voted against an amendment to strike a \$5 co-payment for home health care visits under Medicare unless beneficiaries are under the poverty line. The motion to table passed 59-41. [S 947, [Vote #111](#), 6/24/97]

McCain Voted Against Providing Temporary Medicaid Benefits For Welfare Recipients Entering The Workforce. In 1995, McCain voted against an amendment that would continue to provide welfare recipients with Medicaid benefits for one year after they enter the workforce, provide home-based long-term care, and provide child health care for welfare recipients as they enter the work force. [S 1357, [Vote #533](#), 10/27/95]

McCain Opposed Providing \$51 Billion To Medicaid To Restore Medicaid Eligibility To Pregnant Women And Children. In 1995, McCain voted against increasing tax collections in the bill by \$51 billion by reducing revenue reductions for “upper income taxpayers” and spending the money by restoring Medicaid benefits for pregnant women and children and by including prenatal care and delivery services for pregnant women. The motion to table passed 50-49. [S 1357, [Vote #532](#), 10/27/95]

McCain Voted Against Additional Funding for Medicare & Medicaid. In 1995, McCain voted for tax cuts for the wealthy rather than saving money for Medicare and Medicaid. The motion to table passed 55-44. [S 1357, [Vote #529](#), 10/27/95]

McCain Voted In Favor Of Cuts In Medicare Payments To Hospitals. In 1995, McCain voted against restoring \$14.5 billion in payments under Medicare to hospitals that treat a disproportionate share of poor patients. The amendment failed 47-52. [S 1357, [Vote #524](#), 10/27/95]

McCain Opposed Allowing Those Eligible For Supplemental Social Security Income Benefits Also Be Eligible For Medicaid. In 1995, McCain voted against an amendment that required States to make any person

eligible for Supplemental Security Income (SSI) benefits eligible for Medicaid Benefits. The amendment passed 60-39. [S 1357, [Vote #513](#), 10/26/95]

McCain Voted To Reduce Medicaid Expenditures By \$186 Billion. In 1995, McCain voted to reduce Medicaid expenditures and against the Federal Government maintaining a role in providing medical care to the poor, sick and elderly. He voted against implementing a Medicaid per-capita cap, which preserves the Federal entitlement to health care assistance while limiting the amount spent on each beneficiary. The motion to table passed 51-48. [S 1357, [Vote #502](#), 10/26/95]

McCain Voted Against Reducing Cuts To Medicare By \$181 Billion. In 1995, McCain voted against reducing cuts to Medicare by \$181 billion by reducing tax cuts for upper income taxpayers. The motion was rejected 46-53. [S 1357, [Vote #499](#), 10/26/95]

McCain Voted to Cut Medicare & Medicaid By \$100 Billion. In 1995, McCain voted against an amendment to reduce by \$100 billion the cuts to Medicare and Medicaid by reducing tax cuts. The amendment failed 46-52. [SCR 13, [Vote #173](#), 5/22/95]

McCain Failed on Efforts to Expand SCHIP

McCain Voted Against Expanding Health Care For Pregnant Women. In 2003, McCain voted against allowing states to expand the States' Children's Health Insurance Program to include low-income pregnant women. He also voted against authorizing \$10 million for a program to educate public health organizations, providers and the public about the availability and effectiveness of emergency contraceptives; allow state public health agencies to apply for grants for further programs; require private health plans to cover prescription contraceptives and related medical services; and require hospitals to make emergency contraceptives and information about them available to rape victims. [S 3, [Vote #45](#), 3/11/03]

McCain Voted Against Allowing Uninsured Parents To Enroll In The Same Plans As Their Children. In 2000, McCain voted against an amendment would allow states to expand coverage under the Medicaid and State Children's Health Insurance Programs (S-CHIP) to the parents of the children enrolled in the program. The amendment failed 51-47. [HR 4810, [Vote #204](#), 7/17/00]

McCain Skipped A Vote To Expand Children's Health Insurance Program to Cover Low-Income Adults. In 2000, McCain missed the chance to cast the deciding vote on an amendment that would have reduced \$150 billion in tax relief by \$11.2 billion over 5 years in order to increase total Federal spending by that amount to expand the Children's Health Insurance Program to cover adults as well as children. (In 1997, Congress passed the CHIP program to pay for health insurance for children in lower-income families who don't qualify for Medicaid.) The amendment failed 49-49. [SCR 101, [Vote #78](#), 4/7/00]

McCain Voted Against Increasing Cigarette Taxes To Provide Funding For Children's Health Insurance Programs. In 1997, McCain voted against an amendment to increase the excise tax on cigarettes by 43 cents per pack to provide \$12 billion for children's health insurance programs through fiscal 2002. The amendment failed 30-70. [S 949, [Vote #149](#), 6/27/97]

McCain Voted Against Increasing The Tobacco Tax To Provide Health Insurance To Low And Moderate Income Children. In 1997, McCain voted to table an amendment that would raise an additional \$30 billion in revenue by increasing the tobacco tax. Of that, \$20 billion would be used to provide health insurance for low- and moderate-income children. The motion to table passed 55-45. [SCR 27, [Vote #76](#), 5/21/97]

McCain Voted Against Increasing Benefits for Special Needs Children

McCain Voted Against Increasing Benefits For Children With Special Needs In The Social Security Act. In 1997, McCain voted to table an amendment that would revise the Social Security Act to include additional benefits for children with special needs, including physical, speech and language therapy, and mental health services. The motion to table passed 57-43. [S 947, [Vote #128](#), 6/25/97]

McCain Voted Against Strengthening the Prescription Drug Benefit

McCain Voted To Expand Federal Authority In Order To Negotiate Lower Medicare Drug Prices. In 2005, McCain voted to give the Secretary of Health and Human Services the power to negotiate lower prescription drug prices covered under the Medicare program. The amendment failed 51-48. [S 1932, [Vote #302](#), 11/3/05]

McCain Voted Against An Amendment Closing The Medicare Prescription Drug Loophole. In 2003, McCain voted against an amendment to ensure that current retirees who had prescription drug coverage but would lose their prescription drug coverage as a result of the enactment of the Medicare Prescription Drug Benefit (Part D) would have the option of drug coverage under the Medicare fallback. This amendment was an attempt to give these seniors an option of prescription drug coverage under Medicare. The amendment failed 42-54. [S 1, [Vote #259](#), 6/26/03]

McCain Voted Against Lowering Prescription Premiums For Medicare Recipients. In 2003, McCain voted against an amendment that would authorize \$2.4 billion a year for four years to lower premiums for enrollees in a Medicare prescription drug benefit plan. The amendment failed 39-59. [S 1, [Vote #254](#), 6/26/03]

McCain Voted Against Ensuring Drug Coverage for Cancer Patients. In 2003, McCain voted against an amendment that would prevent any loss of drug coverage for beneficiaries with cancer before catastrophic care begins. The motion to table the amendment passed 54-44. [S1, [Vote #250](#), 6/26/03]

McCain Skipped A Vote That Would Have Funded A Government Study To Determine The Effectiveness And Safety Of Drugs Covered By Medicare. In 2003, McCain missed a vote on an amendment that would authorize \$75 million in FY 2004 and such sums needed in the future for the NIH to compare the effectiveness and safety of major drugs covered by Medicare in order to allow consumers to make informed choices. [S 1, [Vote #246](#), 6/25/03]

McCain Skipped A Vote On A No Deductible Prescription Drug Plan. In 2003, McCain missed a vote on an amendment that created a prescription drug plan within Medicare with no deductible. The plan would seek to cut prescription drug costs for enrollees through a group-negotiation system. [S 1, [Vote #245](#), 6/25/03]

McCain Skipped A Vote That Would Have Helped Seniors Cover The “Medicare Gap.” In 2003, McCain missed a vote on an amendment that would stipulate that eligible beneficiaries would pay reduced premiums if they are beyond the cost limit for sharing drug expense with Medicare but are not yet eligible for catastrophic coverage. The amendment failed 39-56. [S 1, [Vote #244](#), 6/25/03]

McCain Voted Against Partial Drug Coverage for Those Who Have Reached a Cut-off Point. In 2003, McCain voted against an amendment that would cover 50% of drug costs for beneficiaries with incomes between 160 and 250 percent above the poverty line after the beneficiary has reached the initial coverage cut-off. The amendment failed 41-54. [S 1, [Vote #240](#), 6/24/03]

McCain Voted To Delay The Availability Of The Prescription Drug Benefit Plan. In 2003, McCain voted against an amendment that would have changed the date a prescription drug benefit would become available from Jan. 1, 2006, to July 1, 2004. The amendment failed 41-54. [S 1, [Vote #239](#), 6/24/03]

McCain Opposed A Federal “Fallback” Drug Coverage Plan. In 2003, McCain voted against an amendment that would require any federal “fallback” drug coverage plan used in an area not served by two private plans to allow those eligible to enter into two-year contracts. The motion to table the amendment passed 51-45. [S 1, [Vote #238](#), 6/24/03]

McCain Voted Against Closing Huge Medicare Coverage Gaps & Ending The Benefit Shutdown For Seniors. In 2003, McCain voted to table an amendment that rectified language in the underlying bill that would force six million seniors and people with disabilities (15% of all Medicare beneficiaries) to pay all of their drug costs for an average of four months each year. The motion to table passed 54-42. [S 1, [Vote #236](#), 6/24/03]

McCain Voted To Deny Citizens The Option Of Joining Or Leaving The Medicare Prescription Drug Plan. In 2003, McCain voted against an amendment that would extend until the end of 2007 the period for beneficiaries to enter or exit the Medicare prescription drug plans and Medicare Advantage plan. The motion to table passed 55-42. [S 1, [Vote #234](#), 6/24/03]

McCain Voted Against Guaranteeing Affordable Prescription Premiums For Seniors. In 2003, McCain voted against an amendment that would limit any increase in prescription drug premiums to 10 percent of the national average monthly prescription drug premium. The amendment failed 39-56. [S 1, [Vote #229](#), 6/19/03]

McCain Opposed Creating A Strong Prescription Drug Plan Under Medicare. In 2003, McCain voted against an amendment that would have created a prescription drug benefit plan under the traditional Medicare program available to all eligible recipients. The program would be available every year in addition to any private plans offered. The amendment failed 37-58. [S 1, [Vote #227](#), 6/18/03]

McCain Put Tax Cuts For The Wealthy Ahead Of Prescription Drug Coverage. In 2003, McCain voted against an amendment that would delay the dividend tax cut and acceleration of a reduction of the top income tax rate until a prescription drug benefit for Medicare recipients was enacted. The amendment failed 44-56. [S 1054, [Vote #159](#), 5/15/03]

McCain Voted Against Funding For Rural Medicare Health Care Providers. In 2003, McCain voted against an amendment that would reduce the enormous tax cut given to the wealthiest American tax payers in order to give a fair reimbursement to rural health care providers under Medicare. [SCR 23, [Vote #89](#), 3/25/03]

McCain Voted Against Ensuring Prescription Drug Benefits For Medicare. In 2003, McCain voted against requiring any Medicare prescription drug benefit to be available to all beneficiaries on an equal basis, including those who choose to remain in a fee-for-service program. The amendment failed 46-51. [SCR 23, [Vote #82](#), 3/25/03]

McCain Voted Against Adding \$219 Billion For The Medicare Prescription Drug Benefit. In 2003, McCain voted to kill an amendment that would increase spending on a Medicare prescription drug benefit from \$400 billion to \$619 billion over 10 years and put \$177 billion toward debt reduction. The increases would have been offset by a reduction in tax cuts. The amendment was tabled by a vote of 55-44. [SCR 23, [Vote #63](#), 3/20/03]

McCain Voted Against Medicare Prescription Drug Coverage. In 2002, McCain voted against an amendment that would provide prescription drug coverage for Medicare recipients with incomes of up to 200 percent of the poverty level. It also would provide catastrophic coverage for drug costs over \$3,300 per year for an annual payment of \$25 per year. The amendment would also authorize the secretary of Health and Human Services to promulgate regulations permitting pharmacists and wholesalers to import prescription drugs from Canada into the United States. The amendment failed 49-50. [S 812, [Vote #199](#), 7/31/02]

McCain Voted For A Hollow Prescription Drug Proposal Under Medicare That Favored Private Insurers Over Seniors. In 2001, McCain voted for an inadequate amendment that would have provided a new voluntary prescription drug benefit for eligible Medicare beneficiaries. The proposal was so inadequate that senior citizens would continue to be forced to choose between eating and purchasing needed prescription drugs. The program only

paid a small fraction of the costs of needed medicines, requiring the elderly to shoulder the remaining costs or go without. Instead of guaranteeing benefits for senior citizens, the program provides subsidies for insurance companies and allows them to set the premium and determine the benefits that the elderly can receive. [S 812, [Vote #187](#), 7/23/02]

McCain Voted Against A Prescription Drug Benefit To Reduce The Costs Of Prescription Drugs For Medicare Eligible Beneficiaries. In 2002, McCain voted against an amendment that would provide a new voluntary prescription drug benefit for eligible Medicare beneficiaries. The amendment McCain voted against would limit monthly premiums to \$25, the co-payment for generic drugs to \$10, and the co-payment for preferred brand name drugs to \$40. Out-of-pocket expenses would be capped at \$4,000. The amendment failed 52-47. [S 812, [Vote #186](#), 7/23/02]

McCain Voted Against Allowing States To Negotiate With Pharmaceutical Companies For Discount Drug Prices For Medicaid Patients And Other Groups. In 2002, McCain voted against an amendment that would codify state authority to set up programs designed to force pharmaceutical companies to discount drug prices for Medicaid patients and other groups. The amendment passed 56-43. [S 812, [Vote #182](#), 7/18/02]

McCain Voted Against A Prescription Drug Benefit Plan For Medicare. In 2001, McCain against an amendment providing a prescription drug benefit plan for Medicare. During debate on the budget resolution, an amendment was offered to provide \$311 billion over ten years for a Medicare prescription drug benefit. [HCR 83, [Vote #66](#), 4/3/01]

McCain Voted Against Allowing The Government To Negotiate For Lower Drug Prices. In 2001, McCain voted for an amendment that would have struck the section of Domenici's amendment that provided reserve fund of \$11.2 billion in new budget authority and outlays for FY02 and \$153 billion in new budget authority and outlays for FY02 through FY11 for prescription drug benefit and Medicare reform if Senate Finance Committee reports a bill or joint resolution to reform Medicare program and to provide Medicare prescription drug benefit; and provides reserve fund of \$300 billion in new budget authority and outlays for FY02 through FY11 for prescription drug benefit and Medicare reform if Finance Committee reports bill or joint resolution to reform Medicare program and to provide Medicare prescription drug benefit. The amendment to strike passed 50-50 with Vice President Cheney casting the deciding vote. [HCR 83, [Vote #65](#), 4/3/01]

McCain Voted Against Prohibiting Marriage Tax Relief Before A Medicare Prescription Drug Benefit Was Enacted. In 2000, McCain voted against waiving the Budget Act to consider an amendment that would have prohibited any of the marriage tax relief in the bill from going into effect before the enactment of legislation that provided, to all Medicare beneficiaries, Medicare prescription drug benefits that guaranteed "meaningful, stable coverage." The motion failed 49-50. [HR 4810, [Vote #206](#), 7/17/00]

McCain Voted Against Reducing The Proposed Estate Tax Relief In Order To Provide A Prescription Drug Benefit To Medicare. In 2000, McCain voted against an amendment to the bill that would have stricken the bill's language and substituted text that would reduce Federal Estate Taxes instead of eliminating them and provide an additional \$40 billion over 5 years to be spent on providing a prescription drug benefit to Medicare recipients. The motion failed 46-53. [HR 8, [Vote #186](#), 7/13/00]

McCain Voted Against A Prescription Drug Benefit To Medicare. In 2000, McCain voted against an amendment that would have added a new prescription drug benefit to Medicare. The program would provide prescription drug benefits to Medicare recipients as an entitlement. Private sector contractors would be hired to provide the benefits. Most of the costs of the new program would be paid for by the taxpayers rather than by Medicare beneficiaries. The amendment failed 44-53. [HR 4577, [Vote #144](#), 6/22/00]

McCain Opposed Providing For A Prescription Drug Benefit Before Taxes Were Cut. In 2000, McCain voted against the consideration of any tax relief before Congress passed legislation that provided an outpatient prescription drug benefit under the Medicare program consistent with Medicare reform and that provided such a

benefit before the on-budget surplus was expended on tax relief. The motion failed 51-49. [SCR 101, [Vote #52](#), 4/5/00]

McCain Voted Against A Medicare Prescription Drug Benefit Program. In 1999, McCain voted against a motion to recommit the Tax Reconciliation bill to the Senate Finance Committee with instructions that would direct the committee to add language that would reduce the bill's tax cuts by an amount sufficient to allow establishment of a Medicare prescription drug benefit program. The motion to recommit the bill failed 45-55. [S 1429, [Vote #231](#), 7/29/99]

McCain Missed A Vote To Provide A Prescription Drug Benefit to Medicare. In 1999, McCain missed a vote to create a reserve fund that would allow the functional totals to be adjusted to provide a prescription drug coverage-benefit under Medicare if legislation were enacted to modernize and strengthen Medicare and if the provision of such a benefit did not cause an on-budget deficit. The motion to table passed 54-45. [SCR 20, [Vote #79](#), 3/25/99]

McCain Voted Against a Strong Food & Drug Administration

McCain Voted Against Prohibiting Taxpayer Dollars To Be Used To Label Meat As “Inspected And Passed” If Meat Or Poultry Didn’t Meet Microbiological Standards. In 2000, McCain voted against an amendment that would have prohibited the Department of Agriculture (USDA) from using funds from the appropriations bill to label as “inspected and passed” any meat or poultry products that did not meet microbiological performance standards established by the Secretary of Agriculture. The amendment was rejected 48-49. [HR 4461, [Vote #221](#), 7/20/00]

McCain Opposed Requiring Tracking and Surveillance of Devices by FDA Without Discretion on Whether To Do So. In 1997, McCain voted against an amendment that would strike sections 605 and 606 of the modified committee substitute amendment. Section 605 would give the FDA the discretion to determine whether medical device tracking for a particular product would be required. “Tracking” refers to keeping records on the location of all copies of a medical device that are sold. Section 606 would give the FDA the discretion to determine whether medical device surveillance for a particular product would be required. “Surveillance” refers to a requirement for a company to gather additional data for the FDA on a product after that product has been approved and is in use. The amendment was rejected 39-61. [S 830, [Vote #253](#), 9/23/97]

McCain Voted Against A Measure Requiring Conflict-Of-Interest Standards To Be Enacted In The FDA Reform Bill. In 1997, McCain voted against an amendment that would have added provisions to the bill's accreditation standards for third-party review of pre-market notifications by requiring the FDA to ensure that entities or individuals who conducted reviews and made recommendations were qualified, properly trained, knowledgeable about handling confidential documents and information, and free of conflicts of interest. The amendment failed 40-59. [S 830, [Vote #252](#), 9/23/97]

McCain Opposed Strict Meat Inspection Standards. In 1995, McCain voted against exempting new USDA rules regarding protection of meat from E coli bacteria from the provisions of the Republican regulatory “reform” bill that would have allowed industry to indefinitely postpone these rules. The amendment was rejected 49-51. [S 343, [Vote #302](#), 7/12/95]

McCain Voted Against Funding for Native American Health

McCain Opposed Billions For Indian Health Clinical Services. In 2004, McCain voted against an amendment that would have provided the Appropriations Committee with an additional \$3.4 billion for Indian health clinical services and covered that cost by eliminating either tax loopholes or a small portion of the substantial tax break that taxpayers with incomes in excess of \$1 million are scheduled to receive this year. The amendment failed 42-54. [SCR 95, [Vote #52](#), 3/11/04]

McCain Voted Against Increased Spending On The Indian Health Service By \$2.9 Billion. In 2003, McCain voted against an amendment that would increase spending on the Indian Health Service by \$2.9 billion and provide another \$2.9 billion for deficit reduction. The amendment failed 48-51. [SCR 23, [Vote #87](#), 3/25/03]

Uninsured

McCain Opposed Expanding Health Care Coverage And Containing Rising Costs. In 2004, McCain voted against an amendment that provided an additional \$60 billion over five years to expand health care coverage. The amendment failed 43-53. [SCR 95, [Vote #47](#), 3/11/04]

McCain Opposed Efforts to Increase Funding for Veterans' Health Care

McCain Voted Against Increasing Veterans' Health Care By \$2.8 Billion. In 2005, McCain voted against an amendment that would have increased funding for veterans' health care by \$2.8 billion for fiscal 2006 and reduced the deficit by \$2.8 billion. The amendment failed 47-53. [SCR 18, [Vote #55](#), 3/16/05]

McCain Voted Against \$1.8 Billion In Veterans Health Care Funding. In 2004, McCain voted against an amendment that would create a reserve fund to allow for an increase in veterans medical care by \$1.8 billion. The amendment failed 46-51. [SCR 95, [Vote #40](#), 3/10/04]

McCain Voted Against Increasing Funding For Veterans Health Programs By \$1.8 Billion. In 2003, McCain voted against an amendment that would reduce the amount provided for Iraqi reconstruction by \$5.03 billion, and redirect that funding for domestic programs, including \$1.8 billion for veterans' health benefits. The motion to table the amendment passed 59-35. [S1689, [Vote #379](#), 10/14/03]

McCain Voted Against Increasing Veterans' Health Care Funding By \$20.3 Billion. In 2003, McCain voted against increasing spending on the veterans' health care program TRICARE by \$20.3 billion over 10 years to give members of the National Guard and Reserves and their families greater access to the health care program. The amendment failed 46-51. [SCR 23, [Vote #81](#), 3/25/03]

McCain Voted Against Increasing Funding For Veterans Programs By \$1 Billion. In 2003, McCain voted against increasing spending on veterans' programs by approximately \$1 billion and putting the same amount toward deficit reduction. The amount would be offset by a reduction in tax cuts. The amendment failed 49-51. [SCR 23, [Vote #74](#), 3/21/03]

McCain Voted Against Shifting Funds To Provide Improved Veterans' Health Benefits. In 1997, McCain voted to table an amendment that would require the Defense secretary to transfer \$400 million to the secretary of Veteran's Affairs in fiscal 1998 for veteran's benefits. The motion to table passed 58-41. [S 936, [Vote #168](#), 7/10/97]

Tobacco

McCain Voted To Increase Tobacco Restrictions Which Would Raise The Cigarette Tax. In 1998, McCain voted to invoke cloture for a bill that would require the tobacco industry to pay \$516 billion over 25 years for anti-smoking, education and research programs, raise taxes on cigarettes by \$1.10 per pack over five years, grant authority to the Food and Drug Administration to regulate nicotine and impose penalties on the tobacco industry if youth smoking does not decrease by 60 percent over 10 years. The motion to invoke cloture failed 57-42. [S 1415, [Vote #161](#), 6/17/98]

McCain Voted Against Directing Tobacco Tax Funds From Anti-Smoking Programs. In 1998, McCain voted in support of a bill that would limit reductions in National Tobacco Trust Fund to fund provisions to 33 percent per year and placed no limit if youth smoking reduction goals are attained. The measure also eliminated the so-called “marriage penalty.” The motion to table failed 48-50. [S 1415, [Vote #154](#), 6/10/98]

McCain Voted Against The National Tobacco Policy And Youth Smoking Reduction Act. In 1998, McCain voted against a motion to invoke cloture on a bill that would require the tobacco industry to pay \$516 billion over 25 years for anti-smoking, education and research programs, raise taxes on cigarettes by \$1.10 per pack over five years, grant authority to the Food and Drug Administration to regulate nicotine and impose penalties on the tobacco industry if youth smoking does not decrease by 60 percent over 10 years. The motion to invoke cloture failed 43-55. [S 1415, [Vote #153](#), 6/10/98]

McCain Voted To Divert Funds From Tobacco Taxes To A School Vouchers Program And Ban Federally Funded Needle Exchange Programs. In 1998, McCain voted for an amendment that would allow federal funds to be spent on school vouchers for public school children who have been victims of violent crimes on school property, ban federal funding for needle-exchange programs and encourage states to establish voluntary drug testing programs for all first-time individuals seeking a driver’s license. The amendment passed 52-46. [S 1415, [Vote #151](#), 6/9/98]

McCain Voted To Protect Tobacco Companies Rather Than Increase Standards Aimed At Reducing Youth Smoking. In 1998, McCain voted to kill an amendment that would penalize the tobacco industry for failure to achieve targeted reductions in youth smoking. The amendment raised the underlying bill’s 10-year reduction target from 60 percent to 67 percent and lifted the maximum annual penalties from \$4 billion to \$7 billion. The motion to table failed 29-66. [S 1415, [Vote #149](#), 6/4/98]

McCain Motioned To Prevent A 40 Cent Tobacco Tax Increase. In 1998, McCain motioned to table an amendment that would replace language in the bill that would raise the federal cigarette fees by \$1.10 per pack with language to raise the fees by \$1.50 per pack. The motion to table passed 58-40. [S 1415, [Vote #144](#), 5/20/98]

McCain Voted Against Using Some Of The Federal Funds From The Tobacco Settlement To Stop Teen Smoking. In 1998, McCain voted against an amendment that would permit the federal share of revenue from any tobacco settlement to be used for programs to reduce child smoking, increase health research, to provide transition assistance for tobacco farmers and help Medicare financing. The amendment failed 46-54. [SCR 86, [Vote #54](#), 4/1/98]

McCain Voted to De-fund The Federal Crop Insurance Program For Tobacco Farmers. In 1997, McCain voted for an amendment that would prohibit the use of appropriated funds to provide or pay the salaries of personnel who provide crop insurance or uninsured crop disaster assistance for tobacco for the 1998 or later crop years. The amendment was tabled 53-47. [S 1033, [Vote #196](#), 7/23/97]

McCain Voted Against Increasing Cigarette Taxes To Provide Funding For Children’s Health Insurance Programs. In 1997, McCain voted against an amendment to increase the excise tax on cigarettes by 43 cents per pack to provide \$12 billion for children’s health insurance programs through fiscal 2002. The amendment failed 30-70. [S 949, [Vote #149](#), 6/27/97]

McCain Voted Against Increasing The Tobacco Tax To Provide Health Insurance To Low And Moderate Income Children. In 1997, McCain voted to table an amendment that would raise an additional \$30 billion in revenue by increasing the tobacco tax. Of that, \$20 billion would be used to provide health insurance for low- and moderate-income children. The motion to table passed 55-45. [SCR 27, [Vote #76](#), 5/21/97]

McCain's Positive Votes on Health Care

McCain Voted To Strike Language That Increased Manufacturer's Rebate On Generic Drugs. 2005, McCain voted for an amendment sponsored by Chuck Schumer, D-NY, that would have deleted language forcing drug companies to provide the federal and state governments a lower price on generic drugs. The amendment failed 49-50. [S 1932, [Vote #299](#), 11/3/05]

McCain Voted To Allow Purchasing AIDS Drugs At The Lowest Prices. In 2003, McCain voted for an amendment that would direct the administration to purchase AIDS treatment drugs at the lowest possible price. The amendment failed 42-54. [HR 1298, [Vote #181](#), 5/16/03]

McCain Voted Against Allowing Patients To Waive The Right To Sue Their HMO In Exchange For Cheaper Health Plans. In 2001, McCain voted against an amendment that would have created a huge loophole that allowed HMOs to sell a cheaper health plan to consumers if they give up their right to sue. The amendment would provide the insurance companies with a huge loophole to protect them from lawsuits. [S 1052, [Vote #218](#), 6/29/01]

McCain Voted Against A Medicare Bill Heavily Titled Towards Drug Companies. In 2003, McCain voted against a Medicare reform plan that was loaded with perks for private companies that increased the cost of Medicare and hurt seniors. [HR 1, [Vote #459](#), 11/25/03]

McCain Voted Against A Medicare Bill That Created A Limited Prescription Drug Benefit. In 2003, McCain voted against a Medicare bill which did little to lower the costs of prescription drugs. Under the limited drug benefit, those with drug costs below \$5,800 would still have to pay most of their drug costs, and premiums would vary across the country. The bill passed 76-21. [S 1, [Vote #262](#), 6/26/03]

McCain Supported Health Coverage For Legal Immigrant Children And Pregnant Women. In 2003, McCain voted for a provision allowing states to provide health coverage to legal immigrant children and pregnant women through Medicaid and SCHIP. [S1, [Vote #256](#), 6/26/03]

McCain Supported Prescription Drug Benefits For Low-Income Individuals And Families. In 2003, McCain voted for an amendment that would change the asset test determining eligibility for low-income prescription drug coverage in 2009 so that applying would have to demonstrate assets below \$10,000 or \$20,000 for a married couple. The amendment passed 69-29. [S1, [Vote #251](#), 6/26/03]

McCain Favored Delaying, For 2 Years, The Implementation of Means-Testing for Medicare Part B Premiums. In 1997, McCain voted to postpone, for 2 years, the requirement to means test Medicare Part B premiums. The delay would allow those affected by the increase to make changes in their budget. The delay also would allow the Senate to study the impact means testing part B premiums would have on the senior population. The motion failed 37-63. [S 947, [Vote #114](#), 6/24/97]

McCain Voted Against Forcing People Out Of Medicare. In 1997, McCain voted against means testing Medicare part B premiums. Means testing would endanger the entire Medicare system, since the increase in fees would cause those who contribute the most to leave the Medicare system. Moreover, many families have planned their retirement based on having Medicare. Medicare costs would be better reduced by cracking down on Medicare fraud, not forcing people out of the system. The motion to table passed 70-30. [S 947, [Vote #113](#), 6/24/97]

McCain Opposed Cutting a Proposed \$1.6 Billion Increase to the National Institute of Health. In 2000, McCain voted against an amendment that would have cut a proposal for a \$1.6 billion increase to the National Institute of Health. The amendment was rejected 45-55. [SCR 101, [Vote #73](#), 4/7/00]

McCain Supported Considering A Measure Creating A National Fund for Health Research For Extra Funding For The National Institutes Of Health. In 1997, McCain voted to consider creating the "National Fund for Health Research." For each of fiscal years 1998-2002, one-half of the amount, if any, by which the net positive

revenue impact of the capital gains provisions of this bill exceeded the Joint Tax Committee's estimates as of the date of enactment of this Act would be deposited in the fund. The motion to consider was rejected 51-48. [S 949, [Vote #154](#), 6/27/97]

McCain Voted To Reduce The Number Of Uninsured Americans. In 2001, McCain voted to table an amendment that would direct 75 percent of punitive damages awarded to a patient by a court against an insurer to federal trust fund to finance tax credits for uninsured individuals. The amendment was tabled by a vote of 50-46. [S 1052, [Vote #217](#), 6/29/01]

McCain Voted To Protect Funding For The Patient's Bill Of Rights. In 2001, McCain voted against an amendment that would strike the provisions in the bill related to customs user fees and a one-day payment shift for Medicare payments. The amendment failed 46-52. [S 1052, [Vote #210](#), 6/29/01]

McCain Voted Against A Loophole To Exempt Health Plans From Liability. In 2001, McCain voted to kill an amendment that would provide immunity from liability to self-insured group health plans that either enroll employees under a fully insured health plan or provide employees with an individual benefit payment in an amount equal to the amount that would be contributed on behalf of the employee for the group health plan. The motion to table passed 55-45. [S 1052, [Vote #206](#), 6/28/01]

McCain Voted Against Gutting The Patient's Bill Of Rights And Allowing States To Use Weak Protections. In 2001, McCain voted to kill an amendment that would strike the preemption provision in the Patients' Bill of Rights legislation. It would have provided incentive grants for states that enact laws or regulations consistent with patient protection requirements. It also would have authorized \$500 million in fiscal 2002 for grants to promote state oversight of the medical establishment. The motion to table the amendment passed 53-44. [S 1052, [Vote #202](#), 6/28/01]

McCain Voted To Support A Patient's Bill Of Rights That Ensures That Patients Are Covered For Medically Necessary Treatments. In 2001, McCain introduced a motion to table an amendment which would provide that independent medical reviewers may not require coverage for benefits that are specifically excluded or expressly limited under health plan. It would establish a negotiated rulemaking process relating to the definition of "medical necessary and appropriate" or "experimental or investigational" benefits that group health plans and health insurers may use when making determinations on benefits claims. The motion to table passed 54-45. [S 1052, [Vote #200](#), 6/27/01]

McCain Voted Against "Blanket Immunity" To Protect Employers From Lawsuits. In 2001, McCain voted against an amendment that would have struck language in the bill that excluded employers and other plan sponsors from the accountability provisions, along with the exceptions from that exclusion. The amendment would insert language that would exclude employers and other plan sponsors from liability without exceptions. The amendment failed 43-57. [S 1052, [Vote #197](#), 6/26/01]

McCain Voted To Require Any Patients' Bill Of Rights Legislation To Provide A Basic Level Of Federal Protection To All Americans With Private Health Insurance. In 2000, McCain voted for an amendment that would provide that any bill on managed care passed by Congress shall provide a floor of federal protection to all Americans with private health insurance. The amendment failed 47-51. [HR 4577, [Vote #167](#), 6/29/00]

McCain Voted For A Strong Patients' Bill Of Rights. In 2000, McCain voted for an amendment that would provide federal protections, such as access to emergency care, internal and external appeals, specialists and out-of-network doctors, primarily for the 56 million Americans in self-insured health plans. It also would prohibit denials based on predictive genetic information for patients in self-insured and employer plans, and allow patients to sue in federal court for harm caused by the failure to comply with the external medical review or harm caused due to delay in providing care. The amendment passed 51-47. [HR 4577, [Vote #166](#), 6/29/00]

McCain Voted For A Strong Patients Bill Of Rights That Would Have Ensured That Doctors And Patients, Not Insurance Companies, Make Health Care Decisions. In 2000, McCain voted against a motion to table an

amendment that would enact tax provisions designed to improve access to health care. The motion to table passed 51-48. [S 2549, [Vote #121](#), 6/8/00]

McCain Supported Requiring State Regulated Group Health Plans To Provide Consumer Protection

Standards. In 1999, McCain voted against limiting Patients' Bill of Rights protections to those who receive their coverage from an employer who self insures their health plan rather than purchasing an insurance policy, thereby leaving out 113 million Americans. The amendment failed 48-52. [S 1344, [Vote #204](#), 7/14/99]

McCain Voted To Allow The Importation Of Cheaper Prescription Drugs From Canada. In 2003, McCain voted for an amendment that would authorize the Department of Health and Human Services to create regulations allowing pharmacists and wholesalers to import prescription drugs from Canada. The amendment passed 62-28. [S 1, [Vote #232](#), 6/30/03]

McCain Voted To Enact A Prescription Drug Plan. In 2001, McCain voted for an amendment that would have prohibited a reduction in the top tax rate until Congress had enacted and the President had signed legislation to provide a prescription drug benefit. The amendment failed 48-51. [HR 1836, [Vote #117](#), 5/21/01]

McCain Voted To Allow Pharmacists To Import Safe, Lower Cost Drugs From Other Countries. In 2000, McCain voted for an amendment that would permit licensed pharmacists or wholesalers to import prescription drugs made in the United States or at facilities approved by the Food and Drug Administration. The amendment passed 74-21. [HR 4461, [Vote #217](#), 7/19/00]

McCain Voted To Expand The Benefits Of The Military's TRICARE Health System To Members Of The National Guard And Army Reserves. In 2004, McCain voted for an amendment to expand eligibility for the military's TRICARE health program to National Guard and Army Reserve forces and their families while they are on inactive status. It would enable reservists to pay premiums to receive health care benefits beyond the limited ones to which they are currently entitled. Reservists would be responsible for paying a portion of the premiums to receive health care benefits with the remainder covered by the federal government. "By the end of the year, about 40% of the U.S. forces serving in Iraq will be members of the Guard of Reserve. Many of them have been deployed for longer than they expected, often with salaries and benefits less generous than those they receive in their civilian jobs." The amendment passed 70-25. [S 2400, [Vote #105](#), 6/2/04; CQ Weekly, 6/5/04]

McCain Voted For \$2.7 Billion In Veterans Health Care Funding. In 2004, McCain voted for an amendment to create a reserve fund to allow for an increase in veterans medical care by \$2.7 billion. The amendment failed 44-53. [SCR 95, [Vote #34](#), 3/9/04]

McCain Voted To Increase Funding For Veterans' Health Care. In 2001, McCain voted for an amendment that would increase discretionary funding for veterans medical care by \$1.718 billion in 2002 and each year thereafter to ensure that veterans have access to quality medical care. The amendment passed 53-46. [HCR 83, [Vote #84](#), 4/6/01]

McCain Voted For Additional Funding For Veterans' Health Care. In 1999, McCain voted for a motion to recommit the Tax Reconciliation bill to the Senate Finance Committee with instructions to reserve \$3 billion per year for five years for veterans' health care, offset by decreasing tax reductions for upper income taxpayers. The motion to recommit failed 58-42. [S 1429, [Vote #243](#), 7/30/99]

Medicare 2003 Prescription Drug Bill

McCain Opposed 2003 Prescription Drug Bill. According to the *Des Moines Register*, only Arizona Sen. John McCain opposed the prescription drug bill. The 2003 Medicare prescription drug bill was written and championed by Iowa's popular Republican Sen. Charles Grassley. A report by the U.S. Social Security and Medicare Trustees showed an estimated shortfall of \$72 trillion in the nation's entitlement programs. According to the report, \$61 trillion of that involves Medicare spending. In May, the Bush administration projected that the prescription drug

program would cost \$734 billion over the next 10 years, billions less than previously estimated. [[Des Moines Register](#), 10/02/07]

As President McCain Would Repeal The 2003 RX Plan If He Couldn't Fix It. Asked if he would repeal the 2003 Medicare prescription drug plan if he were President, McCain said, "I would - if I couldn't fix it I would repeal it. I, you know, but at first I'd try to fix it." McCain detailed that he would "structurally reform it," noting that, "certain prescription drugs now are having dramatic inflation associated with it, because we put in a provision prohibiting, prohibiting the government to say that these pharmaceutical companies should compete with each other." [Bloomberg.com, 6/23/06]

McCain Voted Against 2003 Medicare Prescription Drug Bill. In 2003, McCain was one of nine Republican senators to vote against adoption of the conference report on the bill that would create a prescription drug benefit for Medicare recipients. Beginning in 2006, prescription coverage would be available through private insurers to seniors paying a monthly premium estimated at \$35 in 2006. Those enrolled in the plan would cover the first \$250 of annual drug costs themselves and 25 percent of all drug costs up to \$2,250. Benefits would then stop until out-of-pocket drug costs exceeded \$3,600, after which a beneficiary would cover 5 percent of all costs. Low-income seniors would be eligible for discounts on premiums, deductibles and co-payments. If no private plans bid in a region, the government would offer a fallback prescription drug plan. In 2004 and 2005, beneficiaries would be able to use drug discount cards to reduce prices by up to 25 percent. Medicare payments to managed care plans would increase by \$14.2 billion over 10 years. A pilot project would begin in 2010 in which Medicare would compete with private insurers to provide coverage for hospital and doctor costs in six metropolitan areas for six years. Drugs from Canada would be eligible for importation only if the Health and Human Services Department determines there is no safety risk and the move would save consumers money. Beginning in 2007, Part B premiums would increase for some higher-income recipients. Certain individuals under 65 years of age, as well as Medicare recipients, would be able to establish health-savings accounts to pay for health care services not covered by their insurance policy. Note: A 'yea' was a vote in support of the president's position. The conference report was adopted 54-44. [HR1, Vote #459, 11/25/03]

SCHIP

McCain's Biggest Concern with SCHIP Was How It Would Be Paid For: An Added Tax On Cigarettes. "Like the other Republican presidential candidates, Senator John McCain opposes the so-called S-Chip bill to expand children's health care coverage, in part because it widely expands the eligibility criteria and would cost some \$35 billion...But what really sets him off is the way Congress proposes to finance the measure, which President Bush vetoed and is facing a veto override vote: an added tax on cigarettes." [[New York Times](#), 10/16/07]

McCain Voted Against Reauthorizing SCHIP. In 2007, McCain voted against passage of the bill that would reauthorize the State Children's Health Insurance Program (SCHIP) at \$60.2 billion for five years, expanding the program by \$35.2 billion. To offset the cost of the expansion, it would increase the tax on cigarettes by 61 cents to \$1 per pack and raise taxes on other tobacco products. It also would cover children in households with incomes up to 300 percent of the federal poverty line. For a single parent with two children, that would be \$51,510 a year, and for a family of four it would be \$61,950. It also would phase out coverage of adults under SCHIP by Oct. 1, 2009. The bill would provide \$100 million in new grants to fund state outreach and enrollment efforts and allocate \$49 million for a demonstration project to streamline the enrollment process for low-income children already eligible for coverage. The bill passed 68-31. [HR 976, Vote # 307, 8/02/07]

- **McCain Opposed Reauthorizing SCHIP.** In 2007, McCain voted against a motion to invoke cloture (thus limiting debate) on the Reid, D-Nev., motion to proceed to the bill that would reauthorize the State Children's Health Insurance Program at nearly \$60 billion over five years. The motion passed 62-33. [HR 3963, Vote # 401, 10/31/07]

McCain Opposed Any Federal Funding for Research on Live Human Embryos in 2000 Campaign. According to *Newsweek*, "One of those signatories is McCain, who in the 2000 presidential campaign opposed any

federal funding for research on live human embryos. McCain said that he had changed his mind because of the advocacy of Nancy Reagan, and because he now better understands the possible medical benefits. He's also making a political diagnosis, said Frank Luntz, a Republican polltaker. 'McCain has decided to go for the secular voters in the next presidential race,' he said." [[Newsweek](#), 6/06/05]

2000: McCain Wrote A Letter To NIH Against Funding Stem Cell Research. McCain was one of twenty republican senators who in a letter "asked the National Institutes of Health to withdraw proposed rules that would allow scientists to use stem cells in biomedical research." In the letter, the senators said, "Clearly, the destruction of human embryos is an integral part of the contemplated research, in violation of the law." [[The Chronicle Of Higher Education](#), 2/25/00]

South Carolina Citizens for Life Accused McCain Flip-Flopped on Promise to Maintain Ban on Federal Funds for Research "That Uses The Body Parts Of Aborted Babies." According to the *Boston Globe*, "... McCain's votes to allow research on fetal-tissue transplants have come under fire in his presidential campaign. South Carolina Citizens for Life aired radio ads urging voters to oppose McCain in the primary on Saturday because, the ads said, the Arizona Republican had 'flip-flopped' on a promise to maintain the ban on federal funds for research 'that uses the body parts of aborted babies.' ... There's no disputing that McCain was inconsistent on the fetal-tissue issue, and that the candidate who rails against special interests listened to a lobbyist who championed fetal-tissue therapies. The lobbyist was Anne Udall. Her father, former Representative Morris K. Udall of Arizona was in a Veterans Administration medical center, wasting away from the Parkinson's disease that would kill him in December 1998 at age 76." [[Boston Globe](#), 2/13/00]

- **McCain Said He Would Not Support Use of Fetal Tissue; Voted to Lift Moratorium on Fetal-Tissue Transplants.** According to the *Boston Globe*, "In a January 1992 letter to the director of Arizona Right to Life, McCain said the group could count on his being 'steadfast' against abortion. 'I have no intention of supporting the use of fetal tissue' from abortions, McCain wrote. Three months later, McCain voted in favor of a Senate bill authorizing funds for the National Institutes of Health that included a provision to lift the federal-research moratorium that presidents Ronald Reagan and George Bush had imposed on fetal-tissue transplants. 'I have lost sleep struggling with this,' McCain wrote to a constituent in May 1992. 'My abhorrence for the practice of abortion is unquestionable. Yet my abhorrence' for Parkinson's and juvenile diabetes 'and the suffering they cause is just as strong.'" [[Boston Globe](#), 2/13/00]
- **McCain Opposed Amendment that Banned Research on Fetal-Tissue Transplants.** According to the *Boston Globe*, McCain "was the chief sponsor of a bill, enacted in 1997 and bearing Udall's name, that provides \$100 million a year for finding a cure for Parkinson's disease, a progressive neurological disorder that afflicts about 1 million Americans. He opposed an amendment that would have banned research on fetal-tissue transplants." [[Boston Globe](#), 2/13/00]

McCain Asked NIH to Withdraw Proposals to Fund Federal Embryonic-Cell Research. According to the *Boston Globe*, "Because harvesting stem cells usually requires destruction of embryos left over from in vitro fertilization procedures, antiabortion groups oppose it vigorously. Earlier this month, McCain joined 19 other senators in asking the National Institutes of Health to withdraw its new proposals to fund federal embryonic-cell research. Cyndi Mosteller of Charleston, S.C., a McCain adviser on family issues and a longtime antiabortion activist, said the senator's positions are consistent: He would support nonembryo stem-cell research, just as he supports fetal-tissue research, which does not 'destroy a human being.' Mosteller said the antiabortion group's ads against McCain are 'disingenuous' and aimed less at his voting record than at his push to overhaul the campaign-finance laws." [[Boston Globe](#), 2/13/00]

Began To Change Position On Stem Cells In 2001

McCain Said Stem Cell Research Was "Good For America." McCain said, "I'm leaning towards supporting [stem cell research] very strongly because of the information that I have received. There is one individual that a lot of us respect, Orrin Hatch, who has been one of the leaders in the pro-life effort, and he has come out in favor of

stem cell research, as many others have...overall, I think it is probably something that is good for America, good for medical research, and could save lives, as you mentioned, because of diabetes, Parkinson's, Alzheimer's and other terrible diseases that afflict our society." [CNN, 6/24/01]

2001: McCain Supports Stem Cell Research, Called It A "Mistake" To Not Pursue The Research. Asked why he flipped his position on stem cell research in support of the science, McCain said, "For a large number of reasons, ranging from getting briefed by very smart people on this issue and including discussing this with Nancy Reagan who, as you know, is a very strong advocate for stem cell research. I want to make it clear that those of us who support this do not believe that it has anything to do with human cloning and all of us are against human cloning. I look forward to the debate. It's a very complex scientific issue. But for us to throw away opportunities to cure diseases such as Parkinson's and Alzheimer's and many others I think would be a mistake. I look forward to the debate. It's interesting that more than two-thirds of the American people support stem cell research." [NBC News, 7/15/01; NBC News, 6/19/05]

Supported Increasing Federal Funding

McCain Supported Three Bills to Increase Federal Funding. According to the Pew Forum on Religion and Public Life, "McCain opposes embryonic stem cell research that uses cloned human embryos, but supports research using human embryos left over from fertility treatments. In 2006, McCain supported a trio of Senate bills designed to increase federal funding for adult stem cell research, ban the creation of embryos for research and offer federal support for research using embryos slated for destruction by fertility clinics." [Pew Forum on Religion and Public Life, accessed [1/11/08](#)]

McCain Announced Supported for Federal Funding of Stem Cell Research. According to an editorial by *National Review Online*, "He [McCain] announced his support for federal funding of embryo-destructive stem-cell research when it looked like alternative types of research were not as promising. Now they are, and he should acknowledge that the case for that funding is weaker." [Editorial, *National Review Online*, 1/09/08]

McCain Reaffirmed His Support for Federal Funding for Embryonic Stem Cell Research. In 2007, McCain reaffirmed his support for federal funding of embryonic stem cell research. "It's very tough for us in the pro-life community," he said. "I've prayed a lot on it, but I've come down on the side of embryonic stem cell research." [*The State*, 9/18/07]

McCain Broke With Bush and Voted to Expand Federal Funding for Embryonic Stem Cell Research. In 2006, according to the *Washington Post*, "[Sen. Bill] Frist and Sen. John McCain, R-Ariz., abortion opponents who are considering presidential bids, broke with Bush and the social conservatives who are crucial to the GOP when they voted Tuesday for a bill that would expand federal funding for embryonic stem cell research. ... 'I always just do what I think is right,' McCain said explaining his vote and brushing aside suggestions that his position could hurt his standing with conservatives." [*Washington Post*, 7/18/06]

McCain Reversed His Position And Supported Expansion of Stem Cell Research. According to *The Hill*, "Like Frist, John McCain, the Republican senator with the highest national profile, has reversed his position on the issue and now supports an expansion of the research. 'It's a very complex scientific issue,' McCain (Ariz.) told NBC's Tim Russert earlier this year. 'But for us to throw away opportunities to cure diseases such as Parkinson's and Alzheimer's and many others I think would be a mistake.'" [*The Hill*, 10/25/05]

McCain Signed Letter to Bush; Called For Expansion of Federal Policy on Stem Cell Research. In 2004, McCain signed a letter to President Bush, signed by 58 senators, calling on him "to expand the current federal policy concerning embryonic stem cell research." [Genome News Network, [6/08/04](#)]

- **McCain Signed Letter to Bush Allowing Federal Funding of Stem Cell Research.** In 2001, McCain signed letter to President Bush to allow federal funding of stem cell research. The letter sent by Sen. Arlen Specter and other Republican senators said, "Stem cell research has demonstrated a remarkable capacity of

these cells to transform into any type of cell in the human body. If scientists are correct, stem cells could be used to treat and cure a multitude of maladies...” [Associated Press, [7/20/01](#)]

Homeland Security

The first and foremost goal of the federal government is to protect the American people safe from terrorism and other threats. John McCain and George W. Bush have allowed the war in Iraq to distract them from taking the necessary steps to achieve this ultimate objective. Americans are in desperate need of a president whose priorities align with the needs of the people.

Top Hits:

- McCain repeatedly opposed necessary funding to secure America's Homeland.
- McCain voted against implementing the recommendations of the 9/11 Commission
- McCain flip-flopped on torture, by owaterboarding.
- McCain voted against investigating the intelligence failures the led to the war in Iraq.
- McCain in favor of warrantless wiretapping and telecom immunity.
- McCain opposed threat-based Homeland Security funding.
- McCain voted for the USA PATRIOT Act.

Accomplishments:

- McCain voted to use "all necessary and appropriate force" against those responsible for 9/11.
- McCain voted to form the 9/11 Commission.
- McCain voted to provide \$200 million for an intelligence unit to find Osama bin Laden.
- McCain promises: "I will lead this nation in the challenge against radical Islamic extremism, and we will never surrender."

Department of Homeland Security

McCain Voted Against A \$2 Billion Increase For Homeland Security. In 2004, McCain voted against an effort to increase overall homeland security spending by \$2 billion, for a range of programs including explosives detection devices at airports, firefighter grants and radiation devices. The motion failed 43-51. [HR 4567, [Vote #169](#), 9/09/04]

McCain Opposed Funding for Homeland Security. In 2004, McCain voted against \$6.8 billion in additional funding for homeland defense programs. This additional money would have come from reducing the President's tax breaks for taxpayers with incomes in excess of \$1 million a year. The amendment failed 40-57. [S. Con. Res. 95, [Vote #50](#), 3/11/04]

McCain Voted Against Funding The War On Terror. In 2003, McCain voted against decreasing the amount in the bill for Iraqi reconstruction by \$600 million and increasing the amount available to the Iraqi Civil Defense Corps by \$50 million, increasing funding for Afghanistan by \$400 million, and increasing the amount available for Liberia by \$150 million. Motion to table passed 55-43. [S 1689, [Vote #399](#), 10/17/03]

McCain Voted Against \$100 Million For Homeland Security. In 2003, McCain voted against an amendment that provided \$100 million for grants to public transit agencies to improve security and require the Homeland Security secretary to submit a report to Congress detailing the Transportation Security Administration's current and future plans for improving security on public transportation. Amendment failed 44-50. [HR 2555, [Vote #304](#), 7/24/03]

McCain Voted Against A \$242 Million Increase In Homeland Security and First Responder Funding. In 2003, McCain voted to table an amendment that would increase funding for port and maritime security grants in the bill by \$100 million and funding for Coast Guard operations and security by \$42 million. Firefighter assistance grants would be increased by \$100 million. The funding would be offset by decreasing the allocation for the Office of the Undersecretary for Information Analysis and Infrastructure Protection. The motion to table passed 51-45. [HR 2555, [Vote #300](#), 7/24/03]

McCain Voted Against A \$300 Million Funding Increase For Port Security. In 2003, McCain voted to table an amendment that would transfer \$300 million in the bill from intelligence activities to port and maritime security. The motion to table passed 5048. [HR 2555, [Vote #294](#), 7/23/03]

McCain Put Tax Cuts Ahead Of Homeland Security Funding. In 2003, McCain voted against increasing spending on homeland security by \$3.5 billion, including funds for first responders. This amendment would have been funded by a reduction in the Bush tax cuts. The amendment failed 48-52. [S. Amdt 381, [Vote #73](#), 3/21/03]

McCain Voted To Create A \$103.5 Billion Reserve Fund For Homeland Security. In 2003, McCain voted to establish a reserve fund for National Security containing the \$103.5 billion in budget authority and \$88 billion in outlays that the resolution cuts from President's National Defense request for 2009-2013; and offsets by reducing tax cuts by \$88 billion during same period. Amendment rejected 46-53. [SCR 23, [Vote #68](#), 3/21/03]

McCain Voted Against An \$88 Billion Increase For Homeland Security For Federal, State And Local Governments. In 2003, McCain voted to deprive necessary funding for first responders, port security, bio-terrorism preparedness and prevention, border security and transit security, and the FBI. The Schumer amendment would have increased spending on homeland security by \$88 billion over 10 years. The amendment failed 45-54. [SCR23, [Vote #65](#), 3/21/2003]

McCain Voted Against An Additional \$3 Billion For Homeland Security. In 2003, McCain voted against additional funding that included \$750 million for border security; \$200 million for security at nuclear facilities; \$850 million for smallpox vaccinations for first responders; \$200 million to improve communications between first responder agencies; \$1.1 billion for aviation security and \$100 million for the Federal Emergency Management Administration. The amendment failed 45-51. [HJR2, [Vote #3](#), 1/16/03]

McCain Voted Against \$5 Billion In Homeland Security Funding. In 2003, McCain voted against the Byrd amendment to restore \$5.0 billion in funding for homeland security including: \$1.4 billion for State and local assistance to combat terrorism; \$1.0 billion for border security; \$720 million for airport security; \$585 million for port security; \$296 million for nuclear security; \$300 million for mass transit security; \$212 million for Federal law enforcement; \$178 million for water security; \$128 million for cyber security; and \$167 million for food safety, security biohazardous materials at USDA facilities, embassy security, research to combat chemical attacks, improved security at Washington Monument and Jefferson Memorial, and DC Emergency Response Plan. Amendment rejected 45-51. [HJR 2, [Vote #2](#), 1/16/03]

McCain Voted Against Creating Department of Homeland Security. In 2002, McCain voted to table an amendment that would create a cabinet-level Homeland Security Department charged with protecting domestic security. It would establish the position of Secretary of Homeland Security, who would be appointed by the President and subject to confirmation by the Senate. It also would allow employees in agencies transferred to the new department to retain their collective bargaining rights unless their primary jobs change to consist of intelligence, counterintelligence, or terrorism investigation and if it is demonstrated that collective bargaining would adversely affect national security. The motion to table passed 50-47. [HR 5005, [Vote #241](#), 11/13/02]

McCain Voted Against Creating A Cabinet-Level Department Of Homeland Security. In 2002, McCain voted against legislation to create a cabinet-level Homeland Security Department charged with protecting domestic security. The cloture motion failed 50-49. Note: Three-fifths of the total Senate (60) is required to invoke cloture. [HR5005, [Vote #226](#), 9/26/02]

McCain Voted Against \$7.5 Billion For Homeland Security. In 2001, McCain voted to kill an amendment to the Defense Appropriations bill to add \$7.5 billion for homeland security programs. The motion failed 50-48 (60 senators needed to pass). [HR 3338, [Vote #354](#), 12/06/01]

September 11

McCain Failed to Vote To Implement Recommendations of The 9/11 Commission. In 2007, McCain failed to vote to implement recommendations of the Sept. 11 commission, including requiring homeland security grants based mainly on risk while ensuring minimum amounts for each state. It would create a new grant program to support the development of interoperable communications. It also would require all cargo bound for the United States to be scanned for radiation and density before being placed on a ship in a foreign port. The bill would authorize new sanctions on foreign individuals or entities that engage in the improper transport or sales of nuclear weapons materials. The bill passed 85-8. [HR 1, [Vote #284](#), 7/27/07]

McCain Missed A Vote To Implement September 11 Commission. In 2007, McCain missed a vote that “would criminalize the recruitment of terrorists and the financial support for families of terrorists, expand the time frame for detaining certain illegal immigrants, allow for the deportation of suspected terrorists whose visas are revoked and increase penalties for phone calls to service members’ families falsely claiming the family member has been killed. The substitute would implement remaining recommendations of the Sept. 11 commission and aviation security screening measures; and authorize more than \$4 billion for rail and mass transit security, \$3.1 billion for homeland security grant programs, and \$3.3 billion for a new emergency grant program to improve communications among first-responders.” The cloture motion failed 46-49. [S 4, [Vote #68](#), 3/9/07; CQ vote description]

McCain Voted Against Implementing The Recommendations of the 9/11 Commission. In 2006, McCain voted against an amendment that would implement the recommendations of the Sept. 11 commission, including the screening of all cargo and enabling first-responders to communicate on a common radio spectrum. It also would call for a new direction in Iraq and authorize additional funds for intelligence activities. The amendment failed 41-57. [HR 4954, [Vote #243](#), 9/13/06]

McCain Voted Against Increasing September 11th Recovery Funds. In 2001, McCain voted against a Byrd amendment to allocate \$7.5 billion in recovery funds to areas hit by the Sept. 11 terrorist attacks in New York, Virginia, and Pennsylvania. The substitute would provide \$317 billion for defense spending in fiscal 2002. Motion rejected 50-48. [HR 3338, [Vote #355](#), 12/6/01]

McCain Voted Against Providing Unemployment Benefits To Airline Workers Fired After 9/11. In 2001, McCain voted against an amendment that would provide assistance for employees who are separated from employment as a result of reductions in services by air carriers, and closures of airports, caused by terrorist actions or security measures. Cloture motion rejected 56-44. [S 1447, [Vote #293](#), 10/11/01]

McCain Voted to Compensate Airlines For Losses After 9/11. In 2001, McCain voted to compensate airline companies for losses from the September 11th attacks and establish a victim's compensation fund to assist people killed or injured in the attacks or their survivors. Bill passed 96-1. [S 1450, [Vote #284](#), 9/21/01]

McCain Voted For \$40 Billion In Recovery Assistance Following 9/11. In 2001, McCain voted to provide \$40 billion in emergency supplemental appropriations available for fiscal 2001 for disaster assistance, anti-terrorism initiatives and recovery assistance from the terrorist attacks on the United States that occurred on Sept. 11, 2001. Bill passed 96-0. [S 1426, [Vote #280](#), 9/14/01]

ACCOMPLISHMENTS:

McCain Voted To Form The 9/11 Commission. In 2002, McCain voted in favor of an amendment to establish the National Commission on Terrorist Attacks Upon the United States to investigate the facts and circumstances relating to the Sept. 11 terrorist attacks. The commission would be required to report its initial findings and recommendations to the president and to Congress within six months of its first meeting, followed by a second report within one year. [HR 5005, [Vote #223](#), 9/24/02]

McCain Voted To Use “All Necessary and Appropriate Force” Against Those Responsible for 9/11. In 2001, McCain voted to authorize the President to use all necessary and appropriate force against those nations, organizations, or persons he determines planned, authorized, committed, or aided the terrorist attacks that occurred on September 11, 2001, or harbored such organizations or persons, in order to prevent any future acts of international terrorism against the United States by such nations, organizations or persons; and states that nothing in this resolution supercedes any requirement of the War Powers Resolution. Joint resolution passed 98-0. [SJR 23, [Vote #281](#), 9/14/01]

First Responders

McCain Voted Against Increased Funding For Communications Equipment. In 2006, McCain voted against an amendment that “would increase the discretionary spending limit by \$5 billion to provide interoperable communications equipment for emergency responders. It would be offset by ending certain corporate tax breaks and increasing tax enforcement.” The amendment failed 43-55. [SCR 83, [Vote #45](#), 3/15/06; CQ vote description]

McCain Voted Against Increasing Emergency Communications. In 2005, McCain voted against an amendment that would increase funding for interoperable communications equipment grants by \$5 billion. The motion failed 40-58. [HR 2862, [Vote #227](#), 9/14/05]

McCain Voted Against Increasing Funding For First Responders. In 2003, McCain voted against increasing funding for first responders by \$1.6 billion and reducing the deficit by \$1.6 billion, to be offset by reducing tax cuts. The amendment failed 46-54. [SCR 18, [Vote #50](#), 3/15/05]

McCain Voted Against A \$242 Million Increase In Homeland Security and First Responder Funding. In 2003, McCain voted to table an amendment that would increase funding for port and maritime security grants in the bill by \$100 million and funding for Coast Guard operations and security by \$42 million. Firefighter assistance grants would be increased by \$100 million. The funding would be offset by decreasing the allocation for the Office of the Undersecretary for Information Analysis and Infrastructure Protection. The motion to table passed 51-45. [HR 2555, [Vote #300](#), 7/24/03]

McCain Voted Against Funding For Urgent Priorities For Firefighters And First Responders By Reducing Tax Cuts. In 2003, McCain voted against increasing funding for police, firefighters and other state and local emergency personnel by \$14.4 billion in fiscal 2004. The motion failed 41-54. [HR2555, [Vote #299](#), 7/24/03]

McCain Voted Against Increased Spending For First Responders By \$3.5 Billion. In 2003, McCain voted against increasing spending for first responders by \$1 billion in FY 03 and \$2.5 billion in FY 04. It would increase funding for Byrne Grants and Local Law Enforcement Block Grants by \$500 million each. It also would provide \$4.5 billion for deficit reduction. The amendment failed 49-50. [S Con Res 23, [Vote #92](#), 3/25/03]

McCain Voted Against Increasing Funding For Fire Departments By \$17.5 Billion. In 2003, McCain voted against increasing spending for fire department personnel, equipment and hiring by \$17.5 billion over 10 years. The amendment failed 48-50. [S Con Res 23, [Vote #91](#), 3/25/03]

McCain Voted For A Tax Cut Instead Of Funding For First Responders. In 2003, McCain voted against an amendment that would give \$3 billion to first responders to help them in their efforts to protect the American people and to protect homeland security. Killing this amendment deprived these brave men and women of the funding they need to do their jobs and gave it to the wealthiest American taxpayers in the tax cuts. The amendment

failed 47-51. [SCR23, [Vote #88](#), 3/25/03; Failed 47-51]

McCain Says He Opposes Torture But Voted To Allow Waterboarding

McCain Said U.S. Will Not Torture. “Today we see, on the front page of the New York Times and other newspapers, that the CIA decided to erase some interrogation tapes of interrogations of some al Qaeda people... bad people, bad, bad people. But they decided against the recommendation of members of Congress, and, uh, a lot of other people and organizations not to erase those tapes. What does that do? That confirms suspicions of people who are our enemies that, that we, that we engage in interrogation techniques which are illegal, it causes, uh, others to be encouraged, and it erodes the credibility and confidence of the American people in their government. **And I'll tell ya, as president of the United States, we will never torture another person in the custody of the United States of America. That's not what America is supposed to do.** [applause]” [Town Hall; Nashua, NH, 12/08/07, emphasis added]

McCain Strongly Disagreed With Allowing Waterboarding As An American Interrogation Technique.

According to an opinion article in the *Nation*, after McCain won the New Hampshire primary, the *National Review* continued attacks on him for his stance against waterboarding. McCain disagrees with Mitt Romney on waterboarding, as was discussed at a past G.O.P. debate. McCain said, “Governor, I'm astonished that you haven't found out what waterboarding is,” after Romney was asked about the technique and said he would have to check with his advisers, “How in the world anybody could think that that kind of thing could be inflicted by Americans on people who are held in our custody is absolutely beyond me.” [[The Nation](#), 1/10/08]

McCain's Opposition To Torture Was In The Name Of Fundamental Conservative Principles. According to columnist Adrian Wooldridge of the *New York Times*, McCain's opposition to torture was in the name of fundamental conservative principles. Wooldridge pointed out that, “He opposed torture because he thought it was a violation of the American tradition of respect for human life and human rights.” [Op-Ed, New York Times, 1/17/08]

McCain Joined With Warner To Criticize Bush Signing Statement On Torture Law, Pledged To Monitor Law's Administration. “John W. Warner...and Senator John McCain...issued a joint statement rejecting Bush's assertion that he can waive the restrictions on the use of cruel, inhuman, and degrading treatment against detainees to protect national security. ‘We believe the president understands Congress's intent in passing, by very large majorities, legislation governing the treatment of detainees,’ the senators said. ‘The Congress declined when asked by administration officials to include a presidential waiver of the restrictions included in our legislation. Our committee intends through strict oversight to monitor the administration's implementation of the new law.’” [[Boston Globe](#), 1/5/06]

McCain Strongly Disagreed With Allowing Waterboarding As An American Interrogation Technique.

According to an opinion article in the *Nation*, after McCain won the New Hampshire primary, the *National Review* continued attacks on him for his stance against waterboarding. McCain disagrees with Mitt Romney on waterboarding, as was discussed at a past G.O.P. debate. McCain said, “Governor, I'm astonished that you haven't found out what waterboarding is,” after Romney was asked about the technique and said he would have to check with his advisers, “How in the world anybody could think that that kind of thing could be inflicted by Americans on people who are held in our custody is absolutely beyond me.” [[The Nation](#), 1/10/08]

McCain Voted Against Banning (For) Waterboarding. In 2008, McCain voted against adoption of a conference report that would prohibit the use of any interrogation treatment not authorized by the U.S. Army Field Manual against any individual in the custody of the intelligence community. The conference report passed 51-45. [HR 2082, [Vote #22](#), 2/13/08]

- **McCain Encouraged Bush To Veto Waterboarding Bill.** According to the *Baltimore Sun*, “Sen. John McCain, a former prisoner of war who suffered torture at the hands of his North Vietnamese captors, said today that President Bush should veto a bill that would prohibit the CIA from using waterboarding and other harsh interrogation techniques on prisoners.” McCain said, “I was on the record as saying that they could use additional techniques as long as they were not cruel, inhumane and degrading treatment. So the vote was in keeping with my clear record of saying that they could have additional techniques, but those techniques could not violate international rules against torture.” [[Baltimore Sun, 2/20/08](#)]
- **McCain’s Support for Waterboarding Criticized By Leading Human Rights Group.** The Washington Director of Human Rights First criticized McCain’s flip-flop on torture. “Elissa Massamino called McCain’s vote this week “devastating” because the senator has been “the person with the highest profile and the greatest standing on this issue in the Senate.” She added, “His argument seems to be that we’ve told the administration that it needs to obey the law and what needs to happen here is a good-faith interpretation of the law, but all evidence suggests that that has not happened from day one and there is no reason to believe it will happen now.” [[Boston Globe, 2/16/08](#)]

Intelligence

McCain Voted Against Declassifying Scowcroft Commission Report. In 2004, McCain voted to table an amendment that would require the Bush administration to declassify a 2002 report by a commission led by former national security adviser Brent Scowcroft that recommended a stronger director of central intelligence. The motion to table passed 49-45. [HR 4567, [Vote #180](#), 9/14/04]

McCain Failed To Vote To Prohibit U.S. Businesses From Conducting Business With Sponsors of Terror. In 2004, McCain failed to vote on a motion to table an amendment that would bar foreign subsidiaries of U.S. companies from doing business with countries considered sponsors of terrorism. Motion to table agreed to 47-41. [S 2845, [Vote #194](#), 9/28/04]

McCain Voted Against Investigating Intelligence Failures In Iraq Used As A Pretext To War. In 2003, McCain voted against establishing a 12-member independent bipartisan commission to examine and report on the role of policy makers in the development and use of intelligence related to the Iraq war. The commission would be required to submit a report to the president and Congress within nine months of its first meeting on its findings and recommendations. The amendment also would authorize \$5 million for the commission. Motion to table passed 67-32. [S 1689, [Vote #395](#), 10/17/03]

McCain Voted Against Investigating Intelligence Failures Leading Up To The War In Iraq. In 2003, McCain voted to table an amendment that would authorize \$5 million for the creation of a 12-member commission to investigate the role of policymakers in the development and use of intelligence leading up to military operations in Iraq, and to investigate whether Iraq possessed weapons of mass destruction. The motion to table passed 51-45. [HR 2658, [Vote #284](#), 7/16/03]

McCain Voted Against A Report Detailing Executive Branch’s Role In Intelligence Related To Iraq War. In 2003, McCain voted to table an amendment that would withhold \$50 million in intelligence funding from the bill until the president submits a report on the role executive branch policymakers had on the development and use of intelligence relating to the war in Iraq. The motion to table passed 62-34. [HR 2658, [Vote #287](#), 7/17/03]

McCain Voted Against Requiring President to Release Intelligence Budget Requests. In 1997, McCain voted against requiring the President’s annual budget submission include, in unclassified form, aggregate appropriations and budget request for all U.S. intelligence and intelligence-related activities in current fiscal year. Amendment rejected 43-56. [S 858, [Vote #108](#), 6/19/97]

McCain Voted To Spend \$100 Million to Look For Extraterrestrial Life. In 1993, McCain voted to table an amendment that eliminated all funding for the search for extra-terrestrial intelligence program. The program was expected to cost \$100 million over ten years. The motion to table failed 23-77. [HR 2491, [Vote #276](#), 9/22/93]

McCain Voted Against Requiring Senate Approval of Key CIA Officials. In 1991, McCain voted against an amendment that required Senate confirmation of the Central Intelligence Agency's director of operations, deputy director for intelligence and the general counsel. The motion to table passed 38-59. [S 1539, [Vote #225](#), 10/16/91]

McCain Voted Against Ensuring The CIA Spends Money Effectively. In 1989, McCain voted to table an amendment creating an Office of the Inspector General within the CIA. The Inspector General would monitor spending and enhance the legitimacy of the CIA and protect the President from charges of abuse and misconduct by the CIA or its officers. The motion to table passed 64-34. [HR 2748, [Vote #289](#), 11/1/89]

McCain Voted Against Requiring The President To Notify Congress of Covert Activities. In 1988, McCain voted against a bill to require the president to notify Congress of all covert activities. Under "ordinary circumstances," the president would be required to tell Intelligence committees in advance of a covert operation. But in "rare occasions when time is of the essence," the president could wait up to 48 hours after a covert activity begins. The bill passed 71-19. [S 1721, 3/15/88; CQ Almanac]

ACCOMPLISHMENTS:

McCain Voted To Provide \$200 Million For Intelligence Unit To Find Osama Bin Laden. In 2006, McCain voted for an amendment that would provide \$200 million in emergency funding for an intelligence unit to find Osama bin Laden and other al Qaeda leaders, and require the Defense secretary to submit a classified report to Congress on progress after 60 days, and every subsequent 90 days. The amendment passed 96-0. [HR 5631, [Vote #235](#), 9/7/06]

FISA

McCain Failed To Vote To Focus Wiretapping On International Terrorism. In 2008, McCain failed to vote on an amendment that would prohibit the government from acquiring any communication that is to or from a person reasonably believed to be located in the United States unless there is reason to believe that the communication concerns international terrorist activities directed against the United States, or there is reason to believe that the acquisition is necessary to prevent death or serious bodily harm. The amendment failed 35-63. [S 2248, [Vote #14](#), 2/12/08]

McCain Voted To Provide Retroactive Immunity To Telecommunications Companies. In 2008, McCain voted against an amendment that would strike the provisions providing retroactive immunity from civil liability to telecommunications companies alleged to have participated in the National Security Agency's warrantless surveillance program. The amendment failed 31-67. [S 2248, [Vote #15](#), 2/12/08]

McCain Voted Against Focusing Wiretapping On International Terrorism. In 2008, McCain voted against an amendment that would limit the acquisition of foreign communications to those in which any party is an individual target who is reasonably believed to be located outside of the United States. It also would require that a significant purpose of the acquisition be to obtain foreign intelligence information. The amendment failed 37-60. [S 2248, [Vote #16](#), 2/12/08]

McCain Voted Against Naming The Federal Government As A Defendant In Lawsuits Against Telecom Companies. In 2008, McCain voted against an amendment that would substitute the federal government as the defendant in lawsuits against telecommunications companies alleged to have participated in the National Security Agency's warrantless surveillance program. The amendment failed 30-68. [S 2248, [Vote #17](#), 2/12/08]

McCain Voted Against Ensuring Wiretapping Was Legal. In 2008, McCain voted against an amendment that would grant immunity on a case-by-case basis to companies alleged to have participated in the National Security

Agency's warrantless surveillance program, after the court determines whether the companies acted with a reasonable belief that their assistance was legal. The amendment failed 41-57. [S 2248, [Vote #18](#), 2/12/08]

McCain Voted To Authorize Warrantless Wiretapping & Retroactive Immunity. In 2008, McCain voted for cloture on a bill that would authorize warrantless surveillance of foreign targets, even if they are communicating with someone in the United States. It would give the FISA court authority to approve several aspects of how such surveillance is conducted. It also would grant retroactive legal immunity to telecommunications companies alleged to have participated in the National Security Agency's warrantless surveillance program. The cloture motion passed 69-29. [S 2248, [Vote #19](#), 2/12/08]

McCain Voted To Authorize Warrantless Wiretapping & Retroactive Immunity. In 2008, McCain voted for passage of a bill to authorize warrantless surveillance of foreign targets, even if they are communicating with someone in the United States. It would give the FISA court authority to approve several aspects of how such surveillance is conducted. It also would grant retroactive legal immunity to telecommunications companies alleged to have participated in the National Security Agency's warrantless surveillance program. It would sunset in six years. The bill passed 68-29. [S 2248, [Vote #20](#), 2/12/08]

McCain Failed To Vote For FISA Revisions & Retroactive Immunity. In 2008, McCain failed to vote to modify the sunset provision of the FISA revisions from six years to four years. The motion required 60 votes to pass. Amendment failed 49-46. [S 2248, [Vote #7](#), 2/6/08]

McCain Failed to Vote To Correct Deficiencies In U.S. Intelligence Activities. In 2008, McCain failed to vote on an amendment that would allow limits on the use of information about U.S. individuals the government has obtained during foreign intelligence targeting procedures found to be deficient. It also would require the government to correct any deficiencies identified no later than 30 days after a court order. The amendment failed 40-56. [S 2248, [Vote #11](#), 2/7/08]

McCain Failed To Vote To Protect Americans From "Reverse Targeting." In 2008, McCain failed to vote on an amendment that amendment would prohibit the government from wiretapping an individual overseas in order to target a person in the United States the foreign individual is communicating with, also known as "reverse targeting." The amendment failed 38-57. [S 2248, [Vote #12](#), 2/7/08]

McCain Failed To Vote For FISA Revisions & Retroactive Immunity. In 2008, McCain failed to vote on a cloture motion that would amend the 1978 Foreign Intelligence Surveillance Act (FISA) to authorize warrantless surveillance of foreign targets, even if they are communicating with someone in the United States. It would give the FISA court authority to approve several aspects of how such surveillance is conducted. It also would grant retroactive legal immunity to telecommunications companies alleged to have participated in the National Security Agency's warrantless surveillance program. The cloture motion failed 48-45. [S 2248, [Vote #3](#), 1/28/08]

McCain Failed To Vote For FISA Revisions & Retroactive Immunity. In 2008, McCain failed to vote on a cloture motion on an amendment that would extend the Protect America Act 30 days. The cloture motion failed 48-45. [S 2248, [Vote #4](#), 1/28/08]

McCain Failed To Vote For FISA Revisions & Retroactive Immunity. In 2008, McCain failed to vote on a motion to table an amendment that would amend the 1978 Foreign Intelligence Surveillance Act (FISA) to allow warrantless surveillance of international calls that may involve U.S. citizens. The substitute would clarify that the government could conduct electronic surveillance to gather foreign intelligence only through the FISA court and through FISA court-approved procedures. It also would strike provisions in the bill that would grant retroactive legal immunity to telecommunications companies alleged to have participated in the National Security Agency's warrantless surveillance program. The substitute would sunset in four years. The motion to table passed 60-36. [S 2248, [Vote #2](#), 1/24/08]

McCain Failed To Vote For FISA Revisions. In 2007, McCain failed to vote for a bill that would amend the Foreign Intelligence Surveillance Act of 1978 (FISA) to expand the authority of the attorney general and the

director of National Intelligence to conduct surveillance of suspected foreign terrorists without a court warrant. Within 120 days of enactment, the administration would be required to provide the FISA court with a description of the procedures they used to determine whether the intelligence acquisition being conducted without a warrant is directed at foreign targets overseas. As amended, the bill would sunset after six months. The bill passed 60-28. [S 1927, [Vote #309](#), 8/3/07]

McCain Failed to Vote On Retroactive Immunity. In 2007, McCain failed to vote on a bill that would permit warrantless surveillance of foreign intelligence targets reasonably believed to be located outside the United States. The bill also would grant retroactive legal immunity to telecommunications companies alleged to have participated in the National Security Agency's warrantless surveillance program. Motion agreed to 76-10. [S 2248, [Vote #435](#), 12/17/07]

McCain Voted Against Relaxing Requirements For FISA Warrants. In 2003, McCain voted against an amendment that would amend the Foreign Intelligence Surveillance Act to allow surveillance of a foreigner if the government has evidence that the person came to the United States to commit a terrorist act, even if there is no evidence linking that person to a foreign state or terrorist group, a so-called foreign power. FISA judges would be allowed to ignore the lack of such evidence but would not be required to do so. The amendment failed 35-59. [S 113, [Vote #145](#), 5/8/03]

McCain Voted To Allow Warrantless Wiretapping. In 2003, McCain voted for passage of the bill that would amend the Foreign Intelligence Surveillance Act to allow surveillance of a foreigner if the government had evidence that person came to the United States to commit a terrorist act, even if there was no evidence linking that person to a foreign state or terrorist group, a so-called foreign power. FISA judges would be prohibited from denying a warrant on grounds that the target had no connection to a foreign power. The bill passed 90-4. [S 113, [Vote #146](#), 5/8/03]

McCain Voted Against Allowing Warrantless Wiretapping. In 1996, McCain voted against a motion allowing law enforcement agencies to get short-term emergency wire-taps without a court order in cases involving terrorist conspiracies. Motion to Table agreed to 56-43. [S 735, [Vote #69](#), 4/17/96]

COPS

McCain Missed A Vote To Provide Funding For COPS Programs. In 2007, McCain missed a vote that that would allow for a \$1.2 billion increase in funding for the Community-Oriented Policing Services program in fiscal 2008. It would be offset by an assumed reduction in domestic discretionary spending and/or administrative expenses. The amendment passed 65-33. [SCR 21, [Vote #110](#), 3/23/07; CQ vote description]

McCain Voted Against Increasing Spending on Community Oriented Policy Programs by \$1 Billion. In 2003, McCain voted against increasing spending on the COPS programs by \$1 billion in FY 04 and put \$1 billion toward deficit reduction. The spending would be offset by a \$2 billion reduction in tax cuts. The amendment failed 48-52. [SCR 23, [Vote #78](#), 3/21/03]

Port, Airport and Border Security

McCain Said Scrutiny Of The Dubai Port Deal Was Not A Priority. McCain, speaking to ABC News on February 26, 2006, said that national security concerns surrounding the proposed port sale to Dubai should not be a priority, and he commented that his colleagues had reached a unwarranted level of "near hysteria" about the sale. McCain said, "**I think that our priorities this week have been misplaced... We've got some very, very big issues that I think are perhaps more important than whether a country that's freer than China is should have control of some of our terminals.**" McCain added, "I think that the near hysteria about this is not warranted particularly in light of the other major crises that we are facing throughout the world." The Los Angeles Times

reported that McCain, often “a staunch critic” of Bush, was “one of a few senior Republicans who stood” with the president in an effort to “strengthen ties to the president’s allies” in preparation for 2008. [ABC News, 2/26/06; [Los Angeles Times](#), 2/26/06, emphasis added]

McCain Missed A Vote To Provide Funding For Increased Transit Security. In 2007, McCain missed a vote that would implement remaining recommendations of the Sept. 11 commission and implement aviation security screening measures; and authorize more than \$4 billion for rail and mass transit security, \$3.1 billion for homeland security grant programs, and \$3.3 billion for a new emergency grant program to improve communications among first-responders. The motion to table passed 60-38. [S 4, [Vote #70](#), 3/13/07; CQ vote description]

McCain Missed A Vote To Increase Port Security. In 2007, McCain missed a vote on an amendment that required the Homeland Security Department within five years to scan 100 percent of maritime cargo entering the United States. The motion to table passed 58-38. [S 4, [Vote #56](#), 3/01/07; CQ vote description]

McCain Misses A Vote To Prohibit Transportation Security Cards To Be Issues To Felons. In 2007, McCain missed a vote that would have prohibited transportation security cards from being issued to certain convicted felons and allow the Homeland Security secretary to modify the list of banned felonies. The amendment passed 58-37. [S 4, [Vote #54](#), 2/28/07; CQ vote description]

McCain Voted Against Increasing Incoming Cargo At U.S. Ports. In 2006, McCain voted to table an amendment that would expand the pilot program in Hong Kong for integrated scanning to three foreign seaports and require by Oct. 1, 2010, that all cargo bound for the United States undergo integrated scanning prior to arrival. The motion to table passed 61-37. [HR 4954, [Vote #248](#), 9/14/06]

McCain Voted Against Increase Cargo Container Scanning. In 2006, McCain voted against legislation that would require the Homeland Security secretary to develop a detailed plan within 180 days to scan 100 percent of the cargo containers destined for and departing from the United States. The amendment failed 43-55. [HR 4954, [Vote #246](#), 9/13/06]

McCain Voted To Shift \$4 Million To Border Security. In 2006, McCain voted for an amendment to shift \$4 million from the new United Nations Human Rights Council to allow for additional border security funding. The amendment failed 50-50. [SCR 83, [Vote #73](#), 3/16/06]

McCain Voted Against Increasing Homeland Security Funding. McCain voted against an amendment that “would raise the discretionary spending limit by approximately \$8 billion to allow for an increase in funding for homeland security, including money for first responders, the Coast Guard and port security, the Federal Emergency Management Agency and health preparedness programs.” The amendment failed 43-53. [SCR 83, [Vote #59](#), 3/16/06; CQ vote description]

McCain Voted Against Increasing Port Security Spending. McCain voted against an amendment that “would increase the discretionary spending limit by \$965 million to increase funding for port security, including additional inspections and research and development. The spending would be offset by ending certain corporate tax breaks.” The amendment failed 43-53. [SCR 83, [Vote #47](#), 3/15/06; CQ vote description]

McCain Voted Against Additional Border Security. In 2004, McCain voted against an effort to increase overall homeland security spending for port and **border security**, aviation security, maritime and land transportation security, the Coast Guard, and the Office of Domestic Coordination and Preparedness. The motion failed 48-47. [HR 4567, [Vote #179](#), 9/14/04]

McCain Voted Against \$300 Million For Port Security. In 2005, McCain voted against an effort to increase overall homeland security spending in the bill by \$300 million for port security. The motion failed 45-49. [HR 4567, [Vote #171](#), 9/9/04]

McCain Derailed An Effort To Improve Transportation Security. In 2003, McCain voted against a Reed amendment to provide funding and resources to public transit agencies to improve security and require the Homeland Security Secretary to submit a report on future plans to improve security on public transportation. The amendment was rejected when Republicans voted overwhelmingly against it. The motion failed 44-50. [H.R. 2555, [Vote #403](#), 7/24/03]

McCain Voted Against Explosive Detection In American Ports. In 2003, McCain voted against the Schumer amendment to increase spending on research and development on transportation security to \$200 million. Of that amount, \$45 million would be earmarked for development of explosive detection devices and \$70 million would be earmarked for grants awarded by the secretary of Homeland Security to private and public entities for the development of port security technologies. Motion rejected 45-51. [HR 2555, [Vote #295](#), 7/23/03]

McCain Voted Against Funding For Airport Security, Port Security, And Border Security. In 2003, McCain voted against increasing overall homeland security spending in the bill by \$1.75 billion, including \$238.5 million for port and border security, \$100 million for aviation security, \$532 million for maritime and land transportation security, \$70 million for the Coast Guard, \$729.5 million for the Office of Domestic Preparedness and \$80 million for information analysis and infrastructure protection. The motion failed 43-50. [HR 2555, [Vote #291](#), 7/22/03]

McCain Voted Against A Necessary \$1 Billion For Port Security. In 2003, McCain voted against appropriating a total of \$1 billion for port security, including \$840 million for the Customs Service, the Transportation Security Administration and grants to states and localities; \$150 million for the Coast Guard; and \$10 million for a federal law enforcement training center. The motion to table passed 52-47. [S762, [Vote #115](#), 4/2/03]

McCain Voted To Federalize Airport Security. In 2001, McCain voted to make the Attorney General responsible for the day-to-day Federal security screening operations for passenger air transportation; make the Attorney General responsible for hiring and training personnel to provide security screening at all United States airports involved in passenger air transportation; create a Deputy Secretary of Transportation responsible for the security of all modes of transportation; and directs the Attorney General to prescribe guidelines for the training and deployment of air marshals. Bill passed 100-0. [S 1447, [Vote #295](#), 10/11/01]

Terrorism Readiness

McCain Said He Would Lead U.S. Against Islamic Extremism And Never Surrender. At a rally in South Carolina, McCain told supporters, “I promise you I will lead America in the 21st century and make you proud...” “I will restore your trust and confidence in government, and I will lead this nation in the challenge against radical Islamic extremism, and we will never surrender — they will. I promise you that — they will.” [All Things Considered, [1/17/08](#)]

McCain Voted Against Emergency Planning Grants To Help States Prepare For Terrorist Attacks. In 2003, McCain voted against increasing spending, \$100 million in fiscal 2004, on emergency management planning grants for state and local governments so that they can respond to terrorist attack. The motion failed 45-53. [H.R. 2555, [Vote #293](#), 7/23/03]

McCain Voted Down Resources For “Explosive Device” Detection. In 2003, McCain voted against increasing spending on research and development on transportation security to \$200 million. Of that amount, \$45 million would be earmarked for development of explosive detection devices and \$70 million would be earmarked for grants awarded by the secretary of Homeland Security to private and public entities for the development of port security technologies. The motion failed 45-51. [HR2555, [Vote #295](#), 7/23/03]

McCain Voted Against Tougher Chemical Plant Security Necessary For Terrorism Readiness. In 2003, McCain voted against providing \$80 million for the Office of the Undersecretary for Information Analysis and Infrastructure Protection to conduct chemical facility security assessments. The motion failed 43-52. [HR2555, [Vote #297](#), 7/23/03]

McCain Voted Against Training For Combating Bio-Terror. In 2003, McCain voted against a Clinton amendment to provide \$93.2 million to train members of the bio-terrorism workforce. McCain and his Republican colleagues killed the amendment 47-41. [HR 2660, [Vote #328](#), 9/05/03]

State Based Homeland Security

McCain Voted Against State And Federal Homeland Security Grants. In 2007, McCain voted against an amendment that would reduce the minimum guaranteed to states for federal homeland security grants to 0.25 percent, with a guarantee of 0.45 percent to states with an international border or port. The motion to table passed 58-41. [S 4, [Vote #62](#), 3/06/07; CQ vote description]

McCain Voted Against Creating A Homeland Security Trust Fund. In 2006, McCain voted against legislation that would “create a homeland security trust fund to implement the recommendations of the Sept. 11 commission. It would be offset by eliminating certain tax breaks for individuals with annual incomes of more than \$1 million.” The motion to table passed 57-41. [HR 4954, [Vote #244](#), 9/13/06]

McCain Voted Against Threat Based Homeland Security Funding. In 2006, McCain voted against an amendment “that would require state Homeland Security grants and law enforcement terrorism prevention grants to be allocated according to a formula based on threat assessment of possible terrorist attack to states and localities and the severity of consequences should an attack occur. Every state would be guaranteed at least 0.25 percent of available funds. It also would require the high-threat, high-density urban area grant program to use the same threat-based allocation criteria.” The amendment failed 36-64. [HR 5441, [Vote #198](#), 7/13/06]

McCain Voted Against State And Federal Homeland Security Grants. In 2007, McCain voted against an amendment that would allow the minimum guaranteed to states for federal homeland security grants at 0.75 percent. The amendment failed 49-50. [S 4, [Vote #63](#), 3/06/07; CQ vote description]

McCain Voted To Cut Local Aid To Increase Infrastructure Grants. In 2005, McCain voted for legislation that would “provide an additional \$100 million for transportation and infrastructure grants, increase port security grant funding by \$50 million to \$200 million and increase intercity bus security grants to \$15 million. It would be offset by cuts to state and local aid accounts.” The amendment failed 46-52. [HR 2360, [Vote #185](#), 7/14/05]

PATRIOT ACT

McCain Voted To Reauthorize The Patriot Act. John McCain voted to reauthorize a “bill that would reauthorize the 2001 anti-terrorism law known as the Patriot Act, and make permanent 14 of the 16 provisions of the act set to expire March 10, and extend for four years the two provisions on access to business and other records and “roving” wiretaps. The measure would allow recipients of ‘national security letters’ demanding information to consult with a lawyer and to challenge the letter in court.” The bill passed 89-10. [HR 3199, [Vote #29](#), 3/2/06; CQ vote description]

McCain Voted To Reauthorize The USA PATRIOT Act. In 2006, McCain voted for passage of a bill that extended the 16 expiring provisions of the Patriot Act through March 10. It also extended the lone wolf provision included in the Intelligence Reform and Terrorism Prevention Act, permitted wiretapping and surveillance of foreign terrorist suspects who operate alone, instead of as an agent of a foreign power or organization, through March 10. The bill passed 95-1. [HR 4659, [Vote #11](#), 2/2/06]

McCain Voted For the USA PATRIOT Act. In 2001, McCain voted for the USA PATRIOT Act to enhance law enforcement investigatory tools and acts to deter and punish terrorist acts in the United States. Bill Passed 98-1. [HR 3162, [Vote #313](#), 10/25/01]

McCain Met With Bush At White House To Discuss Interrogation. During a meeting with Senators McCain and Warner to discuss interrogation, the President remarked, “Senator McCain has been a leader to make sure that the United States of America upholds the values of America as we fight and win this war on terror. And we’ve been happy to work with him to achieve a common objective, and that is to make it clear to the world that this government does not torture and that we adhere to the international convention of torture, whether it be here at home or abroad. And so we have worked very closely with the Senator and others to achieve that objective, as well as to provide protections for those who are on the front line of fighting the terrorists.” [Remarks of the President, 12/15/05]

Immigration

Depending on your particular view of the immigration debate, McCain's convoluted positions is either a positive or a negative. While he has called for a guest worker program through McCain-Kennedy, he also repeatedly failed to ensure the border was secure with his voting record. His positions is identical to President Bush's, which has infuriated nativists and hard core conservatives.

Top Hits:

- McCain and the President have identical positions on immigration
- McCain failed to vote to secure the borders
- McCain's legislation is effectively an amnesty proposal
- McCain flip-flopped on immigration negotiations

Accomplishments:

- McCain led on the issues of immigration
- McCain took on his own party

McCain: The President and I Share Exactly The Same Views on the Issue [of Immigration]

McCain Said He And Bush Shared Same Views On Immigration. During an interview with the *New Yorker*, McCain told reporter Connie Bruck, "The President and I share exactly the same views on the issue [of immigration]...He believes there are willing workers and willing employers and we ought to match them up. He recognizes that our borders are broken and we need to protect them, but we can only do it in a dual approach." Bruck pointed out that despite McCain's assertion that he agreed with Bush on immigration, McCain and Senator Kennedy had introduced comprehensive immigration legislation that many of McCain Republican colleagues "... deride[d] as 'amnesty'" and for which Bush had not indicated his support. [[New Yorker](#), 5/30/05] 2

McCain "Applauded" Bush's Leadership. In presenting the views of the Arizona delegation on immigration, the *Arizona Republic* reported Senator McCain said, "I applaud President Bush for his leadership on this critical issue and urge Congress to take action now on immigration reform." [[Arizona Republic](#), 1/9/04]

McCain Joined Bush To Discuss Border Security And Immigration Reform In Arizona. At the event at Davis-Monthon Air Force Base, the President said, "I appreciate Senator John McCain joining us today." [Remarks of the President, 11/28/05]

Bush Thanked McCain For Efforts On Immigration. During a meeting at the White House with Members of the Senate to discuss immigration, the President said, "I particularly want to thank Senator Kennedy and Senator McCain for taking the lead on this important bill on the floor of the United States Senate." [Remarks of the President, 8/25/06]

McCain's Immigration Position Infuriating to Conservatives

Texas GOP Executive Committee Members Said McCain's Immigration Stance is "Intolerable." Members of the Texas Republican Party's executive committee said that McCain's stances on illegal immigration were intolerable. According to *The Dallas Morning News*, "Several members of the state Republican executive committee expressed serious reservations Wednesday about Mr. McCain's conservative credentials." Committee

member John Cook said, “It was amnesty. I don’t want our nominee to carry the party to the moderate wing.”
[[Dallas Morning News, 2/6/08](#)]

McCain Failed Immigration Litmus Test Among Conservative Reagan Republicans. Jerome Corsi, who co-authored a book attacking John Kerry’s war record during the 2004 election, wrote that McCain’s stance in the immigration debate failed a litmus-test for conservative Republicans. Corsi wrote, “[w]hen McCain put his name on the immigration bill sponsored by Sen. Teddy Kennedy, many conservatives felt he virtually embraced the concept of amnesty for the approximately 12 million illegal aliens the Bush Administration admits are now in the United States...[M]any on the right felt his alignment with the Democratic left on the immigration issue was the last straw ... Immigration for the Reagan conservative movement is quickly becoming a litmus test issue, every bit as much as the issue of abortion already is. McCain fails on both accounts.” [Jerome Corsi, [www.humaneventsonline.com, 5/9/06](#)]

McCain Told Big Donors That The GOP Was Being “Nativist” On The Issue Of Immigration And Blamed Limbaugh, Dobbs And Savage For Fueling The Problem; Denied Comments On CNN. At a private meeting with some of New York’s “wealthiest and most influential political donors,” McCain “cautioned against ghettoizing immigrants, which he noted has brought about disastrous results in France, and criticized elements in his own party as ‘nativist’ before lambasting the punditry of Rush Limbaugh, Lou Dobbs and Michael Savage for helping to ‘fuel the problem,’ according to two of the sources.” When asked about the statement on CNN, McCain denied it, saying, “I criticize elements that take an impractical view of this. I don’t know if -- I don’t think -- that was not from somebody who was there, but somebody who heard from -- I don’t think I used that word” [New York Observer, 5/29/06]

McCain Dismissed The House Immigration Proposal As “Anti-Hispanic.” McCain said the country couldn’t move forward with the “anti-Hispanic” immigration bill that was passed by the House of Representatives. McCain said, “I believe that it’s very important that however we approach this [immigration reform] issue, that it cannot, it should not be viewed as anti-Hispanic for a broad variety of reasons ... [the House bill] certainly is viewed that way that if you have felony penalties for someone who, the young woman who is in this country illegally and is raped and goes to a rape counseling center, the people that run the rape counseling center are guilty of a felony.” [Bloomberg.com, 6/23/06]

McCain Co-Sponsored Bill To Eliminate Barriers To Higher Education For Undocumented Workers. According to Michigan’s *Jackson Citizen Patriot*, “McCain was among 48 Senate co-sponsors of a bill that would eliminate barriers to higher education for undocumented students.” [Jackson Citizen Patriot, [1/14/08](#)]

McCain Said America Is A Judeo-Christian Nation, U.S. Cannot Leave Laid Off Workers Behind. While in Michigan, McCain said that federal programs for displaced workers were not working and outdated. McCain also said, “We can’t leave people behind. That’s not America... We’re a Judeo-Christian valued nation. We’re not going to leave these people behind. We’re going to give them the kind of education and training to re-enter the workforce.” [[Baltimore Sun, 1/14/08](#)]

Anti-Immigration Groups Attempted Anti-McCain GOTV Efforts. Anti-Immigration groups, such as NumbersUSA sent out massive e-mails in a last minute effort to rally voters before Super Tuesday. Roy Beck, president of NumbersUSA warned of “political illiteracy” among Republican primary voters could lead to “disastrous consequences.” [[New York Times, 2/4/08](#)]

McCain Lied About Amnesty for Illegals

McCain Said He Had Never Supported Amnesty. At the ABC News/Facebook/WMUR New Hampshire Republican debate, McCain Said, “I have never supported amnesty.” [ABC News/Facebook/WMUR N.H. GOP Debate, 1/5/08]

- **But in 2003, McCain Said “Amnesty Has To Be A Component” Of Immigration Reform.** [The Politico](#) reported that “McCain himself embraced the term [“amnesty”] during a news conference a few years ago in his

office in Tucson, Arizona. “McCain Pushes Amnesty, Guest-Worker Program,” reported the Tucson Citizen of May 29, 2003. The senator is quoted as saying: ‘Amnesty has to be an important part because there are people who have lived in this country for 20, 30 or 40 years, who have raised children here and pay taxes here and are not citizens. That has to be a component of it.’ The newspaper also quoted McCain as saying: ‘I think we can set up a program where amnesty is extended to a certain number of people who are eligible and at the same time make sure that we have some control over people who come in and out of this country.’” [The Politico, 6/4/07; Tucson Citizen, 5/29/03]

McCain Flip Flopped on Immigration Negotiations

McCain Was Encouraged By Negotiations With The House On Immigration And Emphasized An Enforcement First Approach. Speaking about the progress of immigration reform in Congress, McCain said, “I’m encouraged by the dialogue that’s been going on. We’ve had several meetings. I’m appreciative of Congressman Panses’ proposal. Look, as long as we agree it’s a comprehensive approach we need to taken, I think it’s very negotiable and I’m optimistic.” McCain noted that reforms would take years to implement which would allow time to improve security. McCain said, “If tomorrow we adopted the comprehensive approach setting up a temporary guest worker program and a path to earned citizenship, it would take years before - or certainly a long period of time before we could get those in operation,” adding, “we all know that border enforcement is the first and foremost requirement because it’s a national security issue.” [ABC News, 7/2/06]

LA Times: McCain’s Push To The House Immigration Proposal Is Troubling. The Los Angeles Times editorialized that because McCain seconded Arlen Specter’s motion “to stagger reform measures so that all enforcement issues were enacted first,” and because McCain “emphasized that the border was being strengthened,” “the chasm between the Senate’s recent comprehensive immigration bill and the House of Representatives’ punitive enforcement-only package from December” was narrowing, but according to the Times, “Trouble is, the overtures are all going in the House’s direction.” [Editorial, Los Angeles Times, 7/3/06]

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McCain-Kennedy: The Backlash

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Bilbray Said McCain Was “Dead Wrong” On Immigration And Told Him Not To Come To A Scheduled Fundraiser At The Request Of The NRCC. Prior to McCain’s scheduled fundraising appearance with Bilbray, Bilbray “told McCain’s staff that McCain is ‘dead wrong on the amnesty issue,’ and a number of the people who attended the Wednesday breakfast were prepared to tell the senator the same thing, Bilbray said. Had McCain

come, Bilbray said, it would have put him in the position of ‘maybe having to protect the senator from reaction here in San Diego.’” McCain “had planned to fulfill his commitment” to appear at the fundraiser, and the idea to disinvite McCain came from the NRCC, which “suggested McCain’s presence would not be helpful” in winning the campaign. [North County Times, 5/31/06; Chicago Sun Times, 6/11/06]

Dobbs: “Senator John McCain, A Strong Supporter Of Course Of Amnesty For Illegal Aliens. After All, It Is The McCain-Kennedy Bill.” According to Lou Dobbs, “Senator John McCain, a strong supporter of course of amnesty for illegal aliens. After all, it is the McCain-Kennedy bill. Well, he’s urging Hispanic officials to show support for that amnesty legislation that passed the Senate two weeks ago. McCain spoke last week to a group of Hispanic and civic leaders in Orange County, California, where the Senator said, quote, ‘This is a call to arms for you to rise up and speak for people who can’t speak up very well for themselves.’ Senator McCain, by the way, though it more important to speak to that group of Hispanic activist leaders than he did to show his support for fellow Republican Brian Bilbray, who is running in tomorrow’s special election in California’s 50th congressional district. He says there should be no amnesty for illegal aliens. Senator McCain cancels an appearance with Brian Bilbray, although he does support his candidacy.” [CNN, “Lou Dobbs Tonight,” 6/05/06]

McCain Voted Against The Majority Of Republicans On Immigration Reforms And In Favor Of A Plan Labeled “Amnesty” By The Media. John McCain voted against the majority of Republican senators on 21 of the 33 votes he cast on the Comprehensive Immigration Reform Act and its amendments, including the final passage of the bill. McCain’s vote was the deciding vote against majority Republicans on two of the amendments. The immigration reform supported by McCain “amounts to an amnesty for undocumented immigrants,” according to Eugene Robinson of the Washington Post, and Charles Gibson of ABC News said the bill “effectively does grant amnesty to millions of immigrants who are now here illegally.” [109th Congress, S. 2611, Vote #’s 121-157, 5/16/06 – 5/25/06; Washington Post, 3/28/06; ABC News, 3/28/06]

McCain Failed Immigration Litmus Test Among Conservative Reagan Republicans. Jerome Corsi, who co-authored a book attacking John Kerry’s war record during the 2004 election, wrote that McCain’s stance in the immigration debate failed a litmus-test for conservative Republicans. Corsi wrote, “[w]hen McCain put his name on the immigration bill sponsored by Sen. Teddy Kennedy, many conservatives felt he virtually embraced the concept of amnesty for the approximately 12 million illegal aliens the Bush Administration admits are now in the United States...[M]any on the right felt his alignment with the Democratic left on the immigration issue was the last straw ... Immigration for the Reagan conservative movement is quickly becoming a litmus test issue, every bit as much as the issue of abortion already is. McCain fails on both accounts.” [Jerome Corsi, www.humaneventsonline.com, 5/9/06]

Arizona Governor Criticized McCain’s Immigration Plan. Janet Napolitano criticized McCain’s plan to halt illegal immigration, particularly his claim that he was force governors to certify that their borders are secure. Napolitano said, “It certainly sounds good, but it is a snapshot not a sustained presence, and a snapshot could vary greatly within any given state within any given year.” [ABC News, [2/3/08](#)]

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Roy Beck: “Every Single Immigration Activist And Organization Is Terrified By [McCain’s] N.H. Results.” According to the *Washington Post*, executive director of the group NumbersUSA said of McCain, “I can tell you every single immigration activist and organization is terrified by the New Hampshire results...My day starts in the morning with a call from a talk radio station, and that’s how the day ends. We’re getting our message across, and I am taking McCain to task. It’s no holds barred.” [[Washington Post](#), [1/14/08](#)]

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Dobbs: McCain Booed By Construction Workers. According to Lou Dobbs, “A room full of construction workers gave Senator John McCain a little straight talk of their own yesterday. And it was almost more than he could bear. The AFL-CIO’s construction and building trades booed Senator McCain when he said illegal aliens fill jobs that Americans won’t do. ... Senator McCain getting some straight talk of his own. Senator McCain offering to leave when the crowd jeered him earlier, but he decided to stay. And in general, at least in my opinion, handled it with pretty good humor. Supporters of the amnesty agenda say illegal aliens fill jobs that Americans won’t do. They also say paying farm workers decent wages would just drastically raise the price of groceries that we have to buy in this country. But guess what? Like so many arguments in this illegal alien discussion, this illegal immigration crisis, it’s just an argument that is totally refuted by the facts.” [CNN, “Lou Dobbs Tonight,” 4/05/06]

- **McCain: “I’ll Offer Anybody Here \$50 An Hour If You’ll Go Pick Lettuce In Yuma This Season And Pick For The Whole Season.”** According to CNN, McCain said, “Now, my friends, I’ll offer anybody here \$50 an hour if you’ll go pick lettuce in Yuma this season and pick for the whole season. So -- OK? Sign up. OK. You sign up. You sign up, and you’ll be there for the whole season, the whole season. OK? Not just one day. Because you can’t do it, my friend.” [CNN, “Lou Dobbs Tonight,” 4/05/06]

Dobbs Said McCain Should Be Embarrassed For Either For Immigration Or Isolationist Argument. On CNN, Michael Goodwin said, “I do think there’s a false choice being put here by people like John McCain, which is that we are either for immigration or we are isolationists...” According to Lou Dobbs, “...that the idea that the issue here is whether you’re for immigration or not for immigration, is the kind of thing that Senator McCain ought to really -- he should be embarrassed. Because, Michael, your point is exactly right. We’re going to have immigration in this country -- welcomes warmly legal immigrations to this country.” [CNN, “Lou Dobbs Tonight,” 3/31/06]

Dobbs Characterized McCain-Kennedy Bill As Opportunity to Buy Citizenship. According to Lou Dobbs, “Let’s sort some things out here, if we may, Dana. The McCain-Kennedy legislation basically providing a pathway. You’re saying the guest worker program as envisioned by that legislation has passed the Judiciary Committee through amendment? ... Closest to the one that -- in the House, and as Dana Bash reported, the Kennedy-McCain bill is moving through, apparently, at least the Judiciary Committee, which is basically a pay for citizenship, pay as you -- as you go or come, as the saying goes. ... It gives them a chance to buy citizenship, the McCain -- and that’s simply what it is. It is a guest worker program. This president talking about a guest worker program. There is no security for the borders.” [CNN, “Lou Dobbs Tonight,” 3/27/06]

Carol Platt Liebau: Republicans Who Support McCain Should Know They Risk Driving Conservatism To The Sidelines At Home. Political commentator Carol Platt Libau wrote an article entitled, “The Unique Threat of John McCain.” Libau said, “Although there is much to praise in McCain’s defense record (most notably, his support for the surge in Iraq), when it comes to a domestic agenda, he’s about the most “civil” Republican a Democrat could hope for. Indeed, in a McCain presidency with a Democratic Congress, conservatives risk becoming irrelevant.” Libau compared the possibility of a McCain presidency to that of a Schwarzenegger presidency, and said that “McCain’s history is littered with examples of his eagerness to work across the aisle; the McCain-Kennedy immigration bill, McCain-Feingold campaign finance ‘reform,’ and McCain-Lieberman environmental legislation come instantly to mind. There’s no doubt that John McCain has earned the praise of Democrats and *The New York Times* by being willing to support their pet causes.” [Op-Ed, Townall.com, 1/28/08]

Securing The Border

Key McCain Staffer Made Inflammatory Comments about Securing the United States Border

- **McCain Staffer: US & Mexico Are Not Two Countries, But “Just a Region.”** According to Tom Tancredo, McCain’s National Director of Hispanic Outreach, Juan Hernandez, said of the United States and Mexico, “it’s not two countries; it’s just a region.” [Wizbang.com, [1/25/08](#)]
- **McCain Staffer Favors Open Borders.** McCain’s National Director of Hispanic Outreach once said, “I never knew the border as a limitation. I’d be delighted if all of us could come and go between these two marvelous countries.” [[Associated Press](#), 7/14/01]
- **McCain Hired “Open Border Zealot” as Hispanic Outreach Director.** Juan Hernandez, McCain’s National Director of Hispanic Outreach, is loathed by many conservatives because he is “one of the most open borders zealots on the scene.” When asked about Mr. Hernandez, McCain answered, “He’s on my staff because he supports my policies and my proposals and my legislative proposal to secure the borders first, that no one will receive Social Security benefits who is in the country illegally.” [Killbuck Creek Politics, [1/31/08](#)]
- **McCain Staffer: “We’re Never Going To Have A Secure Border.”** McCain’s National Director of Hispanic Outreach has said, “I don’t think that we need to build walls to control immigration. We are the 21st century now and we’re a country that has always broken down walls. Once again with regard to securing the borders, we need to work with Mexico. We’re never going to have a secure border. We’re not going to put a wall up for these hundreds and hundreds thousands of miles. We have to work with our neighbors. We need to think now for the future. Canada, the United States and Mexico as a block.” [Killbuck Creek Politics, [1/31/08](#)]

McCain Criticized Efforts to Secure the Border

McCain Criticized Federal Funding For Border Security Earmarks In Arizona. In 2001 and 2002, Senator McCain criticized federal funding for projects that would be used by border and law enforcement agencies to increase security measures. McCain listed opposition to earmarks for several projects in Arizona that included a detainee facility in Prescott, a border guard service processing center in Florence, a sector headquarters in Tucson, and border patrol stations in Yuma and Douglas. [McCain Release, 9/13/01; 2001 & 2002 Congressional Pig Book]

McCain Criticized Federal Funding For Border Patrol And Border Fence Earmarks In Arizona. In 2003, Senator McCain criticized \$25.6 million for construction of a U.S. Border Patrol station in Tucson, Arizona. A Republican congressman from Tucson said White House officials requested money for it in their budget, but McCain deemed the project as wasteful spending because it didn’t go through proper legislative channels. In addition, McCain’s 2005 Congressional Pig Book criticized \$500,000 in federal funding for the construction of a border fence in Nogales, Arizona. [Gannett, 4/10/03; 2003 & 2005 Congressional Pig Book]

McCain Says He wants To Secure the Border:

McCain Said, “We Will Secure Borders First.” At the ABC News/Facebook/WMUR New Hampshire Republican Debate, McCain said, “We will secure the borders first.” [ABC News/Facebook/WMUR N.H. GOP Debate, 1/5/08]

McCain Said He Would Secure Borders First. At the 2008 Fox News Channel G.O.P. debate in South Carolina, McCain said, “I come from a border state where our borders are broken. More people come across our border illegally every year than most any other state. I will secure the borders first. And I will have the border states’ governors certify that those borders are secured.” [Fox News Channel G.O.P. Debate, [1/10/08](#)]

But His Record Shows Something Different:

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- **McCain Sidestepped Discussion On Border Fence.** While speaking at a town hall meeting in Texas, McCain was asked how he would "balance the need for border security with individual property rights." McCain first responded by saying, "This meeting is adjourned," before attempting to answer the question without offending anyone in the audience. [[Dallas Morning News, 2/27/08](#)]
- **McCain Voted Against Funds to Build Border Fence with Mexico.** McCain voted against a Sessions amendment (No. 4659) to provide an additional \$1.83 billion to construct 370 miles of double-layered fencing and at least 461 miles of vehicle barriers along the U.S.-Mexico border. It would be offset by an across-the-board cut in the bill's other discretionary spending. [H.R. 5441, S.V.200, 7/13/06, failed 29-71]
- **McCain Voted Against Funding to Hire More Border Agents.** McCain voted against the Sessions amendment (No. 4660) that would provide an additional \$85.7 million for the Homeland Security Department to hire 800 additional full-time Immigration and Customs Enforcement agents. It would be offset by an across-the-board cut in the bill's other discretionary spending. [H.R. 5441, S.V. 201, 7/13/06, failed 34-66]
- **McCain Said Border Couldn't Be Fully Protected Because Good Jobs Would Continue To Drive Illegal Immigration.** "We're not going to have a secure border as long as there's this kind of attraction of jobs into the United States of America. Our border between Arizona and Mexico is long, it's desolate and it cannot be fully protected 24 hours a day." [McCain Press Conference, 7/25/03]
- **John McCain Voted Opposite 35 Republicans To Force The United States To Consult With Mexico Before Securing The Border.** John McCain voted for Arlen Specter's amendment to force consultation with Mexican officials before acting to protect the U.S. border with Mexico. The amendment required that the U.S. Secretary of State, and federal, state and local law enforcement "shall work with the appropriate officials from the Government of Mexico" on "improved border security." Additionally, "federal, state and local representatives in the United States shall consult with their counterparts in Mexico concerning the construction of additional fencing and related border security structures along the international border ... before the commencement of any such construction[.]" The amendment passed by a vote of 56-41; McCain voted "yea" in support of the amendment and against 35 of his Republican colleagues who voted against the amendment. [S.Amdt. 4188, Vote #156, 5/25/06; CR S5259, 5/25/06]
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amendment and against 35 of his Republican colleagues who voted against the amendment. [S.Amdt. 4188, Vote #156, 5/25/06; CR S5259, 5/25/06]

McCain Said He “Got The Message” On Immigration; “I Will Secure The Border.” According to ABC News, ““These days, when questions about immigration are asked, McCain says he ‘got the message.’ ‘The message is the American people want the border secured,’ McCain told the woman who asked him at the event in Weare, N.H., about his stand on ‘illegal aliens.’ ‘I will secure the border and I would have the border state governors certify that their border are secure,’ he said, ‘Then, we would move onto other issues,’ such as what to do about those illegal immigrants already in the country.” [ABC News, 12/26/07]

- **ABC News: “He Hasn’t Exactly Renounced The Bill He Championed In The Spring, But He Has Fine-Tuned His Position...”** According to ABC News, “He hasn’t exactly renounced the bill he championed in the spring, but he has fine-tuned his position and changed the emphasis to assure the skeptics and critics — and there are many — that dealing with the fate of those already in the country only occurs after the borders are secured. ‘I still believe we have to have a temporary worker program that works and addresses the issues of the 12 million people that are here illegally,’ McCain said in Weare, racing through this part of his answer in much the same way announcers do with the disclaimers at the end of pharmaceutical commercials. Then, more slowly, more emphatically, he added: ‘But we’ve got to first secure the borders to assure the American people that if you address the other parts of the issue we will not have another 12 million illegal immigrant come into our country.’” [ABC News, 12/26/07]
- **McCain Said The President’s Plan To Deploy National Guard To The Border Was For “PR” And Said They Couldn’t Be Effective At Guarding The Border Without Training.** McCain said that the National Guard deployment to the border will “provide some comfort to some of our citizens who feel we don’t have enough people down there,” and they will also “play support and administrative roles and some labor work,” but noted that “in order to be an effective border patrol ... it requires training, just like it requires training to do other specialties.” McCain went on to call the deployment “partially PR,” to help heal the fact that “Americans are so upset about broken borders in a time when we’re in a war on terror and we are not enforcing our borders.” [CNN, 5/24/06]

Iraq

McCain claims to be the sole possessor of superior knowledge and judgment regarding U.S. involvement in Iraq, yet after examining his record, it is apparent that he is just as incompetent as George Bush. Time and time again McCain has been wrong on Iraq and wrong for America. Anyone who said the war in Iraq would be “one of the best things that’s happened to America,” as John McCain did, is clearly out of touch with the American people. [NBC, “Meet the Press,” 3/30/03]

Top Hits:

- McCain claimed “the Iraqi people will greet us as liberators.”
- McCain’s judgment is flawed; like the Bush Administration, McCain predicted victory in Iraq would come quickly, easily and inexpensively. He even said the war would be “one of the best things that’s happened to America.”
- McCain joined Bush in claiming “Mission Accomplished” in 2003.
- McCain said Iraqi oil revenues would pay for the cost of reconstruction.
- McCain failed to call for Rumsfeld to resign after it was clear that the strategy was failing.
- McCain has supported Bush every step of the way and represents a continuation of Bush’s failed policies in Iraq.
- McCain said he supports staying in Iraq for 100, 1,000, or 10,000 years.
- Despite the surge, McCain still advocates sending even more troops into harm’s way.

Accomplishments:

- McCain was an early advocate of the surge, which is showing signs of succeeding militarily.
- While he refused to call for Rumsfeld’s resignation, McCain was among the first Republicans to acknowledge that the strategy in Iraq was failing.
- McCain’s personal involvement with many national security issues has earned him credibility in the eyes of the media and the public.

A Call to Arms: McCain Predicted Easy Victory In Iraq

McCain Said “The Iraqi People Will Greet Us As Liberators.” While appearing on *NBC’s The Today Show*, McCain said, “But I believe, Katie, that the Iraqi people will greet us as liberators. I believe that they will have an opportunity over time, and it will be difficult, to realize the same hopes and dreams and aspirations that every person in the world has and deserves the opportunity to live in a free and open society.” [NBC, “The Today Show,” 3/20/03]

McCain on Iraq: “I Believe That It Will Not Be Nearly As Difficult As Some Allege.” While appearing on *NBC’s Meet the Press*, McCain was asked if a military operation in Iraq would be difficult. He responded, “You know, when you say it won’t be difficult, whenever you send young Americans into harm’s way, it’s going to be difficult. And we will lose American lives. So that said, I believe that it will not be nearly as difficult as some allege.” [NBC, “Meet the Press,” 9/22/02]

McCain Said The War In Iraq Would Be “One of The Best Things That’s Happened To America.” While appearing on *NBC’s Meet the Press*, McCain said, “We’re going to be all right. We’re going to prevail and we will

win and it'll be one of the best things that's happened to America and the world in a long time 'cause it'll reverberate throughout the Middle East." [NBC, "Meet the Press," 3/30/03]

McCain Predicted "Great Joy and Pleasure" In Iraq. While appearing on NBC's *Meet the Press*, McCain said, "I believe that these people have the same yearnings for freedom and democracy and independence and self-determination that every person on Earth does, and once this Gestapo is off of their backs, then I think you will see great joy and pleasure that we were able to free them and that will not come until they are sure that they don't have Saddam Hussein return again." [NBC, "Meet the Press," 3/30/03]

McCain Predicted a "Brief, Successful War In Iraq." While speaking on the floor of the senate on the day before U.S. military action commenced in Iraq, McCain said, "The costs of these enterprises are not known with any degree of certainty at this time. Nor are the costs we will incur after what I believe, what I fervently, hope, will be a brief, successful war in Iraq, as we seek to establish the foundations for a peaceful, stable and democratizing Iraq." He added, "I believe the war in Iraq can be concluded successfully in a relatively brief time." [McCain Senate Press Release, 3/18/03]

McCain Said Bush Led With "Clarity" and Did Not Exaggerate the Case for War. In 2003, McCain praised Bush's leadership on the Iraq war saying, "I think the president has led with great clarity and I think he's done a great job leading the country, don't you all?" And asked if he thought the president exaggerated the case for war, McCain said, "I don't think so." [MSNBC, Hardball, 4/23/03; Fox News, 7/31/03]

McCain Said "Only An Obdurate Refusal To Face Unpleasant Facts" Could Allow One To Believe We Have Rushed To War. In a 2003 *New York Times* op-ed, McCain wrote, "Only an obdurate refusal to face unpleasant facts in this case, that a tyrant who survives only by the constant use of violence is not going to be coerced into good behavior by nonviolent means could allow one to believe that we have rushed to war." [McCain, [New York Times](#), 3/13/03]

McCain Said That Disarming Iraq Would "Significantly Improve The Stability of The Region." In a 2003 *New York Times* op-ed, McCain wrote, "Many critics suggest that disarming Iraq through regime change would not result in an improved peace. There are risks in this endeavor, to be sure. But no one can plausibly argue that ridding the world of Saddam Hussein will not significantly improve the stability of the region and the security of American interests and values1." [[New York Times](#), 3/13/03]

McCain Predicted "Jubilant Iraqis" Would Diminish Anti-American Sentiment In The Middle East. In the build up to the Iraq War, McCain reportedly said that it is "more likely that antipathy toward the United States in the Islamic world might diminish amid the demonstrations of jubilant Iraqis celebrating the end of a regime that has few equals in its ruthlessness." [[New York Times](#), 3/13/03; [American Conservative Magazine](#), [2/11/08](#)]

Repeatedly, McCain Claimed The United States Would Win "Easily" In Iraq. In 2002 and 2003, before the invasion, McCain repeatedly claimed success in Iraq would be easy and minimized potential risks. According to CNN, McCain stated "Because I know that as successful as I believe we will be, and I believe that the success will be fairly easy, we will still lose some American young men or women." Two days later he was quoted again by CNN: "We're not going to get into house-to-house fighting in Baghdad. We may have to take out buildings, but we're not going to have a bloodletting of trading American bodies for Iraqi bodies." In 2003, MSNBC quoted McCain as saying, "But the point is that, one, we will win this conflict. We will win it easily." [CNN, 9/24/02, 9/29/02; MSNBC, 1/22/03]

McCain: "I Said The Military Operation Would Be Easy. It Was Easy. We Were Greeted As Liberators." In early 2007 McCain defended his original rhetoric regarding the invasion of Iraq: "It was. ... It was easy. I said the military operation would be easy. It was easy. We were greeted as liberators. Look at the films when we rolled into Baghdad. And then there was a period of time where we allowed looting, when the whole country literally evolved into chaos. I went over there. I saw what was happening. I came back and I made a speech to the Council on Foreign Relations. And it said exactly—tragically—what was going to happen, unless we got control of the

situation. It was easy, by the way.” [Federal News Service, MSNBC Interview by Tim Russert Transcript, 1/10/07; Hotline, 1/11/07]

Weapons of Mass Deception

McCain Backed Bush And Insisted Hussein Had Weapons of Mass Destruction. While appearing on NBC’s *Meet The Press*, McCain said, “He has continued his efforts of acquire weapons of mass destruction. He has used them on his own people. He’s used them on others.” He added that, “there’s no doubt that he is on the path to acquiring a nuclear weapon.” [NBC, “Meet the Press,” 9/22/02]

McCain: Hussein Continues To Acquire, Amass And Improve On His Arsenal of Weapons of Mass Destruction. During a floor debate on the floor of the senate, McCain said, “Saddam Hussein continues to acquire, amass, and improve on his arsenal of weapons of mass destruction. He continues to attempt to acquire a nuclear weapon. These are all well-known facts. So if you believe that Saddam Hussein....is not going to abandon his request for his weapons, then the longer we wait, the more dangerous he becomes.” [Asheville Citizen-Times, 10/13/02]

McCain Said Military Force Should be Authorized to Destroy Iraq’s WMD. Prior to a vote to authorize President Bush’s use of force in against Iraq in September 2002, McCain stated that any resolution should simply “authorize the president to take action to bring about regime change and destroy [Iraq’s] weapons of mass destruction.” [Washington Post, 9/18/02]

In 2001, McCain Claimed Saddam Hussein Intended to Acquire and Use WMD Against U.S. On December 5, 2001, McCain, along with Senators Trent Lott, Joe Lieberman and others, sent a letter to President Bush citing Saddam Hussein’s intent to acquire WMD and use them against the United States as justification for attacking Hussein. According to their letter: “For as long as Saddam Hussein is in power in Baghdad, he will seek to acquire weapons of mass destruction and the means to deliver them. We have no doubt that these deadly weapons are intended for use against the United States and its allies. Consequently, we believe we must directly confront Saddam, sooner rather than later.” [New York Times, 12/18/01]

2004: McCain Insisted Saddam Hussein Did, In Fact, Have Weapons of Mass Destruction. Appearing on *Meet the Press* in April of 2004, McCain said, “But I still believe that we did the right thing by going in there because Saddam Hussein had weapons of mass destruction, had used weapons of mass destruction. If he was still in power, he would be trying to acquire those weapons of mass destruction. Now let’s set that aside and say that the greatest threat that we face is a use of weapons of mass destruction against the United States by a terrorist organization.” [NBC News, “Meet the Press,” 4/11/04]

A Tad Premature: McCain Declared Victory In Iraq

In 2003, McCain Said “Overall, I Believe Our Goals Have Been Met.” While appearing on NBC’s *Meet the Press*, McCain said, “We bombed Mr. Milosevic for 70-some days with 40-some days’ bombing campaign in Gulf War I. And understandably, in real time, we do have a tendency to become impatient. I do, too. But we’re only 11 days in, and even though these forces have been harassing and have inflicted some casualties, tragically, our overall goals, I believe, have been met.” [NBC, “Meet the Press,” 3/30/03]

McCain Said Capture Of Saddam Hussein Was A “Mission Accomplished.” During an interview on ABC News’ “This Week” McCain was asked about the capture of Saddam Hussein and the effect on US Forces. McCain said, “Their morale could not be higher. This is a mission accomplished. They know how much influence Saddam Hussein had on the Iraqi people, how much more difficult it made to get their cooperation. Every member of the military and civilian over there are rejoicing today. It was interesting to see Ambassador Bremer’s emotion. It was well- deserved.” [ABC, “This Week,” 12/14/03]

In April 2003, McCain Said He Was Sure We Were Near The End of The War In Iraq. While appearing on *Lou Dobbs Moneyline*, Dobbs asked McCain, “Is it your judgment that we are near the end of this conflict?” To which McCain replied, “Oh, I’m sure that’s true.” [CNN, “Lou Dobbs Moneyline,” 4/10/03]

- **McCain: We May Have Misled The American People By Telling Them It Was Basically Over.** While appearing on NBC’s *The Today Show*, McCain said, “I think we may have misled the American people by telling them basically it was over, when the hardest part, the imposition of peace and democracy, still lay ahead of us.” [NBC, “The Today Show,” 8/19/03]

McCain Believed The War In Iraq Would Be Relatively Short. While appearing on NBC’s *Meet the Press*, McCain said, “I believe that this conflict is still going to be relatively short. I believe we’ve achieved significant goals and successes.” [NBC, “Meet the Press,” 3/30/03]

In 2003 McCain Said The End Was “Very Much In Sight.” Senator McCain was asked “At what point will America be able to say the war was won?” McCain said there were oil fields to secure and “die-hards” to take care of but “it’s clear that the end is very much in sight, and today I think Americans should be very proud of their leadership, their technology... There are still some foreigners, Syrians and others hanging around. But it won’t be long. It will be a fairly short period of time, but this happens in wars. I’m confident that once they are confident the area is no longer a threat to the Marines and to our army troops that they’ll start imposing discipline. In the meantime, we’ll have a short period of chaos.” [ABC News, Good Morning America, 4/9/03]

Wrong on the Cost of War

McCain Said Iraqi Oil Reserves Would Cover The Cost of War. During an interview with *National Journal*, McCain said, “Everybody now is talking of post-Saddam Hussein Iraq. I look on it with optimism and hope. As far as the cost is concerned, Iraqis have vast oil reserves and they, I’m sure, would shoulder the cost of the transition.” [National Journal, 2/15/03]

Wrong on Rumsfeld

McCain Expressed Explicit Faith In Rumsfeld’s Strategic Plans For Iraq. “I have no qualms about our strategic plans,” McCain told the Hartford Courant in a March 5, 2003 article, just before the invasion. “I thought we were very successful in Afghanistan.” [Hartford Courant, 3/5/03]

McCain Told Rumsfeld That Americans Held Him “In The Highest Regard and Esteem.” During a Senate hearing on the war in Iraq, McCain told Rumsfeld, “So, what you need to do, in my view, is give, not just this committee, but the American people--who hold you in the highest regard and esteem and have the greatest confidence in the president of the United States and his leadership in this conflict--a concrete plan as much as you can.” [Hearing of the Senate Armed Services Committee, 7/9/03; U.S. Department of Defense Speeches, 7/10/03]

McCain said Rumsfeld Did a Fine Job. “In the wake of the Abu Ghraib scandal, McCain was asked on ‘Hannity & Colmes’ whether Rumsfeld could still be effective in his job. ‘Yes, today I do and I believe he’s done a fine job,’ McCain responded. ‘He’s an honorable man.’ [Fox News Channel, “Hannity & Colmes,” 5/12/04]]

2004: McCain Refused To Call for Secretary Rumsfeld’s Resignation. In 2004, McCain would not call for Donald Rumsfeld’s resignation, saying that the President “can have the team that he wants around him.” McCain said that he respected Bush’s decision to keep Rumsfeld around. McCain said, “I respect the president. The president of the United States was re-elected by a majority of the American people, and I respect his right. And I will work with the president obviously and with the secretary of defense.” [MSNBC.com, 12/15/04; CNN.com, 12/5/04]

In 2004, McCain Said “I’m Confident We’re On the Right Course.” During an interview on ABC News’ “This Week,” McCain was asked if we were on the right course in Iraq. McCain responded, “I’m confident we’re on the right course. I’m confident that this is a very difficult and imperfect process, bringing democracy to countries that have never known democracy, fraught with secular differences as well as ethnic differences. It’s very, very difficult. But I am confident that an imperfect democracy is what we’ll get out of Iraq will be vastly superior to what the people of Iraq had prior to this.” [ABC News, “This Week,” 3/07/04]

2006: McCain Refused to Join Calls for Rumsfeld’s Resignation, Said He Would Work With Rumsfeld. John McCain said, “But the president has the right and earned the right as the president of the United States to appoint his team,” and he has confidence in Secretary Rumsfeld. “I will continue to work with Secretary Rumsfeld as much as I can as long as he is secretary of Defense. We have to, because we need to win this war.” [[East Valley Tribune, 4/15/2006](#)]

Wrong on the Surge

McCain Said The Troop Surge In Iraq Was Working. Appearing on *Fox News* Channel, McCain said, “Today is the day that the president of the United States announced the change in strategy, the so-called surge. I supported that, I argued for it. I’m the only one on this stage that did. I condemn[ed] the Rumsfeld strategy before that I’m telling you, it’s succeeding.” [Fox News, [1/10/08](#)]

February 2008: McCain Said Iraq Is Succeeding Politically. During a town hall meeting in Houston, Texas, McCain said, “In fact we are succeeding in Iraq. . . . We are succeeding militarily and we are succeeding, uh, politically.” [Town Hall in Houston, TX, 2/28/08]

- **Petraeus: “No One Feels There Has Been Sufficient Progress” Politically.** General David Petraeus said, “No one feels that there has been sufficient progress by any means in the area of national reconciliation.” The *Washington Post* reported, “Iraqi leaders have failed to take advantage of a reduction in violence to make adequate progress toward resolving their political differences, Gen. David H. Petraeus, the top U.S. commander in Iraq, said.” [[Washington Post, 3/14/08](#)]

McCain Said the Troop Escalation in Iraq “Has Been Effective,” There Is “Significant Political Progress” and “Real Results” in Iraq. When asked in October 2007 by an undecided voter if he would “follow President Bush’s path and stay in the war, or reduce the number of U.S. troops” in Iraq, McCain answered by stating “that he believes the troop escalation over the past year has been effective.” In August 2007, Senator McCain said, “there is significant political progress at the local areas and on the ground” and that “the success will then breed political, economic, and social progress, in my view.” In October 2007, on the Senate floor, McCain said, “It is inconceivable that we... would end this strategy just as it is beginning to show real results.” [AP, 10/22/07; ABC News, “This Week,” 9/9/07; [Washington Post, 9/22/07](#)]

- **Even Petraeus Says Iraq Lawmakers Have Not Made Progress Toward Political Reconciliation.** Gen. David H. Petraeus, the top U.S. commander in Iraq, who is preparing to testify to Congress next month on the Iraq war, said in an interview that “no one” in the U.S. and Iraqi governments “feels that there has been sufficient progress by any means in the area of national reconciliation,” or in the provision of basic public services. In direct contrast, McCain recently said there *IS* political progress. Speaking at a town hall in Texas the Republican presidential nominee and supporter of the Bush troop surge said, “...In fact we are succeeding in Iraq...we are succeeding militarily and we are succeeding, uh, politically.” [Town Hall; Houston, TX 2/28/08; [Washington Post, 3/14/08](#)]

McCain Said Conditions In Iraq Have Been “Utterly Transformed” As A Consequence Of Surge. In an opinion editorial he co-wrote with Joe Lieberman for the *Wall Street Journal*, McCain and Lieberman said, “... conditions in [Iraq] have been utterly transformed from those of a year ago, as a consequence of the surge.” They continued, “Whereas, a year ago, al Qaeda in Iraq was entrenched in Anbar province and Baghdad, now the forces

of Islamist extremism are facing their single greatest and most humiliating defeat since the loss of Afghanistan in 2001. Thanks to the surge, the Sunni Arabs who once constituted the insurgency's core of support in Iraq have been empowered to rise up against the suicide bombers and fanatics in their midst -- prompting Osama bin Laden to call them 'traitors.'" [Op-ed, [Wall Street Journal](#), [1/10/08](#)]

Wrong on The Public's Priorities

McCain: "I Don't Think Americans Are Concerned If We're There For 100 Years or 1,000 Years or 10,000 Years." In an interview on "Face the Nation," host Bob Scieffer asked McCain about staying in Iraq for 100 year. McCain responded, "We've got to get Americans off the front line, have the Iraqis as part of the strategy, take over more and more of the responsibilities. And then I don't think Americans are concerned if we're there for 100 years or 1,000 years or 10,000 years. What they care about is a sacrifice of our most precious treasure, and that's American blood. So what I'm saying is look, if Americans are there in a support role, but they're not taking casualties, that's fine. We're in Kuwait now. As you well recall, we had a war, we stayed in Kuwait. We didn't stay in Saudi Arabia. So it's going to be up to the relationship between the Iraqi government and the United States of America." [CBS, "Face the Nation," [1/06/08](#)]

McCain Suggested He Supports Permanent Bases In Iraq, Said Americans Would Support Them. The *Progress Report* reported that McCain "...suggested that he supports "permanent bases" in Iraq and he also said that Americans would endorse such an occupation plan. He had said further, "I don't think Americans are concerned if we're there for 100 years or 1,000 years or 10,000 years," as long as troop deaths are minimal. [The Progress Report, 1/7/08]

McCain Said American's Do Not Care About Length of Occupation in Iraq. When asked if he regretted saying that the U.S. involvement in Iraq could last "1,000 years or a million years," McCain replied, "That's just foolishness. It's foolishness to use that quote, because the question was how long are we going to be in Iraq. And that's not the question the American people care about." [[Hartford Courant](#), 2/4/08]

McCain: Anyone Who Worries About How Long We're In Iraq Does Not Understand War. Speaking to reporters in Richmond, McCain attacked "anyone" who points out that he is "fine" with keeping U.S. troops in Iraq for 100 or more years. "Anyone who worries about how long we're in Iraq does not understand the military and does not understand war," said McCain. He then added that it is "really almost insulting to one's intelligence" to question "how long we're in Iraq" because he believes the current "strategy" is "succeeding." [CNN, 2/11/08; Think Progress, [2/12/08](#)]

- **Top Military Commanders Are "Worried About" Length Of War.** Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, Mike Mullen has said, "No amount of troops and no amount of time will make much of a difference" and that "a protracted deployment of U.S. troops to Iraq...risks further emboldening Iranian hegemonic ambitions." Additionally, in October 2007, Army Chief of Staff George Casey said, "It's going to take us three or four years and a substantial amount of resources to put" the Army "back in balance" and that time frame depends on when "the conflict end[s]." [Think Progress, [2/12/08](#)]

Wrong on Political Progress in Iraq

McCain Said Winning The War "Is Going To Take Months." During an interview with the editorial board of the *Detroit News*, McCain was asked, "Can we win this war? And how long will it take?" McCain responded, "It is going to take months. Al-Qaida is on the run, but it is not defeated. (The Iraqi military) can be effective with our support. I know how frustrated all of us are with the lack of effectiveness of the Iraqi government. ... Whoever invented this form of government ought to be taken out and shot. There has been some progress..." [[Detroit News](#), 1/3/08]

McCain Said The Iraqis Are "Moving Forward Politically." During a town hall meeting in Osh Kosh, Wisconsin, McCain criticized those who have claimed the Iraqi government has not succeeded politically. He said,

“Well they were wrong. They were wrong. Then they said, ‘Politically they can’t make progress. They’re makin’ some progress militarily but they can’t make it militarily.’ I’m sure you saw it just a few days ago, the Iraqi government passed a law, which has to do with reconciliation, with provincial elections and guess what? They passed a budget. Something we have not been able to do in our nation’s capitol, by the way. So [the Iraqis] are moving forward politically. As well. So they were wrong then and they’re wrong now.” [Town Hall Meeting in Osh Kosh, Wisconsin, [2/15/08](#)]

McCain: Democrats Were Wrong When They Said The Political Process Will Not Move Forward In Iraq.

During a town hall meeting in Polk City, Florida, McCain said, “The democrats were wrong when they said the surge would not succeed. They are wrong when they say the political process will not move forward in Iraq.” [Town Hall Meeting in Polk City, Florida, [1/27/08](#)]

McCain: There’s Been Tremendous Local Political Progress. While appearing on CBS’s *The Early Show*, McCain said, “They are badly divided in many respects. There’s been tremendous local political progress on the ground in certain areas.” [CBS News, “The Early Show,” 11/26/07]

- **National Journal: All Reports Have Indicated Little Progress Has Been Made Toward a Political Settlement.** The *National Journal* wrote, “This summer’s National Intelligence Estimate, the recent Government Accountability Office report on political benchmarks in Iraq, and the congressionally mandated commission headed by Gen. James Jones all clearly indicated that little progress had been made toward a political settlement; absent such a deal that reconciles the fundamental disagreements between Sunnis, Shiites, and Kurds in Iraq, the war will rage on.” [[National Journal](#), 9/15/07]
- **National Journal: Petraeus and Crocker Have Essentially Given Up On The Ability of The Iraqi Government To Reach A Political Reconciliation.** The *National Journal* wrote, “What stands out from the testimony of Crocker and Petraeus, and interviews with senior Bush administration officials, U.S. military commanders, and independent experts, is the degree to which they have all essentially given up on the ability of national politicians in Iraq to reach a meaningful political reconciliation any time soon.” [[National Journal](#), 9/15/07]

McCain: It Is Irresponsible To Suggest That It Is Up To Iraqis To Win This War. In an op-ed in the *Washington Post*, John McCain wrote, “Prematurely placing the burden of security on Iraqis is not the answer. It is irresponsible to suggest that it is up to Iraqis to win this war.” [[Washington Post](#), 11/9/03]

Wrong on Al Qaeda

McCain Erroneously Stated That Al Qaeda Was Being Trained By Iran. While speaking in Jordan, McCain said it was, “common knowledge and has been reported in the media that al-Qaeda is going back into Iran and receiving training and are coming back into Iraq from Iran, that’s well known. And it’s unfortunate.” [[Washington Post](#), [3/18/08](#)]

- **McCain Had Made The Same Claim Just Days Earlier.** While appearing on Hugh Hewitt’s radio talk show, McCain said, “As you know, there are al Qaeda operatives that are taken back into Iran, given training as leaders, and they’re moving back into Iraq. I think Americans should be very angry when we know that Iran is exporting weapons into Iraq that kill Americans. And so all I can say is that I think they continue to be a threat.” [The Hugh Hewitt Show, [3/17/08](#)]

McCain Said It Would Be “Foolish” To Believe The War In Iraq Would Encourage Al Qaeda. While appearing on NBC’s *Today*, McCain was asked about “those who feel that a war will be more destabilizing and simply lead to more terrorist activity worldwide.” McCain said, “Well, I think that it would be foolish for us to assume that al-Qaeda and the terrorists are holding back in their efforts, or restraining themselves in their efforts, to attack the United States of America waiting for us to attack Iraq.” He added, “So I don’t think whether we attack Iraq or not is going to have anything to do with their zeal and dedication to harm us.” [NBC, “Today,” 2/12/03]

McCain: We Are Succeeding In Iraq, Al Qaeda Is On The Run. While speaking at a town hall meeting in Exeter, New Hampshire, McCain said, “We are succeeding in Iraq, we are succeeding in Iraq. The new strategy and surge is succeeding. But I also warn you, if you forget everything I have mentioned, please remember this, Al Qaeda is on the run but not defeated.” [Town Hall Meeting in Exeter, New Hampshire, [3/1/08](#)]

- **NIE: The War in Iraq Has Aided Al Qaeda Recruitment Efforts.** In July 2007, the office of the Director of National Intelligence published a report that said, “In addition, we assess that its association with AQI helps al-Qa’ida to energize the broader Sunni extremist community, raise resources, and to recruit and indoctrinate operatives, including for Homeland attacks.” [National Intelligence Estimate, [July 2007](#)]

Wrong on the Troops

McCain Defended Troop Levels In 2003. While appearing on NBC’s *Meet the Press*, Tim Russert asked, “In the Persian Gulf War, as I mentioned to General Myers, we had 600,000 troops on the ground. Here we have 250,000, more coming. Was there an inadequate force sent initially?” To which McCain responded, “First of all, the Iraqi military was measurably weaker than it was in 1991 because they never reconstituted themselves after the Persian Gulf War. Second of all, again, when I saw those bombs hit the first night and heard initial reports that we might have taken out Saddam Hussein, I was happy and I think every American was, and then we found out well, maybe we didn’t. But I believe that the blitzkrieg, if you want to call it, or Patton-like maneuver of moving rapidly and leaving pockets of resistance behind I think is an appropriate strategy.” [NBC, “Meet the Press,” 3/30/03]

Like Bush & Co, McCain Underestimated Amount Of Troops Needed In Iraq. While appearing on *Larry King Live* on December 9, 2002, McCain mitigated the need for large numbers of ground forces in Iraq. McCain said, “Our technology, particularly air-to-ground technology is vastly improved.” He added, “I don’t think you’re going to have to see the scale of numbers of troops that we saw, nor the length of the buildup, obviously, that we had back in 1991.” [CNN, “Larry King Live,” 12/9/02]

McCain: “We Are Certainly Not Going To Keep Troops Indefinitely In Arab Countries. Everybody Knows That.” While appearing on *Nightline* in 2003, McCain said, “We are certainly, certainly not going to keep troops indefinitely in Arab countries. Everybody knows that.” [ABC News, “Nightline,” 3/4/03]

McCain: We’re Not Going to Keep Reserves on Active Duty or Guard People In Iraq. In 2003, McCain said, “The fact is, we’ve had to, call up reservists. We’re not going to keep all those thousands and thousands of reservists on active duty. We’re not going to keep our guard people permanently there.” [ABC News, “Nightline,” 3/4/03]

McCain: “It’s Just Not Proper” To Keep Reservists On Indefinite Active Duty. While appearing on *Nightline* in 2003, McCain said, “I know there’s a huge difference between having our troops deployed to a makeshift kind of a situation in an Arab country, than it is in the comfortable surroundings of a base in Europe. And we have called up thousands and thousands, tens of thousands of reservists. And we simply can’t keep them on indefinitely. And it’s just not proper or appropriate to do that.” [ABC News, “Nightline,” 3/4/03]

McCain Said Troop Morale Is “Incredible High.” After returning from a trip to Iraq and Afghanistan, McCain said of troop morale, “It’s incredibly high, given the conditions under which some of them are existing.” [[Arizona Daily Star](#), 2/26/05]

- **After Several Deployments, Soldiers Suffer From Low Morale and More Mental Health Problems.** According to a report by the Army’s Mental Health Advisory Team, soldiers who are on their second, third and fourth deployments report “low morale, more mental health problems, and more stress-related work problems.” [U.S. Army Mental Health Advisory Team, [3/6/08](#)]

- **The Amount of Troops Attempting Suicide Has Risen 600% Since 2002.** According to *U.S. News & World Report*, “Some commanders in Iraq worry that they are flirting with those lines now as demands on soldiers show little sign of letting up. There is growing evidence that post-traumatic stress is taking a toll: The number of troops who tried to commit suicide or injure themselves increased from 350 in 2002 to 2,100 last year.” [[U.S. News & World Report](#), 2/25/08]

McCain Rejected The Fact That Military Families Are Questioning the Justification for the War In Iraq.

When asked about a poll that showed that 60% of military families didn't believe that the Iraq war justified the costs, McCain responded, “I know the military; I hear from them by the thousands. I know that I just came back from spending Thanksgiving with them in Iraq, so I categorically reject that assertion. I'll tell you they know they're succeeding, they know they're succeeding.” He added, “I know them too well, I have spent too many years in the military and associated with the military.” [Town Hall Meeting in Bedford, New Hampshire, 12/7/07]

- **Poll: 60% of Military Families Said The War Is Not Justified By The Costs.** A *Los Angeles Time-Bloomberg News* poll published on December 7, 2007 found that 60% of military families didn't think “the situation in Iraq was worth going to war over.” In contrast, only 32% believed the war was worth waging. [[Los Angeles Times](#), 12/7/07]

McCain Voted For War

McCain Cosponsored The Joint Resolution To Authorize The Use Of United States Armed Forces Against Iraq. Sen. McCain was one of 16 Senators to cosponsor the Use of Forces Authorization that paved the way for President George W Bush to invade Iraq. [S.J.RES.46, [10/3/02](#)]

McCain Voted to Authorize Use of Force in Iraq. In 2002, McCain voted for passage of the joint resolution that would authorize the use of force against Iraq and require the administration to report to Congress that diplomatic options have been exhausted before, or within 48 hours after military action has begun. The president also would be required to submit a progress report to Congress at least every 60 days. Passed (thus cleared for the president) 77-23 [H J Res 114, [Vote #237](#), 10/11/02]

McCain Voted Against Clarifying That Iraq Authorization Applied To Only Threats of Imminent & Sudden Attacks. In 2002, McCain voted against an amendment that would clarify that any authorization of the use of force against Iraq would not alter the constitutional authority of Congress to declare war. It also would clarify that no additional authority not directly related to a clear threat of imminent, sudden and direct attack on the United States be granted to the president unless Congress authorizes it. The amendment failed 14-86. [SJR 45, [Vote #234](#), 10/10/02]

McCain Voted Against Limitation of Congressional Authorization of the Use of Force. In 2002, McCain voted against the Byrd, D-W.Va., amendment to the Lieberman, D-Conn., substitute amendment. The Byrd amendment would provide for the termination of Congressional authorization of the use of force by one year after the resolution's enactment unless the president certifies that extension is necessary or Congress enacts into law a one-year extension of the authorization. The substitute amendment would authorize the use of force against Iraq and require the administration to report to Congress that diplomatic options have been exhausted before, but not more than 48 hours after, action would begin. The president would also be required to submit a progress report to Congress at least every 60 days. [S J Res 45, [Vote #232](#), 10/10/02]

McCain Proposed The U.S. Abandon Diplomatic Efforts. In 2002, McCain moved and voted to kill an amendment that would authorize the use of force against the threat posed by Iraq and five terrorist organizations, including Hamas, Hezbollah, and the Palestine Islamic Jihad. It also would require the administration to report to Congress that diplomatic options have been exhausted before, but not more than 48 hours, after action would begin. The motion to table passed 88-10. [SJR 45, [Vote #231](#), 10/9/02]

McCain Neglected The Troops

McCain Failed To Vote To Set A Deadline For Troop Withdrawal. In 2007, McCain failed to vote on an amendment that would bar the use of funds for deployment in Iraq of members of the U.S. armed forces after June 30, 2008, with limited exceptions, including troops providing security for U.S. government personnel and infrastructure, training the Iraqi security forces and conducting limited targeted operations against members of al Qaeda and other affiliated international terrorist organizations. The amendment failed 28-68. [HR 3222, [Vote #362](#), 10/3/07]

McCain Voted Against Condemning Attacks On The Honor And Integrity Of Service Men And Women. In 2007, McCain voted against an amendment that would express the sense of the Senate to reaffirm strong support for those in the U.S. armed forces and strongly condemn attacks on the honor, integrity and patriotism of any individual who is serving or has served honorably. The amendment failed 50-47. [HR 1585, [Vote #343](#), 9/20/07]

McCain Proposed A Non-Binding Downtime Requirement Between Deployments. In 2007, McCain proposed and voted for an amendment that would require the Department of Defense to develop a troop deployment policy that would provide troops time between deployments that is equal to or longer than the length of their previous deployment and would guarantee that members of the reserve would not be deployed within three years of their last deployment. The policy could be waived if the secretary of Defense determined it is necessary for the national security of the United States. The amendment failed 55-44. [HR 1585, [Vote #342](#), 9/19/07]

McCain Voted Against Mandating Minimum Intervals Between Deployments for Troops. In 2007, McCain voted against an amendment that would mandate minimum intervals between deployments for troops serving in Iraq and Afghanistan. It would require active duty forces to be guaranteed as much time at home as they served while deployed. National Guard and reservists would be guaranteed three years at home between deployments. A “nay” was a vote in support of the president’s position. The motion failed 56-44. [CQ Floor Votes; HR 1585, [Vote #341](#), 9/19/07]

McCain Voted Against Limiting Deployment Of Soldiers In The Army And National Guard. In 2007, McCain voted against an amendment that would limit the length of troop deployments in Iraq, with certain exceptions, beginning 120 days after enactment. It would limit the deployment of soldiers in the Army and Army National Guard to 12 consecutive months. Active duty and reserve Marines would be limited to deployments of seven consecutive months. It also would allow the president to waive the provision in times of national emergency. The amendment failed 52-45. [HR 1585, [Vote #243](#), 7/11/07]

McCain Voted Against Requiring Mandatory Downtime Between Tours Of Duty In Iraq. Senator McCain voted against requiring mandatory minimum downtime between tours of duty for troops serving in Iraq. The bill would provide active duty forces to be given as much time home as they were deployed. National Guard and reservists would be guaranteed three times the amount home as they served. Cloture motion failed 56-41. [HR 1585, [Vote #241](#), 7/11/07]

McCain Voted Against Funding for Body Armor: In 2003, McCain voted to table an amendment by Senator Mary Landrieu to the fiscal year 2003 supplemental appropriations bill for the Iraq war. Her amendment would have added more than \$1 billion to the bill for the procurement of “National Guard and Reserve Equipment.” According to Landrieu, the amendment targeted “shortfalls identified by the National Guard and Reserve in their Unfunded Requirement lists,” including the “shortage of helmets, tents, bullet-proof inserts, and tactical vests.” Later in 2003, McCain voted to table an amendment by Senator Chris Dodd to an emergency supplemental war funding bill. The amendment would have added \$322 million for small arms protection inserts (SAPI) body armor and battlefield cleanup. [Media Matters, [9/21/06](#); McCain Military Issues Research Memo, 1/06/08]

McCain Voted Against Increasing Funding For Adjustment Counseling. In 2005, McCain voted against an amendment to provide an additional \$10 million for the Readjustment Counseling Service, offset with a \$10 million reduction in the HealthVet account. The amendment passed 48-50. [HR 2528, [Vote #242](#), 9/22/05]

McCain Voted Against A \$360 Million Increase In Armored Tactical Wheeled Vehicles For Troops In Iraq. In 2005, McCain voted against an amendment that that included a \$360,800,000 for the procurement of armored Tactical Wheeled Vehicles for units deployed in Iraq and Afghanistan, and to increase by \$5,000,00 for Research, Development, Test and Evaluation, Defense-Wide, for industrial preparedness for the implementation of a ballistics engineering research center. The amendment failed 56-43. [HR 2863, [Vote #248](#), 10/5/05]

McCain Voted Against A Small Tax Increase For The Wealthy To Pay For Operations In Iraq. In 2004, McCain voted against an amendment that would provide that the top income tax rate be increased from 35 percent to 36 percent starting in 2005 until 2010. It would provide that the funds made available by the increase be used to pay for security and stabilization operations in Iraq. The amendment failed 44-53. [S 2400, [Vote #130](#), 6/17/04]

McCain Voted Against Prohibiting Redeployment Of Involuntary National Guardsmen In Iraq. In 2003, McCain voted to table an amendment that would prohibit the use of funds in the bill for the involuntary deployment overseas for Operation Iraqi Freedom of members of the National Guard and Reserves who have been involuntarily deployed for six months or more during the past six years. The motion to table passed 82-15, [Vote #397](#), 10/17/03]

McCain Voted Against Compensating National Guardsmen Who Are Employed By the Government. In 2003, McCain voted against an amendment that would require that federal employee who takes leave without pay in order to perform certain services as a member of the uniformed service or the National Guard, be reimbursed for the difference between their salary and the pay and allowances they receive while on duty. [S 1689, [Vote #390](#), 10/17/03]

McCain Voted Against Expanding Retirement Benefits For Members Of The National Guard. In 2003, McCain voted against lowering the retirement age from 60 to 55 for members of the National Guard and Reserves. Amendment failed 47-49. [S 1689, [Vote #381](#), 10/15/03]

McCain Voted Against Awarding The Iraqi Liberation Medal To Those Who Serve In Connection With Operation Iraqi Freedom. In 2003, McCain voted against an amendment that would authorize the Defense Department to award the Iraqi Liberation Medal to any person who serves in any capacity in the armed forces in Southwest Asia in connection with 'Operation Iraqi Freedom. The amendment failed 47-48. [S 1689, [Vote #378](#), 10/14/03]

McCain Voted Against Providing Troops In Harm's Way With Necessary Safety Equipment. In 2003, McCain voted to table an amendment that provided \$322 million to the bill's spending on battlefield clearance and safety equipment for U.S. troops in Iraq. The money would be offset by a reduction in Iraqi reconstruction funds. Motion to table amendment passed 49-37. [S 1689, [Vote #376](#), 10/2/03]

McCain Voted Against \$1 Billion In Equipment For National Guard & Reserves. In 2003, McCain voted to kill an amendment that would appropriate approximately \$1 billion for equipment for the National Guard and Reserves. At that time, the defense budget provided only \$1.9 billion for procurement of equipment for the National Guard, which is less than the cost of a single submarine. The motion to table passed 52-47. [S 762, [Vote #116](#), 4/2/03]

McCain Opposed Holding Bush Accountable

McCain Voted To Allow Tax Dollars To Be Spent Advertising The War In Iraq. In 2006, McCain voted to table an amendment that would bar the use of funds by the Defense Department for public relations programs to promote positive news coverage in Iraq. The motion to table passed 51-44. [HR 5631, [Vote #236](#), 9/7/06]

McCain Remained Loyal To The President And Voted Against Iraq Civil War Reports. Senator McCain voted to table an amendment that would require the Defense Secretary, in consultation with the Secretary of State, to provide Congress with an assessment of whether civil war has broken out in Iraq and a strategy to protect U.S. troops. McCain voted yea. Amendment passed 54-44. [H.R. 5631, [Vote # 233](#), 9/6/06]

McCain Voted Against Requiring The President To Submit A Report Regarding Pre-War Intelligence. In 2003, McCain voted to table an amendment that would withhold \$50 million in intelligence funding from the bill until the president submits a report on the role executive branch policymakers had on the development and use of intelligence relating to the war in Iraq. The report would have to be submitted to the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, the House International Relations Committee and the Appropriations, Armed Services and Intelligence committees of both chambers. The motion to table passed 62-34. [H 2658, [Vote #287](#), 7/17/03]

McCain Voted Against Creating Iraqi Intelligence Commission. Senator McCain voted to table the Corzine Amendment, which would have created a 12-member independent commission to investigate the development and use of intelligence leading up to the war in Iraq. McCain voted yea. Motion to table passed 51-44. [HR 2658, [Vote #284](#), 7/16/03]

McCain Voted Against Requiring Detailed Costs Of Military Action In Iraq. In 2003, McCain voted against requiring the Defense secretary to submit a report to the House International Relations Committee and the Senate Foreign Relations Committee every 30 days detailing the costs of military action in Iraq, including any contributions from foreign countries. Motion to table passed 50-45 [HR 2658, [Vote #281](#), 7/16/03]

McCain Voted Against Requiring The President To Submit A Report On The US Strategy Related To Post-Conflict Iraq. In 2003, McCain voted for the Stevens motion to table the Kennedy-Leahy-Durbin amendment which requires the President to submit an unclassified report, with a classified annex if necessary, within 30 days after enactment, on the United States strategy regarding activities related to post-conflict security, humanitarian assistance, governance, and reconstruction in Iraq that are undertaken as a result of Operation Iraqi Freedom. The motion passed 52-43. [HR 2658, [Vote #283](#), 7/16/03]

McCain Voted Against Requiring the President To Submit A Budget For Military Operations In Iraq and Afghanistan for the Following Year. McCain voted for the Stevens motion to table the Dorgan amendment which requires the President to submit a budget amendment for FY 2004, which sets forth the cost of U.S. military operations in Iraq and Afghanistan. The motion passed 53-41. [HR 2658, [Vote #278](#), 7/16/03]

McCain Voted Against Requiring Defense Department Report On Detainees. In 2003, McCain voted to table an amendment that would require the Defense Department to submit a report within 90 days on individuals detained as military combatants. The report would have to include the names and nationalities of all detainees and information on how the government plans to handle each detainee's case. The motion to table passed 52-42. [HR 2658, [Vote #279](#), 7/16/03]

McCain Voted Against Requiring the President To Submit A Budget For Military Operations In Iraq and Afghanistan for the Following Year. In 2003, McCain voted for the Stevens motion to table the Dorgan amendment which requires the President to submit a budget amendment for FY 2004, which sets forth the cost of U.S. military operations in Iraq and Afghanistan. The motion passed 53-41. [HR 2658, [Vote #278](#), 7/16/03]

McCain Opposed Holding Iraqi Government Accountable

McCain Said He Was “Surprised” That al-Maliki Instigated Military Offensive. In response to fighting between two Shiite factions in Iraq, McCain said, “I just am surprised that he would take it on himself, to go down and take charge of a military offensive.” He added, “I didn't think that he would do that yet.” [[Washington Post](#), 3/31/08]

McCain Failed To Vote To Allow The President To Get Around Benchmark Requirements. Senator McCain failed to vote to require the president to withhold funding for military operations in Iraq if the Iraqi government fails to meet certain benchmarks. The president could waive the requirement if he submits in writing to Congress a justification for the waiver. [HR 1495, [Vote #168](#), 5/16/07]

McCain Failed To Vote To Require The Iraq Government To Meet Benchmarks. Senator McCain failed to vote on a conference report on the bill that provided \$124.2 billion in fiscal 2007 emergency funding, it also set a goal for redeployment of troops in Iraq by the end of March 2008. If the president can not verify that the Iraq government is meeting benchmarks then the troops would redeploy by the end of 2007. The legislation also provides \$95.9 billion for military operations, \$6.9 for hurricane recovery and \$3.5 billion for crop programs. [HR 1591, [Vote #147](#), 4/26/07]

Bush & McCain: One in the Same

<u>McSame on...</u>	<u>Bush White House</u>	<u>McCain</u>
<u>... WMDs</u>	<p>Bush Insisted Iraq Had Weapons of Mass Destruction. During an address to the nation in March of 2003, Bush said, “Saddam Hussein has had a long history of reckless aggression and terrible crimes. He possesses weapons of terror. He provides funding and safe haven to terrorists who would willingly use weapons of mass destruction against America and other peace-loving countries.” He added, “We will not wait to see what terrorists or terrorist states could do with weapons of mass destruction.” [The President’s Radio Address, 3/7/03; emphasis added]</p>	<p>McCain: Hussein Continues To Acquire, Amass And Improve On His Arsenal of Weapons of Mass Destruction. During a floor debate on the floor of the senate, McCain said, “Saddam Hussein continues to acquire, amass, and improve on his arsenal of weapons of mass destruction. He continues to attempt to acquire a nuclear weapon. These are all well-known facts. So if you believe that Saddam Hussein...is not going to abandon his request for his weapons, then the longer we wait, the more dangerous he becomes.” [Asheville Citizen-Times, 10/13/02; emphasis added]</p>
<u>... Being Greeted As Liberators</u>	<p>Cheney Said, “I Really Do Believe We Will Be Greeted As Liberators.” While appearing on <i>NBC’s Meet the Press</i>, Vice President Cheney said, “I really do believe that we will be greeted as liberators. I’ve talked with a lot of Iraqis in the last several months myself, had them to the White House. The president and I have met with them, various groups and individuals, people who have devoted their lives from the outside to trying to change things inside Iraq.” [NBC, “Meet the Press,” 3/16/03; emphasis added]</p>	<p>McCain Said “The Iraqi People Will Greet Us As Liberators.” While appearing on <i>NBC’s The Today Show</i>, McCain said, “But I believe, Katie, that the Iraqi people will greet us as liberators. I believe that they will have an opportunity over time, and it will be difficult, to realize the same hopes and dreams and aspirations that every person in the world has and deserves the opportunity to live in a free and open society.” [NBC, “The Today Show,” 3/20/03; emphasis added]</p>

<u>McSame on...</u>	<u>Bush White House</u>	<u>McCain</u>
<u>... How to Pay for War</u>	<p>Paul Wolfowitz Said Iraqi Oil Revenues Will Help Pay For Reconstruction. While speaking at a hearing of the Defense Subcommittee of the House Appropriations Committee, Deputy Secretary of Defense, Paul Wolfowitz, said, “And my -- a rough recollection -- well, I’m -- the oil revenues of that country could bring between 50 and 100 billion dollars over the course of the next two or three years. Now, there are a lot of claims on that money, but that’s -- we’re not dealing with Afghanistan that’s a permanent ward of the international community. We are dealing with a country that can really finance its own reconstruction and relatively soon.” [Defense Subcommittee of the House Appropriations Committee, 3/27/03; emphasis added]</p>	<p>McCain Said Iraqi Oil Reserves Would Cover The Cost of War. During an interview with <i>National Journal</i>, McCain said, “Everybody now is talking of post-Saddam Hussein Iraq. I look on it with optimism and hope. As far as the cost is concerned, Iraqis have vast oil reserves and they, I’m sure, would shoulder the cost of the transition.” [<i>National Journal</i>, 2/15/03; emphasis added]</p>
<u>... A Mission Accomplished</u>	<p>Standing Under A “Mission Accomplished” Banner, Bush Declared An End To Major Combat Operations. While giving a speech aboard the USS Abraham Lincoln and standing under a giant “Mission Accomplished” banner, Bush announced, “Major combat operations in Iraq have ended.” [Associated Press, 5/2/03; emphasis added]</p>	<p>McCain Said Capture Of Saddam Hussein Was A “Mission Accomplished.” During an interview on ABC News “This Week” McCain was asked about the capture of Saddam Hussein and the effect on US Forces. McCain said, “Their morale could not be higher. This is a mission accomplished. They know how much influence Saddam Hussein had on the Iraqi people, how much more difficult it made to get their cooperation. Every member of the military and civilian over there are rejoicing today. It was interesting to see Ambassador Bremer’s emotion. It was well-deserved.” [ABC, “This Week,” 12/14/03; emphasis added]</p>

<u>McSame on...</u>	<u>Bush White House</u>	<u>McCain</u>
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<p><u>... Staying the Course</u></p>	<p>Bush: “We’ve Got to Stay the Course.” After meeting with the family of a fallen soldier, President Bush told the press, “We’ve got to stay the course and we will stay the course.” [<u>Newsweek</u>, 4/19/2004; emphasis added]</p>	<p>McCain: “We’ve Got to Stay the Course.” In an interview with ABC News, McCain said, “Is Afghanistan perfect, no, we’ve got opium, we’ve got warlords but by God, it’s a heck of a lot better off than it was. And we can to do the same thing in Iraq, we’ve got to stay the course.” [ABC News, 10/24/04; emphasis added]</p>
<p><u>... Cutting and Running</u></p>	<p>Bush Said The U.S. Will Not Cut and Run. During an interview, President Bush said that Iraqi’s “need to know that we won’t leave the country prematurely. They need to know two things: we’re not going to cut and run; and two, we believe they have the capacity to run their own country.” [<u>Washington Post</u>, 11/17/03; emphasis added]</p>	<p>McCain Said The U.S. Can’t Cut and Run. According to the <i>Associated Press</i>, McCain said, “We can’t cut and run.” They added, “Bush’s most important ally may be McCain.” [Associated Press, 9/22/05; emphasis added]</p>
<p><u>... Military & Political Solutions</u></p>	<p>Bush: A Military Solution Alone Will Not Stop Violence. According to CNN, “The U.S. will win the war ‘unless we leave before the job is done,’ Bush said. He cautioned, however, that ‘a military solution alone will not stop violence.’” [CNN, 10/25/06; emphasis added]</p>	<p>McCain: A Military Solution Alone Will Not Solve the Problems In Iraq. McCain said, “We all agree a military solution alone will not solve the problems of Iraq. There must be a political agreement among Iraqis that allows all groups to participate in the building of their nation, to share in its resources and to live in peace with each other.” [Congressional Documents and Publications, 8/23/07; emphasis added]</p>

<u>McSame on...</u>	<u>Bush White House</u>	<u>McCain</u>

<p><u>... Terrorists Following Us Home</u></p>	<p>Bush Said The Terrorists Would Follow “Follow Us Home” If The U.S. Withdrew From Iraq. While speaking at the Veterans of Foreign Wars Convention in Kansas City, President Bush said, “Unlike in Vietnam, if we withdraw before the job is done, this enemy will follow us home. And that is why, for the security of the United States of America, we must defeat them overseas so we do not face them in the United States of America.” [The President’s speech to the VFW Convention, 8/22/07; emphasis added]</p>	<p>McCain Said The Terrorists Would “Follow Us Home” If The U.S. Withdrew From Iraq. As reported in the <i>Atlantic Free Press</i>, McCain said, “I believe al Qaeda would trumpet to the world that they had defeated the United States of America , and I believe that therefore they would try to follow us home.” [<i>Atlantic Free Press</i>, 3/9/08; emphasis added]</p>
<p><u>... Who To Listen To</u></p>	<p>Bush Said He Will Listen To “Commanders on the Ground.” During a speech in Parma, Ohio, President Bush said, “I’m going to remind the people in the audience today that troop levels will be decided by our commanders on the ground, not by political figures in Washington, DC, and that we’ve got a plan to lead to victory.” [President’s Speech to GrafTech International in Parma, Ohio, 7/10/07; Public Papers of the Presidents, 7/16/07; emphasis added]</p>	<p>McCain Said It Was Important To Listen to “Commanders on the Ground.” During a hearing of the Senate Armed Services Committee, General James L. Jones said he “absolutely” relied on commanders on the ground. McCain responded, “I think that’s important. Because there’s a lot of people who are armchair generals who reside here in the air-conditioned comfort of Capitol Hill who somehow do not trust the judgment of some of the finest leaders that our nation has produced, and there will be various proposals about troop reductions, announcing withdrawals which may not comport with conditions on the ground.” [Federal News Service, 9/6/07; emphasis added]</p>
<p><u>... The Surge’s “Success”</u></p>	<p>Bush Said The Troop Surge In Iraq Is Working. While speaking to a group of religious broadcasters, President Bush said, “Since the surge began, sectarian killings are down and al-Qaida has been driven from many strongholds it once held. I strongly believe the surge is working and so do the Iraqis.” [CQ Transcriptions, 3/11/08; emphasis added]</p>	<p>McCain Said The Troop Surge Is Working. When asked if he believed if there was a connection between his political success and the condition in Iraq, McCain answered, “I do. The conditions on the ground have improved. The surge is working. If it weren’t, we’d be in a different place right now, no question.” [White House Bulletin, 1/14/08; emphasis added]</p>

<p><u>McSame on...</u></p>	<p><u>Bush White House</u></p>	<p><u>McCain</u></p>

<p><u>... Waving The White Flag of Surrender</u></p>	<p>Bush Accused Democrats of Waving The “White Flag of Surrender.” While speaking at a fundraiser for Sen. Jim Talent, Bush said, “There’s a group in the opposition party who are willing to retreat before the mission is done. They’re willing to wave the white flag of surrender. And if they succeed, the United States will be worse off, and the world will be worse off.” [Los Angeles Times, 7/2/06; emphasis added]</p>	<p>McCain Accused Democrats of Raising The “White Flag of Surrender.” According to <i>Agence France Presse</i>, McCain said, “I’m so proud of the jobs that the men and women in the military are doing there, and they don’t want us to raise the white flag of surrender like Senator Clinton does.” [<i>Agence France Press</i>, 1/25/08; emphasis added]</p>
<p><u>... al Qaeda</u></p>	<p>Bush: “Al Qaeda Is On The Run In Iraq.” During the 2008 State of the Union address, President Bush said, “Ladies and gentlemen, some may deny the surge is working, but among the terrorists there is no doubt. Al Qaeda is on the run in Iraq, and this enemy will be defeated.” [2008 State of the Union, 1/28/08; emphasis added]</p>	<p>McCain: We Are Succeeding In Iraq, Al Qaeda Is On The Run. While speaking at a town hall meeting in Exeter, New Hampshire, McCain said, “We are succeeding in Iraq, we are succeeding in Iraq. The new strategy and surge is succeeding. But I also warn you, if you forget everything I have mentioned, please remember this, Al Qaeda is on the run but not defeated.” [Town Hall Meeting in Exeter, New Hampshire, 3/1/08; emphasis added]</p>

McCain’s Century of War

Throughout his campaign for president, John McCain has been steadfast in insisting that the length of the American occupation in Iraq isn’t important. He even said that a hundred years would be “fine with me.” However, regardless of what McCain now claims, the majority of Americans are tired of sending their troops and their money into the quagmire in Iraq. John McCain had it right in 2003, when he said of the war, “The question is, is how long and at what cost?” [NBC, “Meet the Press,” 3/30/03] Unfortunately, John McCain describes the con conflict and fight in Iraq as something that will go on for a “long, long time.” His language begs the question John McCain, when will the troops come home?

A “Fight” and A “Conflict” For A Long, Long Time

McCain Promised That Iraqi Military Will Take Over, But “We’ve Still Got A Long, Long, Long Way To Go There.” Detailing his views about ending the war in Iraq, McCain said, “We will withdraw from the front lines

as the Iraqi military takes over our responsibilities, and then the political process moves forward. My friends, I also have to give you some straight talk. We have a long way to go, particularly in the area of rule of law. ... **We've still got a long, long, long way to go there.**" [Town Hall Meeting; Kalamazoo, MI 01/14/08; emphasis added]

McCain On The "Conflict": "We're Going To Be In Iraq A Long Time." While speaking at a Meet & Greet in Leesville, South Carolina, McCain said, "**This is going to be a long conflict. And we're going to fight for a long time in Afghanistan. Because the Taliban is not going away. And we're going to be in Iraq for a long time** and I don't want to deceive you, we are winning in Iraq and I'll talk about it in a minute. But it's going to be a long conflict." [Meet and Greet in Leesville, SC, 12/10/07; emphasis added]

McCain On Iraq: "It's Long and It's Hard And It's Tough." During a campaign event in South Carolina John McCain said, "Lindsey Graham, who in my view is one of the great United States Senators, and I just came back from spending Thanksgiving in Iraq with the troops. And I just wanted to report to you that these young people are doing a magnificent job ... And they are succeeding. And anybody who tells you anything different doesn't know the facts on the ground. And I'm here to tell you there are some Democrats that have declared this war lost a long time ago. And, if we'd have done what they wanted to do seven or eight months ago, Al-Qaeda would be tellin' the world they beat the United States of America. **My friends, it's long and it's hard and it's tough and you've still got the Iranians exporting these explosive devices into Iraq which is killing brave, young Americans.**" [Meet and Greet in North Myrtle Beach, SC, 12/1/07, emphasis added]

McCain: "The War Is Costing Us Billions Of Dollars, And It's Going To Be Long and Hard and Difficult." While appearing at a town hall meeting in Manchester, New Hampshire, McCain was asked how he would continue to pay for the war in Iraq. He replied, "It's costing us billions of dollars and it's going to **be very expensive and it's going to be long and hard and difficult.**" [Town Hall Meeting in Manchester, NH; 12/5/07; emphasis added]

McCain Said "Americans Would Be Satisfied" With American Troops In Iraq For A "Long, Long Time." While speaking to employees of Nationwide Insurance in Iowa, McCain said, "We have had troops in South Korea for 60 years and nobody minds. If you stay a long, long time, but have the Iraqis doing the fighting, and your people are back in the bases and away from the firing line, I think Americans would be satisfied." [Des Moines Register, 6/2/07]

100 Years

McCain: "It Doesn't Matter...We Could Be There For A Hundred Years, For All I Know." During an interview with the editorial board of the *Detroit News*, McCain was asked, "When should the United States leave Iraq?" McCain responded, "**It doesn't matter.** We're still in Kuwait since the first Gulf War. If we can continue to show this progress, we **could be there for 100 years, for all I know,** as long as Americans are not dying. It's not a matter of American presence; it's a matter of success so we can beat back this adversary. If we'd done what they wanted us to do six months ago, al-Qaida would now be trumpeting to the world that it defeated the United States of America." [Detroit News, 1/3/08]

McCain Said US Could Stay In Iraq For "Maybe A Hundred Years" And He Was "Fine" With It. In January 2008, McCain said the U.S. military could stay in Iraq for "a hundred years" and that "would be fine with me." At a town hall meeting in New Hampshire, a questioner said, "President Bush is talking about our staying in Iraq for 50 year," at which point McCain interrupted and said, "**Make it a hundred.** We've been in South Korea, we've been in Japan for 60 years, we've been in South Korea for 50 years or so. That'd be fine with me as long as Americans are not being injured, or harmed, or wounded, or killed. That's fine with me, I hope it would be fine with you." [Town Hall Meeting in Concord, NH, [1/3/08](#); emphasis added]

McCain: "I Don't Think Americans Are Concerned If We're There For 100 Years Or 1,000 Years Or 10,000 Years." In an interview on "Face the Nation," host Bob Schieffer asked McCain about staying in Iraq for 100 year. McCain responded, "We've got to get Americans off the front line, have the Iraqis as part of the strategy, take over more and more of the responsibilities. **And then I don't think Americans are concerned if we're there for 100 years or 1,000 years or 10,000 years.** What they care about is a sacrifice of our most precious treasure, and that's

American blood. So what I'm saying is look, if Americans are there in a support role, but they're not taking casualties, that's fine. We're in Kuwait now. As you well recall, we had a war, we stayed in Kuwait. We didn't stay in Saudi Arabia. So it's going to be up to the relationship between the Iraqi government and the United States of America." [CBS, "Face the Nation," 1/06/08; emphasis added]

McCain: "We're Going To Be In This Struggle For The Rest of The Century." While speaking at a town hall meeting in Sun City Center, Florida, McCain said, "I'd like to look you in the eye and tell you there's not gonna be any more wars. I'd like to look you in the eyes and tell you that this terrible evil called radical Islamic extremism is defeated. I can't do that. I've got to tell you that we're gonna be in this struggle for the rest of this century because it's a transcendent evil." [Town Hall Meeting; Sun City Center, FL 01/26/08; emphasis added]

McCain: "We Are In A Greater Struggle That Is Going To Be With Us For The Rest of This Century." While giving a speech in Nashua, New Hampshire, McCain said, "We are in two wars. **We are in a greater struggle that is going to be with us for the rest of this century...** He added, "These young people that are in this crowd, my friends, I'm going to be asking you to serve. I'm gonna be asking you to step forward and serve this nation in difficult times." [Speech in Nashua, New Hampshire, 1/7/08; emphasis added]

McCain Doesn't Understand What Americans Care About

McCain Said American's Do Not Care About Length of Occupation in Iraq. When asked if he regretted saying that the U.S. involvement in Iraq could last "1,000 years or a million years," McCain replied, "That's just foolishness. It's foolishness to use that quote, because the question was how long are we going to be in Iraq. And that's not the question the American people care about." [Hartford Courant, 2/4/08; emphasis added]

McCain Said The American People Do Not Care About How Long We Are Going To Be In Iraq. At a rally in Fairfield, Connecticut, John McCain was asked, "How long are we gonna be in Iraq?" McCain replied, "That's not the question the American people care about. The American people care about American casualties." [Rally; Fairfield, CT 02/03/08; emphasis added]

McCain Said That Asking How Long We Are Going To Be In Iraq Is "Either Naïve or Misunderstanding The American People." While speaking at a town hall meeting in Kalamazoo, Michigan, McCain said, "How long are we gonna be in Iraq?" Well that question is either naive or misunderstanding of the American people. It's not how long we're in Iraq. It's how we're in Iraq, ok?" He added, "Does anybody mind that our troops are out there and presence and maintaining security in the region?" [Town Hall Meeting; Kalamazoo, MI 01/14/08; emphasis added]

McCain Said Length Of Time In Iraq Doesn't Matter, American Casualties Matter. At the 2008 Fox News Channel G.O.P. debate, McCain said, "It's not American casualties. It's American presence -- I mean, not American presence. It's American casualties. We've been in South Korea for 50 years. We've been in Japan and Germany since the end of World War II. We're in Kuwait. It's up to the Iraqi government and the United States government. Anybody who thinks it's the length of time we're there that matters, it's American casualties that matter and those casualties have been dramatically reduced, thanks to these brave and courageous young men and women who we should be supporting and not condemning what they're doing." [Fox News Channel G.O.P. Debate, 1/10/08; emphasis added]

There's Gonna Be More Wars

McCain: "I'd Like To Tell You We're No Gonna Be In Anymore Wars. I Can't Tell You That." While speaking at a town hall meeting in Howell, Michigan, McCain said, "**I'd like to tell you we're not gonna be in anymore wars. I can't tell you that.** I gotta give you some straight talk. The world is probably as dangerous as it's ever been in terms of the challenges we face. By the way, this conflict has been long and hard and tough. PTSD, burns, the injuries associated with these IEDs, these horrible explosive devices." [Town Hall Meeting; Howell, MI 01/13/08; emphasis added]

McCain: "I'm Sorry To Tell You That There's Gonna Be More Wounds And There's Gonna Be More Wars." While speaking at a rally in Florence, South Carolina, McCain said, "**I'm sorry to tell you that there [is] gonna be more wounds and there's gonna be more wars.** I'd like to tell you there's not gonna be any more wars. There's gonna be more wars." [Rally; Florence, SC 01/18/08; emphasis added]

McCain: "I'm Sorry To Tell You That We're Gonna Be In Further Wars." While Speaking at a rally in Pensacola, Florida, McCain said, "**And I'm sorry to tell you that we're gonna be in further wars,** and I'm sorry to tell you that the casualties from this long war in Iraq and Afghanistan are tough, very tough. PTSD is tough. The kind of wounds from these IEDs is tough." [Rally in Pensacola, Florida 1/22/08; emphasis added]

McCain: "There's Gonna Be Other Wars, I'm Sorry To Tell You, There's Gonna Be Other Wars." While speaking at a town hall meeting in Polk City, Florida, McCain said, "And I gotta give you some straight talk, my friends. This is a tough war we're in, it's not gonna be over right away. **There's gonna be other wars, I'm sorry to tell you, there's gonna be other wars.** We will never surrender, but there will be other wars." [Town Hall Meeting; Polk City, FL 01/27/08; emphasis added]

JUDICIARY

John McCain has worried conservatives in his party by demonstrating a mixed record on the Judiciary. In the Senate, McCain has been a consistent supporter for far right candidates. However, he has reportedly voiced concern for appointing them as president. In an effort to pacify conservatives, McCain has publicly promised to appoint Judges who are “clones” of Bush’s Supreme Court nominees.

McCain Said He Supports Judges That “Strictly Interpret the Constitution” and Do Not Legislate From Bench. According to CNN, while McCain was campaigning in the “conservative Florida Panhandle” on the Anniversary of Roe vs. Wade, “...McCain cited Chief Justice John Roberts as a model jurist.” He said, “I’m proud of my support for those judges to the bench that strictly interpret the Constitution of the United States and do not legislate from the bench.” [CNN, [1/23/08](#)]

McCain Told Social Conservative Gary Bauer That He Would Appoint Pro-Life Judges. According to the *New Yorker*, in 1999 McCain had the support of social conservative Gary Bauer. In reference to appointing pro-life judges, Bauer said, “I wanted a commitment from either George Bush or John McCain that if elected he would appoint pro-life judges to the Supreme Court...Bush said he had no litmus test, and his judges would be strict constructionists. But McCain, in private, assured me he would appoint pro-life judges.” [*New Yorker*, 5/30/05]

McCain Proud of Alito and Roberts. “I’m proud that we have Justice Alito and Roberts on the United States Supreme Court. I’m very proud to have played a very small role in making that happen.” [Transcript, Republican Presidential Candidates Participate in a Debate, 5/3/07]

McCain Has Been on Both Sides of Alito Nomination, Conservatism

Wall Street Journal Columnist Reported McCain Said He Might Reject Alito Because He Is Too Open About His Conservatism. On January 28, 2008, *Wall Street Journal* Columnist John Fund wrote, “McCain has told conservatives he would be happy to appoint the likes of Chief Justice John Roberts to the Supreme Court. But he indicated he might draw the line on a Samuel Alito, because “he wore his conservatism on his sleeve.” [Fund, *Wall Street Journal*, [1/28/08](#)]

Columnist Robert Novak Said McCain Called Alito “Too Conservative.” Robert Novak refuted McCain’s claim that he would appoint “clones” of Roberts and Alito. McCain apparently told a group of conservative lawyers that he supported John Roberts, but thought Alito was “too conservative” and “wore conservatism on his sleeve.” Novak also challenged McCain to deliver ‘straight talk’ about Alito and taxes at the February 2008 CPAC event. [*Washington Post*, [1/31/08](#)]

- **McCain On His Supreme Court Nominees: “I Want To Find Clones Of Alito And Roberts.”** According to the *Baltimore Sun*’s “The Swamp” the *National Review*’s Byron York asked McCain about a report, by columnist John Fund, that McCain would support Supreme Court nominees in the mold of John Roberts but not Alito. McCain responded, “Let me just look you in the eye. I’ve said a thousand times on this campaign trail, I’ve said as often as I can, that **I want to find clones of Alito and Roberts**. I worked as hard as anybody to get them confirmed. I look you in the eye and tell you I’ve said a thousand times that I wanted Alito and Roberts. I have told anybody who will listen. I flat-out tell you I will have people as close to Roberts and Alito [as possible], and I am proud of my record of working to get them confirmed, and people who worked to get them confirmed will tell you how hard I worked.” [*Baltimore Sun* via The Swamp, [1/28/08](#), emphasis added]
- **McCain Vowed To Appoint Judges with Character of Roberts and Alito.** While speaking at CPAC, McCain said, “I intend to nominate judges who have proven themselves worthy of our trust [in] that they

take as their sole responsibility the enforcement of laws made by the people's elected representatives, judges of the character and quality of Justices Roberts and Alito." [Politico, [2/11/08](#)]

McCain Has Supported Many Anti-Choice Nominees

McCain Supported The Nomination Of Anti-Choice Judge Charles Pickering. In 2003, McCain voted to invoke cloture on President Bush's nomination of Charles W. Pickering Sr. of Mississippi to be a judge for the U.S. Court of Appeals for the 5th Circuit. The Washington Post cited numerous concerns raised by critics regarding his nomination, "Democrats attacked his record on civil rights and related issues as ambivalent or worse and questioned whether he would let his conservative views, including opposition to abortion rights, influence his legal judgments. They were especially critical of his 1994 effort to reduce the sentence of a man convicted of burning a cross near the home of an interracial couple." The motion was rejected 54-43. [PN 12, [Vote #419](#), 10/30/03; Washington Post, 10/31/03]

McCain Supported The Nomination of Anti-Choice Judge William Pryor. In 2003, McCain voted twice to invoke cloture for the nomination of William Pryor to the US Court of Appeals for the 11th Circuit. During Pryor's appearance before the Judiciary Committee in 2003, the Washington Post reported that "(Pryor) was asked several times about his past assertions that Roe v. Wade 'is an abominable decision' and 'the worst abomination of the history of constitutional law.'" Pryor, who noted his Catholic faith, said he still believes that. 'I believe that not only is the case unsupported by the text and structure of the Constitution, but it has led to a morally wrong result,' he said. 'It has led to the slaughter of millions of innocent unborn children. That's my personal belief.'" In 2005, McCain voted for cloture and the nomination of Pryor. The nomination passed 53-45. [PN 512, [Vote #316](#), 7/31/03; [Vote #441](#), 11/6/03; PN 200, [Vote #132](#), [Vote #133](#), 6/8/05; Washington Post, 6/12/03]

McCain Voted 5 Times In Support Of Anti-Choice Nominee Priscilla Owen. In 2003, McCain voted to invoke cloture 4 times regarding the nomination of Priscilla Owen to the U.S. Court of Appeals for the 5th Circuit. In 2005, McCain voted for the nomination of Judge Owen. The nomination passed 55-43. NARAL Pro-Choice America stated, "Owen's predisposition as a known judicial activist poses a serious threat to freedom of choice. Many courts are allowing anti-choice laws to stand, and adding an activist like Priscilla Owen will exacerbate this trend and further endanger a woman's constitutional right to choose." [PN 11, [Vote #137](#), 5/1/03; [Vote #144](#), 5/8/03; [Vote #308](#), 7/29/03; [Vote #450](#), 11/14/03; PN 194, [Vote #128](#), 5/25/05; US Newswire, 3/27/03]

McCain Supported The Nomination Of Anti-Choice Judge Janice Rogers Brown. In 2003, McCain voted to invoke cloture on the nomination of Janice R. Brown, of California, to be U.S. Circuit Judge for the District of Columbia. In 2005, McCain again voted to invoke cloture as well as to confirm her nomination. The AP reported Brown's position which favors limiting women's access to abortions: "Brown supports limits on abortion rights and corporate liability and opposes affirmative action." [PN 839, [Vote #452](#), 11/14/03; PN 201, [Vote #130](#), [Vote #131](#), 6/8/05; AP, 10/22/03]

- **McCain's Work Made It Possible For Anti-Choice Judges To Be Appointed.** The Richmond Times Dispatch reported on McCain's activities in the Gang of 14: "McCain opponents fail to remember that this work prevented the Senate from filibustering Justice Alito. Moreover, the endeavor fostered the prompt confirmation of several conservative judges, such as D.C. Circuit Judge Janice Rogers Brown and 5th Circuit Judge Priscilla Owen." [Richmond Times Dispatch, 2/12/08]

McCain Voted To Continue The Filibuster Against Clinton Nominee Henry Foster For Surgeon General. In 1995, McCain voted to sustain a Republican filibuster of the nomination for Henry Foster as Surgeon General after focusing the confirmation hearings on how many abortions Foster had performed as a doctor. The motion to sustain debate failed 57-43. [Nomination, [Vote #280](#), 6/22/95; Washington Post, 6/23/95]

McCain Votes on Supreme Court Justices

McCain Voted to Confirm Justice Sam Alito. On January 31, 2006, McCain voted to confirm Samuel A. Alito, Jr., of New Jersey, to be an Associate Justice of the Supreme Court of the United States. [PN 1059, [Vote #2](#), 1/31/06]

McCain Voted to Confirm Chief Justice John Roberts. On September 29, 2005, McCain voted to confirm John G. Roberts, Jr., of Maryland, to be Chief Justice of the United States. [PN 801, [Vote #245](#), 9/29/05]

McCain Voted to Confirm Justice Steven Breyer. On September 29, 2005, McCain voted to confirm Stephen G. Breyer, of Massachusetts, to be an Associate Justice of the Supreme Court of the United States. [PN 1399, [Vote #242](#), 7/29/94]

McCain Voted to Confirm Justice Ruth Bader Ginsburg. On August 3, 1993, McCain voted to confirm Ruth Bader Ginsburg, of New York, to be an Associate Justice of the Supreme Court of the United States. [PN 422, [Vote #232](#), 8/3/93]

McCain Voted to Confirm Justice Clarence Thomas. On October 15, 1991, McCain voted to confirm Clarence Thomas, of Georgia, to be an Associate Justice of the Supreme Court of the United States. [PN456, [Vote #220](#), 10/15/91]

McCain Voted to Confirm Justice David Souter. On October 2, 1990, McCain voted to confirm David H. Souter, of New Hampshire, to be an Associate Justice of the Supreme Court of the United States. [PN1414, [Vote #259](#), 10/2/90]

Labor

Senator McCain has horrible labor record. There is very little to point to in terms of positive accomplishments for the American worker. He has been knee-jerk anti-union, and anti-work in the Senate. He voted against raising the minimum wage, voted to make outsourcing easier, against overtime pay, and is an ardent free-trader. While McCain deserves credit for a Danish style safety net for workers displaced by globalization, the plan is prohibitively expensive.

Top Hits:

- McCain voted consistently against raising the minimum wage
- McCain is an ardent free-trader, no matter the environmental or labor consequences
- McCain consistently voted to outsource jobs and make it easier to ship them overseas
- McCain consistently voted weaken overtime protections or take it away

Child Labor

McCain Voted Against Prevention Of The Worst Forms Of Child Labor Abuse Among US Trade Negotiating Objectives. In 2002, McCain voted to table an amendment that would insert a provision that states that the principal negotiating objective regarding human rights and democracy is to require trading partners to strive to protect internationally recognized civil, political, and human rights. The amendment would extend duty-free status to certain products from Bolivia, Colombia, Ecuador and Peru, renew the president's fast-track authority and reauthorize and expand a program to provide retraining and relocation assistance to U.S. workers hurt by trade agreements. It also would create a refundable 70 percent tax credit for health insurance costs for displaced workers. The motion to table failed 42-53. [S.Amdt. 3467 to S.Amdt. 3401 to H.R. 3009, [Vote #129](#), 5/23/02]

McCain Voted Against Prohibiting The Government From Buying Products Made By Forced Or Indentured Child Labor. In 1998, McCain voted against an amendment that perfects provisions prohibiting Federal agency procurement with contractor of items that have been mined, produced, or manufactured by forced or indentured child labor, absent contractor certification that such labor was not used. The amendment failed 46-53. [S.Amdt. 3374 to S.Amdt. 3353 to S. 2312, [Vote #244](#), 7/29/98]

Davis-Bacon Act

McCain Voted in Favor of a Measure Providing Exemptions to the Davis-Bacon Act. In 1990, McCain voted for a motion to table an amendment to the FY '00 Labor-HHS-Education Appropriations by Sen. Smith (of New Hampshire) that would have prohibited using funds to enforce the Davis-Bacon Act in any area that had been declared a disaster area by the President. (The Davis-Bacon Act requires contractors on Federal construction projects to pay their workers "prevailing" wages, which are supposed to be equal to the local wage rates for similar, non-Federal jobs in the same areas as the Federal projects. The Labor Department determines the prevailing wages that must be paid for each project. In practice, the Act has forced the Federal Government to pay much higher, union-scale wages rather than local prevailing wages for its construction projects.) The motion to table passed 59-40. [S.Amdt. 1844 to S. 1650, [Vote #320](#), 10/07/99]

MCCAIN SUPPORTED REPEAL OF DAVIS-BACON. IN 1996, MCCAIN voted to table an amendment to the FY '97-'02 Concurrent Budget Resolution by Sen. Kennedy that expressed the sense of the Senate that no provision in the budget resolution assumes the repeal of the Davis-Bacon Act. The motion to table failed 40-60. [S.Amdt. 4031 to S.Amdt. 4000 to S.Con.Res. 57, [Vote #134](#), 5/22/96]

Disabled Workers

McCain Voted Against Establishing A Reserve Fund To Help People With Disabilities Become Employed. In 1998, McCain voted against consideration of an amendment that establishes a deficit neutral reserve fund of up to \$2 billion in FY 1999-2003 to finance disability programs that allow disabled persons to become employed and remain independent. The motion failed 47-51. [S.Amdt. 2224 to S.Con.Res. 86, [Vote #82](#), 4/02/98]

McCain Voted for Americans with Disabilities Act. In 1990, McCain voted for adoption of the conference report on the bill, which extends the civil rights protection for people with disabilities to cover such areas as private sector employment, public accommodations (theaters, hotels, restaurants, shopping centers, offices), State and local government services, transportation, and telecommunications relay services. The conference report passed 91-6. [S. 933, [Vote #152](#), 7/13/90]

Discrimination

McCain Voted Against Providing Unlimited Compensatory and Punitive Damage Awards in Gender Discrimination Lawsuits. In 2000, McCain voted against waiving the Budget Act to consider an amendment to the Marriage Tax Reconciliation Act of 2000 by Sens. Harkin and Daschle that would have amended the Fair Labor Standards Act to permit unlimited compensatory and punitive damages to be awarded in gender discrimination lawsuits regarding pay rates, including in class-action lawsuits, and would increase the burden on employers to prove that any pay rate differentials between jobs primarily held by men and jobs primarily held by women were based on bona fide factors, such as education or experience. The amendment would also require the Labor Department to educate employers on the requirements of the law. The amendment failed 45-53. [S.Amdt. 3847 to H.R. 4810, [Vote #203](#), 7/17/00]

McCain Voted Against a Measure Prohibiting Discrimination Based on Genetic Information. In 2000, McCain voted against an amendment to the FY '00 Labor-HHS-Education Appropriations by Sen. Daschle that would have created a new civil cause of action for suing employers for alleged discrimination based on genetic information. The amendment would also prohibit genetic discrimination by insurance providers, would prohibit the disclosure of genetic information to health insurers, health insurance data banks, and employers, and would prohibit the use of such information in providing insurance, setting insurance premiums, or considering employment opportunities. The amendment failed 44-54. [S.Amdt. 3688 to H.R. 4577, [Vote #164](#), 6/29/00]

Family & Medical Leave Act (FMLA)

McCain Voted Against Applying Family and Medical Leave Act to Qualified Volunteers in Qualified Programs. In 1993, McCain voted against a motion to table an amendment, which strikes the provisions of the Committee substitute which apply the Family and Medical Leave Act to qualified volunteers in qualified programs. The motion passed 64-35. [S 919, [Vote #209](#), 7/22/93]

McCain Voted for Passage of Family & Medical Leave. In 1993, McCain voted for passage of the bill that required employers, with 50 or more employees, to provide their employees with up to 12 weeks of unpaid leave annually to care for a new child or seriously ill child, parent, or spouse, or to use as medical leave if an employee is seriously ill. The bill passed 71-27. [H.R. 1, [Vote #11](#), 2/04/93]

McCain Voted To Allow An Employee To Take Reduced Leave When Medically Necessary Without An Employer's Consent Under FMLA In 1993, McCain voted against a motion to table an amendment, which allows an employee to take reduced leave by arrangement with the employer. This amendment would allow employees to work less than an eight hour day (for medical or family reasons) without notifying the employer. The motion passed 59-39. [S.Amdt. 22 to S. 5, [Vote #10](#), 2/04/93]

McCain Voted to Suspend Family and Medical Leave. In 1993, McCain voted against a motion to table an amendment, which suspends application of the Family and Medical Leave until the Federal government certifies that compliance will not increase the operating expenses of a business or provides financial assistance, or provides Federal financial assistance or a reduction in the Federal tax obligations sufficient to pay for the cost to the employer for compliance. The motion passed 67-31. [S 5, [Vote #7](#), 2/04/93]

McCain Voted To Establish Mediation To Settle Disputes Under The Family And Medical Leave Act. In 1993, McCain voted against a motion to table an amendment, which establishes mediation as a way to settle disputes under FMLA. The amendment allowed either an employer or employee to request mediation in a dispute; required the mediators to be mutually agreed upon by both parties; prohibited both parties from filing a cause of action in court until the completion of the mediation process, but does not prohibit the parties from seeking temporary injunctive relief while the mediation process is on going; and stipulated that the mediation process would be deemed completed if, within 45 days of receipt of the complaint, the complaint has not been settled or withdrawn and the parties have not agreed in writing to extend the process. The motion passed 56-42. [S.Amdt. 14 to S. 5, [Vote #6](#), 2/03/93]

McCain Voted To Provide Voluntary Arbitration Process For Lawsuits Brought Against The Employer Under The Family And Medical Leave Act. In 1993, McCain voted against a motion to table an amendment, which provides for a voluntary arbitration process when a civil action is brought by an employee against his or her employer for any dispute arising under this act; requires a judge to notify the parties in a pending case of the availability of the arbitration process; and permits either party to reject any decision by the arbitrator within 30 days of a final decision and to maintain an action in any State or Federal court. The motion passed 54-46. [S.Amdt. 3 to S. 5, [Vote #3](#), 2/03/93]

McCain Voted To Require An Employee To Provide 30 Days Written Notice Before Taking Unpaid Leave. In 1993, McCain voted against a motion to table an amendment that required employee to provide written notice of intended leave and to comply with dates except under certain specified circumstances. The motion passed 60-40. [S.Amdt. 10 to S. 5, [Vote #2](#), 2/03/93]

McCain Voted To Override Veto Of FMLA Bill Requiring Companies With 50 Or More Employees To Provide Up To 12 Weeks Of Unpaid Leave. In 1992, McCain voted to override the president's veto of a bill, which required employers, with 50 or more employees, as well as State and local governments, to provide their employees with up to 12 weeks of unpaid leave annually to care for a new child or seriously ill child, parent, or spouse, or to use as medical leave if an employee is seriously ill; and extends these same benefits to Federal and Congressional employees. The veto was overridden 68-31. [S. 5, [Vote #232](#), 9/24/92]

McCain Voted for 20% Tax Credit to Businesses With Fewer than 500 Employees to Provide Leave. In 1993, McCain voted against a motion to table an amendment to allow businesses with fewer than 500 employees to take a 20 percent tax credit in return for providing employees with 12 weeks of unpaid leave for the birth of a child or to attend to family emergencies. The motion passed 67-33. [S 5, [Vote #1](#), 2/03/93]

Immigrant Workers/Investors

McCain Voted to Streamline the Process to Hire Aliens for Temporary Agriculture Work. In 1998, McCain voted for an amendment to the FY '00 Commerce-State-Judiciary Appropriations by Sen. Smith (of Oregon) that established a system of registries for domestic temporary and seasonal agricultural workers, would streamline the

process for legally hiring foreign agricultural workers when domestic workers were unavailable from those registries, and would make numerous changes to improve working conditions for agricultural workers. The amendment passed 68-31. [S.Amdt. 3258 to S. 2260, [Vote #233](#), 7/23/98]

McCain Voted Against Eliminating the Immigrant Investors Program. In 1998, McCain voted for a motion to table an amendment to the American Competitiveness Act by Sen. Bumpers that would have eliminated the Immigrant Investors Program. The program began in 1989 as a means of attracting immigrants willing to invest in the United States economy. To be eligible, an immigrant has to invest \$500,000, create or maintain at least 10 jobs in an area of high unemployment or in a rural area, and agree to reside continuously in the United States. After 2 years, a 3-agency review panel determines if an immigrant has met the requirements, and, if the requirements have been met, grants permanent resident alien (“green card”) status. The motion passed 74-24. [S.Amdt. 2416 to S. 1723, [Vote #140](#), 5/18/98]

Jobs & Outsourcing

McCain Voted Against Eliminating Incentives for Companies to Move Manufacturing Plants Offshore. In 2005, McCain voted against an amendment to repeal tax incentives for domestic companies that move their manufacturing plants to offshore locations and use the resulting revenue to reduce the federal deficit and debt by \$3.2 billion from 2006 to 2010. The amendment failed 40-59. [S.Amdt. 210 to S.Con.Res. 18, [Vote #63](#), 3/17/05]

McCain Favors Shipping American Jobs Overseas. In 2004, McCain voted against prohibiting American tax dollars from being used to ship jobs outside the country. He voted against a reserve fund that would allow increases of up to \$24 billion for fiscal years 2005 through 2009 for employment initiatives including tax credits for companies that create new U.S.-based manufacturing jobs and small businesses that provide health care coverage. It also would prohibit the use of tax dollars to outsource non-defense and non-homeland security government contracts abroad. Employers would be required to provide advanced notice to workers whose jobs may be moved abroad. The spending would be offset by reducing tax breaks for taxpayers with incomes of more than \$1 million per year. The amendment failed 41-53. [S.Amdt. 2783 to S.Con.Res. 95, [Vote #41](#), 3/11/04]

McCain Voted To Allow Outsourcing Jobs Even For Federally Funded Contracts. In 2004, McCain voted against an amendment that would prohibit a federal government contract, including state contracts with any federal funding, from being performed outside the United States. The amendment passed 70-26. [S.Amdt. 2660 to S. 1637, [Vote #32](#), 3/04/04]

McCain Voted Against Providing Health Care Coverage Assistance to Workers. In 2002, McCain voted against an amendment that would require the Labor Secretary to establish a program to provide health care coverage assistance to certain maritime workers as a result of the importation of steel products. The amendment would extend duty-free status to certain products from Bolivia, Colombia, Ecuador and Peru, renew the president’s fast-track authority and reauthorize and expand a program to provide retraining and relocation assistance to U.S. workers hurt by trade agreements. It also would create a refundable 70 percent tax credit for health insurance costs for displaced workers. The motion failed 50-46. [S.Amdt. 3470 to S.Amdt. 3401 to H.R. 3009, [Vote #128](#), 5/23/02]

McCain Voted Against Protecting the Jobs of US Workers. In 1998, McCain voted to table an amendment that required employers to recruit and retain U.S. workers before seeking temporary foreign workers to perform services being sought. The amendment to the American Competitiveness Act would have made employers subject to penalties if prior to petitioning to bring in H-1B workers they did not first take timely, significant, and effective steps to recruit and retain United States workers for those jobs. Such steps would include “good faith” recruitment in the United States, using procedures that met “industry-wide” standards and offering employment to any qualified United States worker who applied. The motion passed 59-39. [S.Amdt. 2417 to S. 1723, [Vote #139](#), 5/18/98]

McCain Voted to Kill Protection for American Workers From Employers That Layoff American Workers To Hire Foreign Workers At Lower Costs. In 1998, McCain voted to table an amendment, which prohibits an

employer from hiring a foreign worker under the H-1B visa program if the employer has laid off any U.S. workers during the six months prior to the filing of an application for a foreign worker, or during the 90 day period following the filing of an application. The motion passed 60-38. [S.Amdt. 2418 to S. 1723, [Vote #138](#), 5/18/98]

McCain Voted To Preserve A Tax Loophole That Encourages Companies To Ship Jobs Overseas. In 1995, McCain voted against an amendment that repeals the special tax break, which allows tax-free income for individual shareholders deriving income from property imported into United States by foreign-controlled corporations. The amendment would eliminate a \$1.1 billion loophole that allows companies to relocate their plants overseas, and then defer taxes on products shipped to the United States. McCain voted “yea” to the motion to table the amendment. The motion passed 55-44. [S. 1357, [Vote #516](#), 10/26/95]

McCain Voted Against Training for Displaced Homemakers. In 1995, McCain voted against an amendment that permits States to use funds to provide pre-employment training for displaced homemakers. The amendment requires States to include programs for single parents, displaced homemakers, and single pregnant women in workforce education activities. In addition, the amendment adds displaced homemakers to populations for which goals and quantifiable benchmarks must be developed within State plans. The amendment failed 44-53. [S.Amdt. 2889 to S.Amdt. 2885 to S. 143, [Vote #484](#), 10/10/95]

Labor/HHS Appropriations

McCain Voted for Underfunded Labor/HHS Appropriations Bill. In 2000, McCain voted for passage of the bill that would appropriate approximately \$354.6 billion for the Labor, Health and Human Services and Education departments and related agencies, including \$99.8 billion in discretionary spending. The bill, as amended, would prohibit health insurers from using predictive genetic information to discriminate in the health care system and prohibit insurance companies from raising or denying patients health care coverage based on the results of genetic tests. The measure also would prohibit the Occupational Safety and Health Administration from using funds to issue or propose any standards on ergonomic protection. The bill passed 52-43. [HR 4577, [Vote #171](#), 6/30/00]

McCain Failed to Vote on Cutting \$25.4 Million From National Labor Relations Board. In 1999, McCain failed to vote on a motion to table an amendment to the FY ‘00 Labor-HHS-Education Appropriations by Sen. Hutchison that would have transferred the proposed \$25.4 million increase in funding for the National Labor Relations Board to the Consolidated Health Centers Program. (The increase for the NLRB is for a computer upgrade and to hire 122 more employees. The CHCP is a grant program to provide primary care health services in medically underserved (primarily rural) areas. The CHCP estimates that its budget would need to be increased by \$264 million this year in order to provide the same level of services as provided last year. This bill will provide an increase of \$99 million.) The motion to table passed 50-49. [S.Amdt. 1834 to S.Amdt. 1812 to S. 1650, [Vote #300](#), 9/30/99]

McCain Voted Seven Times Against the Minimum Wage

McCain Voted Against Clean Minimum Wage Bill. In 2007, McCain voted against a bill that would increase the minimum wage to \$7.25 per hour over two years. The motion failed 54-43. [HR 2, [Vote #23](#), 1/24/07]

McCain Voted Against Raising The Minimum Wage To \$7.25 An Hour. In 2005, McCain voted against an amendment that would increase the minimum wage from \$5.15 per hour to \$5.85 per hour 60 days after enactment, \$6.55 per hour after the first year, and \$7.25 per hour after the second year. The amendment failed 46-49. [S.Amdt. 44 to S. 256, [Vote #26](#), 3/07/05]

- **McCain Voted For Sham Minimum Wage Increase Instead.** In 2005, McCain voted for a Republican amendment that increased the minimum wage from \$5.15 per hour to \$6.25 per hour. The amendment also allowed employers to refuse to pay workers for up to 10 hours of earned overtime pay every two weeks;

ended individual coverage under the Fair Labor Standards Act and raises the enterprise coverage threshold from \$500,000 to \$1 million; prohibited Federal agencies from assessing civil fines for most first-time reporting violations of a broad range of consumer, environmental and labor protections; and undermined the ability of States to provide stronger wage protections for employees who receive tips. The amendment failed 38-61. [S.Amdt. 128 to S. 256, [Vote #27](#), 3/07/05]

McCain Voted Against Increasing Minimum Wage. In 2000, McCain voted against amendment, which expresses the sense of the Senate that the levels in this resolution assume that Congress should enact legislation to increase the minimum wage to \$6.15 an hour by May 2, 2001 (50 cents in 2000, and 50 cents in 2001). The amendment passed 51-48. [S.Amdt. 3079 to S.Amdt. 2951 to S.Con.Res. 101, [Vote #76](#), 4/07/00]

McCain Voted Against Raising Minimum Wage By \$1 Per Hour (To \$6.15). In 1999, McCain voted against consideration of an amendment that increases minimum wage by 50 cents an hour (to \$5.65) beginning September 1, 1999, and by additional 50 cents an hour (to \$6.15) by September 1, 2000. The amendment would also apply the minimum wage provisions to Commonwealth of Northern Mariana Islands. The motion failed 46-54. [S.Amdt. 1383 to S. 1429, [Vote #239](#), 7/30/99]

McCain Voted Against Amendment to Increase Minimum Wage. In 1999, McCain voted for a motion to table a motion to commit bill to HELP Committee with instructions to report back with Kennedy amendment, which increases minimum wage to \$5.65 an hour beginning on September 1, 1999, and \$6.15 an hour beginning on September 1, 2000. The motion table passed 55-44. [S. 96, [Vote #94](#), 4/28/99]

McCain Voted Against Increasing Minimum Wage. In 1998, McCain voted for a motion to table an amendment that increased the minimum wage to \$5.65 an hour (from \$5.15 per hour) beginning January 1, 1999; and \$6.15 an hour beginning January 1, 2000. The motion passed 55-44. [S.Amdt. 3540 to S.Amdt. 3559 to S. 1301, [Vote #278](#), 9/22/98]

McCain Voted to Delay Minimum Wage Increase. In 1996, McCain voted to delay a proposed 90-cent minimum wage increase by six months and reduce the number of employees eligible for the wage increase. The amendment failed 46-52. [S.Amdt. 4272 to H.R. 3448, [Vote #183](#), 7/06/96]

HOWEVER...

McCain Failed to Vote to Increase Minimum Wage. In 1999, McCain failed to vote on motion to table an amendment to increases minimum wage from \$5.15 an hour to \$5.65 an hour on January 1, 2000, and \$6.15 an hour on January 1, 2001. The motion passed 50-48. [S.Amdt. 2751 to S. 625, [Vote #356](#), 11/09/99]

McCain Failed to Vote to Express Sense of Senate That Minimum Wage Should be Increased. In 1999, McCain failed to voted on a motion to consider an amendment which expresses the sense of the Senate that the minimum wage should be increased 50 cents by September 1, 1999; and another 50 cents by September 1, 2000 (to bring the minimum wage to \$6.15 an hour). The motion failed 45-53. [S.Amdt. 195 to S.Con.Res. 20, [Vote #77](#), 3/25/99]

McCain Voted for Increase to Minimum Wage. In 1996, McCain voted for adoption of the conference report on the bill which provides tax relief for small businesses. In addition to other provisions, the bill increases the minimum wage in two steps to \$5.15 an hour by September 1, 1997. The conference report passed 76-22. [H.R. 3448, [Vote #265](#), 8/02/96]

Miscellaneous

McCain Voted Against Requiring Country Of Origin On Meat Labels. In a vote against small American ranchers, 29 Republican (including McCain) bowed to the pressure from huge, big business, international meat

producers and voted to kill a Daschle amendment that would have mandated that all meat sold in the US be labeled, displaying the country the animal was raised. Country of Origin labeling is also important following the discovery of livestock inflicted with Mad Cow disease in Canada. The motion to kill the amendment failed 36-58. [S.Amdt. 2078 to H.R. 2673, [Vote #443](#), 11/6/03]

McCain Chose To Protect Big Business From People Harmed by Faulty Products. In 2003, McCain tried and failed to override a Democratic filibuster to a bill to protect big business against class action litigation rules by allowing class actions with at least 100 plaintiffs to be transferred from state to federal courts when at least \$5 million is at stake and when fewer than two-thirds of class members, as well as the primary defendants, are citizens of the state in which the case was filed. In cases where between one-third and two-thirds of the plaintiffs reside in the same state as the defendant, judges would be allowed to decide whether the case could be removed from that state's courts. Cases in which the primary defendants and less than one-third of the plaintiffs reside in the same state would automatically be transferred. The motion was rejected (the filibuster held) 59-39. [[Vote #403](#), 10/22/03]

McCain Voted for FCC Rule Allowing Media Ownership Monopolies. In 2003, McCain voted against passage of the joint resolution that would provide for congressional disapproval of the broadcast media ownership rule that would allow media conglomerates to own more television stations, and media outlets as submitted by the Federal Communications Commission, stating the rule would have no force or effect. The FCC rule as written allowed huge conglomerate's monopolies on U.S. airwaves, it also allowed single corporations cross-ownership between TV, print, and radio in the same local market. The joint resolution passed 55-40. [S.J.Res. 17, [Vote #348](#), 9/16/03]

McCain Failed to Vote on Immediate Help for Those Who Lost Their Jobs After 9-11. In 2001, McCain failed to vote twice against legislation to provide immediate help to those who have lost their jobs after 9-11. The first vote (#337) would have designated spending contained in the Economic Stimulus bill, H.R. 3090, as "emergency spending." By designating the money as "emergency spending," the Senate could help provide immediate health care and unemployment benefits to those who had lost their jobs. The second vote (#338) was a Democratic substitute bill offered by Senator Baucus (D-MT) to provide immediate benefits. The Baucus plan went down on a Republican point of order (to waive the Budget Act) that required 60 votes to defeat. The final vote was 51-47. All Democrats voted to move ahead with the Baucus substitute. Both votes needed 60 Senators to pass. [S.Amdt. 2125 to H.R. 3090, [Vote #337](#), [Vote #338](#), 11/14/01]

McCain Voted To Eliminate A Cost Of Living Adjustment For Federal Employees And Members Of Congress. In 1993, McCain voted against a motion to table an amendment, which eliminates the 1994 cost-of-living adjustment for all Federal employees (military and civilian) and members of Congress. The motion passed 58-41. [S.Amdt. 69 to S. 382, [Vote #23](#), 3/03/93]

Overtime

McCain Voted To Take Away Overtime Pay For As Many As 8 Million Workers. In 2005, McCain voted against a proposal to block the Labor Department from implementing new rules to overhaul eligibility standards for overtime pay. The amendment passed 52-47. [S.Amdt. 3107 to S. 1637, [Vote #79](#), 5/04/04]

McCain Voted To Rid Overtime Pay Eligibility For Workers. In 2003, McCain voted against an amendment that would prohibit funds in the bill from being used to promulgate or implement any regulation that would take away eligibility for overtime for any worker. Note: A 'nay' was a vote in support of the president's position. The amendment passed 54-45. [S.Amdt. 1580 to S.Amdt. 1542 to H.R. 2660, [Vote #334](#), 9/10/03]

McCain Supported Gutting America's Overtime Laws. In 1997, McCain voted in favor of cloture on the Family Friendly Workplace Act, which would have amended the 1938 Fair Labor Standards Act to allow private sector employers and employees a choice of three flexible work arrangements: compensatory time off (time-and-a-half off) in lieu of monetary overtime pay; biweekly work schedules (the option to work 80 hours over a 2-week period in any combination); and a flexible credit-hour program (the choice to "bank" any hours over 40 in 1 week for use toward paid leave later). The use of any of these options will require the voluntary agreement of both the

employer and the employee, and, if the employee is unionized, permission will be needed from a collective bargaining agreement. These flexible work arrangement options are currently allowed for Federal, State, and local government employees but are prohibited for private sector employees. The cloture motion failed 51-47. [S. 4, [Vote #93](#), 6/04/97]

OSHA

McCain Voted To Repeal Ergonomics Regulations. In 2001, McCain voted to repeal a workplace regulation designed to prevent injuries from repetitive motion. Republicans argued that the regulation would cost businesses billions of dollars. However, in the long run, the regulations would save companies money. The Occupational Safety and Health Administration (OSHA), which wrote the regulations, said that it would cost businesses \$4.5 billion to implement, but would save \$9 billion through increased productivity and reduced sick days. According to the Bureau of Labor Statistics, 1.8 million ergonomic injuries are reported each year. The resolution passed 56-44. [S.J.Res. 6, [Vote #15](#), 3/06/01; [Congressional Record](#), Page S1846, 3/06/01]

McCain Voted for a Moratorium on Ergonomics Rule. In 2000, McCain voted for an amendment to the FY '01 Labor-HHS-Education Appropriations by Sen. Enzi that would have prohibited funds being made available to the Occupational Safety and Health Administration (OSHA) to promulgate, issue, implement, administer, or enforce any proposed, temporary, or final standard on ergonomic protection. The amendment passed 57-41. [S.Amdt. 3593 to H.R. 4577, [Vote #143](#), 6/22/00]

McCain Failed to Vote on OSHA Funds. In 1999, McCain failed to vote on a motion to table an amendment to the FY '00 Labor-HHS-Education Appropriations by Sen. Coverdell that would have provided that 50 percent of the \$33.7 million increase that the appropriations bill gives to the Occupational Safety and Health Administration (OSHA) will be used for compliance assistance and the other 50 percent will be used for enforcement and other purposes. The motion failed 44-51. [S.Amdt. 1885 to S.Amdt. 1846 to S. 1650, [Vote #304](#), 9/30/99]

Pensions

McCain Voted Against Efforts To Protect Pension Plans Of Older Workers. In 1999, McCain voted against consideration of an amendment that stated that companies shall not unfairly cut pension benefits of their long-term, older workers. The amendment also maintains the flexibility that companies have to design their pension plans. The motion failed 48-52. [S. 1429, [Vote #245](#), 7/30/99]

Replacement Workers

McCain Supported Measure to Allow Defense Contractors to Hire Replacement Workers. In 1995, McCain voted in favor of cloture on an amendment to the FY '95 Supplement Defense Appropriation by Sen. Kassebaum that would have prevented the funds from the act be used to implement a regulation or executive order preventing a Federal contractor from hiring permanent replacement workers. The cloture motion failed 58-39. [S.Amdt. 331 to H.R. 889, [Vote #103](#), 3/15/95]

McCain Voted Against Prohibiting Employers From Permanently Replacing Striking Workers. In 1992, McCain voted against a motion to invoke cloture on a bill that prohibited employers from permanently replacing striking workers, but allowed employers to replace strikers only if they accept a third party mediation panel's recommendation. The motion was rejected 57-42. [S. 55, [Vote #121](#), 6/16/92]

- **McCain Voted Against Bill to Prohibit Replacement of Striking Workers.** In 1992, McCain voted against a motion to close further debate on the committee substitute for the bill to prohibit the replacement

of striking workers with permanent replacement workers. The motion was rejected 55-41. [S. 55, [Vote #120](#), 6/11/92]

Trade

McCain Is An Ardent Supporter of Free Trade Even If It Isn't Fair Trade

McCain Voted For Chilean Trade Agreement. In 2003, McCain voted for a bill that would implement a trade agreement that would reduce tariffs and trade barriers between the United States and Chile. The trade pact would reduce duties and tariffs on agricultural and textile products and open markets for services. It also would establish intellectual property safeguards and require enforcement of environmental and labor standards. The bill passed 65-32. [HR 2738, [Vote #319](#), 7/31/03]

McCain Voted For Singapore Trade Agreement. In 2003, McCain voted for a bill that would implement a trade agreement that would reduce tariffs and trade barriers between the United States and Singapore. The agreement would eliminate tariffs on goods and duties on textiles, open markets for services, and establish intellectual property, environmental and labor standards. The bill passed 65-32. [HR 2739, [Vote #318](#), 7/31/03]

McCain Supported President's Fast Track Authority. In 2002, McCain voted for a bill renewing the president's fast-track authority. The bill also gave duty-free status to Bolivia, Colombia, Ecuador and Peru. As a concession to labor groups, the bill expanded a program to provide retraining and relocation assistance to US workers hurt by trade agreements and created a refundable 70 percent tax credit for health insurance for costs for displaced workers. The bill passed 66-30, with a split Democratic vote [HR 3009, [Vote #130](#), 5/23/02]. McCain voted for the conference report, which passed 67-31 in August. [HR 3009, [Vote #206](#), 8/1/02]

- **Organized Labor Opposed Fast Track Authority.** Though organized labor welcomed the concession for laid-off workers, they strongly opposed fast track authority. "Although Fast Track legislation mentions the words 'labor' and 'environment,' it does nothing to ensure that enforceable labor and environmental standards will be incorporated into future trade agreements. Fast Track would produce more flawed trade agreements that drain good jobs from this country at a time when unemployment and economic insecurity are at their highest levels in a decade, and the AFL-CIO is strongly opposed." [AFL-CIO Legislative Update, 5/13/02]
- **McCain Voted Against Requiring Trade Agreements Negotiated Under Fast Track To Prohibit Countries From Weakening Labor Or Environmental Laws.** In 2002, McCain voted to table an amendment that would clarify the principal negotiating objectives with respect to labor and the environmental standards. The amendment would extend duty-free status to certain products from Bolivia, Colombia, Ecuador and Peru, renew the president's fast-track authority and reauthorize and expand a program to provide retraining and relocation assistance to U.S. workers hurt by trade agreements. It also would create a refundable 70 percent tax credit for health insurance costs for displaced workers. The motion to table passed 52-46. [S.Amdt. 3428 to S.Amdt. 3401 to H.R. 3009, [Vote #115](#), 5/16/02]

McCain Voted Against Instructing U.S. Negotiators To Stop Cutting Trade Deals That Commit The US To Privatizing Government Services. In 2002, McCain voted to table an amendment that would provide that trade agreements should not include a commitment to privatize government services. It also would specify that the term "privatize" includes the transfer of responsibility for, or administration of, a non-governmental function from a government entity to a non-government entity. The amendment would extend duty-free status to certain products from Bolivia, Colombia, Ecuador and Peru, renew the president's fast-track authority and reauthorize and expand a program to provide retraining and relocation assistance to U.S. workers hurt by trade agreements. It also would create a refundable 70 percent tax credit for health insurance costs for displaced workers. The motion to table passed 49-47. [S.Amdt. 3461 to S.Amdt. 3401 to H.R. 3009, [Vote #127](#), 5/23/02]

McCain Voted to Grant Normal Trade Status to Vietnam. In 2001, McCain voted for a resolution granting annual normal trade relations status to Vietnam. The resolution would allow Vietnamese imports to receive the same tariffs as those of other U.S. trading partners. The resolution passed 88-12. [HJRes 51, [Vote #291](#), 10/3/01]

McCain Voted Against Imposition of Stricter Safety Standards on Mexican Motor Carriers. In 2001, McCain voted against the motion to table the Gramm amendment which would prohibit the United States from imposing safety standards on Mexican motor carriers above and beyond those imposed for American and Canadian motor carriers. The motion to table passed 65-35. [H.R. 2299, [Vote #250](#), 7/25/01]

McCain Voted for Permanent Normal Trading Relations (PNTR) To China. In 2000, McCain voted for a bill for permanent normal trade relations with the China. The bill contained a measure that would protect U.S. businesses and workers from Chinese import surges. The bill included a provision that would establish a commission to monitor human rights, labor standards and religious freedom in China. The administration would have to report annually on China's compliance with trade agreements and express the sense of Congress that Taiwan should be admitted to the World Trade Organization. The bill passed 83-15. [HR 4444, [Vote #251](#), 9/19/00]

- **McCain Voted Against Protection Of Human Rights In China.** In 2000, McCain voted against the Helms-Wellstone amendment to delay Permanent Normal Trade Relations with China until the President certified that China had protected human rights by taking certain steps. Opponents claimed that offering PNTR to China would actually increase the ability of the US to protect human rights in China by allowing more political and economic leverage. The amendment failed 32-63. [HR 4444, [Vote #239](#), 9/12/00]

McCain Voted To Expand Trade To The Third World. In 2000, McCain voted for a bill that would extend certain tariff benefits to the nations of the Caribbean, Central America and sub-Saharan Africa. The bill passed 77-19. [HR 434, [Vote #98](#), 5/11/00]

McCain Voted for NAFTA. In 1993, McCain voted for the North American Free Trade Agreement. Opponents argued that NAFTA has resulting in widespread job losses for American workers. The bill passed 61-38. [H.R. 3450, [Vote #395](#), 11/20/93]

McCain Voted For Extension Of GATT. GATT was considered the most radical change in trade policy in 40 years, lowering US tariffs by about one-third. The agreement would reduce trade barriers and ensure stricter enforcement of world trade rules through the newly established World Trade Organization (WTO), and expand GATT rules to cover such economic sectors as agriculture, services and intellectual property. The bill also would accelerate tax payment schedules, change eligibility standards for certain federal programs, and make other changes to offset lost revenues from tariff reductions in order to comply with pay-as-you-go budget rules. Proponents said expanded free trade would bolster US exports around the world. Opponents said cheap imports would drive American blue-collar workers out of jobs. GATT extension passed 76-16. [HR 1876, [Vote #192](#), 6/22/93]

Unemployment

McCain Voted To Extend Unemployment Benefits. In 2004, McCain voted for a proposal to provide an additional 13 weeks of unemployment benefits for people who have exhausted their state jobless benefits. [S. 1805, [Vote #18](#), 2/26/04]

McCain Voted Against Increasing Spending On Unemployment Insurance By Reducing The Bush Tax Cuts. In 2003, McCain voted against an amendment that would increase spending on unemployment insurance by \$16.3 billion in 2003 and 2004, offset by a reduction in tax cuts. The amendment would double the program's length to 26 weeks and expand it to include part-time and low-wage workers. The amendment failed 48-51. [SCR23, [Vote #85](#), 3/25/03]

McCain Voted Against Amendment to Benefit Laid-Off Airline Workers. In 2001, McCain was one of 44 Republicans to kill an amendment to the Aviation Security bill that would have provided 20 weeks of unemployment and 12 months of health care benefits to laid-off airline workers after 9-11 terrorist attacks. Sen. Jean Carnahan (D-MO), the sponsor of the measure, withdrew her proposal after Democrats fell four votes shy of the 60 votes needed to defeat this GOP filibuster. The motion failed 56-44. [[St. Louis Post-Dispatch](#), 10/12/01; S.Amdt. 1855 to S. 1447, [Vote #293](#), 10/11/01]

McCain Voted Against Unemployment Compensation. In 1991, McCain voted against an estimated \$6.4 billion for up to 20 additional weeks of unemployment benefits based on a state's unemployment rate. McCain voted against the adoption of a conference report on a bill that established a temporary emergency unemployment compensation program, fully funded from the Unemployment Trust Fund, to provide unemployment benefits to long-term unemployed workers who have exhausted their regular unemployment benefits during the effective period of the program. The bill made unemployed workers in States with unemployment rates of six percent or higher, who exhausted their normal unemployment benefits on or after March 1, 1991, eligible for benefits. In addition, the bill established an Advisory Council on Unemployment Insurance to evaluate the unemployment compensation program and make recommendations for improvement. The report passed 65-35. [S. 1722, [Vote #213](#), 10/01/91]

Unions

McCain Voted Against Bill to Fix Broken System for Forming Unions. In 2007, McCain voted against allowing a vote on the Employee Free Choice Act – a bill that would help fix a broken system for forming unions and bargaining for better pay, improved benefits and retirement security. The bill would have amended the National Labor Relations Act to establish an efficient system to enable employees to form, join, or assist labor organizations, to provide for mandatory injunctions for unfair labor practices during organizing efforts, and for other purposes. The motion failed 51-48. [HR 800, [Vote #227](#), 6/26/07]

McCain Backed Filibuster Against Police, Fire Fighters and Rescue Workers. In 2001, on a vote of 56-44, the Senate rejected Sen. Daschle's (D-SD) efforts to grant collective bargaining rights for police, fire fighters and rescue workers to lobby for higher wages, improved working conditions and better benefits. If passed, the motion would have ended the Republican filibuster on this issue. McCain voted "nay" on the motion to invoke cloture. The cloture motion failed 56-44. [S.Amdt. 2044 to H.R. 3061, [Vote #323](#), 11/06/01; [CQ Monitor](#), 11/01/01]

McCain Voted Against Requiring Union Leaders to Notify Their Members of All Political Activity. In 2001, McCain voted for a motion to table an amendment to the Campaign Finance Act of 2001 by Sen. Hatch that would have required union leaders to provide the employees they represent with detailed reports after each Federal election on all their direct and indirect expenditures on political activities. The measure would have required corporate leaders to provide the same reports to their employees. The motion to table passed 60-40. [S.Amdt. 136 to S. 27, [Vote #44](#), 3/22/01]

- **McCain Voted Against Require Labor Union Leaders to Notify Their Members of Expenditure of Funds.** In 2001, McCain voted for a motion to table an amendment to the Campaign Finance Act of 2001 by Sen. Helms that would have required labor unions annually to provide notice to all employees who paid dues or made other payments to them as a condition of members or employment concerning their rights with respect to the expenditure of funds for activities unrelated to collective bargaining, contract administration, and grievance adjustment. The motion to table passed 53-40. [S.Amdt. 141 to S. 27, [Vote #46](#), 3/23/01]

McCain Voted to Allow Employers to Fire Union Organizers. In 1998, McCain voted for a motion to invoke cloture (thus limiting debate) on the motion to proceed to the bill that would permit employers to refuse to hire, or fire, individuals who seek employment with the primary intent of organizing workers to join a labor union. The motion failed 52-42. [S. 1981, [Vote #266](#), 9/14/98]

McCain Voted to Prohibit Taxpayers from Footing the Bill for a Rerun of the 1996 Teamster's Election. In 1997, McCain voted for an amendment to the FY '98 Labor-HHS-Education Appropriations by Sens. Nickles and Jeffords that would have prohibited the Department of Justice or the Department of Labor from using funds appropriated for FY '98 to conduct a rerun of a 1996 election for an elected post in the International Brotherhood of the Teamsters. This ban would not apply if the Teamsters declared that they did not have sufficient funds to conduct a rerun of such an election, and if the Teamsters agreed to a repayment plan if the Labor or Justice Department agreed to pay for the rerun. The amendment passed 58-42. [S.Amdt. 1081 to S. 1061, [Vote #233](#), 9/11/97]

Workforce Investment

McCain Voted Restoring Programs Under Workforce Investment Act By \$678 Million. In 2003, McCain voted against restoring funding for programs under the Workforce Investment Act of 1998 by \$678 million. The amendment passed 51-48. [S.Amdt. 382 to S.Con.Res. 23, [Vote #102](#), 3/25/03]

- **McCain Voted Against Providing \$678 Million for Job Training.** In 2003, McCain voted to kill an amendment which that would have provided \$678 million for the Workforce Investment Act, which provides funding for job training programs. The motion passed 50-48. [S.Amdt. 108 to H.J.Res. 2, [Vote #24](#), 1/23/03]

McCain Pledged to Introduce Robust Plan For Re-Training Displaced Workers. McCain told an Ohio audience that among more detailed economic plans to be outlined in the coming weeks, he would support a “robust, effective, meaningful displaced worker training and education programs.” “The unemployment programs in place now, he said, are based on an economy that would lay off workers during slow times and rehire them when the economy improved. That’s no longer the case, he said.” [[Wall Street Journal](#), [2/27/08](#)]

McCain Told Ohioans That “Jobs Aren’t Coming Back.” At a town hall meeting in Rocky River, Ohio, McCain told the audience, “Some of those manufacturing jobs are not coming back and you know it and I know it.” McCain added, “The economists that I know and trust and the history that I study, and I study a lot of history, says that free trade is the best thing that can happen to our nation. When we have practiced protectionism it has had devastating consequences.” [[Reuters](#), [2/25/08](#)]

McCain Promised Compensation For Displaced Workers

McCain Promised to Overhaul Unemployment Insurance. According to McCain’s economic plan, “John McCain will overhaul unemployment insurance and make it a program for retraining, relocating and assisting workers who have lost a job. The unemployment insurance system needs to be modernized to meet the goals of helping displaced workers make ends meet between jobs and moving people quickly on to the next opportunity. John McCain will reform the half-dozen training programs to approaches that can be used to meet the bills, pay for training, and get back to work. John McCain believes that we can strengthen community colleges and technical training, and give displaced workers more choices to find their way back to productive and prosperous lives.” [John McCain 2008 web site, accessed [1/22/08](#)]

McCain: “If Someone Has to Work at McDonald’s, I Will Compensate Them for the Loss of Income for Some Period of Time.” According to the *Detroit Free Press*, “McCain said that a displaced worker who ends up at a fast-food restaurant or other lower-paying job shouldn’t be penalized because the economy is changing. ... The concept could be costly in Michigan. Thousands of autoworkers, who are paid an average of \$28 per hour, have lost jobs in recent years, and national surveys have shown that fast-food workers make an average of \$7.50 to \$8 per hour. ... ‘If someone has to work at McDonald’s, I will compensate them for the loss of income for some period of time,’ McCain said. ‘We need to compensate them for the difference as an incentive to stay in the workforce.’ ...

McCain said he would reallocate money spent on existing retraining programs to help pay for his proposal, although he had no estimate on how much it would cost.” [[Detroit Free Press, 12/20/07](#)]

McCain Plan Could Cost \$400 to \$500 Billion

Danish-Style “Flexicurity” System Could Cost Some \$400 to \$500 Billion. According to the *U.S. News & World Report*, “This is an idea [McCain’s plan to compensate displaced workers] that Democrats have been inching toward: a move to a Danish-style ‘flexicurity’ system. In that country, workers who lose their jobs have almost their entire salary replaced by the government but are also required by the government to aggressively look for new employment or accept retraining in a new field. It’s very expensive. For the United States, completely copying the Danish model—lauded by many as a response to globalization-inspired worker angst—could cost some \$400 billion to \$500 billion a year if it is as expensive for us as it is for the Danes. Now what McCain seems to be proposing is a more modest ‘wage insurance’ idea. Under a plan originally put forward by Brookings Institution economist Robert Litan and University of California-Santa Cruz economics Prof. Lori Kletzer, a laid-off worker who once earned \$40,000 and found a new job paying just \$30,000 would receive \$5,000 a year--broken down into quarterly payments--for two years after the initial layoff. Such a plan might cost \$4 billion a year.” [[U.S. News & World Report, 12/24/07](#)]

U.S. News & World Report: “This Is McCain’s Response To Globalization Or, More Accurately, His Response To Worker Concerns About Globalization.” According to the *U.S. News & World Report*, “My take: Clearly, this is McCain’s version of his hero Teddy Roosevelt’s Square Deal. Just as that plan was TR’s governmental pushback against unfettered capitalism, this is McCain’s response to globalization or, more accurately, his response to worker concerns about globalization. And maybe it would be a smart move. By reducing worker worry, wage insurance makes it more likely that America will continue to embrace free trade. Of course, there are downsides here. First, it could make U.S. labor markets less mobile and dynamic as there would be less incentive for workers to get back into the workforce or start a new business because of Uncle Sam’s largesse—especially if the carrot isn’t accompanied by a stick. Second, the program might grow ever bigger, becoming a massive new entitlement. The McCain brand has two big components: tough on defense, tough on spending. Not sure how proposing something that could become pricier than the Great Society or New Deal fits into that.” [[U.S. News & World Report, 12/24/07](#)]

Previously Opposed Unemployment Compensation

McCain Voted Against Increasing Spending On Unemployment Insurance By Reducing The Bush Tax Cuts. In 2003, McCain voted against an amendment that would increase spending on unemployment insurance by \$16.3 billion in 2003 and 2004, offset by a reduction in tax cuts. The amendment would double the program’s length to 26 weeks and expand it to include part-time and low-wage workers. [[SCR23, Vote #85, 3/25/03](#)]

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compensation program and make recommendations for improvement. The report passed 65-35. [S. 1722, [Vote #213](#), 10/01/91]

Family & Medical Leave

McCain Voted for Passage of Family & Medical Leave. In 1993, McCain voted for passage of the bill that required employers, with 50 or more employees, to provide their employees with up to 12 weeks of unpaid leave annually to care for a new child or seriously ill child, parent, or spouse, or to use as medical leave if an employee is seriously ill. [H.R. 1, [Vote #11](#), 2/04/93]

HOWEVER...

McCain Voted Against Applying Family and Medical Leave Act to Qualified Volunteers in Qualified Programs. In 1993, McCain voted against a motion to table an amendment, which strikes the provisions of the Committee substitute which apply the Family and Medical Leave Act to qualified volunteers in qualified programs. [S 919, [Vote #209](#), 7/22/93]

McCain Voted to Suspend Family and Medical Leave. In 1993, McCain voted against a motion to table an amendment, which suspends application of the Family and Medical Leave until the Federal government certifies that compliance will not increase the operating expenses of a business or provides financial assistance, or provides Federal financial assistance or a reduction in the Federal tax obligations sufficient to pay for the cost to the employer for compliance. The motion passed 67-31. [S 5, [Vote #7](#), 2/04/93]

McCain Voted to Require Written Notice of Intended Leave from Employees. In 1993, McCain voted against a motion to table an amendment, which required an employee to give written notice of intended leave that includes the dates of the leave or a schedule for intermittent or reduced leave; and required the employee to comply with the dates in the notice unless: (1) birth was premature (2) the employee must care for a child because the mother was incapacitated during delivery, (3) there is an unanticipated date of adoption, or (4) the employer and employee agree to alter the dates listed in the written notice. The motion passed 60-40. [S 5, [Vote #2](#), 2/03/93]

McCain Voted for 20% Tax Credit to Businesses With Fewer than 500 Employees to Provide Leave. In 1993, McCain voted against a motion to table an amendment to allow businesses with fewer than 500 employees to take a 20 percent tax credit in return for providing employees with 12 weeks of unpaid leave for the birth of a child or to attend to family emergencies. The motion passed 67-33. [S 5, [Vote #1](#), 2/03/93]

Disabled Workers

McCain Voted Against Assisting Disabled Workers To Become Employed. In 1998, McCain voted against creating a reserve fund to allow adjustments of up to \$2 billion over 5 years to the budget's revenue and spending aggregates "to finance disability programs designed to allow persons with a disability to become employed and remain independent." The amendment also would require those adjustments to be deficit-neutral. The amendment fell 47-51. [SCR 86, [Vote #82](#), 4/2/98]

Employment Discrimination

McCain Consistently Voted Against The Civil Rights Act Of 1990. In 1990, McCain voted against a bill designed to address employer discrimination at least 4 times. According to the Washington Post, the "Civil Rights Act of 1990 is designed to overturn several recent Supreme Court rulings that made it much more difficult for individual employees to prove discrimination. The legislation, being fought by business, also would impose new penalties on employers convicted of job discrimination." [S 2104, [Vote #304](#), 10/24/90; [Vote #276](#), [Vote #275](#), 10/16/90; [Vote #161](#), 7/18/90; Washington Post, 7/9/90]

Gender Discrimination

MCCAIN VOTED AGAINST ALLOWING JURIES TO DECIDE COMPENSATORY AND PUNITIVE DAMAGE AWARDS IN GENDER DISCRIMINATION LAWSUITS. In 2000, McCain voted against amending the Fair Labor Standards Act to permit unlimited compensatory and punitive damages to be awarded in gender discrimination lawsuits regarding pay rates, including in class-action lawsuits, and would increase the burden on employers to prove that any pay rate differentials between jobs primarily held by men and jobs primarily held by women were based on bona fide factors, such as education or experience. The amendment would also require the Labor Department to educate employers on the requirements of the law. The amendment failed 45-53. [HR 4810, [Vote #203](#), 7/17/00]

Jobs

McCain Said He Supported Education Programs At Community Colleges To Help Restore Jobs. According to the *New York Times*, at the Fox News Channel G.O.P. Debate in South Carolina, McCain said, “Let’s have a little straight talk... There are some jobs that aren’t coming back to Michigan. There are some jobs that won’t come back here to South Carolina. But we’re going to take care of them. That’s our goal. That’s our obligation. We need to go to the community colleges and design education and training programs so that these workers get a second chance. That’s our obligation as a nation.” [New York Times, [1/11/08](#)]

Minimum Wage

McCain Voted Against Raising The Minimum Wage To \$7.25. McCain voted against an amendment to increase the minimum wage from \$5.15 to \$7.25 over 26 months. The amendment would have provided minimum wage workers their first pay increase in over seven years. Since the last increase, the value of the minimum wage has dropped by over 20%. But the Senate has voted to increase its own pay seven times. [S. 256, [Vote #26](#), 3/7/05]

McCain Voted Against A Clean Minimum Wage Bill. McCain voted against a bill that would increase the minimum wage to \$7.25 per hour over two years. Motion rejected 54-43: R 5-43; D 47-0; I 2-0. [Senate [Vote #23](#), HR 2, 1/24/07]

McCain Defended His Opposition To A Higher Minimum Wage By Saying Forgoing His Senate Pay Raises Hurt His Multi Million Dollar Family That Claimed At Least \$27 Million In Assets. Speaking about the debate in the Senate on raising the minimum wage and Senate pay raises, McCain claimed his family was hurt because he had forgone past Senate pay raises. McCain said he would not support a raise in the minimum wage, which he called “a very clever ploy,” and defended his opposition to the \$1,500 a year minimum wage increase saying, “Listen, I’ve foregone the pay raise for many, many years, sometimes to the dismay of my family.” In his most recent personal financial disclosure, McCain reported that his family held assets worth between \$27 million and \$42 million, though his wife held potentially much larger assets, which generated income between \$1.8 million and \$4.6 million. Additionally, McCain earned over \$270,000 in book royalties and honoraria, all of which he donated to charity. [ABC News, 7/2/06; McCain 2005 Personal Financial Disclosure Statement]

Unions

McCain and Giuliani Cross Writers Guild Picket Line to Appear on The Tonight Show. John McCain and Rudy Giuliani crossed the picket line of the Writers Guild of America in order to appear on *The Tonight Show with Jay Leno*. [Think Progress, [1/31/08](#)]

McCain Voted Against Bill to Fix Broken System for Forming Unions. McCain voted against allowing a vote on the Employee Free Choice Act – a bill that would help fix a broken system for forming unions and bargaining for better pay, improved benefits and retirement security. The bill would have amended the National Labor Relations Act to establish an efficient system to enable employees to form, join, or assist labor organizations, to provide for mandatory injunctions for unfair labor practices during organizing efforts, and for other purposes. Motion Rejected 51-48. [Senate [Vote #227](#), HR 800, 6/26/07]

Trade And Globalization

McCain Supports Commitment To Innovation And New Technologies To Sustain Global Competitiveness. According to a post of John McCain’s technology platform in *Information Week*, McCain’s platform stated that he, “...believes we must make a farsighted, robust, and fervent commitment to innovation and new technologies to sustain our global competitiveness, meet our national security challenges, achieve less costly and more effective health care, reduce dangerous dependence on foreign sources of oil, and raise the quality of education in the United States.” [Information Week, [1/10/08](#)]

McCain Believes Globalization Provides Opportunity For American Workers Today And In The Future. According to a post of John McCain’s technology platform in *Information Week*, “John McCain believes that globalization is an opportunity for American workers today and in the future. Ninety-five percent of the world’s customers lie outside our borders and we need to be at the table when the rules for access to those markets are written. To do so, the U.S. should engage in multilateral, regional, and bilateral efforts to reduce barriers to trade, level the global playing field, and build effective enforcement of global trading rules.” [Information Week, [1/10/08](#)]

McCain Has Been “A Strong Proponent Of Free Trade.” According to Club for Growth, “John McCain has been a strong proponent of free trade in the U.S. Senate. He has voted for many bills that broke down trade barriers and increased competition and choice for consumers. These include:

- The Oman Free Trade Act
- The Central America Free Trade Agreement (CAFTA)
- The North American Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA)
- Africa Free Trade Act
- U.S.-Australian Trade Act
- U.S.-Chile Trade Act
- U.S.-Singapore Trade Act
- Voted to grant normal trade relations with Vietnam
- Voted to grant normal trade relations with China

Senator McCain also voted to kill the Schumer-Graham bill, which would have imposed an onerous tariff on China if it refused to revalue its currency, and voted to give the President trade promotion authority. The Cato Institute aptly sums up his record on trade by designating him a ‘free trader’ for the 105th Congress through the 108th Congress, a top accolade given out to those who ‘consistently vote against both trade barriers and international economic subsidies.’” [Club for Growth White Paper, [3/12/07](#)]

McCain Voted Against Requiring U.S. Companies To Invest Foreign Profits In United States. McCain voted against S. Amendment 3117 to SB 1637, which would have “Republicans also defeated an amendment by Senator John Breaux, Democrat of Louisiana, that would have forced companies to actually invest in the United States any of the foreign profits they bring back into the country during the tax holiday. To encourage companies to reinvest that money in the United States, the Senate bill would give them one year to bring back those profits, which would be taxed at a rate of only 5 percent rather than the standard 35 percent corporate rate.” [New York Times, Andrews, 5/6/04; [Vote #81](#), 5/5/04]

People of Color

Despite claiming the ability to grow the base of the Republican Party by reaching out to people of color, John McCain's record is anything but inclusive. From voting against Martin Luther King, Jr. Day to repeatedly using racial slurs, McCain has exhibited a lifetime of indifference towards people of color. McCain sided with Jesse Helms to cut off funding for a Martin Luther King Commission, and supported racist Governor Meacham's effort to rescind Arizona's recognition of the MLK federal holiday.

Top Hits:

- McCain voted against establishing Martin Luther King, Jr. Day as a Federal Holiday
- McCain has been caught using racial slurs such as "Gooks" and "Tar Baby" on numerous occasions.
- McCain does not support affirmative action programs based on race.

Accomplishments:

- McCain voted to allow victims of discrimination to collect punitive damages.
- McCain resisted the efforts of other Republicans to vilify Hispanics during debates on illegal immigration.

McCain's Contorted Position on Federal King Holiday

McCain Voted Against Creating Martin Luther King Holiday. In 1983, McCain voted against a motion to suspend the rules and pass a bill to designate the third Monday of every January as a federal holiday in honor of the late civil rights leader, the Rev. Dr. Martin Luther King Jr. The motion passed 89-77. [HR 3706, Vote 289, 8/2/83; CQ 1983]

McCain Sided With Senator Jesse Helms and Voted to Cut off Government Funds for a Martin Luther King Commission. McCain voted in favor of a Helms amendment "to prohibit federal financing for the Martin Luther King Jr. Federal Holiday Commission." [S Amdt 1738 Vote #127 5/24/94] [CQ Floor Votes # 127 5/24/94]

McCain Said His Position Has 'Evolved.' During a 2000 interview, McCain compared his evolution on this issue to former Arizona Sen. Barry Goldwater. "I believe that Barry Goldwater, to start with, regretted his vote on the 1964 Civil Rights Act," McCain said. "I think that Barry grew, like all of us grow and evolve. In 1983, when I was brand-new in the Congress, I voted against the recognition of Dr. Martin Luther King. That was a mistake, OK? And later I had the chance to ... help fight for ... the recognition of Dr. Martin Luther King as a holiday in my state." [www.salon.com 4/18/00; Accessed 4/2/08]

Arizona Governor Rescinded Martin Luther King Jr. Day. In 1987, One of newly elected Governor Evan Mecham's first acts in office was to rescind Arizona's recognition of the Martin Luther King Holiday. "Mecham strikes many voters as a simpleminded ideologue who is giving a bad name to the nation's second-fastest-growing state. After rescinding the Jan. 19 holiday honoring Martin Luther King Jr., Mecham defended the use of the term "pickaninnies" for blacks." [Time 11/9/87]

McCain Said He Thought Governor Was Correct in His Decision According to the Huffington Post, "In 1983, McCain voted against passing a bill to designate the third Monday of every January as a federal holiday in honor of King. Four years later, then-Arizona Governor Evan Mecham rescinded Martin Luther King Day as a state holiday, saying it had been established through an illegal executive order by his Democratic predecessor. McCain said he thought Mecham was correct in his decision." [Sam Stein, Huffington Post, 4/1/08]

McCain: Wrong on Key Issues for People of Color

McCain Consistently Voted Against The Civil Rights Act Of 1990. In 1990, McCain voted against a bill designed to address employer discrimination at least 4 times. According to the [Washington Post](#), the “Civil Rights Act of 1990 is designed to overturn several recent Supreme Court rulings that made it much more difficult for individual employees to prove discrimination. The legislation, being fought by business, also would impose new penalties on employers convicted of job discrimination.” [S 2104, [Vote #304](#), 10/24/90; [Vote #276](#), [Vote #275](#), 10/16/90; [Vote #161](#), 7/18/90; Washington Post, 7/9/90]

McCain Avoided Directly Answering Question on Affirmative Action, Finally Said He Opposed Quotas. While appearing on *Hardball*, McCain was asked about his views on affirmative action. After criticizing teachers’ unions, McCain said, “I want to test voucher programs. Cindy and I have chosen to send our 15-year-old daughter to a Catholic school, because we think that’s the best.” He added that he’d ensure that, “Every school and library in America is being wired to the Internet... But, no, I do not support quotas, and have seen the results of it.” [NBC, “Hardball,” 2/9/00]

McCain Would Not Support Affirmative Action for College Admissions. In a 2004 questionnaire, Senator McCain indicated he would not support affirmative action policies in public college admissions. [[2004](#) National Political Awareness Test- Senator McCain]

McCain Voted Against Addressing The Disproportionate Number Of Minority Children In Prison. In 1999, McCain voted to table an amendment that required States to address juvenile delinquency prevention efforts and system improvement efforts designed to reduce, without numerical standards or quotas, disproportionate number of juvenile members of 'racial minority groups' who come in contact with juvenile justice system. The motion to table passed 52-48. [S 254, [Vote #130](#), 5/19/99]

McCain Strategist Opposed King Holiday

McCain Defended Controversial Spokesman Richard Quinn, McCain's who called the MLK Holiday "Vitriolic and Profane." Richard Quinn, was a South Carolina "strategist" for McCain in the 2000 campaign. In a Partisan View column, Richard Quinn wrote, "King Day should have been rejected because its purpose is vitriolic and profane. By celebrating King as the incarnation of all they admire, they [black leaders] have chosen to glorify the histrionic rather than the heroic and by inference they spurned the brightest and the best among their own race. Ignoring the real heroes in our nation's life, the blacks have chosen a man who represents not their emancipation, not their sacrifices and bravery in service to their country; rather, they have chosen a man whose role in history was to lead his people into a perpetual dependence on the welfare state, a terrible bondage of body and soul.” Quinn has also advocated electing David Duke, and sold T-Shirts through his magazine celebrating Abraham Lincoln’s assassination. [Partisan View, Southern Partisan, Fall, 1983; Partisan View, Southern Partisan, Winter, 1989, PFAW Release, 2/17/00] [[Spartanburg Herald-Journal](#), 12/23/05; [Vanity Fair](#), 11/04]

McCain Defended Quinn as ‘Respected’ and a ‘Fine Man.’ Despite Mr. Quinn’s writings and history of racial insensitivity, McCain defended him as a ‘respected’ and ‘fine man’ and refused to fire him. [[Associated Press](#), 2/18/00; [New York Times](#), 2/8/00]

Affirmative Action & Civil Rights

McCain Voted Against Creating Martin Luther King Holiday. In 1983, McCain voted against the Hall (D-IN) motion to suspend the rules and pass the bill to designate the third Monday of every January as a federal holiday in honor of the late civil rights leader the Rev. Dr. Martin Luther King Jr. The motion passed 89-77. [HR 3706, Vote 289, 8/2/83; CQ 1983]

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POSITIVE VOTE:

McCain Voted To Strengthen The Civil Rights Act Of 1964. In 1991, McCain voted for a bill that would make it easier for workers to sue for employment discrimination, allow victims of sex bias to collect damages, and permit women, religious minorities and the disabled to win compensatory and punitive damages for intentional discrimination, mainly by reversing several recent Supreme Court decisions and by expanding Title VII of the 1964 Civil Rights Act. The bill passed 93-5. [S 1745, Vote #238, 10/30/91]

McCain's Racial Slurs

McCain: "I Hate the Gooks." During the 2000 presidential campaign, McCain refused to apologize for saying, "I hate the gooks, I will hate them as long as I live." [[San Francisco Chronicle](#), [2/18/00](#)]

McCain Referred to His Vietnamese Wartime Captors as "Gooks." According to *Asian Week*, "Less than 24 hours after stories ran about Sen. John McCain's statement to reporters that he would continue to refer to his Vietnamese wartime captors as 'gooks,' his campaign announced Feb. 18 that he would no longer use that term. Three days later McCain issued an official apology. Several stories that ran last Friday quoted McCain as saying 'I hate the gooks. I will hate them as long as I live... I was referring to my prison guards and I will continue to refer to them in language that might offend.' ... 'I will continue to condemn those who unfairly mistreated us,' McCain said in a statement released Feb. 21. 'But out of respect to a great number of people for whom I hold in very high regard, I will no longer use the term that has caused such discomfort... I apologize and renounce all language that is bigoted and offensive, which is contrary to all that I represent and believe.' [[Asian Week](#), [1/24/00](#); U.S. News & World Report, [1/28/08](#)]

- **In 1999, McCain Said He Was "Absolutely and Unequivocally" Committed To Appointing An Asian American to His Cabinet.** In 1999, many presidential candidates spoke in front of a group of 6,000 minority journalists. The *Washington Post* reported, "In his remarks today, McCain said he favors

affirmative action, is "absolutely and unequivocally" committed to appointing an Asian American to his Cabinet, and opposes so-called English-only laws." [[Washington Post](#), 7/9/99]

McCain Used Racist "Tar Baby" Slur In Response to Question at Town Hall Meeting. According to CNN, "Sen. John McCain, R-Arizona, issued an apology for his use of the phrase 'tar baby' in response to a question he received at his mid-day town hall meeting in Cedar Falls, Iowa on Friday. A questioner asked McCain whether as president he 'would be bold enough to address the issue of equal access to children for fathers that have gone through divorce.' The Republican presidential candidate responded, 'I'm sorry to disappoint you, I am not going to overturn divorce court decisions. That's why we have courts and that's why people go to court and get a divorce. If I as President of the United States said this decision has to be overturned without the proper appeals process then I would be disturbing our entire system of government... But for me to stand here before all these people and say that I'm going declare divorces invalid because someone feels that they weren't treated fairly in court, we are getting into a, uh, uh, tar baby of enormous proportions.'" [CNN, [3/16/07](#)]

- **McCain Was Forced To Apologize For Racist Remark.** McCain was forced to apologize for using a racist remark. During a press conference, CNN's Senior Political Correspondent Candy Crowley asked McCain about his use of the phrase 'tar baby,' viewed by some as having racist overtones. 'I hope that it's not viewed that way,' McCain said. 'It was a situation where if I kept going on that I would then be overturning court decisions. I don't think I should have used that word and it was wrong to do so.'" [CNN, [3/16/07](#)]

McCain Used Racist "Tar Baby" Slur Phrase to Explain His View On Bosnia. When describing his skepticism of air strikes in Bosnia, McCain rhetorically asked, "The question is do air strikes help, do they exacerbate, or do they put our fist in the tar baby that would inevitably lead us to military intervention on the ground?" Apparently McCain made the phrase a part of his vocabulary long before his gaffe in Iowa. [[All Things Considered](#), NPR, 4/28/93]

Seniors

Although John McCain is a senior citizen, he has not been good to his peer group over the years. McCain has a long and consistent record of supporting policies that undermine Social Security and Medicare, including opposing prescription drug coverage for seniors, supporting the Bush Social Security privatization plan, opposing funding for Medicare, and opposing measures to protect the long-term solvency of these important programs in order to protect tax cuts for the wealthy.

TOP HITS:

- McCain supports the Bush plan to privatize Social Security
- McCain would consider undermining Social Security and Medicare by raising Social Security taxes, changing the eligibility age and cutting benefits
- McCain has a long record of opposing crucial funding for Medicare
- McCain has a long record of neglecting the long-term solvency of Social Security and Medicare
- McCain opposed efforts to provide seniors with prescription drug coverage

McSame as Bush: McCain Supports Bush Social Security Privatization Plan

St. Petersburg Times Editorial Chastised McCain for Supporting Bush Privatization Plan. In a 2005 editorial, the *St. Petersburg Times* chastised McCain for supporting the Bush privatization plan, saying “he too easily damaged his reputation for principled straight talk to join Bush’s misguided bid to privatize Social Security. By diverting a portion of payroll taxes from Social Security into the stock market, Bush would add risk to retirement income and burden the program with trillions of dollars of debt. Bush’s real purpose is to cut traditional retirement benefits, which could be necessary to control costs, but he won’t provide any details on that part of his plan. Instead, Bush launched one last effort to sell skeptical Americans on private accounts. By his side at several stops was McCain, resorting to the kind of questionable tactics that once had been used against him.” [Editorial, [St. Petersburg Times](#), “Shame on John McCain,” 3/25/05]

- **St. Petersburg Times Accused McCain of Misleading Seniors to Sell Bush Privatization Plan.** In a 2005 editorial, the *St. Petersburg Times* wrote: “Shame on McCain for being a part of this effort to divide the generations. Usually noted for candid speech, he even resorted to misinformation when he said in 2042 ‘we stop paying people Social Security.’ McCain knows that isn’t true. That is the date (actually it was changed to 2041 the other day) when Social Security reserves are expected to be used up. Even then, with no change in the program, recipients would continue to get about 75 percent of what was promised them.” [Editorial, [St. Petersburg Times](#), “Shame on John McCain,” 3/25/05]

McCain Willing to Privatize Social Security. According to the *Sioux City Journal*, McCain “agreed that voluntary private accounts within the program should be an option.” [[Sioux City Journal](#), 10/26/07]

McCain Accompanied Bush to Help Sell Bush Social Security Privatization. According to the Associated Press, “There’s another showing Tuesday of the good-cop, bad-cop routine featuring President Bush and Sen. John McCain, Bush’s one-time presidential rival who has become a big booster of the president’s Social Security plan. The Arizona Republican accompanied Bush on Monday to the senator’s home state and Colorado to try to help sell the public and Congress on the president’s proposal for a major Social Security overhaul.” [AP, 3/22/05]

McCain Advocated for Bush Privatization Plan In 2005, McCain defended Bush Social Security privatization plan. McCain said, “Well, I think the president wants to take a comprehensive approach to start with, but, second of all, these personal savings accounts are workable and have worked in other countries. They could pay a much greater return than the present 1.8 to 2 percent. We members of Congress and federal employees can invest our money into these five different -- and we’re doing fine, between seven and nine percent return. The president is willing to look at a comprehensive fix. [[CNN](#), “Inside Politics,” 3/03/05]

McCain Supports Privatization. According to his campaign website, “John McCain supports supplementing the current Social Security system with personal accounts.” [[McCain Campaign Website](#), accessed 3/28/08]

McCain Voted for Privatization of Social Security Before Bush Took Office. McCain voted to privatize Social Security through private accounts before Bush even took office:

- **McCain Voted In Favor Of Establishing Private Social Security Accounts.** In 1998, McCain voted for an amendment that expressed the sense of the Senate that any federal budget surplus should be used to reduce the Social Security payroll tax and to establish personal retirement accounts. The measure passed 50-48. [SCR 86, [Vote #77](#), 4/2/98]
- **1998: McCain Voted To Create Personal Retirement Accounts.** In 1998, McCain voted for legislation expressing that the budget surplus can be used to establish a program of personal retirement accounts for working Americans to reduce unfunded liabilities of Social Security program. [SCR 86, Vote #56, 4/1/1998]

McCain Would Consider Cutting Benefits, Raising Eligibility Age and Raising Social Security Tax

McCain Refused to Respond to Question About Cutting Benefits and Raising Eligibility Age. In 2007, McCain was asked if he would be willing to cut benefits or increase the age of eligibility to keep Social Security from going bankrupt. McCain said, “Before we get into any of those specifics, you have to know that anyone who gets out front on this issue without sitting down and negotiating with everything on the table will get nowhere... If I take a position on any of those issues right now, one, it doesn’t work. And second of all, it’s got to be the product of bipartisan negotiations where people sit down across a table from one another.” [FOX News, 4/30/07]

- **McCain Said He Could Accept “Almost Anything” as Part of a Compromise.** In 2007, McCain was asked about his 2005 support of increasing Social Security taxes and was pressed about it as a part of a compromise. McCain said, “Oh. Well, I mean, as part of a compromise, if you come up with a benefit, I can accept almost anything, but it’s got to be part of a compromise. Am I for raising anybody’s taxes? No, I am not. I am unalterably opposed to doing so. But we have to save it, and come together the way that Tip O’Neill and Ronald Reagan did. I will not support any specific remedy, no matter what I said in 2005, and I believe you’re taking that quote out of context, because I never said it before.” [FOX News, 4/30/07]
- **McCain Said Lifting Cap on Payroll and Social Security Tax “Should Be Something That’s On The Table.”** In 2005, when asked about the possibility of lifting the cap so that people would pay payroll tax, Social Security tax, not just on the first \$90,000 of income, but perhaps even higher, McCain answered, “As part of a compromise I could, and other sacrifices, because we all know that it doesn’t add up until we make some very serious and fundamental changes. ... So my answer is, if everything’s on the table, certainly that should be something that’s on the table because, according to polls I’ve seen, that’s the one thing that most Americans agree is probably a viable option, but not by itself but with other changes that need to be made. And if we don’t, then we might as well say, ‘Look, it’s not going to change.’” [[NBC](#), 2/20/05]

McCain’s Top Economic Advisor Said Social Security Benefits Must be Cut. *The Nation* reported: “McCain’s economic aide, Douglas Holtz-Eakin, poured a little more oil on the fire by explaining that Social Security benefits must be cut to keep the system solvent. ‘You can’t keep promises made to retirees,’ Holz-Eakin said.” [[The Nation](#), 3/4/08]

McCain Said Increasing Payroll Taxes Was An Option. According to the *Sioux City Journal*, McCain “said raising the payroll tax that goes into Social Security is a last resort,” but didn’t rule it out as an option. [[Sioux City Journal](#), 10/26/07]

- **Club for Growth Criticized McCain for his Willingness to Raise Social Security Taxes.** According to the Club for Growth, “[McCain’s] positive stance on personal accounts though, is marred by his willingness to raise Social Security taxes as part of a package that would include personal accounts. On a February, 23, 2005 edition of Meet the Press, Tim Russert asked Senator McCain if he would support ‘as part of the solution to Social Security’s solvency problem, that you lift the cap so that you would pay payroll tax, Social Security tax, not just on the first \$90,000 of your income, but perhaps even higher?’ Senator McCain answered, ‘As part of a compromise I could . . . I’m proud of the job that Senator Lindsey Graham has been doing in his leadership position on this issue and showing some courage.’ Raising Social Security taxes in this manner is not a sign of courage. It could constitute a massive tax increase and prove devastating to economic growth in this country. Furthermore, Senator McCain’s support for Lindsey Graham’s proposal to raise Social Security taxes contradicts his own observation about the woefully poor return workers receive. Raising taxes would only make that return worse. As Senator McCain hinted in 2000, it is not Social Security taxes that are too low, but the below-market return on those taxes that should most concern policy makers and taxpayers alike.” [Club for Growth white paper, 3/13/07]

McCain Voted Against Increasing Social Security Survivor’s Benefit In 2000, McCain voted against an amendment that would increase the Social Security survivors' benefit to at least 75 percent of the combined benefits of the husband and wife. It also would allow workers to take time off to raise a child or care for a dependent relative, and dedicate interest savings from paying off the national debt to Social Security. The amendment failed 42-54. [H.R. 8, [Vote #192](#), 7/14/00]

McCain Voted to Raise Eligibility Age for Medicare

McCain Voted To Raise The Medicare Eligibility Age From 65 to 67. In 1997, McCain voted in favor of raising the eligibility age for receiving Medicare from 65 to 67 with the change being phased in between 2003 and 2027. The motion passed 62-38. [S 947, [Vote #112](#), 6/24/97]

McCain Supported Increasing The Medicare Eligibility Age. In 1997, McCain voted for an increase in the eligibility age of Medicare, creating a home health co-payment, and means testing Medicare part B. McCain voted to drive healthy people from the Medicare system. The motion failed 25-75. [S 947, [Vote #115](#), 6/25/97]

McCain has Voted Repeatedly to Slash Medicare Funding

2005: McCain Voted to Cut \$6.4 Billion from Medicare. In 2005, McCain voted for the budget reconciliation bill that cut funding for Medicare by \$6.4 billion by requiring that beneficiaries purchase medical equipment and cutting payments to home health care providers. The motion passed 50-50, with Vice President Cheney casting the deciding vote. [S. 1932, [Vote #363](#), 12/21/05]

2005: McCain Voted for GOP Budget that Cut Over \$5 Billion From Medicare. In 2005, McCain voted for passage of a Fiscal Year 2006 Budget Resolution that would cut \$5.78 billion from Medicare. Both Senators Obama and Clinton voted against the bill. The legislation passed 52-47. [S. 1932, [Vote #303](#), 11/3/2005]

2003: McCain Opposed Allocating Additional Medicare Funds For Cancer, Heart Disease, and Alzheimer Patients. In 2003, McCain voted to table an amendment that would have allocated \$12 billion for additional treatment for Medicare beneficiaries with cancer, heart disease, Alzheimer’s disease and disabilities. The motion to table passed 57-41. [S. 1, [Vote #253](#), 6/26/03]

2003: McCain Opposed Medicare Pilot Program to Encourage Community-Based Services to Individuals with Disabilities. In 2003, McCain voted against an amendment that would establish a demonstration project under Medicare to encourage community-based services to individuals with disabilities. The amendment failed 50-48. [S. 1, [Vote #247](#), 6/26/03]

2003: McCain Voted Against Funding For Rural Medicare Health Care Providers. In 2003, McCain voted against an amendment that would reduce the enormous tax cut given to the wealthiest American tax payers in order to give a fair reimbursement to rural health care providers under Medicare. [SCR 23, [Vote #89](#), 3/25/03]

2003: McCain Voted Against Increasing Funding For Medicare and Medicaid Programs By \$4.1 Billion. In 2003, McCain voted against a measure which would have increased funding for health care programs under Medicare and Medicaid by \$4.1 billion. The motion was rejected 41-56. [HJR 2, [Vote #21](#), 1/23/03]

2003: McCain Voted not to Improve Health Care Under the Medicare and Medicaid Programs. In 2003, McCain voted against a measure which would have increased funding for health care programs under Medicare and Medicaid by \$4.1 billion. The motion was rejected 41-56. [H.J.R. 2, [Vote #21](#), 1/23/03]

2001: McCain Voted Against Increased Medicare Funding for Home Health Care Agencies. In 2001, McCain voted against an amendment that would redirect \$13.7 billion from Bush's tax cuts for mandatory funding over 10 years to permanently repeal the 15 percent cut in home health reimbursements that was scheduled to go into effect on Oct. 1, 2002. The amendment failed 47-53. [H.C.R. 83, [Vote #73](#), 4/5/01]

2001: McCain Voted Against Increased Medicare Funding By \$13.7 Billion For Home Health Care Agencies. In 2001, McCain voted against an amendment that would redirect \$13.7 billion from Bush's tax cuts for mandatory funding over 10 years to permanently repeal the 15 percent cut in home health reimbursements that was scheduled to go into effect on Oct. 1, 2002. The amendment failed 47-53. [HCR 83, [Vote #73](#), 4/5/01]

1996: McCain Voted to Cut an Estimated \$158.1 Billion from Medicare. In 1996, McCain voted in favor of cutting Medicare by \$158.1 billion over six years. He first voted in favor of the Senate version of the Fiscal Year 1997 Budget Resolution that contained the cut and then voted for the same cut in the conference report. Both passed 53-46. [H.C.R. 178, [Vote #156](#), 5/23/1996; H.C.R. 178, [Vote #159](#), 6/13/1996]

1996: McCain Voted To Cut An Estimated \$158.1 Billion In Medicare And \$72 Billion From Medicaid As Part Of The FY 1997 Budget Resolution. In 1996, McCain voted for adoption of the conference report on the concurrent resolution to establish a six-year plan to balance the federal budget by 2002. Projected spending cuts over six years include \$158.1 billion in Medicare, \$72 billion from Medicaid, \$53 billion from welfare and \$297.9 billion from discretionary spending. The conference report passed 53-46. [HCR 178, [Vote #159](#), 6/13/96]

1996: McCain Voted To Cut Medicare By \$158 Billion And Medicaid By \$72 Billion As Part Of The FY 1997 Budget Resolution. In 1996, McCain voted for adoption of the concurrent resolution to adopt a six-year budget plan that would balance the budget by 2002. Projected spending cuts would come from reductions of \$158 billion to Medicare, \$72 billion to Medicaid, \$53 billion to Welfare and \$296 billion to discretionary spending. The concurrent resolution passed 53-46. [HCR 178, [Vote #156](#), 5/23/96]

1996: McCain Voted Against Restoring \$50 Billion Of The Proposed \$158 Billion Cuts To Medicaid Under The FY 1997 Budget Resolution. In 1996, McCain voted to table an amendment to restore over six years \$50 billion of the \$158 billion in cuts in projected Medicare spending proposed in the budget resolution by ending various corporate tax preferences and reinstating expired taxes. The motion to table passed 55-43. [SCR 57, [Vote #117](#), 5/16/96]

1995: McCain Voted to Cut Medicare by \$270 billion. In 1995, McCain voted for budget that would cut Medicare by \$270 billion. [H.R. 2491, [Vote #584](#), 11/17/1995; H.R. 2491, [Vote #556](#), 10/27/1995; H.C.R. 67, [Vote #296](#), 6/29/1995]

1995: McCain Voted To Cut Medicare By \$256 Billion to Pay for Tax Cuts for the Rich. In 1995, McCain voted for adoption of the resolution to adopt a seven-year budget plan that would cut \$256 billion from Medicaid. The resolution passed 57-42. [S.C.R. 13, [Vote #232](#), 5/25/1995]

1995: McCain Voted Against Reducing Cuts to Medicare by \$181 Billion. In 1995, McCain voted against reducing cuts to Medicare by \$181 billion by reducing tax cuts for upper income taxpayers. The motion was rejected 46-53. [S. 1357, [Vote #499](#), 10/26/95]

1995: McCain Voted to Cut Medicare and Medicaid by \$100 Billion. In 1995, McCain voted against an amendment to reduce by \$100 billion the cuts to Medicare and Medicaid by reducing tax cuts. The amendment failed 46-52. [S.C.R. 13, [Vote #173](#), 5/22/95]

1995: McCain Voted To Cut Medicare By \$270 Billion. In 1995, McCain voted twice to cut Medicare by \$270 billion. [H.R. 2491, [Vote #584](#), 11/17/95; H.R. 2491, [Vote #556](#), 10/27/95]

1995: McCain Voted In Favor Of Cuts In Medicare Payments To Hospitals. In 1995, McCain voted against restoring \$14.5 billion in payments under Medicare to hospitals that treat a disproportionate share of poor patients. The amendment failed 47-52. [S 1357, [Vote #524](#), 10/27/95]

1995: McCain Voted Against Reducing Cuts To Medicare By \$181 Billion. In 1995, McCain voted against reducing cuts to Medicare by \$181 billion by reducing tax cuts for upper income taxpayers. The motion was rejected 46-53. [S 1357, [Vote #499](#), 10/26/95]

1995: McCain Voted To Cut Medicaid/Medicare Funding By \$452 Billion. In 1995, McCain voted for adoption of the conference report on the fiscal 1996 budget resolution to put in place a seven-year plan to balance the budget by 2002 by cutting projected spending by \$894 billion, including cuts of \$270 billion from Medicare, \$182 billion from Medicaid, \$190 billion in non-defense spending, and \$175 billion from various entitlement programs such as welfare. The conference report was agreed to 54-46. [HCR 67, [Vote #296](#), 6/29/95]

1995: McCain Voted To Cut Medicare By \$256 Billion In Order To Pay For Tax Cuts For The Rich. In 1995, McCain voted for adoption of the resolution to adopt a seven-year budget plan that would balance the budget by 2002 by cutting projected spending by \$961 billion of which \$256 billion would come from Medicare, \$175 billion from Medicaid, \$190 billion from non-defense discretionary spending, and \$209 billion from various entitlement programs. The resolution would hold defense spending at the level proposed by the president and not cut taxes but potentially allow \$170 billion to be allocated for tax cuts if a reconciliation bill is enacted and certified by the Congressional Budget Office to balance the budget by 2002. The resolution suggests abolishing the Commerce Department and terminating the Interstate Commerce Commission, as well as phasing out operating subsidies for Amtrak, and terminating more than 100 federal programs, including President Clinton's National Service initiative. The concurrent resolution was agreed to 57-42. [SCR 13, [Vote #232](#), 5/25/95]

1995: McCain Voted Against Protecting Medicare From Cuts. In 1995, McCain voted for a motion to table an amendment to express the sense of the Senate that reductions in Medicare spending should not increase medical costs for recipients or diminish access to health care and that major reductions should not be enacted except in the context of broad bipartisan health care reform. The amendment was tabled 58-41. [SCR 13, [Vote #218](#), 5/25/95]

McCain Voted to Cut Medicare & Medicaid By \$100 Billion. In 1995, McCain voted against an amendment to reduce by \$100 billion the proposed cuts of \$256 billion to Medicare and Medicaid by reducing tax cuts. The amendment failed 46-52. [SCR 13, [Vote #173](#), 5/22/95]

McCain Voted Against Protecting Solvency of Social Security and Medicare

McCain Prioritized Tax Cuts Over Guaranteeing Social Security for Future Generations. In 2005, McCain voted against an amendment that would make the consideration of new tax cuts or net mandatory spending that

would increase the deficit subject to a 60-vote point of order unless Congress restored the solvency of Social Security for 75 years. The amendment fell 45-55. [S.C.R. 18, [Vote #47](#), 3/15/05]

McCain Voted Against Protecting the Social Security Trust Fund. In 2004, McCain voted against a measure that would have created a point of order against any direct spending or revenue legislation that increases on-budget deficit in any fiscal year until budget is balanced without counting Social Security surplus. The measure fell 46-51. [S.C.R. 95, [Vote #33](#), 3/9/04]

McCain Voted Against Redirecting \$396 Billion to Strengthen the Social Security Trust Fund. In 2003, McCain voted against an amendment that would reduce tax cuts protected by reconciliation instructions to \$350 billion and create a \$396 billion Social Security reserve account for use in implementing future legislation to strengthen Social Security. The amendment passed 51-48. [S.C.R. 23, [Vote #93](#), 3/25/03]

McCain Voted Against Strengthening Social Security in Favor of Bush's Tax Cuts. In 2003, McCain voted to table an amendment that would eliminate most of President Bush's tax cuts and reserve the subsequent increased revenues for Social Security trust funds. The motion to table the amendment passed 57-42. [S.C.R. 23, [Vote #58](#), 3/18/03]

McCain Chose Tax Cuts for the Wealthy Over the Long-Term Solvency of Both Social Security and Medicare. In 2001, McCain voted against an amendment that would delay the effective date of the tax rate reductions in the highest rate bracket until the enactment of legislation that would provide for long-term solvency of the Social Security and Medicare Trust Funds. The amendment fell 45-54. [H.R. 1836, [Vote #137](#), 5/22/01]

McCain Voted Against Cutting Taxes Before Providing Funds to Save Social Security. In 2001, McCain voted against striking all marginal rate tax cuts except for the establishment of the 10 percent rate and strike all estate and gift tax provisions taking effect after 2006 in order to provide funds to strengthen social security, extend the solvency of the Social Security Trust Funds, maintain progressivity in the social security benefit system, continue to lift more seniors out of poverty, extend the solvency of the Medicare Trust Funds, and provide prescription drug benefits. The amendment fell 39-60. [H.R. 1836, [Vote #122](#), 5/21/01]

McCain Voted Against a Medicare/Social Security Lockbox. In 2000, McCain voted against adding a Medicare/Social Security lockbox protection intended to prevent Social Security surpluses and Medicare Part A trust fund surpluses from being spent on non-Social Security or non-Medicaid purposes. The amendment passed 60-37. [H.R. 4577, [Vote #162](#), 6/29/00]

McCain Voted Against Efforts to Provide Safeguards for Social Security Surpluses. In 2000, McCain voted against a measure that would provide procedural obstructions to any measure which decreases Social Security surpluses below levels established in resolution or that amends Budget Act to allow Social Security surpluses to be decreased below the levels established in resolution. The amendment fell 44-56. [S.C.R. 101, [Vote #65](#), 4/7/00]

McCain Voted to Take \$75 Billion in Social Security Trust Fund Money and Pay for Tax Cuts to Benefit Special Interests and the Wealthy. In 1999, McCain voted in support of a bill that used Social Security surpluses to fund tax reductions. The measure succeeded 55-45. [S. 1429, [Vote #236](#), 7/30/99]

McCain Voted Against Efforts to Protect the Future Solvency of Both Social Security and Medicare. In 1999, McCain voted against a motion to recommit the Tax Reconciliation bill to the Senate Finance Committee with instructions that would direct the committee to reduce the bill's tax cuts enough to allow reservation of the entire Social Security surplus for Social Security and one-third of the non-Social Security surplus for Medicare. The motion to recommit the bill failed 42-58. [S. 1429, [Vote #228](#), 7/29/99]

McCain Voted For a Phony Social Security and Medicare "Lockbox." In 1999, McCain voted for an amendment that would create a Social Security "lockbox," establish declining limits on the public debt and create a Senate point of order against any provision that would exceed the debt limit. The amendment failed 54-46. A *Washington Post* editorial stated, "This is phony legislation, and it would do no good, and it is possible to imagine

circumstances in which it would do harm. Its purpose is to protect the politicians, not the program, and most of it is merely a showy restatement of the status quo. But it also implicitly would ease the current definition of fiscal discipline and in doing that could end up weakening precisely the values it pretends to strengthen.” [S. 1429, [Vote #227](#), 7/29/99; [Washington Post](#), 6/7/99]

McCain Voted Against Using the Budget Surplus to Extend Medicare’s Solvency. In 1999, McCain voted against including provisions that would allow targeted tax relief for low- and moderate-income working families and that would reserve a sufficient portion of projected non-Social Security surpluses extend Medicare’s solvency significantly before any budget surpluses could be used to give tax breaks that mostly benefited wealthy Americans or before any new, non-offset spending could be approved. The motion to table passed 54-45. [H.C.R. 68, [Vote #84](#), 4/13/99]

McCain Prioritized Tax Cuts for the Wealthy Over Saving Medicare. In 1999, McCain voted to kill an amendment that would strike the Budget Resolution’s proposed \$320 billion in tax cuts for the wealthiest Americans over ten years and direct the funds to Medicare or debt reduction. The motion to table passed 53-46. [S.C.R. 20, [Vote #66](#), 3/25/99]

McCain Voted Against Protecting Social Security and Medicare. In 1999, McCain voted against an amendment that would reserve 40 percent of the non-Social Security budget surplus to ensure the solvency of Medicare through 2020 and would establish a Senate point of order against spending money reserved for Social Security or Medicare. The amendment failed 45-54. [S.C.R. 20, [Vote #61](#), 3/24/99]

McCain Voted Against Efforts to Protect Social Security and Medicare. In 1999, McCain voted against an amendment that would establish a Senate point of order against any measure that would increase spending or reduce taxes without offsets until Congress enacts legislation to ensure the long-term solvency of Social Security and extend the solvency of Medicare by at least 12 years. The amendment failed 45-54. [S.C.R. 20, [Vote #59](#), 3/24/99]

McCain Voted Against Balancing the Budget Without Raiding the Social Security Trust Fund. In 1998, McCain voted against an amendment that would express the sense of the Senate that Congress and the president should: “save Social Security first” by reserving any fiscal 1999 budget surplus for that purpose; work together to balance the budget without counting Social Security trust fund surpluses; and enact bipartisan legislation to ensure the financial security of the Social Security system. The measure failed 47-53. [S 2260, [Vote #222](#), 7/22/98]

McCain Voted Against Ensuring Social Security Solvency & Availability. In 1998, John McCain voted against a budget measure that reinstated President Clinton’s funding priorities as well as expressed the sense of Congress that any budget surplus should not be used for purpose other than reducing national debt while Congress and Administration work together to ensure that Social Security is sound over long term and available for future generations. The measure failed 42-55. [S.C.R. 86, [Vote #69](#), 4/2/98]

McCain Voted to Use Temporary Spending for Permanent Tax Cuts. In 1998, McCain voted for an amendment to express the sense of the Senate that savings from the elimination of any discretionary spending program should be used for tax cuts or to revise the Social Security program. However, the Budget Act was specifically designed to ensure that if the Federal government incurs permanent obligations, such as permanent tax cuts, those obligations should be paid for with permanent savings. The amendment passed 52-46. [SCR 86, [Vote #68](#), 4/2/98]

McCain Voted Against Requiring a 3/5 Majority Vote in the Senate for any Bill Pertaining to Social Security. In 1998, McCain voted in opposition to a measure that would provide a supermajority point of order against any change in the off-budget status of social security. The measure fell 42-58. [S.C.R. 86, [Vote #58](#), 4/1/98]

McCain Voted to Destroy Medicare by Codifying the Right for Doctor’s to Price Gauge Medicare Recipients. In 1998, McCain voted for an amendment that expressed the sense of the Congress that seniors have the right to see the physician or health care provider of their choice, and should not be limited in that right by the

imposition of unreasonable conditions on providers who are willing to treat seniors on a private basis. A journalist with *Healthcare Financial Management* quoted the AARP's objection to the proposal: "Private contracting without limitations, they say, will inevitably destroy the basic principles under which Medicare has operated, leading the nation ever closer to a two- or three-tiered system of health care." The amendment passed 51-47. [S.C.R. 86, [Vote #53](#), 4/1/98; *Healthcare Financial Management*, 2/98]

McCain Opposed Requiring States to Ensure the Federal Government that Their Medicaid Reimbursement Rates Were Sufficient to Ensure Access to Quality Services. In 1997, McCain voted against requiring states to provide assurances to the Federal Government that their Medicaid reimbursement rates for hospitals, nursing homes, and other medical care facilities were "actuarially sufficient to ensure access to and quality of services." The motion failed 39-60. [S. 947, [Vote #125](#), 6/25/97]

McCain Voted Against Providing Medicaid Reimbursement Rates to Hospitals, Nursing Homes, and Other Medical Facilities. In 1997, McCain voted against requiring states to have Medicaid reimbursement rates for hospitals, nursing homes, and other medical facilities that are reasonable and adequate to meet the cost of operating the facilities. The motion to table passed 66-34. [S. 947, [Vote #124](#), 6/25/97]

McCain Voted to Require a \$5 Co-Payment for Medicare Home Health Care Services. In 1997, McCain voted against an amendment to strike a \$5 co-payment for home health care visits under Medicare unless beneficiaries are under the poverty line. The motion to table passed 59-41. [S. 947, [Vote #111](#), 6/24/97]

McCain Voted Against Allowing Surpluses to be Easily Used for Future Social Security. In 1997, John McCain voted to table an amendment which allowed the use of an accumulated surplus to balance the budget during any fiscal year by a simple majority vote (thus allowing the creation of dedicated emergency funds, and the use of savings built up to help fund future Social Security benefits). The motion to table passed 60-40. [S.J.R. 1, [Vote #22](#), 2/27/97]

McCain Voted Against Preserving the Independence of Social Security. In 1996, McCain voted to table an amendment that expressed the sense of the Senate that a balanced budget constitutional amendment should protect the social security system by excluding the receipts and outlays of the social security trust funds from the budget. The motion to table passed 57-42. [S. 1664, [Vote #82](#), 4/24/96]

McCain Voted to Allow Use of the Social Security Trust Fund to Balance The Budget. In 1995, McCain voted to kill an amendment that would reaffirm the commitment of the Congress not to use the surpluses in the Social Security Trust Fund to mask the true size of the deficit in any plan for a balanced budget. The motion to table passed 53-46. [H.J.R. 122, [Vote #578](#), 11/16/95]

McCain Voted Against Making it Easier for Congress to Borrow Money to Meet Social Security Obligations. In 1995, McCain voted to table an amendment that would add language to Section 2 of the pending Constitutional amendment which clarifies the application of the public debt limit with respect to redemptions from the Social Security Trust Funds. The motion to table passed 57-43. [S. 1, [Vote #83](#), 2/28/95]

McCain Voted Against Excluding Social Security From Balanced Budget Requirements. In 1995, McCain voted to table an amendment that expressed the sense of Senate that any joint resolution providing for balanced budget Constitutional amendment passed by Senate shall specifically exclude Social Security from calculations used to determine if Federal budget is in balance. The motion to table passed 62-38. [S. 1, [Vote #52](#), 1/26/95]

McCain Voted Against Requiring a Balanced Budget that Prohibited the Use of Social Security Surpluses to Mask the Deficit. In 1994, John McCain voted against amendment to propose a constitutional amendment to require a balanced budget but to prohibit the use of Social Security surpluses to mask the deficit, allow Congress to authorize creation of a separate capital budget in which borrowing would be permitted for highway and other unspecified capital improvements, and allow deficit spending during periods of slow economic growth. The measure failed 22-78. [S.J.R. 41, [Vote #47](#), 3/1/94]

McCain Skipped a Vote to Allow New Subsidies to the Hospital Trust Fund. In 1999, McCain missed a vote to amend the Medicare reserve fund language in the resolution (section 209). That language would allow adjustments to be made to the functional totals to accommodate the passage of legislation that would significantly extend the solvency of the Medicare Hospital Insurance Trust Fund (Part A), provided that legislation does not transfer new subsidies to that trust fund, and provided that legislation does not cause an on-budget deficit in the years scored by the resolution. Such legislation may provide a new Medicare prescription drug benefit. The amendment failed 54-44. [S.C.R. 20, [Vote #76](#), 3/25/99]

McCain Voted Against Passage of the 2003 Prescription Drug & Medicare Improvement Act, But Also Voted Against Key Provisions to Improve It.

McCain Voted Against the Prescription Drug/Medicare Bill After Voting Down 12 Important Enhancements to the Legislation. In 2003, McCain voted against a Medicare bill which did little to lower the costs of prescription drugs. Under the limited drug benefit, those with drug costs below \$5,800 would still have to pay most of their drug costs, and premiums would vary across the country. The bill passed 76-21. [S 1, [Vote #262](#), 6/26/03]

- **As President, McCain Would Repeal the 2003 RX Plan if he Couldn't Fix it.** Asked if he would repeal the 2003 Medicare prescription drug plan if he were President, McCain said, "I would - if I couldn't fix it I would repeal it. I, you know, but at first I'd try to fix it." McCain detailed that he would "structurally reform it," noting that, "certain prescription drugs now are having dramatic inflation associated with it, because we put in a provision prohibiting, prohibiting the government to say that these pharmaceutical companies should compete with each other." [Bloomberg.com, 6/23/06]

McCain Voted Against an Amendment Closing the Medicare Prescription Drug Loophole. In 2003, McCain voted against an amendment to ensure that current retirees who had prescription drug coverage but would lose their prescription drug coverage as a result of the enactment of the Medicare Prescription Drug Benefit (Part D) would have the option of drug coverage under the Medicare fallback. This amendment was an attempt to give these seniors an option of prescription drug coverage under Medicare. The amendment failed 42-54. [S 1, [Vote #259](#), 6/26/03]

McCain Voted Against Lowering Prescription Premiums for Medicare Recipients. In 2003, McCain voted against an amendment that would authorize \$2.4 billion a year for four years to lower premiums for enrollees in a Medicare prescription drug benefit plan. The amendment failed 39-59. [S 1, [Vote #254](#), 6/26/03]

McCain Opposed Allocating Additional Medicare Funds for Cancer, Heart Disease, and Alzheimer Patients. In 2003, McCain voted to table an amendment that would have allocated \$12 billion for additional treatment for Medicare beneficiaries with cancer, heart disease, Alzheimer's disease and disabilities. The motion to table passed 57-41. [S 1, [Vote #253](#), 6/26/03]

McCain Voted Against Ensuring Drug Coverage for Cancer Patients. In 2003, McCain voted against an amendment that would prevent any loss of drug coverage for beneficiaries with cancer before catastrophic care begins. The motion to table the amendment passed 54-44. [S1, [Vote #250](#), 6/26/03]

McCain Opposed a Program to Encourage Community-Based Services to Individuals with Disabilities. In 2003, McCain voted against an amendment that would establish a demonstration project under Medicare to encourage community-based services to individuals with disabilities. The amendment failed 50-48. [S 1, [Vote #247](#), 6/26/03]

McCain Voted Against Partial Drug Coverage for those Who Have Reached a Cut-off Point. In 2003, McCain voted against an amendment that would cover 50% of drug costs for beneficiaries with incomes between 160 and

250 percent above the poverty line after the beneficiary has reached the initial coverage cut-off. The amendment failed 41-54. [S 1, [Vote #240](#), 6/24/03]

McCain Voted to Delay the Availability of the Prescription Drug Benefit Plan. In 2003, McCain voted against an amendment that would have changed the date a prescription drug benefit would become available from Jan. 1, 2006, to July 1, 2004. The amendment failed 41-54. [S 1, [Vote #239](#), 6/24/03]

McCain Opposed a Federal “Fallback” Drug Coverage Plan. In 2003, McCain voted against an amendment that would require any federal “fallback” drug coverage plan used in an area not served by two private plans to allow those eligible to enter into two-year contracts. The motion to table the amendment passed 51-45. [S 1, [Vote #238](#), 6/24/03]

McCain Voted Against Closing Huge Medicare Coverage Gaps & Ending The Benefit Shutdown for Seniors. In 2003, McCain voted to table an amendment that rectified language in the underlying bill that would force six million seniors and people with disabilities (15% of all Medicare beneficiaries) to pay all of their drug costs for an average of four months each year. The motion to table passed 54-42. [S 1, [Vote #236](#), 6/24/03]

McCain Voted to Deny Citizens the Option Of Joining or Leaving the Medicare Prescription Drug Plan. In 2003, McCain voted against an amendment that would extend until the end of 2007 the period for beneficiaries to enter or exit the Medicare prescription drug plans and Medicare Advantage plan. The motion to table passed 55-42. [S 1, [Vote #234](#), 6/24/03]

McCain Voted Against Guaranteeing Affordable Prescription Premiums for Seniors. In 2003, McCain voted against an amendment that would limit any increase in prescription drug premiums to 10 percent of the national average monthly prescription drug premium. The amendment failed 39-56. [S 1, [Vote #229](#), 6/19/03]

McCain Opposed Creating a Strong Prescription Drug Plan Under Medicare. In 2003, McCain voted against an amendment that would have created a prescription drug benefit plan under the traditional Medicare program available to all eligible recipients. The program would be available every year in addition to any private plans offered. The amendment failed 37-58. [S 1, [Vote #227](#), 6/18/03]

McCain Skipped a Vote that Would have Funded a Government Study to Determine the Effectiveness and Safety of Drugs Covered by Medicare. In 2003, McCain missed a vote on an amendment that would authorize \$75 million in FY 2004 and such sums needed in the future for the NIH to compare the effectiveness and safety of major drugs covered by Medicare in order to allow consumers to make informed choices. The amendment failed 43-52. [S 1, [Vote #246](#), 6/25/03]

McCain Skipped a Vote on a No-Deductible Prescription Drug Plan. In 2003, McCain missed a vote on an amendment that created a prescription drug plan within Medicare with no deductible. The plan would seek to cut prescription drug costs for enrollees through a group-negotiation system. The amendment failed 39-56. [S 1, [Vote #245](#), 6/25/03]

McCain Skipped a Vote that Would have Helped Seniors Cover the “Medicare Gap.” In 2003, McCain missed a vote on an amendment that would stipulate that eligible beneficiaries would pay reduced premiums if they are beyond the cost limit for sharing drug expense with Medicare but are not yet eligible for catastrophic coverage. The amendment failed 39-56. [S 1, [Vote #244](#), 6/25/03]

Other Prescription Drug Benefit Votes

McCain Put Tax Cuts for the Wealthy Ahead of Prescription Drug Coverage. In 2003, McCain voted against an amendment that would delay the dividend tax cut and acceleration of a reduction of the top income tax rate until a prescription drug benefit for Medicare recipients was enacted. The amendment failed 44-56. [S. 1054, [Vote #159](#), 5/15/03]

McCain Voted Against Funding for Rural Medicare Health Care Providers. In 2003, McCain voted against an amendment that would reduce the enormous tax cut given to the wealthiest American tax payers in order to give a fair reimbursement to rural health care providers under Medicare. [S.C.R. 23, [Vote #89](#), 3/25/03]

McCain Voted Against Ensuring Prescription Drug Benefits for Medicare. In 2003, McCain voted against requiring any Medicare prescription drug benefit to be available to all beneficiaries on an equal basis, including those who choose to remain in a fee-for-service program. The amendment failed 46-51. [S.C.R. 23, [Vote #82](#), 3/25/03]

McCain Voted Against Adding \$219 Billion for the Medicare Prescription Drug Benefit. In 2003, McCain voted to kill an amendment that would increase spending on a Medicare prescription drug benefit from \$400 billion to \$619 billion over 10 years and put \$177 billion toward debt reduction. The increases would have been offset by a reduction in tax cuts. The amendment was tabled by a vote of 55-44. [S.C.R. 23, [Vote #63](#), 3/20/03]

McCain Voted Against Medicare Prescription Drug Coverage. In 2002, McCain voted against an amendment that would provide prescription drug coverage for Medicare recipients with incomes of up to 200 percent of the poverty level. It also would provide catastrophic coverage for drug costs over \$3,300 per year for an annual payment of \$25 per year. The amendment would also authorize the secretary of Health and Human Services to promulgate regulations permitting pharmacists and wholesalers to import prescription drugs from Canada into the United States. The amendment failed 49-50. [S. 812, [Vote #199](#), 7/31/02]

McCain Voted For a Prescription Drug Proposal Under Medicare that Favored Private Insurers Over Seniors. In 2001, McCain voted for an inadequate amendment that would have provided a new voluntary prescription drug benefit for eligible Medicare beneficiaries. The proposal was so inadequate that senior citizens would continue to be forced to choose between eating and purchasing needed prescription drugs. The program only paid a small fraction of the costs of needed medicines, requiring the elderly to shoulder the remaining costs or go without. Instead of guaranteeing benefits for senior citizens, the program provides subsidies for insurance companies and allows them to set the premium and determine the benefits that the elderly can receive. [S. 812, [Vote #187](#), 7/23/02]

McCain Voted Against a Prescription Drug Benefit to Reduce the Costs of Prescription Drugs for Medicare Eligible Beneficiaries. In 2002, McCain voted against an amendment that would provide a new voluntary prescription drug benefit for eligible Medicare beneficiaries. The amendment McCain voted against would limit monthly premiums to \$25, the co-payment for generic drugs to \$10, and the co-payment for preferred brand name drugs to \$40. Out-of-pocket expenses would be capped at \$4,000. The amendment failed 52-47. [S. 812, [Vote #186](#), 7/23/02]

McCain Voted Against Allowing States to Negotiate with Pharmaceutical Companies for Discount Drug Prices for Medicaid Patients and Other Groups. In 2002, McCain voted against an amendment that would codify state authority to set up programs designed to force pharmaceutical companies to discount drug prices for Medicaid patients and other groups. The amendment passed 56-43. [S. 812, [Vote #182](#), 7/18/02]

McCain Voted Against a Prescription Drug Benefit Plan for Medicare. In 2001, McCain against an amendment providing a prescription drug benefit plan for Medicare. During debate on the budget resolution, an amendment was offered to provide \$311 billion over ten years for a Medicare prescription drug benefit. [H.C.R. 83, [Vote #66](#), 4/3/01]

McCain Voted Against Allowing the Government to Negotiate for Lower Drug Prices. In 2001, McCain voted for an amendment that would have struck the section of Domenici's amendment that provided reserve fund of \$11.2 billion in new budget authority and outlays for FY02 and \$153 billion in new budget authority and outlays for FY02 through FY11 for prescription drug benefit and Medicare reform if Senate Finance Committee reports a bill or joint resolution to reform Medicare program and to provide Medicare prescription drug benefit; and provides reserve fund of \$300 billion in new budget authority and outlays for FY02 through FY11 for prescription drug

benefit and Medicare reform if Finance Committee reports bill or joint resolution to reform Medicare program and to provide Medicare prescription drug benefit. The amendment to strike passed 50-50 with Vice President Cheney casting the deciding vote. [H.C.R. 83, [Vote #65](#), 4/3/01]

McCain Voted Against Prohibiting Marriage Tax Relief Before a Medicare Prescription Drug Benefit was Enacted. In 2000, McCain voted against waiving the Budget Act to consider an amendment that would have prohibited any of the marriage tax relief in the bill from going into effect before the enactment of legislation that provided, to all Medicare beneficiaries, Medicare prescription drug benefits that guaranteed “meaningful, stable coverage.” The motion failed 49-50. [H.R. 4810, [Vote #206](#), 7/17/00]

McCain Voted Against Reducing the Proposed Estate Tax Relief in Order to Provide a Prescription Drug Benefit to Medicare. In 2000, McCain voted against an amendment to the bill that would have stricken the bill’s language and substituted text that would reduce Federal Estate Taxes instead of eliminating them and provide an additional \$40 billion over 5 years to be spent on providing a prescription drug benefit to Medicare recipients. The motion failed 46-53. [H.R. 8, [Vote #186](#), 7/13/00]

McCain Voted Against a Prescription Drug Benefit to Medicare. In 2000, McCain voted against an amendment that would have added a new prescription drug benefit to Medicare. The program would provide prescription drug benefits to Medicare recipients as an entitlement. Private sector contractors would be hired to provide the benefits. Most of the costs of the new program would be paid for by the taxpayers rather than by Medicare beneficiaries. The amendment failed 44-53. [H.R. 4577, [Vote #144](#), 6/22/00]

McCain Opposed Providing For a Prescription Drug Benefit Before Taxes were Cut. In 2000, McCain voted against the consideration of any tax relief before Congress passed legislation that provided an outpatient prescription drug benefit under the Medicare program consistent with Medicare reform and that provided such a benefit before the on-budget surplus was expended on tax relief. The motion failed 51-49. [S.C.R. 101, [Vote #52](#), 4/5/00]

McCain Voted Against a Medicare Prescription Drug Benefit Program. In 1999, McCain voted against a motion to recommit the Tax Reconciliation bill to the Senate Finance Committee with instructions that would direct the committee to add language that would reduce the bill’s tax cuts by an amount sufficient to allow establishment of a Medicare prescription drug benefit program. The motion to recommit the bill failed 45-55. [S. 1429, [Vote #231](#), 7/29/99]

McCain Missed a Vote to Provide a Prescription Drug Benefit to Medicare. In 1999, McCain missed a vote to create a reserve fund that would allow the functional totals to be adjusted to provide a prescription drug coverage-benefit under Medicare if legislation were enacted to modernize and strengthen Medicare and if the provision of such a benefit did not cause an on-budget deficit. The motion to table passed 54-45. [S.C.R. 20, [Vote #79](#), 3/25/99]

Taxes

Over the past decade, Americans have been forced to endure the slow and painful transformation of John McCain: a once-rational legislator overcome by political ambition. On nearly every important tax issue to come before the Senate, McCain has discarded any sense of fiscal responsibility he once had in order to increase his chances of enticing Conservative voters. His policies will continue the Bush legacy of placing the needs of Corporate America and Millionaires above the needs of working Americans.

Top Hits:

- McCain's tax plan would dramatically worsen the federal budget deficit.
- McCain's tax plan would cost \$400 billion, and eliminating earmarks would save a less than \$17 billion.
- McCain flip-flopped on the Bush tax cuts, repealing the Estate Tax, and the Fair Tax.
- McCain's tax policies are worse than Bush's, and would place a heavier burden on future generations of Americans.

Accomplishments:

- Prior to his 2008 bid for the presidency, McCain earned a reputation as a "maverick" by breaking ranks with the GOP on irresponsible tax cuts.

McCain's Revisionist History on the Bush Tax Cuts

THEN: McCain: "I Cannot In Good Conscience Support A Tax Cut In Which So Many Of The Benefits Go To The Most Fortunate Among Us..." According to *Congressional Quarterly*, Senator McCain argued, "I cannot in good conscience support a tax cut in which so many of the benefits go to the most fortunate among us at the expense of middle-class Americans who need tax relief." [[Congressional Quarterly Weekly](#), 6/1/01]

NOW: McCain Claimed He Opposed Tax Cuts Due To Lack of Spending Restraint. McCain has changed his justification for voting against the Bush tax cuts. Along the campaign trail McCain defended his opposition to the Bush tax cuts by saying, "I disagreed when we had tax cuts without spending restraint." In 2001 and 2003, however, McCain said he opposed the cuts because they favored the wealthiest Americans. [[Associated Press](#), 1/31/08]

THEN: Tax Cuts Would "Lower the National Income" and Worsen the Deficit. When Senator McCain opposed the Bush tax cuts in 2003, he wrote a letter to the President saying "We should be concerned about deficits, Mr. President. They limit economic expansion by reducing the amount of national savings available for investment. This raises both interest rates and interest payments on the national debt. Deficits constrain our ability to respond effectively to unanticipated fiscal events. If we do not reduce them, projected long term deficits will reach dangerous levels, lowering the national income and standards of living for future American generations. That said, Mr. President, I would still be open, at some point, to proposals to stimulate the economy with tax cuts. But not now. We should, Mr. President, take a pause in our efforts to increase spending on non-defense needs and to reduce taxes." [McCain Release, March 18, 2003]

NOW: McCain Now Says Tax Cuts Increase Revenue. Asked if he might consider a tax increase as part of a compromise for entitlements or tax simplification, Senator McCain responded "No. None. None. Tax

cuts, starting with Kennedy, as we all know, increase revenues. So what's the argument for increasing taxes? If you get the opposite effect out of tax cuts?" [[The National Review](#), 3/5/07]

NOW: McCain Said He Believed That Cutting Taxes Increases Government Revenue By Spurring Economic Growth. According to the *New York Times*, while he was campaigning in South Carolina McCain "...proclaimed himself a believer in the notion that cutting taxes increases revenue for the government by spurring economic growth." Apparently, McCain told supporters in the state, "Don't listen to this siren song about cutting taxes...Every time in history we have raised taxes it has cut revenues. And is there anybody here that needs to have their taxes increased?" [[New York Times](#), 1/18/08]

THEN: McCain "Vigorously" Opposed Bush Tax Cuts. According to Club for Growth, "When the most important pro-growth tax cuts in a generation were proposed by President Bush in 2001 and 2003, Senator McCain vigorously opposed them. The depth of this opposition goes a long way towards tarnishing the Senator's fiscal credentials. First, it is notable that Senator McCain stood so astride the Republican anti-tax position that he was one of only two Republican senators to oppose the 2001 tax cuts and one of only three GOP senators to oppose the 2003 reductions. [[Club for Growth White Paper](#), 3/12/07]

NOW: McCain Said He Would Not Let Democrats Roll Back Bush Tax Cuts. According to the *Phoenix Business Journal*, at an Americans for Prosperity Summit in Michigan, McCain said he would not "...let the Democrats roll back the Bush tax cuts." He added, "I believe we should protect the American family against tax increases by requiring a three-fifths majority in Congress to raise taxes...But I will cut middle class taxes and keep them low the right way – by also cutting spending so we don't add to the debt we leave to our children." [[Phoenix Business Journal](#), 1/14/08]

THEN: Wartime Responsibility: McCain Opposed Cutting Taxes During Wartime. "Senator McCain, who spent five years in a North Vietnamese prison, excoriated fellow Republican for pushing more tax cuts while U.S. troops are fighting in Iraq and Afghanistan. 'Throughout our history, wartime has been a time of sacrifice...What have we sacrificed?' McCain said. 'As mind-boggling as expanding Medicare has been, nothing tops my confusion for cutting taxes during wartime. I don't remember ever in the history of warfare when we cut taxes.'" [AP, 5/19/04]

NOW: McCain Said Bush's Tax Cuts Must Be Permanent Or It Would Negatively Impact Economy. On MSNBC's *Meet the Press*, McCain said, about Bush's tax cuts, "We've got to make these tax cuts permanent. We have to, otherwise I think it'll have a negative impact on our economy." [Meet The Press, 1/27/08]

McCain on the Estate Tax

NOW: McCain Voted With His Republican Colleagues To Move Forward The Permanent Repeal Of The Estate Tax. McCain voted with all but one of his Republican colleagues for cloture on the Death Tax Repeal Permanency Act, which failed in the Senate, 57-41. [HR 8, [Vote #164](#), 6/8/06]

- **THEN: McCain Said Repealing Estate Tax Would Expand Deficit Too Much.** McCain and other moderate Senators "argued that, given domestic spending demands and need to fund military operations in Iraq, the repeal [of the estate tax] sought by Frist and President Bush would expand the deficit by too much." [[Roll Call](#), 6/5/06]
- **THEN: In 2003, McCain Voted Against Accelerating The Repeal Of The Estate Tax.** In 2003, McCain voted against Senator Kyl's amendment to S.Con.Res. 23 that would have accelerated the repeal of the estate tax from 2010 to 2009. McCain was one of four Republicans to vote against the amendment, which passed 51-48. [SCR 23, [Vote #62](#), 3/20/03]

- **THEN: In 2002, McCain Voted Against A Permanent Repeal Of The Estate Tax.** In 2002, McCain was one of two Republicans to vote against a permanent extension of the estate tax repeal. The motion failed, with a vote of 54-44. [HR 8, [Vote #151](#), 6/12/02]
- **THEN: In 2001, McCain Voted Against Phasing Out The Estate Tax.** In 2001, McCain was one of two Republicans to vote against the tax cut package that included an elimination of the estate tax over 10 years. The bill passed, 58-33. [HR 1863, [Vote #170](#), 5/26/01]

Norquist Criticized McCain For Opposing Permanent Repeal of the Estate Tax. According to Americans for Tax Reform, headed by Grover Norquist, John McCain has repeatedly opposed permanently repealing the Estate Tax, “a major goal of the taxpayer movement.” [Americans for Tax Reform website, accessed 1/29/08]

Krugman: If McCain Votes For Cloture Or Compromise On Estate Tax, He’s A Hypocrite Trying To Have It Both Ways. “Any senator who votes to repeal the estate tax, or votes for a ‘compromise’ that goes most of the way toward repeal, is in effect saying that increasing the wealth of people who are already in line to inherit millions or tens of millions is more important than taking care of fellow citizens who need a helping hand ... Any senator who votes for cloture but against estate tax repeal -- which I’m told is what John McCain may do -- is simply a hypocrite, trying to have it both ways.” [Krugman Op-Ed, New York Times, 6/5/06]

McCain is Inconsistent on the Fair Tax

THEN: McCain Supported Fair Tax Plan on Campaign Trail in Michigan. Senator John McCain was asked at a town hall meeting about the so-called “fair tax” plan touted proudly on the campaign trail by Mike Huckabee, and the Wall Street Journal reported that “he’d sign a fair-tax bill if it ‘came across my desk.’ A national sales tax would be ‘better than the current tax system,’ he said, but added that he has ‘significant problems with it’ and ‘can not support it in its present form.’” [The Wall Street Journal, [1/14/08](#)]

THEN: McCain Said National Sales Tax Plan Would Be Better Than Current Tax System, But It Needed Significant Changes. According to the *Wall Street Journal*, at a town hall meeting in Michigan, McCain said that he would sign a fair tax bill if it “came across [his] desk.” According to the *Journal*, McCain also said that a national sales tax would be “better than the current tax system” but that he still had “significant problems with it... [and could] not support it in its present form.” McCain said that his hesitation with the fair tax plan, in its current form, was whether or not the plan’s 23% rate was high enough to create sufficient revenue. [Wall Street Journal, [1/14/08](#)]

NOW: McCain Critical of Fair Tax. During the Republican presidential debate, sponsored by MSNBC, McCain said, “How do you answer the criticism that a flat-out just sales tax wouldn’t cause lower-income Americans more of the pain and the burden of running our government and paying for its operations? How do you respond to that particular criticism of it? And also, how do you account for the resonance that this proposal has gotten throughout the nation?” [MSNBC GOP Presidential Debate, [1/24/08](#)]

McCain: Worse than Bush

McCain Says He Would Treat Employer Sponsored Healthcare as Taxable Income. The Tax Policy Center wrote that McCain “He says he would treat employer sponsored health benefits as taxable income, while giving individuals a tax credit for the insurance they buy. On its own, taxing employer insurance just like wages would be a huge tax increase—OMB estimates in the neighborhood of \$1 trillion from 2009–2013. To many on the right, that alone would violate the no-tax pledge.” [Tax Policy Center, [2/19/08](#)]

McCain's Plan: Tax Cuts To For Businesses. According to the Associated Press, John McCain proposed a long-term economic plan that would lower the corporate income tax rate and provide several other tax breaks for businesses. McCain proposed cutting the corporate tax rate to 25 percent from 35 percent. McCain said that his plan was “pro growth, less taxes and less spending” versus “the Democrats’ tired ideas of tax and spend.” [Associated Press, 1/17/08]

MCCAIN'S TAX CUT MATH DOESN'T ADD UP:

- **McCain Would Finance Tax Reductions With Deep Cuts In Pork-Barrel Spending.** According to the Associated Press, “McCain told reporters he would help finance the reductions with deep cuts in what he considers wasteful pork-barrel spending, starting with nearly 10,000 local projects, or ‘earmarks,’ totaling over \$10 billion in spending legislation recently signed by President Bush.” [Associated Press, 1/17/08]
- **WSJ: “Eliminating Earmarks Wouldn’t Restore Revenue Lost By McCain’s Other Propositions.”** According to an article in the *Wall Street Journal*, “eliminating earmarks wouldn’t restore revenue lost by Sen. McCain's other propositions, including a litany of tax cuts. He plans to not raise taxes, but he also plans to increase the size of the military and institute health-care overhauls. ‘He’s going to add \$400 billion in tax cuts, keep the Bush tax cuts permanent and balance the budget by eliminating earmarks. Somebody ought to do some addition on this,’ says Robert Borosage, co-director of the left-leaning advocacy group Campaign for America’s Future.” [Wall Street Journal, 3/14/08]

McCain Promised “No New Taxes.” Echoing the disastrous phrase of George H.W. Bush, McCain said, “No new taxes. To impose on the American people what essentially would be a tax increase of thousands of dollars per family in America ... would be bad for the economy of this country,” he explained. [ABC This Week, 2/17/08]

McCain Resisted Temporary Economic Relief, Unlike Bush And Reserve Chairman Bernanke. According to the Associated Press, McCain proposed an economic plan that seemed to resist “...temporary economic relief for individuals, even as President Bush indicated support for a short-term boost and Federal Reserve Chairman Ben Bernanke called explicitly for it.” [Associated Press, 1/17/08]

McCain Said He Wants To Require 3/5th Vote To Raise Taxes. According to the *Phoenix Business Journal*, McCain “...told an Americans for Prosperity Summit in Michigan...that he wants to require a three-fifths vote, rather than a simple majority, in Congress to raise taxes.” Apparently, McCain “...also said he wants to preserve Bush administration and business-backed tax cuts passed in 2001 and 2003.” [Phoenix Business Journal, 1/14/08]

McCain Voted Against the 2004 American Jobs Creation Act. According to Americans for Tax Reform, McCain opposed “[f]inal passage of conference report for international tax legislation which needed passage to bring the US in compliance with World Trade Organization (WTO) rules. Since the US was out of compliance the European Union (EU) was able to slap tariffs on American products until the illegal subsidy was removed, which this legislation did. In addition, the legislation cut the corporate tax rate for domestic manufacturers and allowed companies to repatriate their foreign profits back into America at a lower tax rate.” [Americans for Tax Reform website, accessed on 1/29/08]

McCain's Tax Votes Jeopardize Fiscal Soundness

McCain Prioritized Tax Cuts Over Guaranteeing Social Security For Future Generations. In 2005, McCain voted against an amendment that would make the consideration of new tax cuts or net mandatory spending that would increase the deficit subject to a 60-vote point of order unless Congress restored the solvency of Social Security for 75 years. The amendment fell 45-55. [SCR 18, [Vote #47](#), 3/15/05]

McCain Voted Against Redirecting \$396 Billion To Strengthen The Social Security Trust Funds. In 2003, McCain voted against an amendment that would reduce tax cuts protected by reconciliation instructions to \$350 billion and create a \$396 billion Social Security reserve account for use in implementing future legislation to strengthen Social Security. The amendment passed 51-48. [SCR 23, [Vote #93](#), 3/25/03]

McCain Voted Against Strengthening Social Security In Favor Of Bush's Tax Cuts. In 2003, McCain voted to table an amendment that would eliminate most of President Bush's tax cuts and reserve the subsequent increased revenues for Social Security trust funds. The motion to table the amendment passed 57-42. [SCR 23, [Vote #58](#), 3/18/03]

McCain Chose Tax Cuts For The Wealthy Over The Long-Term Solvency Of Both Social Security And Medicare. In 2001, McCain voted against an amendment that would delay the effective date of the tax rate reductions in the highest rate bracket until the enactment of legislation that would provide for long-term solvency of the Social Security and Medicare Trust Funds. The amendment fell 45-54. [HR 1836, [Vote #137](#), 5/22/01]

McCain Voted Against Cutting Taxes Before Providing Funds To Save Social Security. In 2001, McCain voted against striking all marginal rate tax cuts except for the establishment of the 10 percent rate and strike all estate and gift tax provisions taking effect after 2006 in order to provide funds to strengthen social security, extend the solvency of the Social Security Trust Funds, maintain progressivity in the social security benefit system, continue to lift more seniors out of poverty, extend the solvency of the Medicare Trust Funds, and provide prescription drug benefits. The amendment fell 39-60. [HR 1836, [Vote #122](#), 5/21/01]

McCain Voted To Take \$75 Billion In Social Security Trust Fund Money And Pay For Tax Cuts To Benefit Special Interests And The Wealthy. In 1999, McCain voted in support of a bill that used Social Security surpluses to fund tax reductions. The measure succeeded 55-45. [S 1429, [Vote #236](#), 7/30/99]

McCain Voted To Use Temporary Spending For Permanent Tax Cuts. In 1998, McCain voted for an amendment to express the sense of the Senate that savings from the elimination of any discretionary spending program should be used for tax cuts or to revise the Social Security program. However, the Budget Act was specifically designed to ensure that if the Federal government incurs permanent obligations, such as permanent tax cuts, those obligations should be paid for with permanent savings. The amendment passed 52-46. [SCR 86, [Vote #68](#), 4/2/98]

Technology and Telecommunications

John McCain served as chairman of the Senate Commerce Committee, which oversees telecom issues, from 1997 to 2001 and again from 2003 to 2005. From 2001 to 2003, McCain served as the ranking Republican on the committee. As chairman, McCain set the committee's agenda and played a major role in crafting legislation important to the telecom industry. This position fostered a symbiotic relationship between McCain and the industry, with top telecom companies funneling money into McCain's campaign coffers and McCain reciprocating by pushing the industry's agenda in the Senate. That relationship continues today, as McCain continues to count on his pals in the telecom industry for campaign cash and the telecom industry knows it can count on McCain to vote its way.

Top Hits:

- McCain has taken over \$1.2 million from the telephone utility and telecom services industry – more than any other Senator.
- McCain has used his powerful position on the Senate Commerce Committee to enact the will of his political benefactors in the telecom industry.
- McCain sided with the telecom industry in fighting for retroactive immunity in the FISA bill.
- McCain has fought for tax policies benefitting the telecom industry.

McCain Has Received Extensive Contributions from the Telecom Industry

McCain has Taken At Least \$1,206,928 from the Telephone Utility and Telecom Services Industries – More than Any Other Senator. Senator McCain has taken at least \$2,206,928 in campaign contributions from the telephone utility and telecom service industries, more than any other Senator. [Analysis of Center for Responsive Politics data, accessed 3/26/08]

- **McCain has Taken Hundreds-of-Thousands from Top Telecom Companies.** Through 2007, McCain has taken at least \$146,950 from America's six largest telecommunications companies alone – Verizon, AT&T, Sprint-Nextel, Comcast, Bell South and Qwest. [Analysis of CQ Moneyline data, 1985-2007; [Fortune](#), 7/26/06]
- **McCain Took Over \$55,000 from Communications Industry Special Interests in 2007 Alone.** In 2007 alone, McCain took over \$55,000 from special interests representing the communications and telecommunications industries for his presidential campaign. As a member of the powerful Senate Commerce, Science and Transportation Committee, McCain regulates and oversees these industries. [FEC, accessed 2/1/08]

AT&T Executive is one of McCain's Top Fundraisers. Tim McKone, AT&T's executive vice president for federal relations, is a top McCain fundraiser and one of his bundlers. As a bundler, McKone is responsible for raising tens of thousands – if not hundreds of thousands of dollars – for McCain's presidential campaign. McKone has personally contributed the maximum - \$4,600 – to McCain's 2008 presidential bid, and has contributed thousands to his previous campaigns. [FEC, accessed 2/12/2008; [Washington Post](#), 12/1/2005; [Public Citizen](#), accessed 2/12/08]

Qwest Arizona President is Top McCain Fundraiser. Qwest Arizona President Pat Quinn is one of McCain's top fundraisers and one of his bundlers. As a bundler, McKone is responsible for raising tens of thousands – if not hundreds of thousands of dollars – for McCain's presidential campaign. Personally, Quinn has contributed \$2,300 to McCain's presidential bid and has contributed at least \$1,000 to his past campaigns. [FEC; Qwest Arizona, <http://www.qwest.com/residential/arizona/index.html>]

IDT Corporation CEO is Top McCain Fundraiser. James Courter, CEO of the IDT Corporation, is a top McCain fundraiser and bundler. In addition to raising money for McCain, Courter has also contributed \$4,600 to McCain's 2008 presidential campaign. [Public Citizen, accessed 3/26/08; CQ Moneyline, accessed 3/26/08]

IDT Corporation V.P. is Top McCain Fundraiser. Michael Glassner, IDT Corporation's vice president for external affairs, is a top McCain fundraiser and bundler. [Public Citizen, accessed 3/26/08]

McCain's Voted In Pro-Telecom Industry Position on FISA

McCain Voted to give Telecom Companies Retroactive Immunity in FISA Renewal Bill. After previously showing up to vote *only once* in 2008, McCain came to the Capitol on February 12 to vote against all the amendments seeking to protect Americans' civil liberties while keeping us safe in the war on terror. Among the amendments McCain voted against was one offered by Senator Chris Dodd (D-CT), which would have eliminated provisions in the legislation providing retroactive immunity from civil liability to telecommunications companies that may have participated in the Bush Administration's warrantless wiretapping of American citizens. McCain voted against all six amendments offered to the legislation, in favor of the cloture motion, and in favor of the legislation, which passed. [S. 2248, [Vote #13](#), 2/12/2008; S. 2248, [Vote #14](#), 2/12/2008; S. 2248, [Vote #15](#), 2/12/2008; S. 2248, [Vote #16](#), 2/12/2008; S. 2248, [Vote #17](#), 2/12/2008; S. 2248, [Vote #18](#), 2/12/2008; S. 2248, [Vote #19](#), 2/12/2008; S. 2248, [Vote #20](#), 2/12/2008]

- **McCain Refused to Comment On Telecom Immunity Vote.** According to the *Boston Globe*, "McCain did not explain his vote to give retroactive immunity to the telecommunications companies, and neither the McCain campaign nor his Senate office responded to questions about the issue." [[Boston Globe](#), 2/16/08]

AT&T – Top McCain Donor – Sued for Participating in Domestic Spying Program. In 2006, the Electronic Frontier Foundation "filed a class-action suit against AT&T Inc., accusing the company of illegally making communications on its network available to the National Security Agency without warrants." The law suit has moved forward, with a federal judge ordering "the federal government to release information about lobbying efforts by telecommunications companies to protect them from prosecution" in November 2007. [Associated Press Online, 11/29/07]

- **Telecom Giants Sought Immunity.** "They won't say whether they have ever helped the government monitor the conversations of millions of Americans, but the nation's largest telecom companies still want blanket protection from lawsuits stemming from the government's anti-terror eavesdropping efforts. [Chicago Tribune, 11/14/07]
- **AT&T has Given McCain Tens of Thousands.** AT&T has given McCain at least \$48,450 in campaign contributions. [Analysis of CQ Moneyline data]
- **Verizon has Given McCain Tens of Thousands.** Verizon has given McCain at least \$35,500 in campaign contributions. [Analysis of CQ Moneyline data]

McCain Pushed for Legislation Favorable to Telecom Industry

McCain Wrote Tax Legislation Favorable to Telecom Companies – Received \$10,500 Days Before Passing it out of Committee. The *Arizona Republic* reported: "In the fall of 2003, telecommunication companies lobbied for a bill that would ban state and local taxes on Internet access, and they had support in high places. Sen. John McCain, who at the time was chairman of the committee overseeing telecommunication issues, helped write the bill that would outlaw those taxes." McCain received \$10,500 from AT&T just days before the Commerce Committee passed the legislation. "During that time, 23 people who now work for McCain or raise money for his campaign were lobbyists for telecommunication companies, records show." Senate lobbying disclosure reports show that AT&T, along with various other companies, lobbied on this particular bill. [[Arizona Republic](#), 3/24/08]

Veterans

McCain's personal military service leads many to assume he is an avid supporter of Veterans, but his record on this issue is rocky, at best. Throughout his career, McCain has routinely voted against measures to ensure that America's bravest men and women are taken care of after serving our nation. McCain is eager to send American troops into harm's way, but unwilling to do what it takes to take care of them once they return. The veterans of every generation deserve a President who will make it a top priority to guarantee that those who risk everything to defend this country are not left behind.

Top Hits:

- McCain has voted against healthcare for Veterans at least 30 times.
- McCain has voted against at least \$172 billion in funding for Veterans' healthcare.
- McCain has voted against at least \$364 billion in funding for the Veterans' Administration.
- McCain voted against an increase in Veterans' funding two days after the U.S. invaded Iraq.
- McCain voted to withhold benefits from mentally disabled veterans.

Accomplishments:

- McCain voted to cover diseases related to Agent Orange exposure.
- McCain voted to increase the military Death Benefit to \$100,000

Healthcare for Veterans

McCain Voted Against A \$20 Million Increase In Healthcare For Veterans. In 2006, McCain voted against an amendment that would add \$20 million for veterans' health care facilities. It would offset the additional spending by striking \$20 million in the underlying bill for AmeriCorps. Amendment failed 39-59. [HR 4939, [Vote #111](#), 5/4/06]

McCain Was One of 13 Senators To Vote Against Increase In Veterans' Healthcare. In 2006, McCain was one of 13 senators to vote against an amendment to add \$430 million for outpatient and inpatient health care and treatment for veterans. Amendment passed 84-16. [HR 4939, [Vote #98](#), 4/26/06]

McCain Voted To Cut Funding For Veterans' Healthcare. In 2006, McCain voted against an amendment to strike a provision in the 2007 Budget that will hold farm programs, veterans, Social Security, and Medicaid hostage to rising health care costs by creating automatic cuts once an arbitrary level of spending is reached in the Medicare program. The amendment failed 50-50. [SCR 83, [Vote #70](#), 3/16/06]

McCain Voted Against Increasing Veterans' Funding By \$10 Billion. In 2006, McCain voted against an amendment to eliminate a tripling of fees for veterans in the TRICARE health care program by raising the discretionary spending limit by approximately \$10 billion. The provisions would have been fully offset by eliminating certain corporate tax breaks. The amendment failed 46-53. [SCR 83, [Vote #67](#), 3/16/06]

McCain Voted Against Veteran's Healthcare Program. In 2006, McCain voted against an amendment to make veterans' health benefits a mandatory program, spending \$104 billion over five years. The funding would have been offset by closing corporate tax loopholes and rolling back the Bush tax cuts for millionaires. Amendment rejected 46-54. [SCR 83, [Vote #63](#), 3/16/06]

McCain Voted Against A \$1.5 Billion Increase In Healthcare For Veterans. In 2006, McCain voted against an amendment that increased the discretionary spending limit by \$1.5 billion to \$874.5 billion to provide an increase in funding for veterans' medical services. It would be offset by ending certain corporate tax breaks. Amendment rejected 46-54. [SCR 83, [Vote #41](#), 3/14/06]

McCain Failed To Vote To Support Healthcare For Veterans In Lieu of Tax Breaks For Millionaires. In 2006, McCain failed to vote on a motion to instruct conferees to insist that the tax reconciliation conference report includes funding to support health needs of veterans and military personnel in lieu of an extension of capital gains or dividends tax breaks for individuals with incomes of more than \$1 million. Motion failed 40-53. [HR 4297, [Vote #15](#), 2/13/06]

McCain Voted Against \$19 billion For Military And Veterans' Hospitals. In 2006, McCain voted against an amendment that provided \$19 billion for military and veterans' hospitals, offset by limiting the dividend and capital-gains tax rates to individuals earning less than \$1 million. Amendment failed 44-53. [HR 4297, [Vote #7](#), 2/2/06]

McCain Voted Against Mental Healthcare For Veterans. In 2005, McCain Voted against an amendment that provided an additional \$500 million per year for the next five years for mental health services for veterans. The funding would be offset by deferring tax cuts for those making \$1 million per year. Amendment rejected 43-55. [S 2020, [Vote #343](#), 11/17/05]

McCain Voted Against Considering Inflation In Veterans Funding Formula. In 2005, McCain voted against an amendment that would establish a future funding formula for health care for former members of the Armed Forces takes into account changes in population and inflation. Amendment failed 48-51. [HR 2863, [Vote #251](#), 10/5/05]

McCain Voted Against A \$10 Million Increase In Readjustment Counseling for Veterans. In 2005, McCain voted against an amendment that would provide an additional \$10 million for the Readjustment Counseling Service, offset with a \$10 million reduction in the HealthVet account. The amendment failed 48-50. [HR 2528, [Vote #242](#), 9/22/05]

McCain Failed To Vote For A \$1.5 Billion Increase In Veterans' Healthcare. In 2005, McCain failed to vote for an amendment that would add \$1.5 billion of funding to the Department of Veterans' Affairs for medical services provided by the Veterans Health Administration. Amendment passed 96-0. [HR 2361, [Vote # 165](#), 6/29/05; HR 2361, [Vote # 166](#), 6/29/05; HR 2361, [Vote # 168](#), 6/29/05]

McCain Voted Against \$1.9 Billion In Emergency Funding For Veterans' Hospitals. In 2005, McCain voted against an amendment that designated \$1.9 billion in emergency funding for veterans' hospitals. The \$1.9 billion provided for the VA by the underlying amendment will help the VA to cover the costs of caring for these new veterans, and ensure that the VA is able to provide them with the care they deserve. The amendment failed 46-54. [HR 1268, [Vote #90](#), 4/12/05]

McCain Voted Against A \$2 Billion Increase In Veterans' Funding. In 2005, McCain voted against an amendment that would increase funding for the Veterans Affairs Department by \$1.98 billion and designate it as emergency spending. It would stipulate that \$840 million be used for veterans' regional health networks; \$610 million be used to address the needs of service members deployed in Iraq and Afghanistan; and \$525 million be used to provide mental health care and treatment. Amendment failed 46-54. [HR 1268, [Vote #89](#), 4/12/05]

McCain Voted Against Creating A Reserve Fund For Veterans' Health Care. In 2004, McCain voted against an amendment that would create a reserve fund to allow for an increase in veterans medical care by \$1.8 billion, the amount determined by Veterans' Affairs Committee to meet existing needs; and is fully offset by closing tax loopholes. Amendment rejected 46-51. [SCR 95, [Vote #40](#), 3/10/04]

McCain Voted To Increase Veterans' Medical Care By \$2.7 Billion. In 2004, McCain voted to create a reserve fund to allow for an increase in veterans' medical care by \$2.7 billion and lower the national debt by reducing the President's tax breaks for taxpayers with incomes in excess of \$1 million a year. Amendment rejected 44-53. [SCR 95, [Vote #34](#), 3/9/04]

McCain Voted Against A \$1.3 billion Increase In Veterans' Health Benefits. In 2003, McCain voted to table an amendment that included a \$1. Billion increase in funding for health benefits. The amendment would reduce the amount provided for Iraqi reconstruction by \$5.03 billion, and redirect that funding for domestic programs, including \$1.8 billion for veterans' health benefits, \$1 billion for school reconstruction, renovation and repair and class size reduction, and \$1.5 billion for capital improvements for federal highways. It also would express the sense of the Senate that Congress should consider an additional \$5.03 billion in funding for Iraqi reconstruction during the fiscal 2005 budget and appropriations process. The motion to table passed 59-35. [S 1689, [Vote #379](#), 10/14/03]

McCain Voted Against Increasing Veterans' Health Care Program. In 2003, McCain voted against an amendment that would increase spending on the TRICARE program by \$20.3 billion over 10 years to give members of the National Guard and Reserves and their families greater access to the health care program. The increase would be offset by a reduction in tax cuts. Amendment rejected 46-51. [SCR 23, [Vote #81](#), 3/25/03]

McCain Voted To Increase Funding For Veterans' Health Care. In 2001, McCain voted for an amendment that would increase funding for veterans' health care by \$1.7 billion, by redirecting the same amount from the proposed tax cut. The amendment passed 53-46. [HCR 83, [Vote #84](#), 4/6/01]

McCain Failed To Vote For A \$1.3 Billion Increase In Funding For Veterans' Healthcare. In 1999, McCain failed to vote for an amendment that increased the funding provided to Veterans' Health Administration by \$1.3 billion. The amendment failed 36-63. [HR 2684, [Vote #285](#), 9/22/99]

McCain Voted To Support Additional Funding Necessary To Keep VA Hospitals Open. In 1999, McCain voted for an amendment with provisions that established reserve account to provide medical care for veterans; provided \$3 billion in each of FY 2000-2004 for reserve account; made amounts in reserve account available for veterans' medical care, in addition to any other amounts available for veterans medical care during those fiscal years; and provided that deposits in reserve account shall be derived from reductions in amounts of new tax reductions provided in bill, wherever possible, for individuals with incomes exceeding \$200,000 per year. Motion rejected 58-42. [S 1429, [Vote #243](#), 7/30/99]

McCain Voted Against Increasing Veterans' Health Administration By \$1 Billion. In 1998, McCain voted against an amendment that would add \$1 billion for Veterans' Health Administration Medical Care. The funding would budget neutral and would come from the termination of the space station program. The amendment failed 33-66. [S 2168, [Vote #185](#), 7/7/98]

McCain Voted Against \$400 Million In Veterans' Funding. In 1997, McCain voted to table an amendment that would permit \$400 million in DOD funds to be transferred to Department of Veterans' Affairs to provide health benefits under laws administered by Secretary. Motion to table agreed to 58-41. [S 936, [Vote #168](#), 7/10/97]

McCain Voted Against Covering Spina Bifida For The Children of Veterans. In 1996, McCain voted against the germaneness of an amendment that would extend veterans health care and related benefits to the children of Vietnam Veterans suffering from spina bifida, a spinal cord birth defect that causes neurological damage. The amendment was judged germane 62-35. [HR 3666, [Vote #276](#), 9/5/96]

McCain Voted Against Preventing Cuts In Veterans' Healthcare Funding. In 1996, McCain voted to table an amendment that would prohibit the Department of Veterans' Affairs from reducing funds to any state for health care facilities in fiscal 1997 below the fiscal 1996 funding level. Motion to table passed. [HR 3666, [Vote # 275](#), 9/5/96]

McCain Voted Against Increasing Veterans' Healthcare Funding By \$511 Million. In 1995, McCain voted against an amendment which would increase the funding for veterans' medical care by \$511 million; and offsets the cost of this amendment by limiting any tax cut to families with incomes of less than \$100,000. Amendment failed 51-49. [HR 2099, [Vote #466](#), 9/27/95]

McCain Voted To Restrict Funding For Veterans' Care Facilities. In 1994, McCain voted against tabling an amendment that the amendment would prohibit the construction of three inpatient facilities, located in Hawaii, California, and Tennessee. The projects in Hawaii and California will provide access to acute care for large numbers of veterans in the areas to be served, without which they would not have access to VA inpatient services. The project in Tennessee involves the correction of serious seismic deficiencies in the Memphis VA facility, which is located in a dangerous earthquake area. Motion to table passed 62-36. [HR 4624, [Vote #256](#), 8/4/94]

McCain Voted To Cut \$25 Million From Veterans' Health Programs. In 1993, McCain not to table an amendment that transferred \$25 million of veterans' health funding to programs for the Veterans Department to occupation conversion and employment training programs for veterans. Motion to table passed 57-43. [HR 1335, [Vote #97](#), 4/1/93]

McCain Voted Against Increasing Veterans' Healthcare & Research Funding By \$431 Million. In 1991, McCain voted against an amendment to increase veterans' program funding by \$378 million for medical care and \$53 million for medical and prosthetic research. Amendment failed 35-64. [HR 2519, [Vote #132](#), 7/17/91]

McCain Voted Against \$200 Million For Veterans' Healthcare. In 1990, McCain voted to table an amendment that transferred \$200 million to the Department of Veterans' Affairs medical account. The money would be transferred from the Strategic Defense Initiative. Motion to table passed 54-43. [S 2884, [Vote #226](#), 8/4/90]

Funding for Veterans' Programs

McCain Failed To Vote For \$3.7 Billion In Emergency Funding For Veterans. In 2007, McCain failed to vote for an omnibus appropriations bill that included \$3.7 billion in emergency funding for veterans programs. Bill passed 76-17. [HR 2764, [Vote #441](#), 12/18/07]

McCain Failed To Vote To Expand Stimulus Package To Include Disabled Veterans. In 2008, McCain failed to vote for an amendment that would expand eligibility for rebate checks to include low-income seniors and disabled veterans. It also would begin phasing out the benefit for individuals with adjusted gross incomes above \$150,000 and married couples with incomes above \$300,000. Cloture motion failed 58-41. [HR 5140, [Vote #8](#), 2/6/08]

McCain Voted Against A \$3.5 Billion Funding Increase For Veterans' Healthcare. In 2007, McCain voted against the 2008 Budget Resolution that included at \$3.5 billion increase in funding for veterans' healthcare programs. The bill passed 52-47. [SCR 21, [Vote #114](#), 3/23/07]

McCain Failed To Vote To Increase Benefits of Veterans' Orphans And Widows. In 2005, McCain failed to vote for an amendment that would eliminate the requirement that widows and orphans of deceased or fully disabled military personnel who receive pensions under the Defense Department's Survivor Benefits Program have those benefits reduced dollar for dollar by the amount received from the Department of Veterans Affairs' Dependent and Indemnity Compensation program. Amendment passed 93-5. [CQ Floor Votes; S 1042, [Vote #307](#), 11/8/05]

McCain Voted Against Increasing FY 2006 Veterans' Health Care Funding By \$2.8 Billion. In 2005, McCain voted against an amendment that would increase funding for veterans health care by \$2.8 billion for fiscal 2006 and reduce the deficit by \$2.8 billion. Amendment rejected 47-53. [SCR 18, [Vote #55](#), 3/16/05]

McCain Voted Against \$62 Billion In Funding For Veterans Affairs. In 2004, McCain voted against an appropriations bill that would provide \$62 billion for the Department of Veterans' Affairs. The bill passed 65-28. [HR 2673, [Vote #3](#), 1/22/04]

Two Days After Iraq Invasion, McCain Voted Against A \$1 Billion Increase In Veterans' Programs. Two days after the invasion of Iraq in 2003, McCain voted against an amendment that would increase spending on veterans' programs by approximately \$1 billion and put the same amount toward deficit reduction. The amount would be offset by a decrease in tax cuts. The amendment failed 49-51. [SCR 23, [Vote #74](#), 3/21/03]

McCain Voted Against Modernizing Retirement Packages For National Guardsmen And Army Reservists. In 2004, McCain voted against an amendment that would reduce from 60 to 55 the age at which certain members of the National Guard and Army Reserves could receive retirement benefits. Motion rejected 49-49. [S 2400, [Vote #136](#), 6/23/04]

McCain Voted Against \$122.7 Billion For Department of Veterans' Affairs. In 2003, McCain voted against an appropriations bill that included 122.7 billion in fiscal 2004 for the Department of Veterans' Affairs, Housing and Urban Development and other related agencies. The motion failed 44-49. [HR 2861, [Vote #449](#), 11/12/03]

McCain Voted Against A \$13 Billion Funding Increase For Veterans' Programs. In 2003, McCain voted against an amendment that would provide an additional \$13 billion for veterans' programs. The substitute amendment would reduce all tax cuts in the resolution by \$1.24 trillion, fund President Bush's proposed \$75 billion war supplemental bill, and increase homeland security spending by \$80 billion, spending for a Medicare prescription drug benefit by \$194 billion, spending on veterans' programs by \$13 billion and spending on transportation and infrastructure by \$71 billion. The amendment failed 43-56. [SCR 23, [Vote #83](#), 3/25/03]

McCain Voted Against \$51 Billion In Veterans' Funding. In 2001, McCain was one of seven senators to vote against the adoption of the conference report to provide 51.1 billion for the Department of Veterans' Affairs; \$30.1 billion for the Department of Housing and Urban Development; \$7.9 billion for the Environmental Protection Agency; \$3.1 billion for the Federal Emergency Management Agency; and \$14.8 billion for the National Aeronautics and Space Administration. The conference report was approved 87-7. [HR 2620, [Vote #334](#), 11/8/01]

McCain Voted Against \$51 Billion For The Department of Veterans' Affairs. In 2001, McCain was one of five senators to vote against approval of a bill including \$51.1 billion for the Department of Veterans' Affairs; \$31.0 billion for the Department of Housing and Urban Development; \$7.8 billion for the Environmental Protection Agency; \$14.6 billion for the National Aeronautics and Space Administration; and \$3.2 billion for the Federal Emergency Management Agency. The bill passed 94-5. [HR 2620, [Vote #269](#), 8/2/01]

McCain Failed To Voted For \$47 Billion In Veterans' Funding. In 2000, McCain failed to vote for a bill that would appropriate \$47 billion to the Department of Veterans' Affairs as well as \$23.6 billion for the Energy Department and Army Corps of Engineers, and other independent agencies. The bill passed 85-8. [HR 4635, [Vote #278](#), 10/19/00]

McCain Voted Against \$47 Billion In Funding For Department of Veterans' Affairs. In 2000, McCain was one of eight senators to vote against an appropriating bill that provided \$47 billion for the Department of Veterans' Affairs. It included \$453 million for new rental assistance vouchers and language that incorporates a slightly amended version of the fiscal 2001 energy and water appropriations bill. The bill passed 87-8. [HR 4635, [Vote #272](#), 10/12/00]

McCain Voted Against \$44.3 Billion For Veterans' Programs. In 1999, McCain was one of five senators to vote against an appropriations bill that provided \$44.3 billion for the Department of Veterans' Affairs, \$26.0 billion for the Department of Housing and Urban Development, \$7.6 billion for the Environmental Protection Agency, \$3.4 billion for the Federal Emergency Management Agency, and \$13.7 billion for the National Aeronautics and Space Administration. The bill passed 93-5. [HR 2684, [Vote #328](#), 10/15/99]

McCain Voted Against A \$13 Billion Increase In Funding For Veterans' Programs. In 1996, McCain voted against an amendment to increase veterans' spending by \$13 billion in fiscal 1997-2002 to be offset by closing corporate tax preferences and reinstating expired taxes. Amendment Rejected 45-53. [SCR 57, [Vote #115](#), 5/16/96]

McCain Voted To Underfund Department of Veterans' Affairs. In 1995, McCain voted for an appropriations bill that underfunded the Departments of Veterans' Affairs & Housing and Urban Development by \$8.9 Billion. The bill passed 55-45. [HR 2099, [Vote #470](#), 9/27/95]

McCain Voted To Withhold Benefits From Mentally Disabled Veterans. In 1995, McCain voted against an amendment striking the provision that withholds benefits to mentally incompetent veteran who does not have spouse, children, or dependent parents, and has estate valued in excess of \$25,000. Amendment failed 47-53. [HR 2099, [Vote #465](#), 9/27/95]

McCain Voted Against Closing Tax Loopholes To Increase Veterans' Funding By \$74 Million. In 1995, McCain voted against an amendment eliminating tax breaks and closing tax loopholes in order to provide revenue to restore some of the proposed cuts in Veterans' Affairs spending. Amendment failed 45-55. [SCR 13, [Vote #226](#), 5/25/95]

McCain Voted Against Protecting Veterans' Benefits From Budget Cuts. In 1995, McCain voted to table an amendment to exempt current veterans' benefits from cuts required by the balanced-budget amendment. Motion to table passed 62-33. [S 1, [Vote #76](#), 2/22/95]

McCain Voted Against Funding The Department of Veterans' Affairs. In 1994, McCain was one of nine senators to vote against appropriating \$90,118,186,061 in budget authority for the Veterans' Affairs and the Housing and Urban Development departments. The bill passed 90-9. [HR 4624, [Vote #306](#), 9/27/94]

McCain Voted Against Providing Automatic Cost of Living Adjustments To Veterans. In 1991, McCain voted against an amendment to provide automatic annual cost of living adjustments (COLA) for certain veterans' benefits. Amendment failed 24-71. [S 869, [Vote #259](#), 11/20/91]

McCain's Relationship with POWs

McCain Has An Icy Relationship With The POW/MIA Community. According to *Salon.com*'s Mark Benjamin, "McCain has an icy relationship with the POW/MIA community." Benjamin reported that most POW/MIAs had "real antipathy" towards McCain not because of the widespread believe that POWs are still being held in Vietnam, but partly because of McCain's "...stance on relations with Vietnam after the war ended." [[Salon.com](#), [1/29/08](#)]

- **McCain Was Early Proponent Of Normalizing Relations With Vietnam.** According to *Salon.com*'s Mark Benjamin, the POW/MIA community has an "icy relationship" with McCain because his "...first sin was being a very early proponent of normalizing relations with the government of Vietnam, or resuming official political and economic ties cut off after the conflict ended." Apparently, "McCain's efforts in this realm infuriated some veterans still stinging from the American experience there." [[Salon.com](#), [1/29/08](#)]
- **McCain Supported A Bill That Would Have Created A U.S. Interests Section In Vietnam, Upsetting Some Veterans.** According to *Salon.com*'s Mark Benjamin, while McCain served in the House in the 1980's, he "...supported legislation that would have created a U.S. Interests Section in Vietnam, a low-grade version of an embassy and a signal of warming relations between the two nations ...[which]... touched a nerve for some veterans." According to Benjamin, by supporting this legislation, "the concern was that people like McCain would give away the carrot" since the Regan administration's strategy "was to take incremental steps toward normalization [with Vietnam relations] but only in return for serious cooperation from the Vietnamese on the disposition of unaccounted-for Americans." [[Salon.com](#), [1/29/08](#)]
- **McCain Accused Of Not Delving Enough Into Possible Existing Vietnam POWs.** According to *Salon.com*'s Mark Benjamin, some McCain criticism comes from some people who believe that McCain did not "delve deeply enough" into allegations that there were still American POWs in Vietnam well after

the war ended. McCain served on a Senate committee which “aimed at figuring out whether any American POWs might still be alive in Southeast Asia.” [[Salon.com, 1/29/08](#)]

- **McCain Known As Hostile To Families Of American Vietnam Vets Still Missing.** According to *Salon.com*'s Mark Benjamin, McCain has “...generated a reputation as being hostile to the families of those Americans still missing [in Vietnam]. And some of that is probably his fault.” Benjamin referred to a “well-known...barbed exchange” that McCain once had with a witness whose brother went missing in Vietnam. According Benjamin, Dolores Apodaca Alfond, who appeared before the Senate committee on Nov. 11, 1992, expressed concern that the committee might shut down without finding all the answers. The famously testy McCain bristled at the suggestion. “I do not denigrate your efforts,” he said. “And I am sick and tired of you denigrating mine and many other people who have views different from you.” [[Salon.com, 1/29/08](#)]

Welfare Reform and Poverty

John McCain has voted repeatedly to slash funding for Welfare programs that assist families and children in need.

McCain has Voted to Slash Welfare Funding

McCain Voted to Cut \$53 Billion in Welfare Funding. In 1996, McCain voted for adoption of the conference report that cut \$53 billion from welfare. The conference report passed 53-46. [H.C.R. 178, [Vote #159](#), 6/13/96]

McCain Voted to Cut Welfare Funding by \$82 Billion. In 1995, McCain voted for motion to recede and concur in the conference agreement to the bill with a further amendment to strike provisions that would cut welfare programs by \$82 billion. The motion passed 52-47. [H.R. 2491, [Vote #584](#), 11/17/95]

McCain Voted to Slash Welfare Funding by \$65 Billion. In 1995, McCain voted for passage of a bill to cut spending by about \$900 billion and taxes by \$245 billion, including slashing \$65 billion in Welfare funding. The bill passed 52-47. [H.R. 2491, [Vote #556](#), 10/27/95]

McCain Voted Against Providing Temporary Medicaid Benefits for Welfare Recipients Entering the Workforce. In 1995, McCain voted against an amendment that would continue to provide welfare recipients with Medicaid benefits for one year after they enter the workforce, provide home-based long-term care, and provide child health care for welfare recipients as they enter the work force. [S. 1357, [Vote #533](#), 10/27/95]

McCain Voted For a Budget Bill that would Cut Welfare Funding by \$65 Billion. In 1995, McCain voted for passage of the bill to cut funding for Welfare by \$65 billion. The bill passed 52-47. [H.R. 2491, [Vote #556](#), 10/27/95]

McCain Doesn't Care about Poverty-Stricken Children

McCain Opposed Providing Food Stamps For Children of Legal Immigrants. In 1997, McCain voted against an amendment to restore food stamps the 1996 welfare law cut for children of legal immigrants. The amendment fell 48-52. [S 947, [Vote #116](#), 6/25/97]

McCain Voted Against Encouraging Protections for Children from Homelessness and Hunger. In 1995, McCain voted to table an amendment to express the sense of Congress that Congress should not pass legislation that increases the number of hungry or homeless children. The motion to table passed 51-47. [S. 244, [Vote #99](#), 3/7/95]

McCain Voted Against Alternative to the Welfare Overhaul Proposal that Included Increases in Child Care Funds. In 1995, McCain voted against an amendment that would have established a different set of work requirements and time limits for welfare recipients than the Republican bill; guaranteed welfare benefits to all those who qualify and follow the rules; provided more money for child care; and guaranteed child care for welfare recipients who are required to work. The amendment failed 45-54. [H.R. 4, [Vote #400](#), 9/7/95]

McCain Voted Against Requiring Committee Reports to Examine Effects of Unfunded Mandates on Hungry and Homeless Children. In 1995, McCain voted to table an amendment that would prohibit the consideration of legislation reported by a Congressional committee which did not contain an analysis of the probable impact of the legislation on children. The motion to table passed 55-42. [S. 1, [Vote #31](#), 1/19/95]

McCain Voted to Allow States to Withhold Welfare Benefits for Parents of Children who do not Regularly Attend School. In 1992, McCain voted in support of a measure that amended the Social Security Act to allow

States to reduce or terminate welfare benefits for children under 16 who have failed, without good cause, to regularly attend school. The motion to table the amendment passed 55-43. [S. 2, [Vote #7](#), 1/28/92]

Welfare Reform

McCain Voted Against Study on the Economic Self-Sufficiency of Former Welfare Recipients to Determine if those Leaving the Welfare Rolls are Escaping Poverty. In 1998, McCain voted to table an amendment that would require the Secretary of Health and Human Services to report on the number of former recipients of public assistance under the State temporary assistance to needy families programs that are economically self-sufficient. The motion to table the amendment passed 54-43. [S. 1173, [Vote #19](#), 3/3/98]

Women and Choice

John McCain's record is anti-choice and he's proud of it. During his tenure in Congress he has voted in the anti-choice position 123 times. Additionally, McCain has repeatedly stated that he wants to see Roe v. Wade be overturned and would sign legislation banning abortion. At the same time McCain has been an opponent to efforts that would reduce unintended pregnancy and has voted against access to contraception.

TOP HITS:

- McCain has a solidly anti-choice voting record. According to NARAL Pro-Choice America, McCain has voted in the anti-choice position 123 out of 128 times.
- McCain bragged: "I've got a consistent zero" from pro-choice groups.
- McCain has said he wants to see Roe v. Wade overturned and that he would support a ban on abortions.
- McCain has voted against access to contraception.

Voting Record: John McCain is Anti-Choice

McCain Has Voted Anti-Choice 123 Times. According to NARAL Pro-Choice America, John McCain has voted against a women's right to choose 123 out of the 128 times he voted on reproductive rights. [NARAL.org, accessed on [2/12/08](#)]

NARAL Said McCain Has A "Solidly Anti-Choice Record." According to NARAL Pro-Choice America, "Sen. John McCain served in the U.S. House of Representatives from 1983 to 1986 and in the U.S. Senate from 1987 to present. During his four years in the House, then-Rep. McCain cast 11 votes on abortion and other reproductive-rights issues. Ten of these votes were anti-choice. In the Senate, through 2006, Sen. McCain cast 117 votes on abortion and other reproductive-rights issues, 113 of which were anti-choice. In addition to his solidly anti-choice record, Sen. McCain has never cosponsored or supported legislation that would prevent unintended pregnancy or reduce the need for abortion." [NARAL Pro-Choice America, [2/07/08](#)]

Sen. McCain has an anti-choice record. McCain received the following scores on NARAL Pro-Choice America's Congressional Record on Choice:

MCCAIN CHOICE SCORECARD	
2007:	0 percent
2006:	0 percent
2005:	0 percent
2004:	0 percent
2003:	0 percent
2002:	0 percent
2001:	Because only one choice-related vote was taken in 2001 – to confirm John Ashcroft as United States Attorney General – no numerical score was given for the year. Sen. McCain voted in the anti-choice position.

McCain Said His Pro-Life Voting Record Is "Consistent," Touted his Anti-Choice Scorecard. Discussing his pro-life voting record, McCain said, "I have many, many votes and it's been consistent. And I've got a consistent zero from NARAL throughout all those years... [M]y record is clear. And I think the important thing is you look at people's voting record because sometimes rhetoric can be a little... misleading... As you know I don't support Roe v. Wade. I thought it was a bad decision, and I think that the decision should be made in the states." [Transcript, The Full McCain: An Interview, National Review, [3/5/07](#)]

McCain: "I Pledge to You to be Loyal and Unswerving Friend of the Right to Life Movement. "If I am fortunate enough to be elected as the next President of the United States, I pledge to you to be a loyal and

unswerving friend of the right to life movement.” [Statement by Sen. McCain read by Sen. Sam Brownback at the March for Life in Washington, DC, [1/22/08](#)]

McCain Has Been “Unwaveringly Pro-Life” But Distanced Himself From Outspoken Support For It. A seasoned former McCain aide told the *New Yorker* that McCain “...got the benefit of the pro-life label but would never go out and make speeches for them [Pro Life organizations]...” He continued, “I think he feels that government should not be involved, but it is, and he took a fairly expedient position.” [[New Yorker](#), 5/30/05]

Roe v. Wade and Abortion Ban

McCain Repeated Called For Roe V. Wade To Be Overturned:

- **McCain Web Site Said Roe v. Wade was “Flawed Decision.”** Sen. McCain’s 2008 presidential campaign website states that he “believes Roe v. Wade is a flawed decision that must be overturned.” [John McCain for President 2008 campaign website, On the Issues: Human Dignity and the Sanctity of Life, accessed [3/24/08](#)]
- **McCain Said Roe v. Wade Should Be Overturned.** McCain said, “I do not support Roe v. Wade. I think it should be overturned.” [[New York Times](#), 2/24/07]
- **McCain Railed Against Roe Decision And Said He Would “Welcome” Its Reversal.** In a 2006 prepared Senate floor statement, McCain said that the Supreme Court decision declaring abortion a constitutionally protected right flawed the democratic process of states’ rights. McCain said, “Decisions such as Roe v. Wade continue to distort the democratic process in ways large and small to this very day.” McCain went on to support the reversal of Roe v. Wade, adding, “Those of us who consider ourselves pro-life would welcome the Supreme Court’s reversal of the Roe v. Wade decision that found a Constitutional right to an abortion. The result of that reversal would be to return the regulation of abortion to the states, where the values of local communities would be influential.” [McCain Senate press release, 6/6/06]
- **McCain Said He Supported Overturning Roe v. Wade, Said it Was “Very Likely.”** Speaking on ABC News, McCain said that he supported a reversal of the Roe v. Wade decision. McCain said, “I do believe that it’s very likely, or possible, that a Supreme Court should - could overturn Roe v. Wade which would then return these decisions to the states which I support.” [ABC News, 11/19/06]

1999: McCain Once Said Overturning Roe v. Wade Went Too Far. McCain told the editorial board of the [San Francisco Chronicle](#) in 1999 why he didn’t want to overturn Roe, saying, “I’d love to see a point where [Roe vs. Wade] is irrelevant, and could be repealed because abortion is no longer necessary. But certainly in the short term, or even the long term, I would not support repeal of Roe vs. Wade, which would then force X number of women in America to [undergo] illegal and dangerous operations.” [[San Francisco Chronicle](#), 8/20/99]

McCain Has Been A Vocal Supporter of Legislation to Ban Abortion:

- **2007: McCain Supported Federal Abortion Ban.** On the Federal Abortion Ban, Sen. McCain said, “Today’s Supreme Court ruling is a victory for those who cherish the sanctity of life and integrity of the judiciary. The ruling ensures that an unacceptable and unjustifiable practice will not be carried out on our innocent children. It also clearly speaks to the importance of nominating and confirming strict constructionist judges who interpret the law as it is written, and do not usurp the authority of Congress and state legislatures. As we move forward, it is critically important that our party continues to stand on the side of life.” [McCain for President Press Release, [4/18/07](#)]
- **2006: McCain Said He Would Sign South Dakota Abortion Bill, If It Included Exceptions For Rape, Incest And Life Of The Mother.** When asked if he would have signed a South Dakota banning abortions, McCain said he would sign the bill, but only if there were exceptions for the life of the woman and would not

sign the bill without such allowances. McCain said, “My position has been consistently pro-life but rape, incest, and the health of the mother has been my position.” When told that the South Dakota bill went further than that and asked again if he would sign it, McCain said, “Not if-, my position has been clear for 20 some years.” Following the interview, McCain’s staff clarified his position with conservatives, saying, “[McCain] would have signed the legislation, but would also take the appropriate steps under state law -- in whatever state -- to ensure that the exceptions of rape, incest or life of the mother were included.” [ABC News, 2/26/06; NationalJournal.com, 2/28/06]

- **McCain Said He “Never Agreed With Roe v. Wade.”** During an appearance on CBS’s *The Early Show* John McCain was asked about the possibility of abortion being banned. McCain said, “I don’t know the answer to that. I’ve never agreed with Roe v. Wade, so it wouldn’t bother me any.” [CBS, Early Show, 1/25/06]
- **Falwell Said Anti-Choice Community Was “Happy” With McCain’s Views On Life.** Conservative reverend Jerry Falwell said that he and “most of the pro-life community” are “happy” with McCain’s “pro-life views.” [ABC News, via Hotline, 3/29/06]

Abstinence Only Education

McCain Voted To Spend A Third Of AIDS Relief Funding On Abstinence Only Education. In May 2003, McCain voted against an amendment that would strike a provision from the Global AIDS Relief legislation requiring that 33 percent of the money for prevention programs be spent on abstinence education. [HR 1298, [Vote #180](#), 5/16/03]

McCain Supported Taking Funds For Abstinence Education From Maternal & Child Health Care Grants. In 1996, McCain voted for an amendment that would shift \$75 million from the Maternal and Child Health Care Block Grant to a program to combat teenage pregnancy through abstinence education. [S 1956, [Vote #231](#), 7/23/96]

Clinic Accessibility

McCain Voted To Allow Anti-Abortion Activists To Avoid Paying Fines Or Judgments. In 2005, McCain voted against an amendment that would prohibit violent protesters, such as anti-abortion activists, from escaping court-ordered fines or judgments by filing for bankruptcy protection. The proposal “grew out of a 1994 federal law that bans the use of force, threats or blockades to keep patients out of abortion clinics. The law allows clinics to sue protesters who block clinic doors, but some protesters have filed for bankruptcy to escape paying court-imposed fines.” The amendment failed 46-53. [S.Amdt. 47 to S. 256, [Vote #28](#), 3/08/05; New York Times, 3/08/05]

- **McCain Voted Against Ensuring Patients Have Unfettered Access to Reproductive Health Clinics.** In 1994, McCain voted against establishing federal criminal and civil penalties for anti-abortion activists who use force, the threat of force or physical obstruction to block access to abortion clinics. The measure passed 69-30. [S. 636, [Vote #112](#), 5/12/94]

Contraception

McCain Voted Against Increasing Accessibility of Contraception for Women, Including Survivors of Sexual Assault. In 2003, McCain voted against an amendment that would allow states to expand the States’ Children’s Health Insurance Program to include low-income pregnant women. It also would have authorized \$10 million for a program to educate public health organizations, providers and the public about the availability and effectiveness of emergency contraceptives; allowed state public health agencies to apply for grants for further programs; required private health plans to cover prescription contraceptives and related medical services; and required hospitals to

make emergency contraceptives and information about them available to rape victims. The motion failed 49-47. [S.Amdt. 258 to S. 3, [Vote 45](#), 3/11/03]

Federal Funding

McCain Voted To Prevent Women From Hearing Their Full Range Of Reproductive Options At Federally Funded Family Planning Clinics. In 1992, McCain voted in favor of the President's veto of a bill that would overturn the executive mandate preventing pregnant women from hearing the full range of reproductive options open to them, including abortions. The veto was overridden 73-26. [S 323, [Vote #254](#), 10/01/92]

McCain Voted To Continue To Prohibit Federal Funds From Covering Abortions In Most Cases. In 1993, McCain voted against an amendment to strike the Hyde amendment provisions included in the House bill that prohibit federal funds from covering abortions except in cases of rape, incest or when the life of the woman is endangered. The amendment failed 40-59. [HR 2518, [Vote #290](#), 9/28/93]

McCain Voted To Restrict AIDS Prevention Information. In 1988, McCain voted to support the Helms amendment to the AIDS Research and Education/ Restrictions on Information Activities Legislation that would prohibit the use of funds authorized under the bill on activities that "promote or encourage, directly, homosexual sexual activity." [S 1220, [Vote #119](#), 4/28/88]

Military and Dependents

McCain Voted Against A Woman's Right To Choose, Even For Overseas Military Personnel. In 2003, McCain voted against an amendment that would have allowed overseas military facilities to provide privately-funded abortions for women who are in the military or are military dependents. The amendment failed 48-51. [S. 1050, [Vote #192](#), 5/22/03]

McCain Voted Against Protecting The Reproductive Rights Of Military Personnel And Dependents Stationed Overseas. In 2002, McCain voted against an amendment that would give military women and dependents of military personnel stationed overseas access to abortion services. The amendment passed 52-40. [S 2514, [Vote #160](#), 6/21/02]

McCain Voted To Block Women In The Military From Receiving Patient-Funded Abortions At Overseas US Facilities. In 2000, McCain voted to block an amendment that would allow military women and dependents of military personnel to obtain patient-funded abortions at military hospitals. The amendment was killed by a vote of 50-49. [S.Amdt. 3927 to S. 2549, [Vote #134](#), 6/20/00]

- **McCain Voted To Prohibit Women In The Military And Their Dependents From Obtaining Privately Funded Abortions On Overseas Military Bases.** In 1997, McCain voted against an amendment to repeal the restriction on use of Department of Defense facilities for abortions. The amendment failed 48-51. [S 936, [Vote #167](#), 7/10/97]

International Aid

McCain Voted In Favor Of Restrictions On Foreign Aid For Reproductive Health Programs. In 1998, McCain for a State Department authorization bill that included language which barred any US contributions for contraceptive and reproductive health programs to international family planning programs that used their own separate funds to lobby or speak out on abortion. The measure was adopted by a vote of 51-49. [HR 1757, [Vote #105](#), 4/28/98]

- **McCain Voted To Tie The Hands Of The US Government From Supporting Reproductive Health And Population Control Programs Around The World.** In 1994, McCain voted for an amendment to prohibit money from being spent to engage in efforts to change abortion laws in foreign countries, including population control programs. The amendment failed 42-58. [HR 4426, [Vote #191](#), 7/14/94]

McCain Voted To Spend A Third Of AIDS Relief Funding On Abstinence Education. In May 2003, McCain voted against an amendment that would strike a provision from the Global AIDS Relief legislation requiring that 33 percent of the money for prevention programs be spent on abstinence education. [HR 1298, [Vote #180](#), 5/16/03]

- **McCain Voted Against Increased Workability For HIV/AIDS Prevention Programs Overseas.** In 2003, McCain voted against an amendment which clarified the definition of “HIV/AIDS prevention” as only those programs and activities that are directed at preventing the sexual transmission of HIV/AIDS, and activities that include a priority emphasis on the public health benefits of refraining from sexual activity before marriage; and stipulates that the requirement in the Global Aids Authorization bill that one-third of all prevention funding must be dedicated to “abstinence until marriage programs” applies only to the funds for the prevention of sexual transmission of HIV, rather than to all prevention funds such as funds for HIV testing and education and information programs to prevent AIDS. [HR 2800, [Vote #430](#), 10/30/03]

Federal Employees

McCain Voted To Prohibit Federal Employees From Choosing Health Plans That Cover Abortions. In 1997, McCain voted to prohibit the use of funds to pay for abortion, or administrative expenses in connection with health plan under Federal employees’ health benefit program which provides benefits or coverage for abortions, except where life of mother would be endangered, or pregnancy is result of rape or incest. The measure passed 54-45. [S 1023, [Vote #190](#), 7/22/97]

- **McCain Voted Against Giving Federal Employees The Right To Choose Health Plans Which Ensure Access To A Broad Range Of Reproductive Health Options.** In 1995, McCain voted against a committee amendment to strike bill provisions to prohibit federal employees or their families from receiving abortion services through federal health insurance policies except when the life of the woman would be endangered. The measure passed 52-41. [HR 2020 , [Vote #369](#), 8/5/95]

District of Columbia

McCain Voted Against Allowing The District Of Columbia To Use Its Own Funds To Provide Abortions To Low-Income Women. In 1996, McCain voted against an amendment to allow the District of Columbia to use locally raised funds to help poor women obtain abortions. The amendment failed 45-55. [HR 3019, [Vote #38](#), 3/19/96]

- **McCain Voted To Prevent the District Of Columbia From Using Federal Funds To Provide Abortions In Most Cases.** In 1996, McCain voted to limit debate on the District of Columbia Appropriations bill for FY 1996 that included a provision to bar the District from using any government money to provide abortion (except in cases of rape, incest or danger to the woman’s life). The motion to invoke cloture failed 54-44. [HR 2546, [Vote #20](#), 2/27/96]

Fetal Harm Legislation

McCain Voted Undermine Roe V. Wade By Giving Legal Rights To A Fetus. In 2004, McCain voted for a bill that would make it a criminal offense to injure or kill a fetus during the commission of a violent crime. The measure would establish criminal penalties, equal to those that would apply if the pregnant woman were injured or

killed, for those who harm a fetus, regardless of the perpetrator's knowledge of the pregnancy or intent to harm the fetus. The bill states that its provisions should not be interpreted to apply to consensual abortion or to a woman's actions with respect to her pregnancy. The death penalty could not be imposed under this bill. The bill passed 61-38. [HR 1997, [Vote #63](#), 3/25/04]

- **McCain Also Voted Against An Alternative That Would Allowed Prosecution Without Giving Fetus Legal Status.** In 2004, McCain voted against a Democratic alternative that would have given federal prosecutors the option of charging defendants with separate offenses for federal crimes against pregnant women that interrupt their pregnancies. This amendment differed from the GOP alternative because it would have given prosecutors that power without establishing a distinct legal status for fetuses. After the amendment failed, Senate Republicans voted for the bill that would make it a criminal offense to injure or kill a fetus during the commission of a violent crime. The amendment failed 49-50. [S.Amdt. 2858 to H.R. 1997, [Vote #61](#), 3/25/04; [CQ Today](#), 3/25/04]

Fetal Tissue Research

McCain Voted To Trample Privacy Rights Of Those Involved In Fetal Tissue Research. In 1999, McCain voted for an amendment that would require anyone receiving fetal tissue obtained as a result of an abortion to disclose to the government various information, including what medical procedure was used to abort the fetus and how old it was, what the tissue is to be used for, the names of anyone involved in the transfer of the tissue and whether any money was exchanged as a result of the transfer. The amendment was rejected 46-51. [S 1692, [Vote #338](#), 10/21/99]

McCain Voted To Allow Human Fetal Tissue Research. In 1997, McCain voted against an amendment that would have prohibited the use of funds for research that utilized human fetal tissue, cells, or organs that were obtained from a living or dead embryo or fetus during or after an induced abortion. The amendment failed 38-60. [S 1061, [Vote #215](#), 9/4/97]

Late-Term Abortion

McCain Voted For A Ban on Late-Term Abortions. In 2003, McCain voted for a bill sponsored by Senator Rick Santorum that would ban a medical procedure opponents refer to as 'partial-birth' abortion. The procedure would only be allowed when it is necessary to save a woman's life. Those who unlawfully performed the procedure would face fines and up to two years in prison. The bill passed 64-34. [S. 3, [Vote #402](#), 10/21/03]

- **McCain Voted For A Late-Term Abortion Ban That Did Not Provide An Exception For Medically Necessitated Procedures.** In 2003, McCain voted for a bill that would ban a medical procedure opponents refer to as 'partial-birth' abortion. Those who performed the procedure would face fines and up to two years in prison. This version of the bill did not include an exception that would allow the procedure when a woman's health was at risk. The bill passed 64-33. [S. 3, [Vote #51](#), 3/13/03]
- **McCain Opposed Allowing Doctors To Determine The Necessity Of A Late-Term Abortion.** McCain voted to table an amendment that would allow a medical procedure opponents refer to as "partial birth" abortion of a fetus that is judged to be viable outside the womb only if two doctors agree that carrying the fetus presents a "risk of grievous injury" to the life or health of the pregnant woman. The amendment was tabled 60-38. [S. 3, [Vote #46](#), 3/12/03]
- **McCain Opposed A Ban On Late-Term Abortions That Included A Medical Exception For The Health Of The Woman.** In 1999, McCain opposed a motion to proceed to the bill that would ban a certain late-term abortion procedure unless it is necessary to save the life of the mother endangered by a physical

disorder, illness, or injury. Anyone convicted of performing such an abortion would be subject to a fine and up to two years in prison. The motion to proceed passed 52-48. [S. 1692 , [Vote #332](#), 10/20/99]

- **McCain Voted For A Ban On Certain Late-Term Abortion Procedures Without An Exception For The Health Of A Woman.** In 1997, McCain voted for a bill that would impose penalties on doctors who perform certain abortion procedures, in which the person performing the abortion partially delivers the fetus before completing the abortion. An exception would be granted where the procedure was necessary to save the life of the woman. The bill was amended to clarify the definition of the procedure and to allow an accused doctor a hearing before a state medical board prior to trial. The measure passed 64-36. [HR 1122, [Vote #71](#), 5/20/97]
 - **McCain Voted To Override President Clinton's Veto Of A Late-Term Abortion Ban.** In 1998, McCain voted to override the President's veto of a bill prohibited late-term abortions that provided only an exception for the life of the mother. The vote to override the veto failed 64-36. [HR 1122, [Vote #277](#), 9/18/98]
- **McCain Voted For A Ban On Certain Late-Term Abortion Procedures That Did Not Include An Exception To Protect The Health Of The Woman.** In 1995, McCain voted for a bill to impose penalties on doctors who perform certain late-term abortions. The bill passed 54-44. [HR 1833, [Vote #596](#), 12/7/95]
 - **McCain Voted To Override President Clinton's Veto Of A Ban On Late-Term Abortion Procedures.** In 1996, McCain voted to override President Clinton's veto of the late-term abortion ban that contained a narrow exception to protect the life of the woman and did not include an exception to protect the health of the woman. The override effort failed 58-40. [HR 1833, [Vote #301](#), 9/26/96]

Young Women

McCain Voted Against Providing Young Women Access To The Morning-After Pill. McCain voted for an amendment that would bar federal funds from being used to distribute the morning-after pill on school grounds. The motion to table failed 41-54 and the measure was later adopted by voice vote. [HR 4577, [Vote #169](#), 6/30/00]

McCain Voted To Criminalize Taking A Woman Under 18 Across State Lines To Obtain An Abortion. In 1998, McCain voted to limit debate on an amendment to the bill that would make it a federal crime for anyone other than a parent to transport a minor across state lines with the intent to obtain an abortion. The motion failed 54-45. [S 1645, [Vote #282](#), 9/22/98]

McCain Voted To Prohibit Federal Funding From Being Used for Minors To Obtain Abortions. In 1997, McCain voted against an amendment to strike from the children's health initiative the "Hyde Amendment" prohibiting the use of federal funds for abortions except in cases of rape, incest or threat to a woman's life. [S 947, [Vote #129](#), 6/25/97]

EEOC

McCain Voted Against Allowing Juries To Decide Compensatory And Punitive Damage Awards In Gender Discrimination Lawsuits. In 2000, McCain voted against amending the Fair Labor Standards Act to permit unlimited compensatory and punitive damages to be awarded in gender discrimination lawsuits regarding pay rates, including in class-action lawsuits, and would increase the burden on employers to prove that any pay rate differentials between jobs primarily held by men and jobs primarily held by women were based on bona fide factors, such as education or experience. The amendment would also require the Labor Department to educate employers on the requirements of the law. The amendment failed 45-53. [HR 4810, [Vote #203](#), 7/17/00]

McCain and Lobbyists

If nothing else, John McCain's 25 years in Washington have allowed him to establish close relationships with D.C.'s top industry lobbyists. McCain has reached out to his numerous lobbyist friends to play key roles in his presidential campaign, a conscious decision that sends a clear message about the type of people he will appoint to top government positions if elected president. McCain's campaign manager, his deputy campaign manager, his top political adviser, his campaign co-chairman, his congressional liaison, his choice to run the RNC, and others are all lobbyists who take money to push the agendas of the special interests. McCain has also tapped into his special interest friends to fund his campaign, enlisting almost twice as many lobbyist bundlers as any other candidate, Democrat or Republican. Ultimately, every facet of the McCain campaign is influenced by special interest lobbyists, from strategic political decisions, to crucial policy proposals, to McCain's personal philosophy on government.

TOP HITS:

- McCain has at least 66 lobbyists as top fundraisers, almost twice as many as any other candidate who ran in 2008
- McCain's top advisers and staffers are lobbyists, including his campaign manager, chief political advisor, deputy chief of staff, campaign co-chairman, and Congressional liaison
- McCain's advisers have lobbied for numerous Third-World dictators
- McCain had personal relationship with female lobbyist

John McCain has Lobbyists Running his Campaign

McCain Campaign “Guided By Lobbyists.” According to the *Washington Post*, “McCain’s campaign has also been guided by lobbyists. [Rick] Davis, the campaign manager, is a former lobbyist who represented major telecommunications companies. The campaign’s senior adviser is Charles R. Black Jr., chairman of BKSJ & Associates, which represents drug companies, an oil company, an automaker, a telecommunications company, defense contractors and the steel industry, among others. Former congressman Tom Loeffler (R-Tex.) was brought in to shore up the campaign’s finances and operations. Yet he maintains his day job as chairman of the Loeffler Group, whose clients include oil, auto and telecommunications companies, as well as a tobacco firm and an airline. Other occasional McCain advisers include lobbyists Timothy P. McKone of AT&T, Robert S. Aiken of Phoenix-based Pinnacle West Capital, John W. Timmons of the Cormac Group and John Green of Ogilvy Government Relations. Also at Ogilvy is a major McCain fundraiser, Wayne L. Berman. Their firms’ clients have been a significant source of contributions to McCain’s campaign. Executives for the clients of Ogilvy Government Relations gave at least \$271,000 for McCain’s presidential bid. Loeffler Group client employees donated \$118,500, according to a Washington Post analysis. BKSJ clients’ executives gave \$24,000.” [[Washington Post](#), 12/31/07]

McCain’s Campaign Meeting Resembled Lobbyist Roundtable. When McCain met with his closest campaign advisers in Arizona, “virtually every one was part of the Washington lobbying culture he has long decried.” According to the *Washington Post*, “The fact that lobbyists are essentially running his presidential campaign... seems to some people to be at odds with his anti-lobbying rhetoric. [[Washington Post](#), 2/22/08]

McCain Leads all Presidential Candidates in Lobbyist Fundraising. According to Public Citizen, McCain has almost twice as many lobbyists bundling donations for his campaign than any other candidate. McCain has at least 66 lobbyists as his top fundraisers, with the next highest being Giuliani, with 35. [[Public Citizen](#), accessed 3/28/08]

2000 Bush Ad: McCain’s Campaign is Crawling with Lobbyists. According to the Associated Press, “...[Bush] suggested McCain is a hypocrite on his signature issue of political reform. Soon, the message found its way into Bush ads. An ad released Feb. 8 quoted a newspaper article, saying, ‘McCain’s campaign is crawling with lobbyists.’” ... “Bush then attacked McCain for promoting campaign finance reform while hitting up Washington lobbyists at a fund-raiser that night.” [[Associated Press](#), 2/12/00; [Greenville News](#), 2/12/00]

McCain’s Disclosure of Lobbyist Fundraising Worse than Bush-Cheney. Public Citizen has found that “when it comes to disclosing how much lobbyists are raising for his presidential campaign,” McCain “has fallen short, even by standards set by the Bush/Cheney 2004 campaign which voluntarily disclosed on its Web site the names of bundlers who raised at least \$100,000 and \$200,000.” [[ABC News](#), 1/29/08]

McCain’s Campaign Manager, Rick Davis, is a Lobbyist

McCain Campaign Manager Founded Lobbying Firm of Davis, Manafort. According to the Politico, Davis “founded a lobbying firm – Davis, Manafort Inc. – which has made at least \$2.8 million lobbying Congress since 1998.” [[Politico](#), 7/11/07]

Davis Helped McCain Take Cablevision Pay-Off. According to the *Washington Post*, “In 2003 and 2004, for example, McCain took two actions favorable to Cablevision, the cable TV company, while Davis, his chief political strategist at the time, solicited the company for a total of \$200,000 for the Reform Institute, a tax-exempt group that advocated an end to outsize political donations. Davis solicited an initial donation from Cablevision chief Charles Dolan a week after Dolan testified before the Senate Commerce Committee in favor of a position backed by McCain. Davis said there was no connection between the testimony and the solicitation. Less than a year later, McCain wrote to the Federal Communications Commission recommending Cablevision’s position on cable pricing, citing Dolan by name. Cablevision followed soon thereafter with a second \$100,000 donation, the Associated Press reported.” [Public Campaign Action Fund; [Washington Post](#), 12/31/07]

Davis Used Relationship with McCain to try and Land Contract with Russian Tycoon. In 2006, Davis arranged a meeting between McCain and Oleg Deripaska, a Russian billionaire, in Switzerland. Derispaska’s “suspected links to anti-democratic and organized-crime figures are so controversial that the U.S. government revoked his visa.” At the time McCain met with the Russian, Davis was “working for a lobbying firm and seeking to do business with the billionaire.” [[Washington Post](#), 1/24/08]

Davis Leveraged Relationship with McCain to Land Lucrative Verizon Contract. Between 2002 and 2005, Verizon paid Davis \$640,000 to lobby on their behalf. Davis signed Verizon up as a client in 2001, just a year after he managed McCain’s first presidential campaign. McCain served as the influential chairman of the Senate Commerce Committee for most of that time. Verizon and Davis terminated their contract after 2005, when McCain gave up the chairmanship. [Senate Lobbying Database, accessed 3/12/08; Senate Commerce Committee, accessed 3/12/08]

Davis Partner, Manafort, Carried Out “A Yanukovich Makeover.” According to the *International Herald Tribune*, “With a critical election Sunday, the Ukrainian prime minister, Viktor Yanukovich, is displaying a deft new touch that has helped transform him from arch-villain of the Orange Revolution (at least in the eyes of the West) to arguably the country’s most popular politician. Yanukovich has not, though, done it all on his own. From an anonymous office off Kiev’s main square, a seasoned American political strategist has for many months been carrying out a Yanukovich makeover. The strategist, Paul Manafort Jr., who was once a senior aide to prominent Republicans, has sought to remain behind the scenes. ... Yanukovich was introduced to Manafort by Rinat Akhmetov, a Yanukovich supporter and billionaire industrialist who is the richest man in Ukraine. Manafort was advising Akhmetov at the time on improving the image of his companies. Manafort’s firm - Davis, Manafort - is among the most influential political consulting firms in the United States. He worked for Bob Dole, once the Republican nominee for president. His partner, Rick Davis, manages the Republican presidential campaign of Senator John McCain of Arizona.” [[International Herald Tribune](#), 9/29/07]

Davis’s Firm has Represented Foreign Clients. Davis’s lobbying firm – Davis, Manafort & Freedman –has registered as a foreign agent on behalf of:

Country	Client	Years	Firm
Nigeria	Federal Republic of Nigeria	3/3/1998 – 12/31/1999	Davis, Manafort & Freedman
Argentina	Alberto Pierri (political)	4/16/1997 – 4/26/1997	Davis, Manafort & Freedman

	candidate)		
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[Department of Justice, Foreign Agents Registration Act (FARA) Records, accessed 3/2008]

McCain's Senior Political Adviser, Charlie Black, is a Lobbyist

Black's Firm Involved in Housing Scandal. Black's partner Paul Manafort was "a central figure in the congressional inquiry into fees paid to Republican consultants to win approval of housing subsidies from the Department of Housing and Urban Development. According to his own testimony, the firm used its political influence with appointed HUD officials to get lucrative benefits for a project in which Manafort had invested." During testimony before the House Government Operations Committee, "Manafort agreed that the firm's work on a New Jersey HUD project could be described as 'influence peddling,' an awkward admission that made the evening news and the next morning's front pages." [Washington Post, 8/12/89]

- **Black Called Upon to Smooth Over Fall-Out.** According to the LA Times, "In the uproar following Manafort's admission, Black flipped through his reliable Rolodex and managed to quiet the storm." [Los Angeles Times, 10/7/90]

Black's Firm Represented at Least 50 Foreign Clients. According to the U.S. Department of Justice's FARA Database, BKSH, the lobbying firm chaired by Charlie Black, has represented at least 50 foreign clients, including a number of foreign governments. [FARA Database, accessed 2/26/08]

Country	Client
Angola	UNITA (later Center for Democracy in Angola)
Armenia	Stepan Matirosyan
Australia	News Corporation, Ltd.
Bahamas	Government of the Bahamas
Barbados	Government of Barbados
Bermuda	Government of Bermuda
Canada	Horsahm
Canada	Nordion International
Canada	Forest Product Association of Canada
China	Chinese National Off-Shore Oil Corp.
Colombia	Noemi Sanin
Curacao	Institute for Financial and Fiscal Studies of Curacao
Cyprus	Embassy of the Republic of Cyprus
Djibouti	Government of the Republic of Djibouti, Embassy
Dominican Republic	Government of the Dominican Republic
Ecuador	Government of Ecuador, Embassy
El Salvador	Executive Hydroelectric Commission of the Lempa River
Equatorial Guineau	Government of Equitorial Guinea, Embassy
Great Britain	Aston Martin Lagonda, Ltd.
Great Britain	National Convention for Reconstruction and Development
Greece	Government of Greece
Greece	Government of Greece, Embassy
Haiti	Government of Haiti
Iraq	Embassy of the Republic of Iraq
Isle of Man	Vittoria Consultants, Ltd.
Israel	Magal Security Systems Ltd.
Italy	Fiat Ferroviaria
Japan	Eitaro Itoyama
Kenya	Government of Kenya
Korea	Intercultural Association of Korea
Korea	Korea Silo Company, Ltd.

Lebanon	Adcom Group
Liberia	Government of Liberia
Maldives	Maldives Democratic Party
Nigeria	Government of Nigeria
Nigeria	His Excellency Ibrahim Sarninu Turaki, Governor, Jigawa State, Nigeria
Peru	Minpeco U.S.A., Inc.
Peru	Government of Peru
Philippines	Union for National Action
Philippines	Chamber of Philippine Manufacturers, Exporters & Tourism
Philippines	League of Leaders for Philippine Development
Portugal	Luso American Foundation for International Relations
Russia	Russian Information Agency
Somali Democratic Republic	Government of Somalia
St. Lucia	Government of St. Lucia
Taiwan / China	Taipei Economic and Cultural Representative Office in the United States
Thailand	N/A
Togo	Government of the Republic of Togo
Ukraine	Agency for Humanitarian Technologies
Zaire	Government of Zaire

[Department of Justice, Foreign Agents Registration Act (FARA) Records, accessed 2/26/08]

Black's Firm Rated "as the Bloodiest" for List of Violent Foreign Clients. In 1992, *Spy* magazine attacked "PR firms for handling such 'murderous' foreign nations as Zaire, Haiti and El Salvadore. A 'blood on the hands' chart rates Burson-Marsteller subsidiary Black, Manafort, Stone and Kelly as the bloodiest for handling Somalia, Zaire, Nigeria, Kenya, Dominican Republic and others." [Jack O'Dwyer's Newsletter, 1/15/92]

Study Showed Black's Firm as Leader in Getting U.S. Funds to Human Rights Abusers. A 1992 study by the Center for Public Integrity (CPI), titled "The Torturers' Lobby," named Black's lobbying firm as one of the top lobbying firms getting U.S. funding for countries that abuse human rights. "The Republican public relations firm of Black, Manafort, Stone and Kelly received more than \$3 million from Nigeria, Kenya, the Philippines and Angola's UNIT rebels. Former Bush campaign manager Charles Black is a senior partner in the firm, which includes many former Bush and Reagan administration aides. 'All four human-rights abusing countries receive millions of dollars in U.S. aid – thanks to Black, Manafort, Stone and Kelly,' said [CPI President Charles] Lewis." [Boston Herald, 12/26/92]

Clinton-Gore Hit Bush I on Black's Foreign Lobbying. In an October 1992 press release, the Clinton-Gore campaign hit President Bush for hiring Black to run his campaign. "A number of Bush's senior advisers act as foreign lobbyists for a number of foreign interests and governments. Senior Advisor Charles Black is a foreign agent, who has lobbied for single-party African states and Ferdinand Marcos' re-election campaign." [U.S. Newswire, 10/19/92]

Frank Greer Called Black a "Traitor." During the 1992 presidential campaign, "Clinton media consultant Frank Greer called Bushman Charlie Black 'a traitor to your country for years' – because Black's consulting firm has represented foreign interests." [Washington Post, 10/27/92]

Hypocrisy of Black's Role Pointed Out in 1996. "If Dole were ahead and Clinton behind, there's little doubt that the details of these relationships would not be front-page news. But, being the underdog, Dole is so immune to such assaults that he can send out Charlie Black – whose professional specialty is lobbying on behalf of corrupt Third World dictators like the late Ferdinand Marcos – to spin the press on how the Democratic Party's taking Indonesian money demonstrates Bill Clinton's flawed character." [Slate Magazine, 10/19/96]

Black Helped Ahmed Chalabi Sell the Bush Administration Lies Leading to the Iraq War

Black and BKSH Represented Iraqi National Congress. “BKSH & Associates, headed by longtime Republican insider Charles Black, represents Chalabi’s Iraqi National Congress, his former exile group, in Washington.” [Newsday, 10/5/03]

Black Touted Connections to Chalabi. “BKSH & Associates, the lobby firm run by GOP strategist Charlie Black, touts its connections to Ahmed Chalabi (until recently a Pentagon sweetheart), who formerly headed the exiled Iraqi National Congress and is currently on Iraq’s governing council.” [St. Louis Post-Dispatch, 10/1/03]

BKSH’s Lobbying Gave Chalabi Inside Access to Bush Administration. Roll Call reported that Chalabi gets help from “BKSH & Associates, the Washington firm founded by Charles Black, a longtime ally of President Bush. Those contacts have paid off: At this year’s state of the union address, Chalabi sat in the VIP Box with first lady Laura Bush. [Roll Call, 2/24/04]

BKSH Developed INC’s Communications Strategy. BKSH “won a State Department contract to help develop a communications strategy for the Iraqi National Congress (INC) in the years before the war.” BKSH had a lobbyist in Baghdad in 2003 “to help the INC build a communications operation in Iraq.” [The Hill, 2/7/06]

- **Chalabi Helped Engineer WMD Claims and Pushed Bush Administration to Attack Iraq.** Meeting at the Pentagon nine days after the 9/11 attacks, Chalabi urged the Defense Policy Board, which advised Secretary Rumsfeld, “to skip any intervention in Afghanistan, where the Taliban had harbored Al Qaeda, and to proceed immediately with targeting Iraq. A participant at the meeting, who asked not to be named, recalled that Chalabi made a compelling case that the Americans would have an easy victory there: ‘He said there’d be no resistance, no guerilla warfare from the Baathists, and a quick matter of establishing a government.’ Soon afterward, however, Chalabi began to clash with the Administration. Chalabi told me that he would have preferred to sell the war to the American people on philosophical grounds, as a fight against genocidal tyranny and in favor of bringing democracy to the Arab world, but that this approach was rejected by the Bush Administration. ‘Look, our focus was on Saddam’s crimes, moral crimes, genocide,’ Chalabi said. ‘We were not focused on W.M.D. The U.S. asked us. We didn’t bring these people up; they asked us! They requested this help from us.’” [New Yorker, 6/7/04]
- **Former BKSH Employee Helped Sell WMD Claims.** Francis Brooke, who “worked with Mr. Chalabi since 1990 – first as a consultant paid by the CIA and most recently as a consultant for BKSH and Associates, a company run by Charlie Black, a Republican Party veteran,” helped focus on WMDs in the case for war. “Francis Brooke said that nobody had ordered the I.N.C. to focus solely on W.M.D.s. ‘I’m a smart man,’ he said. ‘I saw what they wanted, and I adapted my strategy.’” Brooke and “the I.N.C. was enlisted to promote the danger posed by Saddam’s regime. Brooke said, ‘I sent out an all-points bulletin to our network, saying, ‘Look, guys, get me a terrorist, or someone who works with terrorists. And, if you can get stuff on W.M.D., sent it!’” [New Yorker, 6/7/04; Sunday Telegraph, 6/6/04]
- **Chalabi Accused of Giving False Info to U.S. Leading up to War.** “Well, Iraqi Deputy Prime Minister Ahmed Chalabi is stirring controversy again. Once the favorite of the Bush administration, Chalabi is in the U.S. on a trip some see as an attempt to rebuild his reputation. Critics, including some lawmakers on Capitol Hill, vilify Chalabi for allegedly feeding false pre-war intelligence on Saddam Hussein’s weapons.” [CNN, 11/14/05]
- **Chalabi Helped Spur U.S. Invasion with False Information.** Knight Ridder described Chalabi as “the former exile who helped spur the U.S.-led invasion by feeding false intelligence to Washington about Saddam Hussein’s alleged weapons of mass destruction, and who returned to Iraq after Saddam’s fall to craft himself into a political leader.” [Knight Ridder, 1/14/06]

Black Made Concerted Effort to Cash-In on Iraq War, Using Experience Working with Chalabi

Black's Firm Involved "Pushing for the War." According to Washington Monthly, "BKSH had a special interest in Iraq. The firm was a key member of the coterie of talking heads, lobbyists, and politicians pushing for the war in Iraq that centered around Ahmed Chalabi's Iraqi National Congress (INC), the anti-Saddam exile group, which was itself a BKSH client." [Washington Monthly, 6/1/05]

- **Black's Firm Compared to Operators in Gold Rush.** Washington Monthly wrote, "In the gold rush of 1849, they say, it was not the miners who got rich, but the operators who sold the picks and the shovels and the wagons and the denim. So it was in Iraq, with the likes of Peg Bartel, the INC, and BKSH." [Washington Monthly, 6/1/05]

Black's Comments Show he Saw Iraq as a Personal Money-Maker for him and his Clients. "Over the past four years, BKSH has been boosting the interests of the Iraqi National Congress, whose leader, Ahmed Chalabi, was a key anti-Saddam opponent and now sits on the newly formed Iraqi Governing Council." "Due to our past representation of the INC,' says Black, 'we know and have worked with a lot of people who will be in the provisional government. We have a number of clients who are interested in doing business in Iraq.' Black adds that his firm is 'strongly considering' opening an office in Baghdad." [National Journal, 8/2/03]

- **Black Planned to Set up Iraq's First Lobbying Firm.** "Another top Republican lobbyist in Washington, Charlie Black, told me that his firm, BKSH & Associates, has plans to help Iraqis set up their own affiliated public-relations and government-relations firm; the company would become perhaps the first lobbying shop in Baghdad. Black is excited by the opportunities in Iraq, but he, too, has complaints. 'The problem in Iraq so far is it's slow and very confusing for people to figure out how to do business there,' he said. 'One week you go to Baghdad, and they say the decisions are being made at the Pentagon. Then you go to the Pentagon, and they say the decisions are being made in Baghdad. Only Halliburton is making money now!' He laughed. 'Is there too much cronyism? I just wish I could find the cronies.'" [The New Yorker, 2/16/04]

Black's Firm had Leg Up Because of Work for INC. "BKSH & Associates, headed by longtime Republican insider Charles Black, represents Chalabi's Iraqi National Congress, his former exile group, in Washington." Said one of lobbyists working for black: "What I think gives us a leg up, and I think we have a leg up, is the fact we have been working this issue for four-and-a-half years, and we know a lot of Iraqis that have been involved in the political process." [Newsday, 10/5/03]

Black's Clients Could Expect to be Well-Served in Seeking Iraq Contracts Because of Firm's History in Iraq. "BKSH Associates is attracting similar interest. The company, which says its lobbyists include individuals who have worked for both Republican and Democratic administrations, has over the years promoted the interests of Ahmed Chalabi, head of the Iraqi National Congress (INC). Since Chalabi and other INC members are on the governing council, BKSH's clients can expect to be well-served. They include, among others, Fluor, which has bid for work in Iraq, as well as US telecoms and engineering firms." [Energy Compass, 10/16/03]

Black's Firm has Represented 8 of Top 60 Defense Contractors. Charlie Black's firm, BKSH, has lobbied for 8 (or roughly 13%) of the top 60 companies receiving DOD contracts during 2007, including the top DOD contractor (Lockheed Martin) and six of the top 16 contractors. BKSH has represented Lockheed Martin, ranked first with over \$36 billion in FY 2006 defense revenue; United Technologies, ranked 10th with over \$7 billion in contracts; Thales, ranked 11th with nearly \$7 billion in contracts; General Electric, ranked 14th, with over \$4.5 billion in defense contracts; Honeywell, ranked 15th with \$4.4 billion in contracts; Rolls-Royce, ranked 16th with over \$4 billion in contracts; Harris, ranked 38th with \$1.5 billion in contracts; and NEC, ranked 59th with over \$700 million in contracts. [Army Times, http://www.defensenews.com/static/features/top100/charts/rank_2007.php?c=FEA&s=TIC; Senate Lobbyist Disclosure Database, accessed 2/29/08]

- **Lockheed Paid Black's Firm Over \$625,000 Since 2002.** Between 2002 and 2007, Lockheed Martin has paid Black's lobbying firm at least \$627,500 for to lobby the Department of Defense, the CIA, the Office of Management and Budget, the House and the Senate. Black himself is listed as one of the lobbyists working

on Lockheed's behalf for a portion of the firm's work. All of the lobbying done by the firm for Lockheed was on defense issues. [Analysis of Senate Lobbyist Disclosure Database, accessed 2/29/08]

- **United Technologies Paid Black's Firm \$650,000 since 2003.** Since the middle of 2003, United Technologies has paid Black's lobbying firm \$650,000 to lobby on its behalf. Charlie Black is listed as having personally handled this client. [Analysis of Senate Lobbying Disclosure Database, accessed 2/29/08]
- **Thales Inc. Paid Black's Firm \$935,000 Since 2000.** Between 2000 and the middle of 2007, Thales Inc. paid Charlie Black's lobbying firm \$935,000 to lobby on its behalf. The firm has charged the contractor higher fees since the beginning of the Iraq war. From 2000-2003, the firm charged an average of just over \$120,000. Since then, the firm has charged an average of approximately \$160,000 per year. [Analysis of Senate Lobbying Disclosure Database, accessed 2/29/08]
- **General Electric has Paid Black's Firm Nearly \$1 Million Since 1999.** Since 1999, General Electric and General Electric Capital Services has paid Charlie Black's lobbying firm between \$940,000 and \$980,000 to lobby on its behalf. [Analysis of Senate Lobbying Disclosure Database, accessed 2/29/08]
- **Honeywell Paid Black's Firm \$140,000 Between 2000 and 2001.** Between 2000 and 2001, Honeywell paid Black's lobbying firm \$140,000 for its services. [Analysis of Senate Lobbying Disclosure Database, accessed 2/29/08]
- **Rolls-Royce Paid Black's Firm at least \$240,000 from 1999-2001.** Between 1999 and 2001, Rolls-Royce paid Black's lobbying firm between \$240,000 and \$250,000. [Analysis of Senate Lobbying Disclosure Database, accessed 2/29/08]
- **Harris Corp. Paid Black's Firm \$40,000 in 2006.** In 2006, Harris Corp. paid Charlie Black's lobbying firm \$40,000 for lobbying services. [Analysis of Senate Lobbying Disclosure Database, accessed 2/29/08]
- **NEC Paid Black's Firm \$660,000 Between 2001 and 2005.** Between 2001 and 2005, NEC USA, the U.S. branch of the Japanese defense contractor, paid Charlie Black's lobbying firm \$660,000 to lobby Congress and the Department of Homeland Security. Charlie Black personally worked on the account. [Analysis of Senate Lobbying Disclosure Database, accessed 2/29/08]

Four Black Clients Got Lucrative Iraq Contracts. An analysis of the Center for Public Integrity's (CPI_ list of Iraq contractors and of the Senate's lobbyist database shows that four of BKSH's clients have received lucrative government contracts in rebuilding Iraq. According to CPI, BKSH client Fluor has received over \$3.7 billion in Iraq contracts; Harris Corporation has received \$165 million; General Electric has received an unknown amount; and new client Blackwater – the infamous security firm – has received over \$21 million. [Center for Public Integrity, accessed 2/29/08; Senate Lobbying Disclosure Database, accessed 2/29/08]

Black Helped Fluor Corporation Become Top Contractor. “Through his lobbying firm, BKSH & Associates (a division of the public relations firm Burson-Marsteller), Black represents Fluor Corporation, an engineering and construction firm that is one of the top contractors for post-war reconstruction in Iraq.”

- **Fluor Knowingly Over-Charged DOD and Dept. of Energy.** “Last November, Fluor agreed to pay the government \$12.5 million to settle a whistleblower suit alleging that the company had knowingly overbilled the Departments of Defense and Energy on contracts for tens of millions of dollars of illegal costs, including executive bonuses, land investments, construction and building improvements, luxury condos, fine art, a Mercedes driven by the company's president, and an antique Chippendale chair.” [[The American Prospect](#), 1/2006]

BKSH Lobbied for Firm that Handled Propaganda Articles in Iraqi Newspapers. “The Lincoln Group, a previously little-known business intelligence company headed by a heretofore little known young Briton and

Oxford graduate, Christian Bailey, now at the centre of controversy surrounding the Bush administration's covert propaganda war in Iraq. It was recently revealed that Bailey's company got the lion's share of a \$100-million contract from Donald Rumsfeld's Department of Defense for buying space in Iraqi newspapers to place deliberately one-sided stories written by U.S. 'psy-ops' troops." Additionally, the Lincoln Group was paid \$20 million to place misleading stories in Anbar province about U.S. forces running up to Iraqi elections. "The Lincoln Group has Republican links. Its lobbyists include Charles Black, an adviser to Ronald Reagan, George Bush Sr. and Marlin 'Buzz' Hefti, a former Pentagon director." [[Hamilton Spectator](#), 1/7/06]

- **Black's Firm Hired by "Psychological Warfare" Firm.** "BKSH & Assoc. has been hired by the Lincoln Group. One of three firms selected last month by the U.S. Special Operations Command, to wage psychological warfare on behalf of the Pentagon in Iraq and other hot spots." [[Jack O'Dwyer's Newsletter](#), 7/27/05]

Wye Oak Technology hired BKSH to help Contractor Get Contracts in Post-Invasion Iraq. "In April of 2003, after the United States invaded Iraq, Stoffel retained the lobbying powerhouse BKSH, the firm headed by the influential Republican lobbyist Charles Black, to provide 'assistance in defense contract procurement,' for Wye Oak." [[Washington Monthly](#), 6/1/05]

- **Wye Oak was Greedy Business Looking to Profit from War.** Dale Stoffel, the founder and head of Wye Oak Technologies, "was a self-professed man of action, who was proudly and openly in Iraq to make a fortune." [[Washington Monthly](#), 6/1/05]

Blackwater Enlisted Black to Repair Reputation. "Blackwater Worldwide, its reputation in tatters and its lucrative government contracts in jeopardy, is mounting an aggressive legal, political and public relations counterstrike." The work was "landed by BKSH...led by Charles Black Jr." A "BKSH associate had worked briefly in Iraq and met several Blackwater personnel." [[International Herald Tribune](#), 11/2/07]

Black's Firm Represented Philippine Dictator Ferdinand Marcos

Black Enlisted to Improve Marcos's Image. "A politically well-connected U.S. lobbying firm is being paid nearly \$1-million to help a Philippine client linked with President Ferdinand Marcos, and some analysts believe its task is to improve Mr. Marcos' image." "The firm, Black, Manafort & Stone Public Affairs, began a year-long contract with a client called the Chamber of Philippines Manufacturers, Exporters and Tourist Associations." "Stanley Roth, who serves on the staff of a congressional subcommittee investigating Mr. Marcos' business dealings in the United States, called the arrangement 'just means of Marcos hiring a public relations firm.' Under the terms of the contract, the suburban Washington-based concern is to be paid \$950,000 plus expenses to provide 'advice and assistance on matters relating to the media, public relations and public affairs interests' as well as lobbying services." [[The Globe and Mail](#), 12/20/85]

Under Guise of Organization, Black's Firm Brought Foreign Minister to U.S. As the lobbyist for the Chamber of Philippine Manufacturers, Exporters and Tourism, Black's firm arranged a 1986 trip for "Pacifco A. Castro, acting foreign minister of the Philippines," who came to Washington as part of Marco's effort "to defuse international criticism surrounding preparation for the Feb. 7 balloting, in which President Ferdinand Marcos is seeking his fourth reelection in 20 years. There have been repeated charges, including recent allegations from senior Philippine church officials, that the potential exists for massive fraud in the election." Castro brought a letter from Marcos to President Reagan and met with Secretary of State Shultz and NSA John Poindexter. [[Washington Post](#), 1/23/86]

Christian Science Monitor Observed Black's Client was a Front for Marco. "However, for a fee of \$950,000, the firm is expected to do more than promote tourism and investment in the Philippines. When the Philippines foreign minister wanted to meet with the House Asian and Pacific Affairs subcommittee, for example, it was Black, Manafort that set it up, a committee staff member says. (Usually, he says, such meetings are set up by the embassy.)" [[Christian Science Monitor](#), 2/5/86]

Black's Firm Was Only Substantial Representation Except Sugar Commission. “And last November, three months before the Philippine elections, the Chamber of Philippine Manufacturers, Exporters and Tourism Associations hired Black, Manafort, Stone & Kelly. Prior to that, the only substantial representation the Philippines had was for the Philippine Sugar Commission.” [[Christian Science Monitor](#), 2/5/86]

Partner at Black's Firm Traveled to Manila to Advise Marcos. “Similarly, while the White House was trying to maintain an evenhanded policy during the recent Philippine elections, Paul Manafort was in Manila advising Ferdinand Marcos on how to respond to the American media. Manafort's firm received a \$950,000 fee from a business group closely allied with the beleaguered Philippine president.” At the time, Black's firm was called Black, Manafort, Stone & Kelly. [[Newsweek](#), 3/3/86]

Black's Firm Felt Heat for Ties to Marcos. “Tampa Tribune's Ray Locker looks at the lobbying firm of Black, Manafort, Stone & Kelley [sic], under subhead, ‘Florida Republicans may feel fallout.’ Writes Locker, ‘From the lobbying firm's list of controversial clients, such as former Miami businessman and fugitive Miguel Recarey to former Philippine President Ferdinand Marcos, to their hardball political work, the Black, Manafort partners have attracted more heat than most of Washington's numerous lobbying and consulting firms.’” [[Tampa Tribune](#), 6/24/90, in [Hotline](#), 6/26/90]

Clinton-Gore Hit Bush I on Black's Work for Marcos. In an October 1992 press release, the Clinton-Gore Campaign hit President Bush for hiring Black to run his campaign. “A number of Bush's senior advisers act as foreign lobbyists for a number of foreign interests and governments. Senior Advisor Charles Black is a foreign agent, who has lobbied for single-party African states and Ferdinand Marcos' re-election campaign.” [[U.S. Newswire](#), 10/19/92]

Black's Ties to Marcos Re-Surfaced in 2008. Amidst the McCain lobbying scandal in February 2008, Salon.com wrote about Black's former work for Marcos. “Among the loudest McCain mouthpieces is Charlie Black, a seasoned Republican operative whose client roster dates back to such paragons as the late Filipino President Ferdinand Marcos.” [[Salon.com](#), 2/22/08]

Black Forced to Drop Marcos in 1986. “One of the first casualties of President Reagan's decision yesterday to withdraw support from Philippine President Ferdinand Marcos was the high-powered Washington lobbying firm of Black, Manafort, Stone & Kelly, which was forced to drop its \$900,000 contract to represent Marcos' interests here and his struggle for political survival at home.” [[Washington Post](#), 2/25/86]

- **Federal Jury Awarded \$1.2 Billion in Damages to Marcos's Victims.** “A jury ruled in 1992 that Marcos was responsible for human rights violations, tortures, disappearances and summary executions between 1972, when he declared martial law, and 1986, when he was overthrown. Marcos died in Hawaii in 1989. This February, the same jury awarded the plaintiffs \$1.2 billion in exemplary damages, similar to punitive damages.” Of the 10,000 plaintiffs, about 4,300 were relatives of murdered Filipinos, “and the others are torture victims.” In 1991, a U.S. federal judge in Hawaii froze Marcos's estate, a decision upheld by the 9th U.S. Circuit Court of Appeals in 1994. [[Associated Press Worldstream](#), 6/16/94]
- **Marcos Allegedly Stole Between \$5 Billion and \$10 Billion from Country.** According to Transparency International, Ferdinand Marcos “allegedly stole between \$5 and \$10 billion” while he ruled the Philippines. [[CNN International](#), 12/8/07]
- **Marcos Allowed the Torture, Murder and Kidnapping of Dissidents.** According to the [Associated Press](#), “Marcos imposed martial law on Sept. 21, 1972 and ruled by decree for the next 14 years until he was ousted in a popular revolt and driven into exile in Hawaii... He has been accused of illegally enriching himself in office and allowing the torture, murder and kidnapping of thousands of dissidents.” [[Associated Press Worldstream](#), 9/21/00]

- **Marcos Barred Foreign Journalists from Philippines.** Marcos blacklisted “more than 9,000 foreigners” while running the Philippines, including many “banned for critical reports on the Marcos administration,” including “Arnold Zeitlin, then The Associated Press bureau chief in Manila.” “Foreign journalists were credited with exposing corruption and human rights violations under Marcos when the Philippine press was muzzled under martial law.” [Associated Press Worldstream, 4/17/98]

Black’s Firm Represented Somali Dictator Mohamed Siad Barre

Black’s Firm Lobbied for Somalia’s Dictator. “The well-connected Washington lobbying firm of Black, Manafort, Stone and Kelly has seen dictators such as Somalia’s Mohamed Siad Barre” as its clients. [Common Cause Magazine, Winter 1993]

Black’s Firm Lobbied for Government of Somalia. According to the Department of Justice, Black’s firm lobbied for the government of Somalia in the years leading up to Barre’s ouster in 1991. [Department of Justice, FARA database, accessed 2/26/08]

Black’s Firm was Only One Hired During Siad Barre’s 22 Year Rule. According to the Department of Justice’s FARA database, Black, Kelly, Scruggs & Healey was the only lobbying firm hired by the Somali government during Barre’s 22 years as dictator. [Department of Justice, FARA, accessed 2/26/08]

- **Siad Barre’s Tenure Marked by Human Rights Abuses.** “General Said Barre’s rule was marked by a war with Ethiopia, a flip-flop in political alliances from the Soviet Union to the United States, and growing allegations of human rights abuses.” [New York Times, 1/3/95]
- **Siad Barre Used Army to Destroy Civilian Institutions.** “Through his 21-year misrule of the East African nation, President Siad Barre has used the army and security agencies to destroy independent civilian institutions, to stifle dissent, and to maintain his hold on power. The complete absence on limits of presidential authority has benefited Siad Barre and the members of his clan, the Marehan, but it has been ruinous for the rest of the country.” [Christian Science Monitor, 12/4/90]
- **While Black Lobbied for Somalia, Siad Barre’s Army Killed 40,000 – 50,000 Civilians.** “The Somali army killed 40,000 to 50,000 unarmed civilians between June 1988 and January 1990, according to human rights group Africa Watch.” [Associated Press, 1/2/95]
- **Siad Barre’s Army Executed Opposition.** “Somali armed forces summarily executed 46 men after clashes between security forces and Muslim worshippers in the capital in which hundreds died, human rights campaigners and independent sources said yesterday. Those executed were among an estimated 2,000 people arrested in house-to-house searches after last Friday’s disturbances, according to the Africa Watch human rights group.” [The Independent, 7/22/89]

Black’s Firm Represented Zairian Dictator Mobutu Sese Seko

Black Lobbied for Zaire’s Dictator. Black, Manafort, Stone lobbied for “Mobutu Sese Seko of Zaire.” The “military dictator, Mobutu, was a \$1 million-per-year Black, Manafort client until December 1990.” [Common Cause Magazine, Winter 1993; Department of Justice, FARA database, accessed 2/26/08]

- **Mobutu Led “One of the Most Dictatorial and Corrupt” African Regimes.** “Over the next three decades, Mobutu led one of the most enduring regimes in Africa – and, said his critics, one of the most dictatorial and corrupt. Despite the country’s obvious natural resources, including copper, gold and diamonds, much of Zaire’s population continued to sink further into poverty. But Mobutu, known for his

trademark leopard-skin hat, amassed a personal fortune estimated to be as much as \$5 billion, with homes in Switzerland and France.” [CNN, 9/7/97]

- **Mobutu Was One of World’s Richest Men, Let Tens-of-Thousands of Children Starve.** “Ten thousand malnourished children under 4 years of age are brought yearly to Kinshasa’s Mama Yemo Hospital, named after President Mobutu Sese Seko’s mother. For the last two years, well over half of them have died there. Officials said the annual child mortality rate in some rural areas of this mineral-rich country of 27 million people may be much higher than 50 percent,” despite the fact that Mobutu, “Zaire’s military head of state and authoritarian president for the past 14 years” was “reportedly one of the world’s richest men.” [Washington Post, 12/30/79]
- **Mobutu Promised Abundance, Amassed Personal Fortune.** “Mobutu basked in strong domestic support, and enthusiastically prophesized ‘a rendezvous with abundance by 1980’ for all Zairians. Instead, Mobutu, his relatives and political cronies have amassed enormous private fortunes, while large numbers of Zairians are left wanting for basic necessities. ‘His government has created a small, calloused economic elite, a ‘state bourgeoisie,’ if you will,’ said one Western source.” [Washington Post, 12/30/79]
- **Mobutu Stifled Voices of Opposition.** After seizing power in a 1965 military coup, Mobutu “established a one-party state, banning all other political organizations but his own.” [CNN, 9/7/97]

Black’s Firm Represented Angolan Rebel Leader Jonas Savimbi of UNITA

Black Represented Angolan Rebel Leader. “So Black, Manafort knows the value of a steadfast tyrant. In the case of Jonas Savimbi, the controversial Angolan rebel leader, it’s \$600,000 a year – plus expenses. Trouble is, between 1985 and 1992, Black, Manafort’s cash cow may have indirectly been the U.S. Treasury. Up until 1992, Savimbi, whose UNITA guerilla forces long battled the Soviet-allied Angolan government, received up to \$60 million a year in U.S. aid. Much of it took the form of guns, ammunition and other military supplies shipped by the Central Intelligence Agency (CIA) via Zaire.” “With most of his war supplies provided by the U.S., Savimbi was able to pay Black, Manafort some \$5 million to lobby for U.S. aid, generate favorable U.S. media coverage and gin up political support in Washington. [Common Cause Magazine, Winter 1993]

Clinton Criticized Savimbi for Civil War; Black Not Troubled by Brutality, Defended Brutal Tactics. “In late January, the Clinton administration publicly criticized Savimbi, who resumed civil war after he lost the national election last fall – an election he demanded. Since October, thousands of Angolans have been killed in the latest round of fighting. But Black, Manafort doesn’t seem troubled by allegations that Savimbi tortured and murdered his rivals within UNITA or his resumption of the civil war.” Black defended himself in a 1990 interview, saying: “Now when you’re in a war, trying to manage a war, when the enemy is no more than a couple of hours away from you at any given time, you might not run your territory according to New Hampshire town meeting rules.” [Common Cause Magazine, Winter 1993]

Black’s Firm Re-Made Savimbi’s Image. “Occasionally, firms will achieve spectacular successes for a client: one particularly remarkable piece of lobbyist image management, for example, occurred in the mid-1980s, when the firm of Black, Manafort, Stone & Kelly helped refashion Jonas Savimbi, a murderous, demented Angolan rebel leader backed by the Apartheid regime in South Africa, as a valiant, anti-communist ‘freedom fighter.’ Savimbi visited Washington on numerous occasions, where the lobby shop had him ferried about by limousine to meetings with top political leaders, conservative groups, and TV networks. Black, Manafort checked repeated threats by members of Congress to cut off aid to Savimbi’s rebel group, which was burning and raping its way through Angola with the help of American taxpayers.” [Harper’s Magazine, 7/1/07]

Black’s Firm got Americans to Overlook Savimbi’s Flaws. “Since it took Unita as a client in 1985, Black Manafort has turned Mr. Savimbi into an icon for Washington’s conservatives. With his black beard, his gleaming smile and his unabashed anti-Soviet credentials, he is the magnetic hero-figure which the Nicaraguan Contras and the Afghan mujihadeen [sic] never quite managed to produce for middle America. The selling of Savimbi has been

so slick that it has smoothed doubts about his record on human rights and his previous links to South Africa.” [Financial Times, 3/16/90]

Black Got Savimbi to See Reagan. “Take Jonas Savimbi, the Angolan rebel leader who is paying a US lobbying firm \$600,000 to set up appointments and ferry him around the city. During his 10-day visit here, Mr. Savimbi has met with President Reagan, Secretary of State George P. Shultz, and Defense Secretary Caspar W. Weinberger. He’s also appearing on CBS’s ‘60 Minutes,’ ABC News ‘Nightline,’ the ‘MacNeil-Lehrer Newshour,’ Cable News Network, ‘Good Morning America,’ and the ‘Today’ show. Savimbi has repeatedly said that his guerrilla war against Angola’s Marxist government is threatened by lack of funds. But if he gets \$15 million in covert aid from the Reagan administration, \$600,000 will seem to him like money well spent. Savimbi’s lobbying firm, Black, Manafort, Stone & Kelly, is one of some 800 companies or individuals representing foreign interests.” [Christian Science Monitor, 2/5/86]

Black Used Influence with Dole on Behalf of Savimbi. “When Savimbi came to Washington last month to seek support for his guerilla organization, UNITA, in its struggle against the Marxist regime in Angola, he hired Black, Manafort. What the firm achieved was quickly dubbed ‘Savimbi chic.’ Doors swung open all over town for the guerrilla leader, who was dapperly attired in a Nehru suit and ferried around in a stretch limousine. Dole had shown only general interest in Savimbi’s cause until Black, the Senate majority leader’s former aide, approached him on his client’s behalf. Dole promptly introduced a congressional resolution backing UNITA’s insurgency and sent a letter to the State Department urging that the U.S. supply it with heavy arms. The firm’s fee for such services was reportedly \$600,000. [Time Magazine, 3/3/86]

Black Helped Savimbi Get \$15 Million Authorization. “Arranged through a public relations agency filled with movement conservatives, Savimbi’s Washington tour was a triumph. It came after Congress had repealed a 1976 law that forbade any assistance to rebel groups in Angola and led directly to an authorization for \$15 million in military assistance, including Stinger missiles.” [Baltimore Sun, 3/3/02]

Black Used Position in Bush’s 1988 Campaign to Win Support for Savimbi. In 1988, Black was simultaneously lobbying on behalf of Savimbi and serving as senior strategist to George H.W. Bush’s presidential campaign. Not surprisingly, “On Jan. 6, before he was inaugurated, Bush sent a letter to Savimbi pledging continued U.S. military and diplomatic support of UNITA, which now gets an estimated \$50 million in covert U.S. aid.” I wonder who actually wrote the letter. [Washington Post, 8/12/89]

Black’s Firm Engaged in Scare Campaign to Advance Savimbi’s Interests. “A more questionable practice concerns the tactics used against Unita opponents. Black Manafort secretly pushed the idea of a Justice Department investigation of Mr. Randall Robinson, a prominent anti-apartheid activist. It was also involved in the successful campaign to persuade Gray and Co, a rival public relations firm, to drop the Angola as a client. Ms. Calhoun recalls conservative activists handing out pink cards stamped with Gray’s telephone number and the eye-catching question: ‘Want to call an Angolan prostitute?’ Two of Gray’s main clients – Morocco and Turkey – were also warned that the Angola connection could compromise their own national security. ‘We did not discourage the campaign,’ said a spokesman for Black Manafort, ‘but we did not instigate it.’” [Financial Times, 3/16/90]

- **Assisting Savimbi, Black was Complicit in Murder and Torture.** “Jonas Savimbi, the Angolan rebel who was killed 10 days ago, murdered and tortured countless civilians over the years; the Angolan civil war that he sustained may be responsible for more than 500,000 deaths since 1975.” [New York Times, 3/5/02]
- **Savimbi Brutalized People; Personally Beat Rival’s Family to Death.** “Mr. Savimbi personally beat to death a rival’s wife and children. He also shelled civilians, sowed land mines and then bombed a Red Cross-run factory making artificial legs for victims of mines. ‘We have to call him Africa’s classical terrorist,’ said Makau Mutua, a professor of law and Africa specialist. ‘In the history of the continent, I think he’s unique because of the degree of suffering he caused without showing any remorse.’” [New York Times, 3/5/02]

- **Savimbi Manipulated the U.S. to Gain Power – Black Helped him Con Money from American Treasury.** Savimbi posed as an anti-Marxist revolutionary during the Cold War to gain American support, but, “Eventually, all learned that Savimbi was not anti-communist or pro-capitalism. He was pro-Savimbi. That became clear in 1992 when the end of the Cold War dried up the funds that had fueled the fighting and both sides agreed to an election. The charismatic Savimbi was heavily favored, but his bellicose campaign went over poorly in the war-weary country. Despite 17 years of inept corruption, dos Santos won. Savimbi cried foul and went back to war.” [[Baltimore Sun](#), 3/3/02]
- **Savimbi was Self-Interested Chameleon.** “Mr. Savimbi was a chameleon who started off as a pro-Soviet Marxist, became a Maoist to get Chinese support, then proclaimed himself an anti-Communist to get American support in the cold war, and after the collapse of Communism declared himself a supporter of free markets. He was expert at saying what we wanted to hear, but in retrospect it’s clear that he never believed in anything but power.” [[New York Times](#), 3/5/08]
- **Savimbi was Ally of Apartheid-Era South Africa.** “For most of his career, though Mr. Savimbi was dependent on the army of white supremacist South Africa to carry his fight.” [[New York Times](#), 3/3/02]
- **Savimbi Even Brutalized Allies.** According to Professor Gerald J. Bender of the University of Southern California, “When the first Unita rep in Washington, George Sangumba, went back home, Savimbi killed him,” and “The second guy was put under house arrest, and was later killed in a suspicious shootout. Savimbi personally beat another representative, Tito Chingunji, and his wife and children to death with rifle butts.” [[New York Times](#), 3/3/02]

Black’s Firm Represented Equatorial Guinea’s Dictator, Brig. Gen. Teodoro Obiang Nguema Mbasogo

BKSH Led Back-Channel Lobbying Effort for Brutal Dictator. “For most of its 34 years of independence, Equatorial Guinea was best known for the outlandish brutality of its rulers, which left the tiny West African country isolated on the international stage.” That was until the mid-1990s when a vast supply of oil was found there. In 2002, the Los Angeles Times reported that “the U.S. is Equatorial Guinea’s major trading partner” sending a significant amount of oil to the U.S. “There’s just one problem: Equatorial Guinea is headed by an embarrassingly corrupt government with a notorious human rights record. That’s made it difficult for the Bush administration to openly embrace its president Brig. Gen. Teodoro Obiang Nguema Mbasogo, so he and his oil industry supporters have lined up Beltway lobbyists and assorted hangers-on to press Washington for improved ties.” Amerada Hess, which produces 39,000 barrels of oil per day in the country, “continues to be at the forefront of the corporate lobbying for Obiang,” who came to power in a coup in 1979. “To handle that task, the company retains Washington lobbyist” BKSH & Associates. [[Los Angeles Times](#), 12/6/02]

- **Obiang Headed One-Party, Ethnocentric State.** “This small, former Spanish colony, independent since 1968, remains a one-party state governed by a constitution known as the Basic Law and run by a Supreme Military Council headed by Big. Gen. Teodoro Obiang Nguema Mbasogo. The ruling Democratic Party of Equatorial Guinea is trying to implement a World Bank restricting program, and recently asked every citizen to donate \$1,500 in gratitude for the long peace the government has delivered. Equatorial Guinea has remained thus far insulated from the tide of reform sweeping Africa. Obiang has ruled since 1979” and “maintains control by packing the government with members of his own ethnic group.” [[Chicago Tribune](#), 1/5/92]
- **Obiang had Opposition Leader Jailed.** “In Equatorial Guinea, the Malabo Special Court has pronounced a high-handed verdict on opposition leader Severo Moto, who was accused of trying to corrupt a police commissioner. He was sentenced to 18 months in prison for a minor offence, fined 50 m CFA francs and banned from taking part in elections during his sentence.” [BBC, 3/8/95]

- **In First “So-Called” Multi-Party Elections, Obiang Rigged Results, Won 99 Percent.** “In the Central African backwater of Equatorial Guinea, in the country’s first so-called multi-party elections, the long-time ruler Brigadier-General [sic] Teodoro Obiang Nguema Mbasogo seems to prefer to see his followers rigging voting lists and beating up opponents. In the country’s first multiparty election in 28 years, held in February, Mr. Nguema retained his job with 99 percent of the votes and an apt campaign slogan: ‘Our president, today, tomorrow and forever.’” [[The Globe and Mail](#), 4/6/96]
- **Obiang Held “Sham Election” to Extend “Reign of Terror”** “Another sham election was held in Equatorial Guinea in March. Brig. Gen. Teodoro Obiang Nguema Mbasogo extended his 16-year reign of terror by winning 99% of the vote.” [[Los Angeles Times](#), 7/6/96]
- **Obiang Put Hundreds of Millions in Oil Money in U.S. Bank.** As Equatorial Guinea cashed in on oil finds made during the 1990s, “there are few signs of the petroleum boom in the impoverished West African nation. Most of the population lives on about a dollar a day, and a U.S. State Department report found ‘little evidence that the country’s oil wealth is being devoted to the public good.’ So where has the money gone? That has been declared a ‘state secret’ by Equatorial Guinea’s ruler, Brig. Gen. Teodoro Obiang Nguema Mbasogo. But the Guinean ambassador to the U.S. and other sources close to Obiang say the country’s oil funds are held in an account at Riggs Bank in Washington. According to several of those sources and others familiar with the account, more than \$300 million of the country’s energy earnings has been deposited in the account by international oil companies active in Equatorial Guinea, including ExxonMobil Corp. and Amerada Hess Corp. The money is under the direct control of Obiang, the sources say.” [[Los Angeles Times](#), 1/20/03]
- **IMF Concerned, Cut off Aid.** Obiang’s arrangement with hundreds of millions in oil money hidden away in an American bank “has raised concerns at the International Monetary Fund, where officials have refused to provide assistance to Equatorial Guinea until Obiang accounts for his country’s oil money and have urged him to transfer it to its home treasury.” [[Los Angeles Times](#), 1/20/03]

Black’s Firm Represented Nigerian Dictator Ibrahim Babangida

Black’s Firm Took \$1 Million from Nigerian Military Ruler in 1985. “Justice Department filings, required under the Foreign Agents Registration Act, show that a firm run by key operatives in the Reagan reelection campaign – Black, Manafort, Stone & Kelly – signed contracts last year worth more than \$3.4 million with nine foreign clients,” including “\$1 million from the new military ruler of Nigeria.” [[Washington Post](#), 2/16/86]

Nigeria Reportedly Didn’t Pay. “Neither Peru nor Nigeria has paid a penny to Black, Manafort, Stone & Kelly Public Affairs Co. under contracts – for \$600,000 and \$1 million – that the firm signed with those governments and filed with the Justice Department last fall. The sticking point: Neither country has cash to spare, what with the price plunge in Nigerian oil and Peru’s foreign debt woes.” [[National Journal](#), 5/3/86]

Nigerian Dictator Tapped Black’s Firm to Convince America 1993 Elections were Fair. “Nigerians will go to the polls on June 12 to vote for a president, and the government of military strongman Ibrahim Babangida wants to be sure Washington takes note of what it describes as the ‘transition to democracy,’” and tapped Black’s firm to help in the effort. “Black Manafort is helping with arrangements for international election observers, a spokesman for the firm said.” [[National Journal](#), 6/5/93]

- **Babangida Came to Power in Coup, Ran Repressive Military Regime.** “General Babangida came to power in 1985 after playing a key role in overthrowing President Shehu Shagari, Nigeria’s last civilian leader. After a two-year period of leniency and an economic programme that was praised by the International Monetary Fund, he presided over one of the most repressive military regimes Nigeria has known.” [[The Guardian](#), 7/17/98]

- **After Putting Off Elections, Babangida Nullified Results, Arrested Winner.** “In 1985, Gen. Ibrahim Babangida came to power, promising only to preside over a transition to civilian rule.” That transition “turned out to be endless,” until elections were finally announced in 1993. “No one gave [businessman] Moshood Abiola a chance,” but Abiola won in “a stunning upset, the first powerful chord of nationhood the country had known. Abiola, the unofficial resulted showed, captured about 60 percent of the vote. Tribalism, at long last, looked defeated.” “Babangida, however, delayed announcing the results for several days. Then, six weeks after the election, he annulled it, citing voting box irregularities, which were never substantiated. Thousands took to the streets in Lagos; more than 200 died.” Fearing for his life, Abiola fled the country, returning the following year. When he surfaced, “Abiola was arrested. Charged with treason, the 58-year-old politician” was still in jail in 1996. [[Boston Globe](#), 4/7/96]
- **Commission Investigating Human Rights Pinned Murder of Journalist on Babangida.** “A special commission investigating human rights abuses by Nigerian governments,” known as the Oputa Panel and “led by a retired Supreme Court judge,” found Babangida responsible for a murder. The Panel’s reported concluded: “On General Ibrahim Babangida, we are of the view that there is evidence to suggest that he and the two security chiefs, Brigadier General Halilu Akilu and Col. A.K. Togun are accountable for the death of Dele Giwa by letter bomb. We recommend that this case be re-opened for further investigation in the public interest.” Dele Giwa was the editor of a weekly magazine. [[Los Angeles Times](#), 1/15/05; Oputa Panel Report, May 2002, <http://www.dawodu.com/oputa1.pdf>; [Rocky Mountain News](#), 5/4/06]
- **Babangida Tried to Stop Investigation.** “Ibrahim B. Babangida, Nigeria’s enigmatic former military ruler...has begun a lawsuit against Olusegun Obasanjo, the president, in an attempt to forestall investigation of a murder committed more than 15 years ago.” “The document, known as the Oputa panel report, is the product of almost three years work and is similar in the breadth of its scope to the Truth and Reconciliation Commission set up in South Africa after apartheid. Mr. Babangida is thought to be concerned that the panel has recommended further investigation into the death of Dele Giwa, a journalist murdered in 1986 by a parcel bomb. The killing, the year after Mr. Babangida took power in a coup, happened shortly after Mr. Giwa was questioned by the security services.” [[Financial Times](#), 7/2/02]

Black Said Gay Rights Had No Place in GOP. In 1992, Judy Woodruff reported that, “Campaign official Charles Black and Pat Buchanan have both said in the last 24 hours, ‘Those who favor rights for homosexuals have no place in the Republican Party.’” [[MacNeil/Lehrer Newshours](#), 8/19/92]

Former Rep. Thomas Loeffler, McCain’s Campaign Co-Chairman and Chief Moneyman, is a Lobbyist

Loeffler Founded Lobbying Firm. Former Texas Congressman Thomas Loeffler is the founder, chairman and senior partner at the Loeffler Group. He is a national co-chairman of McCain’s presidential campaign and his chief money-man. [[The Loeffler Group](#), accessed 3/28/08; [McCain 2008](#), accessed 3/28/08]

Loeffler Lobbies for Saudi Arabia. Among McCain’s fundraisers who lobby for foreign interests is his “campaign co-chair and chief moneyman, Thomas Loeffler,” who “has lobbied for Saudi Arabia for five years. Loeffler, a former congressman and longtime Republican fundraiser, chairs the firm that helped the Saudi kingdom join the World Trade Organization, fight anti-Saudi legislation and improve its image in the war on terrorism. The Saudi royals paid Loeffler’s firm more than \$11 million in two years for its efforts on their behalf.” Loeffler said in 2007 that “he would handle ‘all of the work’ of his firm while working on the McCain campaign. He also said, ‘I do not find a conflict of interest at this time.’” [[ABC News](#), 2/1/08]

- **Loeffler Received Nearly a Million Dollars a Year to Set Up Meetings Between the White House and Saudi Arabia.** According to the [National Journal](#), “Loeffler first raised big bucks for [G.W. Bush’s] gubernatorial campaigns. Since Bush’s election in 2000, Loeffler’s firm has signed up several lucrative clients, including the Embassy of Saudi Arabia, which he advises on trade and terrorism issues. Loeffler,

whom the Saudis pay about \$900,000 a year, has helped arrange meetings between Saudi officials and such senior Bush administration officials as Karl Rove.” [National Journal, 1/15/05]

Loeffler Earned \$3.9 Million for Creating At Least \$40 Million in Federal Pork Barrel Projects. McCain’s campaign consigliere and chief fundraising strategist, Tom Loeffler, founder of Loeffler Group, has spent much of the last decade as a lobbyist. According to documents filed with the Secretary of the Senate, Loeffler and his associates have collected \$3,920,000 over the years lobbying for the Texas cities of San Antonio, Houston, Pharr, Donna and Mercedes. In return, according to Citizens Against Government Waste, the cities received \$40 million and possibly more in federal government pork. [Politico, 4/4/07; Washington Post, 4/4/07; Senate Lobbyist Disclosure Records, accessed 3/12/08; Citizens Against Government Waste, Pig Book 2003-06]

Loeffler was Paid \$300,000 to Secure Funding For Expansion of Bridge to Mexico. From midyear 2003 to midyear 2005, Loeffler and his associates were paid \$300,000 to lobby on Behalf of the City of Pharr, Texas. In papers filed with the secretary of the Senate Loeffler was to lobby the House and Senate on issues “relating to federal funding for transportation projects in Rio Grande Valley including construction of additional span on the Pharr/Renoyosa International Bridge.” Funding for the project was included in a 2004 appropriations bill. [Lobbyist Disclosure Documents Filled with Secretary of the Senate; DNC Public Information 1/10/08; Mid-Valley Town Crier, 3/12/05; House Appropriations Bill, 2004]

Loeffler has Represented 5 Foreign Clients. The Department of Justice’s FARA Database shows that Loeffler has lobbied for foreign governments and entities.

Country	Client	Years	Firm
Saudi Arabia	Royal Embassy of Saudi Arabia	12/6/2002 – Present	Loeffler Group
Mexico	State of Hidalgo, Mexico	1/16/2003 – 9/30/2004	Loeffler Group
Hong Kong	Hong Kong Trade Development Council	5/18/2001 – Present	Loeffler Group
Ivory Coast	Government of the Republic of Cote D’Ivoire (Ivory Coast)	11/27/1991 – 8/30/1993	McCamish, Martin & Loeffler
Hong Kong	Hong Kong Trade Development Council	1/25/1990 – 8/30/1993	McCamish, Martin & Loeffler

[Department of Justice, Foreign Agents Registration Act (FARA) Records, accessed 3/2008]

Top McCain Aide and Congressional Liaison, John Green, is a Lobbyist

Green Founded Top D.C. Lobbying Firm. John Green is co-founder and managing director of Ogilvy Government Relations (previously the Federalist Group), one of Washington’s most powerful lobbying firms. Prior to founding the firm, Green was executive director of the New Republican Majority Fund PAC, where he raised nearly \$6 million. In 1996, Green served as campaign manager for Chip Pickering’s successful bid for an open congressional seat in Mississippi. Prior to that, he was Senator Trent Lott’s deputy chief of staff. In 2004, he served as national finance committee chairman for Richard Burr’s successful Senate campaign. [Ogilvy Government Relations, accessed 3/14/08]

Green Helped EADS and Northrup Grumman get Air Force Contract Over Boeing. Green lobbies for EADS North America. EADS, the parent company of Airbus, was awarded a \$35 billion contract by the Air Force to build airborne refueling planes. EADS was chosen of American manufacturer Boeing, a move loudly objected to by the company and by numerous members of Congress. Had the project been awarded to Boeing, it would have resulted in 44,000 American jobs with 300 different companies. According to disclosure reports filed with the U.S. Senate, Green lobbied on “Issues related to air refueling tanker procurement [sic]” in 2007. Green’s efforts directly resulted in a foreign company being awarded this contract instead of an American company that would have created

jobs here at home. Green has been paid \$1,080,000 to lobby for EADS. [[Associated Press](#), 3/1/08; [Houston Chronicle](#), 3/1/08]

Since 1999, Green has Lobbied for at Least 151 Clients, Billing over \$64 Million. Since 1999, Green has lobbied for at least 151 different companies, organizations and entities in a wide range of industries, including the pharmaceutical industry, the energy industry, the tobacco industry, the alcohol industry, the gun industry, the gambling industry, the defense industry, and the telecom industry. He has also lobbied for a number of local governments and government authorities. Green has also had as clients a number of other lobbying firms and government consulting firms. Since 1999, Green and his firm have billed at **between \$64,365,000 and \$64,604,976 for his lobbying services.** [Senate Lobbying Disclosure records, accessed 3/4/08 – 3/14/08]

Tobacco & Alcohol Industries

John Green and his firm have lobbied to advance the interests of big-tobacco and the alcohol industry. He has represented them on issues involving teen smoking, access to cigarettes and taxes on cigarettes.

Client	Years	Amount Billed
National Beer Wholesalers Association	2000	\$20,000
Pernod Ricard	2000-2007	\$1,280,000
Philip Morris	1999-2003	\$1,400,000
UST Public Affairs	1999-2005	\$920,000
		Total: \$3,620,000

Oil and Energy Industry

John Green and his firm have been paid millions of dollars by the oil industry and energy industry to lobby against issues including federal price gouging legislation, renewable energy legislation, and legislation that repealed billions of dollars in oil company tax breaks. Since 1999, Green has billed oil companies, energy companies and energy industry trade groups at least \$7,690,000 for his lobbying services.

Client	Years	Amount Billed
Amerada-Hess	2005-2007	\$540,000
American Chemistry Council	2006-2007	\$360,000
American Petroleum Institute	2002-2007	\$1,350,000
American Electric Power	2002	\$105,000
Black Beauty Coal	2003-2004	\$340,000
Chevron Texaco	2005-2007	\$840,000
Desert Rock Energy Co.	2006	\$160,000
El Paso Corp.	2002-2003	\$150,000
Electric Power Supply Association	2002-2007	\$820,000
Entergy	1999-2000	\$240,000
First Energy	2003-2004	\$180,000
Hydrostar	2005-2007	\$560,000
PJM Interconnection	2002-2006	\$800,000
Reliant Energy	2002-2007	\$925,000
Sempra Energy	2007	\$200,000
Star Atlantic	2006-2007	\$380,000
Texas Utilities (TXU)	2002	\$40,000
Walter Industries	2001, 2005	\$60,000

		Total: \$8,050,000

Telecommunications Industry

John Green and his lobbying firm have taken \$6.95 million from the telecommunications industry since 1999 to lobby on a variety of issues, including retroactive immunity for telecom companies that cooperated with Bush's program of spying on American citizens, efforts to prevent workers from joining unions, and issues surrounding competition in and taxes on telecom companies.

John McCain served as chairman of the Senate Commerce Committee, which has jurisdiction over all telecom issues, from 1997 – 2001 and from 2003-2005. He was Ranking Republican on the committee for part of 2001 and from 2002-2003.

Client	Years	Amount Billed
AT&T Services, Inc.	2007	\$160,000
Bell South Communications	1999-2006	\$620,000
Bell South Corp.	1999-2006	\$800,000
Cellular Telecommunications and Internet Association	2001	\$40,000
Motorola	2005-2007	\$580,000
Time Warner	2004-2005	\$560,000
U.S. Telecom Association	1999-2002	\$210,000
Verizon	2004-2007	\$2,700,000
Verizon Wireless	2004-2007	\$900,000
Viacom	2006-2007	380,000
		Total: \$6,950,000

Insurance Industry

John Green and his firm have been paid \$2.08 million since 2004 to lobby for big insurance companies and the insurance industry. Green has lobbied for the insurance industry on a number of issues, including representing their interests in the debate over injuries from asbestos. He has also represented the insurance industry's interests on issues such as flood insurance and Medicaid.

Client	Years	Amount Billed
Aflac	2004-2005	\$180,000
American Council of Life Insurers	2004	\$40,000
AIG	2004-2007	\$700,000
America's Health Insurance Plans	2004-2005	\$120,000
AmeriChoice	2004-2007	\$660,000
Property Casualty Insurers Association of America	2006	\$140,000
United Health Group	2007	\$240,000
		Total: \$2,080,000

Defense, Homeland Security & Military

John Green and his firm have been paid nearly \$4.5 million since 1999 to lobby for at least 11 companies receiving or seeking defense, military or homeland security contracts or defense-related appropriations.

Client	Years	Amount Billed
AmeriQual Foods	2003-2007	\$560,000 - \$569,999
Brown International	2002-2006	\$180,000 - \$229,995
COLSA Corp.	1999-2004	\$960,000
Daimler Chrysler	2000-2001	\$220,000
EADS North America	2003-2007	\$1,080,000
iDefense	2003	\$80,000
Ionatron Inc. (Applied Energetics)	2007	\$240,000
JC Bamford	2005-2007	\$840,000
Rivada Networks LLC	2005	\$60,000
Second Chance Body Armor	2002-2003	\$60,000 - \$69,999
Thermofisher Scientific	2007	\$80,000
		Total: \$4,360,000 - \$4,429,993

Pharmaceutical Industry

John Green and his firm have been paid at least \$1.18 million to lobby for four big pharmaceutical companies – Cephalon, Hoffman La-Roche, Pfizer and Schering-Plough. He has represented their interests on issues including regulation of pharmaceutical medications, SCHIP and the re-importation of prescription drugs.

Client	Years	Amount Billed
Cephalon	2005	\$200,000
Hoffman La-Roche	2006-2007	\$540,000
Pfizer	2000, 2007	\$300,000
Schering-Plough	1999-2000	\$140,000
		Total: \$1,180,000

Medical Industry

Since 2001, John Green and his firm have been paid between \$820,000 and \$829,999 to lobby for four medical clients on issues such as Medicare, SCHIP, group purchasing of medical supplies and the controversial topic of concierge physicians.

Client	Years	Amount Billed
American Association of Nurse Anesthetists	2000-2001	\$120,000 - \$129,999
AMN Healthcare	2005	\$100,000
MDVIP	2004-2007	\$480,000
Medical Device Manufacturers Association	2006-2007	\$120,000
		Total: \$820,000 - \$829,999

Finance, Banking, Lenders and Mortgages

Since 2000, John Green and his firm have been paid between \$14,410,000 and \$14,419,999 to lobby for a wide variety of financial clients ranging from providers of sub-prime mortgages, to major hedge funds and private equity firms.

Client	Years	Amount Billed
Alternative Investment Management Association	2007	\$120,000
Ameritrust Mortgage	2005-2006	\$640,000
Blackstone Group	2005-2007	\$4,760,000
Broidy Capital Management	2007	\$380,000
Carlyle Group	2005-2007	\$1,400,000
CitiGroup	2003-2007	\$1,240,000
College Loan Corporation	2006-2007	\$90,000
Community Financial Services Association	2000-2001	\$600,000
Credit Suisse First Boston	2003-2007	\$880,000
Fannie Mae	2004-2007	\$1,080,000
Federal Home Loan Bank of Seattle	2003-2004	\$100,000
Fidelity	2003, 2007	\$220,000
Freddie Mac	2003	\$180,000 - \$189,999
Highstar Capital	2004-2007	\$940,000
ICAHN Associates Corp.	2006-2007	\$560,000
Investor Protection Coalition	2004	\$80,000
Laredo National Bank	2004-2006	\$540,000
Member Works	2000-2001	\$200,000
Visa	2006-2007	\$400,000
		Total: \$14,410,000 - \$14,419,999

Travel & Shipping Industries

John Green and his firm have been paid between \$3.32 million and \$3.339 million to lobby for transportation and shipping companies on issues including pension reform, appropriations, labor rights and security.

Client	Years	Amount Billed
Aloha Airlines	2004-2006	\$200,000
American Magline Group	2001, 2005	\$60,000 - \$69,999
American Trucking Association	2006-2007	\$440,000
Detroit International Bridge Company	2004-2005	\$120,000
Deutsche Post World Net	2003-2006	\$600,000
Enterprise Rent-A-Car	2006-2007	\$260,000
FDX Corporation (Fed-Ex)	1999-2003	\$540,000
Legend Airlines	1999-2000	\$180,000 - \$189,999
Ports America	2007	\$280,000
Unigroup	2006-2007	\$220,000
UPS	2007	\$20,000
Virgin America	2006-2007	\$400,000
		Total: \$3,320,000 - \$3,339,998

Guns & Hunting

John Green has long lobbied for the National Rifle Association and Safari Club International, collecting nearly \$3.5 million in fees for him and his firm. He has lobbied on issues including the DC gun ban and the liability of gun-makers for third party crimes.

Client	Years	Amount Billed
NRA	1999-2007	\$2,680,000
Safari Club International	2004-2007	\$800,000
		Total: \$3,480,000

Lobbying Firms and Political Consultants

John Green not only lobbies for hedge funds and pharmaceutical companies – he also counts as his clients some of Washington’s other powerful lobbying firms. He has lobbied for BKSH, the lobbying firm chaired by McCain’s top political advisor, Charlie Black. He has also lobbied for Boland & Madigan, the lobbying firm of Peter Madigan, another McCain confidante. He has collected over \$1 million for him and his firm to lobby for other lobbyists and government consulting firms.

Client	Years	Amount Billed
BKSH	2006-2007	\$320,000
Boland & Madigan	1999-2000	\$80,000
Ghazal & Associates	2006-2007	\$80,000
Morgan Meguire	2003-2005	\$210,000
National Association of Business PACs	1999-2001	\$160,000
Parry Romani Deconcini & Symms	2005	\$60,000
Powell Goldstein Frazer & Murphy	1999-2000	\$40,000
Rhoads Group	2004	\$80,000
U.S. Strategies	2002	\$40,000
		Total: \$1,070,000

Higher Education

John Green and his firm have been paid nearly \$3 million to lobby for institutions of higher learning, often to get them pork-barrel earmarks.

Client	Years	Amount Billed
Alabama A&M University	2002-2006	\$0 - \$79,992
Calhoun Community College	2000	\$40,000
Kentucky Community & Technical College System	2004-2007	\$640,000
University of Alabama – Huntsville	2000	\$20,000
University of California	2005-2006	\$140,000
University of Chicago	2005-2007	\$1,200,000
University of South Alabama	1999-2007	\$740,000
		Total: \$2,780,000 - \$2,859,992

Municipal Governments, Authorities and Community Organizations

John Green has lobbied for a number of local and municipal governments, government authorities and community organizations, almost exclusively to win appropriations and pork-barrel earmarks. He's billed at least \$3.285 million for his work on their behalf since 2000.

Client	Years	Amount Billed
Alliance for Downtown New York	2005-2007	\$240,000 - \$269,997
Bay Area Rapid Transit District	2000-2005	\$440,000
Birmingham Airport Authority	2000-2007	\$900,000
City of North Las Vegas, Nevada	2001	\$40,000
City of Ontario, California	2005	\$40,000
Dallas-Fort Worth International Airport	2005-2007	\$660,000
Huntsville Madison Chamber of Commerce	2000-2002	\$200,000
Metropolitan Transit Authority of Harris County	2003	\$60,000
Orange County Transportation Authority	2005	\$20,000
Tampa Hillsborough Expressway Authority	2005	\$20,000
Texas Office of State-Federal Relations	2003-2006	\$600,000
Village of Key Biscayne, Florida	2001-2002	\$65,000
		Total: \$3,285,000 - \$3,314,997

Science, Technology & Research

John Green has lobbied for a number of science, technology and research-related clients, billing nearly \$1.8 million for him and his firm.

Client	Years	Amount Billed
Advanced Materials and Research Center	2005	\$220,000
Affiliated Computers Services	2006-2007	\$200,000
Business Software Alliance	2001	\$40,000
Digital Defense Inc.	2001-2002	\$20,000
Intuit	2007	\$100,000
Iridian Technologies	2006	\$80,000
Midwest Research Institute	2004	\$180,000
North Alabama Science Center	2006	\$60,000
SAP America	2006-2007	\$320,000
Southern Research Institute	2000-2003	\$260,000
Telecordia	2004	\$280,000
		Total: \$1,760,000

Non-Defense Manufacturing Industry

In addition to seeking appropriations and contracts for defense-related manufacturing companies, John Green has been paid \$2 million to lobby for other manufacturers and manufacturing coalitions.

Client	Years	Amount Billed
Association of International Automobile Manufacturers	2007	\$100,000
Federal-Mogul Corporation	2005	\$120,000
GAF Corp.	1999-2000	\$40,000
JC Bamford	2004	\$200,000

Nucor	2006-2007	\$240,000
Office Furniture Manufacturers Coalition	2002-2007	\$1,300,000
		Total: \$2,000,000

Gambling

John Green has been paid over \$1.4 million to lobby for gambling interests, including online gambling and Indian casinos.

Client	Years	Amount Billed
Poker Players Alliance	2005-2007	\$1,240,000
Sault Ste. Marie Tribe of Chippewa Indians	2004-2005	\$120,000
Station Casinos	2001, 2005	\$60,000 - \$69,999
		Total: \$1,420,000 - \$1,429,999

Other

John Green has lobbied for a number of other clients not well-categorized in the above categories.

Client	Years	Amount Billed
Alabama Wildlife Federation	2003-2007	\$380,000
International Packaged Ice Association	2007	\$60,000
Maguire Properties	2005	\$200,000
Monsanto Co.	2007	\$240,000
National Architectural Trust	2004-2006	\$380,000
National Association of Chain Drug Stores	2004-2006	\$600,000
National Federation of Independent Business	2005-2007	\$580,000
Power Plant Entertainment	2005-2006	\$440,000 - \$449,999
Recording Industry Association of America	2001	\$20,000
Southeastern Consulting	2002-2007	\$520,000
U.S. Space & Rocket Center	2000-2002	\$220,000
United Site Services Inc.	2007	\$140,000
		Total: \$3,780,000 - \$3,789,999

Frank Donatelli, McCain's Choice for Deputy Chairman of the RNC and the Main Liaison between the Campaign and the GOP, Is a Lobbyist

Donatelli is Major GOP Lobbyist. Donatelli is Executive Vice President and Director of Public Affairs for McGuireWoods Consulting, a D.C. lobbying firm. He was previously a partner at another lobbying firm – Akin, Gump, Strauss, Hauer & Feld. Prior to his lucrative lobbying career, Donatelli served in the Reagan White House. [McGuireWoods, accessed 3/28/08]

Donatelli Lobbied for Telecom Companies with Business before McCain's Committees. Senate Lobbying Disclosure records show that Frank Donatelli has lobbied for major telecommunications companies with business

before the Senate Commerce Committee, which McCain chaired. Donatelli has lobbied for AT&T, Time Warner and Verizon. [Senate Lobbying Disclosure Records]

Donatelli has Lobbied for Top Oil, Energy and Chemical Companies. Senate Lobbying Disclosure records show that Donatelli has lobbied for some of the biggest oil, energy and chemical companies, including: Exxon Mobil, Dominion, and Eastman Chemical. [Senate Lobbying Disclosure Records]

Donatelli has Lobbied for Top Pharmaceutical Companies. Senate Lobbying Disclosure records show that Donatelli has lobbied for top pharmaceutical companies, including Pfizer, Knoll Pharmaceutical, and the Pharmaceutical Research & Manufacturers of America. [Senate Lobbying Disclosure Records].

Donatelli Lobbied for Pork-Barrel Projects McCain Claims to Oppose. Like other McCain lobbyist advisors, Senate Lobbying Disclosure records show that Donatelli has lobbied for earmarks and pork-barrel projects, which McCain has claimed to oppose. [Senate Lobbying Disclosure Records]

Donatelli Said Assault-Weapons Ban Didn't Reduce Crime. Appearing on CNN in 2004, Donatelli argued that the assault weapons ban had no influence on reducing crime. "I think what's most important here, though, Gloria, is what the public wants is a continuing decrease in violent crime. This has gone on for the last 10 years. I give President Clinton some credit, but it has continued under President Bush. The gun ban has absolutely nothing to do with this." [CNN, 9/13/04]

Donatelli Helped Romania Gain NATO Membership. Donatelli and his firm assisted Romania in its effort to gain entry to NATO, which it did in 2004, following Senate approval. In paperwork signed by Donatelli and submitted to the Department of Justice, he agreed to "meet with members of Congress and officials of the Executive Branch and advise the Government of Romania regarding strategy and implementation of their plan to join NATO and to advance NATO membership relations." [FARA Database, accessed 3/18/08, [paperwork signed by Frank Donatelli](#), undated]

- **Donatelli Assisted Romania in Attracting U.S. Military Base.** According to a services agreement signed by Donatelli, included in his work for Romania was to "Help Romania define and market its new strategic profile as a location for military host country facilities, as the United States is now considering placing host country facilities in Central-Eastern Europe," and to "Help Romania maximize its strategic regional role as an ally of the United States." [FARA Database, accessed 3/18/08, [Letter signed by Frank Donatelli](#) on 3/30/2004]
- **Donatelli Helped Increase U.S. Military Aid for Romania.** According to a services agreement signed by Donatelli, he was responsible for supporting "the continuation and increase of United States military and financial assistance for Romania." [FARA Database, accessed 3/18/08, [Letter signed by Frank Donatelli](#) on 3/30/2004]
- **Donatelli Helped Romania Obtain Iraq and Afghanistan Reconstruction Contracts.** According to a services agreement signed by Donatelli, among his responsibilities was to "Support Romanian-U.S. economic cooperation on third markets, including projects for reconstruction in Iraq and Afghanistan." [FARA Database, accessed 3/18/08, [Letter signed by Frank Donatelli](#) on 3/30/2004]
- **Donatelli Helped Increase Romania's Presence in U.S.** According to a services agreement signed by Donatelli, among his responsibilities was to "Promote increased knowledge of Romanian contributions to international security among United States members of Congress and generate the necessary support among members of the United States Congress to endorse key Romanian strategic objectives," including the "creation of a Romanian Caucus in the United States Congress," increasing "American business interests in Romania," helping promote "congressional delegations to Romania," providing "evaluations on United States domestic policy evolution and perspectives and offer advice on Romanian policy towards the United States," and increasing "Romania's visibility with United States think-tanks, academic institutions and media." [FARA Database, accessed 3/18/08, [Letter signed by Frank Donatelli](#) on 3/30/2004]

Donatelli Enlisted to Improve Ethiopia's Relationship with U.S. In a letter sent to Ambassador Kassahun Ayele of the Federal Democratic Republic of Ethiopia, Donatelli set forth his obligations under their contract, namely to provide "government relations and related public communications services to assist and work with Ethiopia in Washington, D.C., in promoting and strengthening Ethiopia's relations with the United States and, in general, providing such other appropriate advice and assistance as will serve to achieve these purposes." [FARA Database, accessed 3/18/08, [Letter signed by Frank Donatelli](#) on 9/6/05]

Donatelli Signed on to Assist Poland with Trade Issues. According to forms signed by Donatelli and submitted to the Department of Justice, he agreed to "provide advice and assistance on communications concerning U.S.-Poland trade relations" and to possibly "arrange or be present at meetings with U.S. government officials or media, as well as background, advisory and support services." [FARA Database, accessed 3/18/08, [form signed by Donatelli](#) on 3/11/07]

Donatelli Agreed to Push Taiwan's Interests in U.S. In a letter sent to Ambassador David Tawei Lee, Donatelli set forth the terms and conditions of his work for Taiwan, agreeing to "render government relations and related public communications services to assist and work with the TECRO [Taipei Economic and Cultural Representative Office] in Washington, D.C., in promoting and strengthening the Republic of China on Taiwan's relations with the United States and, in general, providing such other appropriate advice and assistance as will serve to achieve these purposes." Ambassador Lee signed the letter, agreeing to the terms, and it was submitted to the Department of Justice outlining Donatelli's agreement with Taiwan. [FARA Database, accessed 3/18/08, [letter signed by Frank Donatelli](#) on 5/3/06]

Donatelli Worked for Bulgarian Owned Building Contractor. Donatelli personally signed papers submitted to the Department of Justice (DOJ) registering McGuireWoods as a foreign agent for Technoexportstroy, a contracting and consulting firm owned by the Bulgarian government that has served as the main contractor on over 650 projects, including hospitals, schools, resorts and residential buildings. In the documents he signed and submitted to the DOJ, Donatelli agreed he "may arrange meetings between" the company "and representatives of the United States government" and "may also engage in public relations efforts" on the company's behalf. [[FARA Database, accessed 3/18/08, [paperwork signed by Frank Donatelli](#) on 10/19/05; [Technoexportstroy](#), accessed 3/18/08]

Peter Madigan, a Top McCain Fundraiser, is a Lobbyist

Madigan is D.C. Lobbyist. Peter Madigan is one of McCain's top fundraisers and bundlers. He is also a registered foreign agent with the Department of Justice, having represented a number of foreign governments and entities. Madigan has lobbied at two firms. He was previously president and chief operating officer of Boland & Madigan and currently lobbies at Johnson, Madigan, Peck, Boland & Stewart. [[Public Citizen](#), accessed 3/28/08; Johnson, Madigan, Peck, Boland & Stewart, accessed 3/28/08]

Madigan Hired to Fight Child Enslavement Claims Against the UAE. Peter Madigan, a top McCain fundraiser, lobbies for Dubai in the United Arab Emirates (UAE). The UAE, "facing a class-action lawsuit over alleged enslavement of boys as jockeys in camel races, has hired several top Washington lobbyists and PR firms to present their case to Congress and the public." The lawsuit alleged "that senior ministers from Dubai conspired to force thousands of underage boys to race camels." According to The Hill, "The year-long contract with Johnson Madigan could cost the sheikhs' more than \$800,000. Jeffrey Peck, Sen. Joseph Biden's (D-Del.) former counsel, and Peter Madigan, once a State Department official under the first President Bush, signed the subcontract." [[ABC News](#), 2/1/08; [The Hill](#), 4/4/07]

Madigan Lobbied for Arthur Andersen During Enron Debacle. In 2001 and 2002, Madigan lobbied for Arthur Andersen, the disgraced accounting and consulting firm that was complicit in the Enron scandal. Madigan lobbied for the company in 2001 and 2002, as the scandal came out and unfolded. Lobbying disclosure reports filed with the U.S. Senate show that Madigan specifically lobbied the U.S. House of Representatives, the U.S. Senate and the

Securities and Exchange Commission on the Enron scandal as it unfolded. To do so, he and his firm were paid over half-a-million dollars. [Senate Lobbying Disclosure Database]

- **Enron Scandal Coincided with Madigan Lobbying.** According to Time, “Just four days before Enron disclosed a stunning \$618 million loss for the third quarter [of 2001] – it’s first public disclosure of its financial woes – workers who audited the company’s books for Arthur Andersen, the big accounting firm, received an extraordinary instruction from one of the company’s lawyers. Congressional investigators tell Time that the Oct. 12 memo directed workers to destroy all audit material, except for the most basic ‘work papers.’ And that’s what they did over a period of several weeks.” [Time, 1/13/02]

Madigan Helps Company Using Tax Shelter get Defense Contracts. Senate Lobbying Disclosure records show that since 2005, Madigan has lobbied for Accenture, which describes itself on its website as “a global management consulting, technology services and outsourcing company [Accenture, accessed 3/12/08]. Accenture has come under fire for receiving government contracts because it is incorporated in Bermuda, which helps it avoid paying U.S. taxes [New York Times, 6/2/04]. Madigan lobbies on behalf of Accenture specifically on Defense Appropriations [Senate Lobbying Disclosure Database, accessed 3/12/08].

Madigan Lobbies for Philip Morris. Since 2001, Madigan has lobbied for Philip Morris (which changed its name to Altria). Madigan has represented the tobacco giant on issues such as cigarette trafficking, internet tobacco sales, tobacco taxes and legislation to prevent children and teen access to tobacco products. [Senate Lobbying Disclosure Database]

Madigan is Ultra Free-Trader. Fitting with McCain’s repeated theme that “the jobs aren’t coming back” to places like Ohio and Michigan, Madigan is an free trade advocate, having served in the Bush-Cheney Transition Team as chief of staff to the U.S. Trade Representative [Johnson, Madigan, accessed 3/12/08]. Madigan lobbies for Colombia, which the Bush Administration is pursuing a free trade agreement (FTA) with despite chronicled abuse of labor rights and he has lobbied for the Peruvian Asparagus Institute, which pushed the FTA with Peru passed by Congress in 2007 [Senate Lobbying Disclosure Database]. His lobbying bio says he worked to secure passage of NAFTA and Fast Track Authority, and has worked on CAFTA and the U.S.-Panama FTA, among others. [Johnson, Madigan, accessed 3/13/08]

Madigan Lobbied for Numerous Foreign Clients:

Country	Client	Years	Firm
Saudi Arabia	Kingdom of Saudi Arabia	12/30/1996 – 12/31/2000	Boland & Madigan
Morocco	Kingdom of Morocco	5/26/1998 – 12/15/1998	Boland & Madigan
Canada	Her Majesty the Queen in Right of Canada	3/24/1998 – 6/1/1998	Boland & Madigan
Taiwan	Taiwan Research Institute	12/30/1996 – 6/30/2000	Boland & Madigan
Colombia	ProExport Colombia	11/17/2006 – Present	Johnson, Madigan, Peck, Boland & Stewart
United Arab Emirates	Office of his Highness Sheikh Mohammed Bin Rashad Al Maktoum	1/19/2007 – Present	Johnson, Madigan, Peck, Boland & Stewart
El Salvador	Government of El Salvador	10/18/2002 – 4/5/2005	Griffin, Johnson, Madigan, Peck, Boland, Dover & Stewart
Panama	Government of Panama	5/30/2003 – 3/31/2005	Griffin, Johnson, Madigan, Peck, Boland, Dover & Stewart

[Department of Justice, Foreign Agents Registration Act (FARA) Records, accessed 3/2008]

El Salvador

Madigan Hired to Lobby for CAFTA. Peter Madigan lobbied to pass the Central American Free Trade Agreement (CAFTA), an agreement that passed in the U.S. House of Representatives by just one vote, 217-215 [[Vote #443](#), H.R. 3045, 7/28/2005]. CAFTA extended the hurtful trade policies initiated by NAFTA to five Central American countries – El Salvador, Guatemala, Honduras, Costa Rica and Nicaragua. Madigan lobbied on behalf of the Government of El Salvador from 2002 to 2005 to advance its interests in the CAFTA debate over the interests of American workers and farmers [FARA Database, accessed 3/17/08, [Contract between Griffin, Johnson, Madigan, Peck, Boland, Dover & Stewart and El Salvador](#), signed by Peter Madigan on 1/7/03].

- **Madigan Worked Numerous Angles on CAFTA.** In the contract he signed to lobby for El Salvador, Madigan agreed to “Maintain an ongoing general support base to drive the FTA negotiations between the United States and Central America,” to “Work with the manufacturing community in the United States, as well as economic partners in the United States, to obtain their backing of the FTA between Central America and the United States,” and to “Promote public opinion in favor of a United States-Central America Free Trade Agreement.” [FARA Database, accessed 3/17/08, [Contract between Griffin, Johnson, Madigan, Peck, Boland, Dover & Stewart and El Salvador](#), signed by Peter Madigan on 1/7/03]
- **CAFTA Fails to Meet Labor Objectives Set by Congress.** According to the AFL-CIO, under CAFTA, “a country that violates workers’ rights to gain a trade advantage can avoid sanctions altogether by simply paying a small fine to itself to fund domestic labor initiatives. There is no way to prevent a violating country from also transferring money out of its labor budget so the fine adds to no new resources for enforcement. And nothing prevents a country from wasting the fine money on unrelated or ineffective labor ministry initiatives. *As long as the violating country continues to pay itself a fine, even if the fine does nothing to remedy workers’ rights abuses, its trading partners are barred from withdrawing trade benefits under CAFTA.*” [[AFL-CIO](#), via Public Citizen]

Colombia

Madigan Hired to Push Colombian FTA. According to *Roll Call*: “The firm Johnson Madigan Peck Boland & Stewart has signed up to represent ProExport Colombia to help advise the client on ways ‘to build support in the Congress’ for a trade agreement between the United States and Colombia.” [[Roll Call](#), 1/22/07]

- **ProExport Colombia is Government Agency Pushing Trade with U.S.** According to its website, ProExport Colombia is “the institution in charge of promoting Colombian non-traditional exports” and promoting “the effective insertion of Colombian companies into international markets and seek[ing] international trade opportunities.” [[ProExport Colombia](#), accessed 3/17/08]

Madigan Lobbies for Colombia and Pushes U.S.-Colombia FTA. Peter Madigan, a lobbyist who “works for the government of Colombia,” actively works “to promote a U.S.-Colombia free-trade agreement” and to seek appropriations for the Colombian government. Madigan’s firm has even “distributed papers defending Colombian President Alvaro Uribe against allegations of ties to paramilitary groups, and promoting the controversial anti-drug program ‘Plan Colombia’ as achieving ‘strengthening human rights.’” [[ABC News](#), 2/1/08]

- **Colombia has Atrocious Workers Rights Record.** According to the AFL-CIO: “Colombia remains the most dangerous country in the world in which to be a union member – 39 trade unionists were murdered in 2007, and another five to date in 2008. Of the more than 2,500 murders of trade unionists since 1986, only about 80 cases – around 3 percent- have resulted in convictions.” [[AFL-CIO](#), 3/4/08]

Panama

Madigan Hired to Lobby for U.S.-Panama FTA. In the paperwork filed with Department of Justice, Madigan's firm states that members of the firm will "participate in assisting the Government of Panama in developing and implementing a government relations and lobbying program to include establishing communications with policymakers and monitoring and reporting on legislation and executive branch activities which may effect [sic] the development and passage of a Free Trade Agreement." [[FARA Database](#), accessed 3/17/08]

Madigan's Contract Called for him to Lobby "Important Contacts" in U.S. Government on Panama FTA. In the contract he signed with the government of Panama, Madigan agreed to "lobby, through strategic meetings with important contacts in the government of the United States of America, the United States Congress, the private sector in the United States, the government of Panama and the private sector in Panama, support in favor of the negotiations and subsequent approval of the Free Trade Agreement between the Republic of Panama and the United States of America." [FARA Database, accessed 3/17/08, [Contract between Griffin, Johnson, Madigan, Peck, Boland, Dover & Stewart and Panama](#), signed by Peter Madigan on 5/6/2004]

Canada

Madigan Hired to Undermine U.S. Laws and Rules Governing Trade with Canada. In the contract he signed to lobby for Canada, Madigan agreed to work on "policy options that would lead to the goal of reduction and elimination of the U.S. rules and laws that pose barriers to Canadian suppliers in U.S. transportation and infrastructure contracts." [FARA Database, accessed 3/17/2008, [Contract between Boland & Madigan and Canadian Government](#), signed by Peter Madigan on 3/17/1998]

Kevin Fay, a Top McCain Fundraiser, is a Lobbyist

Fay is President of Vicki Iseman's Lobbying Firm. Kevin Fay, a top McCain fundraiser, is president of the lobbying firm Alcalde & Fay. Vicki Iseman, the female lobbyist linked to McCain, is a partner at Alcalde & Fay. [[Alcalde & Fay](#), accessed 3/28/08]

Fay's Firm has Represented Numerous Clients. Since Fay joined the firm in 1990, it has served as a foreign agent for:

Country	Client	Years	Firm
Bangladesh	U.S. Awami League	1/1/2005 – 2007	Alcalde & Fay
Panama	Government of Panama	11/2/2000 – 6/30/2002	Alcalde & Fay
Korea	Korean Cultural Service	6/29/1999 – 7/25/1999	Alcalde & Fay
Panama	Carnival Corporation	4/14/1995 – 2/12/1996	Alcalde & Fay
International	International Council of Cruise Lines	1/10/1991 – 2/12/1996	Alcalde, Rousselot & Fay
Sri Lanka	Government of Sri Lanka	1/11/1993 – 4/8/1993	Alcalde, Rousselot & Fay
Cyprus	Republic of Cyprus	6/17/1991 – 3/14/1991	Alcalde, Rousselot & Fay
International	Princess Cruise Lines	9/14/1990 – 12/3/1990	Alcalde, Rousselot & Fay
Norway	Norwegian Caribbean Lines	9/26/1985 – 1/10/1991	Alcalde, Rousselot & Fay
Bahamas	Royal Caribbean Cruise Line	9/26/1985 – 1/10/1991	Alcalde, Rousselot & Fay

[Department of Justice, Foreign Agents Registration Act (FARA) Records, accessed 3/2008]

Fay Assisted Bangladeshi Political Party Headed by Official Accused of Extortion and Murder. According to paperwork submitted to the Department of Justice and signed by Fay, Fay and his firm have represented the interests of the Awami League, a Bangladeshi political party headed by former Prime Minister Sheikh Hasina. In

its contract with the Awami League, Alcalde & Fay agrees to pursue an aggressive program to gain sympathy for the Awami League's point of view among American government officials. Acknowledging that "Developments in Bangladesh will not draw priority attention in the United States," Alcalde & Fay states its intention to engage in an "active campaign" targeting the executive branch, Congress, the media, think tanks and academia, the American business community, and the Bangladesh-American community. [[FARA Database](#), accessed 3/18/08]

- **Hasina Charged with Extortion.** In January 2008, the Washington Post reported: "A court in Bangladesh on Sunday charged former prime minister Sheikh Hasina with extortion after weeks of checking prosecution evidence. Hasina, her sister and a cousin are jointly accused of illegally taking \$440,000 from a businessman when Hasina was in power." [[Washington Post](#), 1/14/08]
- **Hasina Suspected of Extortion and Murder.** "Former Bangladeshi prime minister Sheikh Hasina was arrested at her Dhaka home and taken to a local court, her party said. It was not clear on what charges Hasina was detained, but she had faced allegations of extortion and murder charges stemming from political violence last year." [[Washington Post](#), 7/16/07]
- **Hasina Accused of Extortion.** "Sheikh Hasina, a former prime minister of Bangladesh who is on a private visit to the United States, was formally accused in her home country yesterday of extorting \$436,000 from an electric power company." [[Washington Post](#), 4/10/07]

McCain has Dozens of Other Lobbyists Bundling Donations for his Campaign

The individuals in this chart have been identified as bundlers for McCain's presidential campaign by [Public Citizen](#). Their clients have been identified through an analysis of Senate Lobbying Disclosure records.

Last Name	First Name	Firm / Employer	=
Aiken	Robert	Pinnacle West Capital Corporation	Pinnacle West Capital Corporation
Anderson	Philmore B.	DC Navigators LLC	Aetna American Council of Life Insurers AT&T Bell South Hartford Life PG&E Corp. Visa
Asher	Robert	Ashers Candies	WMPI Pty Jefferson Health System
Bailey	William J. III	Walt Disney Company	Padgett Business Services XM Satellite Radio
Bentz	Rhonda A.	Visa USA	Visa
Berman	Wayne	Ogilvy Government Relations	Chevron Texaco AIG American Petroleum Institute AmeriChoice AT&T Motrola NRA Reliant Energy Verizon Visa
Betts	Steve	Suncor Development	William Lyon Homes
Black	Judy	Brownstein Hyatt Farber Schreck	AT&T Clear Channel Comcast Genworth Financial IBM Merrill Lynch National Cable & Telecom Association
Blalock	Kirk	Fierce Isakowitz & Blalock	American Insurance Association America's Health Insurance Plans (AHIP) Coalition for a Competitive Pharmaceutical Market EADS North America Coca Cola MCI Miller Brewing Spring Nextel Time Warner Yahoo!
Burgeson	Christine	CitiGroup Inc.	CitiGroup
Burgeson	Eric Robert	Barbour Griffith & Rogers	Lockheed Martin Government of Kurdistan BP NRA Cellular Telecommunications & Internet Association
Cammack	Kerry	Cammack and Strong	Exxon Mobil SAP America
Chadwick	Kirsten Ardleigh	Fierce Isakowitz & Blalock	American Insurance Association America's Health Insurance Plans (AHIP) APRIA Healthcare Coca Cola EADS North America Fannie Mae Ford Home Depot MCI Spring Nextel Time Warner
Chamberlain	Rob	McBee Strategic Consulting	N/A **
Charlton	Susan	Gallagher & Kennedy	William Lyon Homes
Clerici	John	McKenna Long	Sanofi (pharma) EMD (pharma) DOR bio (pharma) Acambis (pharma)

** Notates individuals listed as lobbyist bundlers for John McCain by Public Citizen, but are not listed in the Senate's Lobbying Disclosure Database, which only dates back to 1999.

McCain Linked to Female Lobbyist Vicki Iseman

McCain's Advisers Noticed a "Close Bond" Between McCain and Iseman. According to the *New York Times*, McCain and Iseman "both say they never had a romantic relationship. But to his advisers, even the appearance of a close bond with a lobbyist whose clients often had business before the Senate committee Mr. McCain led threatened the story of redemption and rectitude that defined his political identity." [[New York Times, 2/21/08](#)]

- **Campaign Staffers were Concerned McCain's Relationship with Iseman was Romantic.** According to the *New York Times*, "...according to two former McCain associates, some of the senator's advisers had grown so concerned that the relationship had become romantic that they took steps to intervene. A former campaign adviser described being instructed to keep Ms. Iseman away from the senator at public events, while a Senate aide recalled plans to limit Ms. Iseman's access to his offices." [[New York Times, 2/21/08](#)]
- **McCain's Close Relationship with Lobbyist Worried Advisers on 2000 Campaign.** Advisers from McCain's 2000 campaign for president were worried about the extent of a relationship between McCain and Vicki Iseman. According to the *New York Times*, "A female lobbyist had been turning up with him at fund-raisers, visiting his offices and accompanying him on a client's corporate jet. Convinced the relationship had become romantic, some of his top advisers intervened to protect the candidate from himself — instructing staff members to block the woman's access, privately warning her away and repeatedly confronting him, several people involved in the campaign said on the condition of anonymity." [[New York Times, 2/21/08](#)]
- **Iseman was "Always Around" McCain's 2000 Campaign.** According to the *New York Times*, "[Charles] Black said Mr. McCain and Ms. Iseman were friends and nothing more. But in 1999 she began showing up so frequently in his offices and at campaign events that staff members took notice. One recalled asking, "Why is she always around?" [[New York Times, 2/21/08](#)]

McCain Admitted Inappropriate Behavior. According to the *New York Times*, "In interviews, the two former associates said they joined in a series of confrontations with Mr. McCain, warning him that he was risking his campaign and career. Both said Mr. McCain acknowledged behaving inappropriately and pledged to keep his distance from Ms. Iseman." [[New York Times, 2/21/08](#)]

McCain Wrote Letters to the FCC, Urging the Approval of Glencairn Deal. According to the *New York Times*, "Mr. McCain wrote letters in 1998 and 1999 to the Federal Communications Commission urging it to uphold marketing agreements allowing a television company to control two stations in the same city, a crucial issue for Glencairn Ltd., one of Ms. Iseman's clients." [[New York Times, 2/21/08](#)]

McCain Pushed Tax Incentives for Iseman's Clients. According to the *New York Times*, "[McCain] introduced a bill to create tax incentives for minority ownership of stations; Ms. Iseman represented several businesses seeking such a program." [[New York Times, 2/21/08](#)]

McCain Pushed for Expedited Approval of Paxson Communications Deal. According to the *New York Times*, "In late 1999, Ms. Iseman asked Mr. McCain's staff to send a letter to the commission to help Paxson, now Ion Media Networks, on another matter. Mr. Paxson was impatient for F.C.C. approval of a television deal, and Ms. Iseman acknowledged in an e-mail message to The Times that she had sent to Mr. McCain's staff information for drafting a letter urging a swift decision." The Chairman of the FCC rebuked McCain for the interference. [[New York Times, 2/21/08](#)]

- **McCain Wrote Letters After Paxson Donated more than \$20,000 to his 2000 Campaign.** According to the *Associated Press*, "McCain wrote the letters after he received more than \$20,000 in contributions from

Paxson executives and lobbyists. Paxson also lent McCain his company's jet at least four times during 1999 for campaign travel." [Associated Press, [2/21/08](#)]

Iseman's Work as a Lobbyist

Iseman Works for Washington Lobbying Firm. Iseman is a partner at Alcade & Fay, a lobbying firm with a large portfolio of clients ranging from municipal governments and public authorities to private companies. Iseman "represents corporate and public clients on issues as diverse as government contracting and regulatory reform" and she represents "clients before Congress, Federal government agencies and local opinion leaders." Her official bio cites her "extensive experience in telecommunications, representing corporations before the House and Senate Commerce Committees." McCain was chairman of the Senate Commerce Committee from 1997–2001, for a period in 2001, and again from 2003-2005. [[Alcade & Fay](#), accessed 1/2008]

- **Iseman Worked her way up from Receptionist.** After working for a few months as a receptionist at Alcade & Fay, Iseman walked into the company president's office and said, "You don't really know me, but I answer the phones. I'm a college graduate and I'd like you to consider me for a secretarial or an administrative position." He agreed and within a year she became "his special assistant." [[Indiana University of Pennsylvania Magazine](#), Fall 2002]
- **Iseman Became Firm's Youngest Partner.** After eight years at Alcade & Fay, Iseman "became the youngest partner ever in the firm." [[Indiana University of Pennsylvania Magazine](#), fall 2002]

Iseman Billed over \$8 Million for Lobbying. Between 1999 and June 1997, Iseman and her lobbying firm billed her clients alone at least \$8,005,000 for lobbying services. [CQ Moneyline, accessed 2/4/08]

Iseman's Clients Gave Thousands to McCain:

- **Computer Sciences Corporation PAC gave McCain \$4,000.** Iseman has lobbied for Computer Sciences Corporation PAC Since at least 1999, during which time it has given John McCain \$4,000 in campaign contributions. The PAC gave him \$2,000 to his Senate reelection campaign in 2006, \$1,000 to his Senate reelection campaign in 2004, and \$1,000 to his presidential campaign in 2000. [CQ Moneyline, accessed 2/5/08]
- **Executives at Defense Contractor CACI gave McCain Thousands Within Days of Iseman Beginning Relationship with Company.** According to Defense News, a part of the Army Times Publishing Company, CACI ranks 43rd in defense contracts and took in over \$1.28 billion in Defense revenue in 2006. It receives over 73 percent of its revenue through DOD contracts. CACI executives and consultants have given at least \$10,100 to McCain's 2008 presidential bid, including a \$2,300 contribution from CACI Executive Chairman and Chairman of the Board J.P. London. Over 85 percent of these contributions were made after Iseman began lobbying for the company on June 22, 2007. In fact, CACI executives made \$3,325 in contributions – over 32 percent of the total given – in the eight days after Iseman registered as a lobbyist for CACI. [[Defense News](#), accessed 2/5/08; FEC, accessed 2/5/08]
- **Arison Family Gave McCain Thousands.** Iseman has lobbied for the Arison Family Trust since 2002. Micky Arison, chairman and CEO of Carnival Corporation and Managing General Partner of the Miami Heat, has given McCain three campaign contributions totaling \$4,000, the largest coming after Iseman began lobbying for the Arison Family Trust. He gave McCain \$2,000 for his Senate run in 1998, \$1,000 for his first presidential run in 1999, and \$2,000 for his Senate account in 2003. Micky's wife, Madeleine Adison, has given McCain a total of \$3,000 - \$2,000 for his Senate run in 1998 and \$1,000 for his first presidential bid in 1999. [FEC, accessed 2/5/08; [Miami Heat Directory](#), accessed 2/5/08]
- **BearingPoint Director Gave Thousands to McCain.** Iseman has lobbied for Bearing Point since 2004. On June 30, 2007, Albert Lord, a member of the board of BearingPoint, maxed out McCain for the primary

and the general, giving him \$4,600. Two months later, on August 28, McCain's campaign returned \$2,300 to Lord. McCain has also received a \$200 contribution from a BearingPoint consultant, Anthony Klimas. [FEC, accessed 2/5/08]

- **Carnival Executives Gave to McCain while Iseman Lobbied for Company.** Iseman lobbied for Carnival Cruise Lines in 1999 and 2000. Over this two year stretch, Carnival CEO and board chairman Micky Arison gave McCain \$1,000 for his first presidential bid. Also during this time, Howard S. Frank, vice chairman of the board and COO gave \$1,000 to McCain 2000 presidential bid. [FEC, accessed 2/5/08]
- **Christian Networks Executive Gave McCain \$1,000.** In 2000, Robert Bright, an executive with Christian Networks Inc., gave \$1,000 to McCain's 2000 presidential campaign. Iseman lobbied for Christian Networks Inc. and subsequently the Total Living Network (after it changed names) from 2000 to 2003. [FEC, accessed 2/5/08]
- **Hispanic Broadcasting Executive gave \$1,000 to McCain.** In 2000, Douglas Darfield, director of research at Hispanic Broadcasting Corporation, contributed \$1,000 to McCain's presidential campaign. Iseman lobbied for Hispanic Broadcasting and subsequently for Univision Radio after it was acquired by Univision. [FEC, accessed 2/5/08]

Iseman Included in "Big Pharma's 625 Washington Lobbyists." In 2001, Public Citizen came out with a report titled "The Other Drug War: Big Pharma's 625 Washington Lobbyists," which included a list of lobbyists working for the pharmaceutical industry. Iseman was included for her work with AstraZeneca. [[Public Citizen](#), 7/23/01]

Iseman is the Director of American Freedom PAC

Iseman is Director and Registered Agent of PAC. In filings with the Virginia State Corporation Commission, Iseman is listed as the "Registered Agent" for the American Freedom Political Action Committee, which means she is the PAC's main point of contact with the commission. She is also listed as one of three directors. The other two are Cindy Colenda and Thomas Dow. The treasurer is listed as Lisa Saenz. The PAC filed with the state in July 2005. FEC records show the PAC began taking contributions and giving to candidates in late 2004. The PAC lists the Alcalde & Fay office in Arlington as its home address. There is a clear link between the PAC, the lobbying firm and the cruise line industry. 100 percent of the donations made to this PAC have come from employees of Alcalde & Faye and from the cruise line industry, and a large number of donations have been made to the U.S. senators and representatives from Florida, where the cruise line executives are based. [Virginia State Corporation Commission, accessed 2/6/08; FEC, accessed 2/6/08; CQ Moneyline, accessed 2/6/08]

- **Thomas Dow is Executive at Carnival.** Thomas Dow, one of the other two directors of the American Freedom PAC, is the vice president of public affairs for the Carnival Corporation. Iseman lobbied for Carnival in 1999 and 2000, and still lobbies for the Arison Family Trust, which is associated with Micky Arison, the chairman and CEO of Carnival. [Virginia State Corporation Commission, accessed 2/6/08; FEC, accessed 2/5/08; Florida-Caribbean Cruise Association, accessed 2/6/08]
- **Cindy Colenda Lobbies at Iseman's Firm.** Cindy Colenda, one of the other two directors of the American Freedom PAC, is a consultant at Alcalde & Fay, the lobbying firm Iseman works at. She initially joined the firm in 1983 and later served as the president of the International Council of Cruise Lines. [Virginia State Corporation Commission, accessed 2/6/08; Alcalde & Fay, http://www.alcalde-fay.com/meet_the_firm/BiosDetail.cfm?id=35, accessed 2/6/08]

All Donations to American Freedom PAC Came from Alcalde & Fay Lobbyists or from the Cruise Line Industry. Since 2004, all \$93,550 contributed to American Freedom PAC have come from either Alcalde & Faye executives and lobbyists, from Royal Caribbean Cruise and Carnival Cruise executives or their wives, or from the International Council of Cruise Lines PAC. Several large donors make up the bulk of these contributions, including Alcalde & Faye Chairman Hector Alcalde, who has contributed \$4,500; Carnival chairman and CEO Micky Arison

and his wife, who have given \$30,000; and Royal Caribbean CEO Richard Fain and his wife, who have given \$35,000. [CQ Moneyline, accessed 2/6/08]

2003-2004 Donors to American Freedom PAC

DONOR	EMPLOYER	AMOUNT	Date
Alcalde, Hector	Alcalde & Faye / Chairman	\$1,000	9/13/2004
Brown, Shantrel	Alcalde & Fay / Consultant	\$500	11/12/2004
Fain, Richard	Royal Caribbean Cruises / Chairman	\$5,000	10/11/2004
Fain, Colleen	Homemaker	\$5,000	10/19/2004
Sullivan, William	Alcalde & Fay / Consultant	\$500	11/10/2004
International Council of Cruise Lines PAC		\$5,000	9/24/2004

2003-2004 American Freedom PAC Expenditures

RECIPIENT	AMOUNT	DATE
Sen. Bill Nelson (D-FL)	\$2,000	12/22/2004
Sen. Jim DeMint (R-SC)	\$1,000	10/28/2004
Rep. Jim Davis (D-FL)	\$1,000	11/01/2004
Rep. Jim Gerlach (R-PA)	\$1,000	10/11/2004
Rep. Richard Baker (R-LA)	\$1,000	09/29/2004
Republican Party of Hillsborough (FL)	\$5,000	10/27/2004
Mark Sharpe Campaign (FL)	\$500	09/15/2004
Campaign for Wayne Richards (FL)	\$500	10/24/2004
The Carlos Alvarez Campaign Fund (FL)	\$250	09/15/2004
Jimmy Morales Campaign (FL)	\$250	09/15/2004

2005-2006 Donors to American Freedom PAC

DONOR	EMPLOYER	AMOUNT	Date
Alcalde Hector	Alcalde & Fay / Chairman	\$2,000	05/17/2005
Arison, Micky	Carnival Cruise Lines/Chairman/CEO	\$5,000	04/27/2005
Arison, Micky	Carnival Cruise Lines/Chairman/CEO	\$5,000	05/22/2006
Arison, Madeleine	Homemaker	\$5,000	04/27/2005
Arison, Madeleine	Homemaker	\$5,000	05/22/2006
Bafalis, Skip	Alcalde & Fay / Partner	\$500	05/27/2005
Catron, Robert	Alcalde & Fay / Partner	\$250	05/27/2005
Catron, Sherry	Homemaker	\$250	05/27/2005
Dow, Thomas	Carnival Cruise Lines	\$2,000	02/02/2006
Dow, Thomas	Carnival Cruise Lines	\$2,500	06/08/2005
Fain, Richard	Royal Caribbean Cruises / Chairman	\$5,000	06/23/2005
Fain, Richard	Royal Caribbean Cruises / Chairman	\$5,000	10/10/2006
Fain, Colleen	Homemaker	\$5,000	10/10/2006
Fay, Kevin	Alcalde & Fay / President	\$1,000	05/27/2005
Hirshberg, Jennifer	Alcalde & Fay / Lobbyist	\$500	01/05/2005
McAdams, Michael	Alcalde & Fay / Partner	\$500	05/17/2005
McBeth, Danielle	Alcalde & Fay / Partner	\$500	05/27/2005
Moore, Lois	Alcalde & Fay / Partner	\$500	05/27/2005
Prowitt, Nancy	Alcalde & Fay	\$550	06/23/2005

2005-2006 American Freedom PAC Expenditures

RECIPIENT	AMOUNT	DATE
Sen. Bob Menendez (D-NJ)	\$2,000	06/23/2006
Sen. Mel Martinez (R-FL)	\$2,000	10/12/2005
Sen. Barbara Boxer (D-CA)	\$1,000	12/14/2005
Sen. Robert Byrd (D-WV)	\$1,000	09/25/2006
Sen. Olympia Snowe (R-MN)	\$1,000	06/23/2006
Sen. Bill Nelson	\$150	09/07/2005
Rep. Kendrick Meek (D-FL)	\$2,000	04/26/2005
Rep. Don Young (R-AK)	\$2,000	06/08/2005
Rep. Cathy Castor (D-FLA)	\$1,000	11/06/2006
Rep. Clay Shaw (R-FL)	\$1,000	10/05/2006
Rep. Tom Davis (R-VA)	\$1,000	06/23/2006
Rep. Tom Davis (R-VA)	\$1,000	10/27/2005
Rep. Bobby Jindal (R-LA)	\$1,000	03/01/2006
Rep. William Jefferson (D-LA)	\$1,000	12/09/2005
Rep. Alcee Hastings (D-FL)	\$1,000	12/06/2005
Rep. Alcee Hastings (D-FL)	\$1,000	07/27/2006
Rep. Shelley Berkley (D-NV)	\$1,000	09/23/2005
Rep. Chet Edwards (D-TX)	\$1,000	09/07/2005
Rep. Chet Edwards (D-TX)	\$250	06/17/2005
Rep. Howard Coble (R-NC)	\$1,000	09/23/2005
Rep. Corrine Brown (D-FL)	\$1,000	09/23/2005
Rep. David Hobson (R-OH)	\$1,000	11/07/2005
Rep. David Hobson (R-OH)	\$1,000	06/24/2005
Rep. Ric Keller (R-FL)	\$1,000	09/12/2005
Rep. John Hunter (R-TN)	\$1,000	06/09/2005
Rep. Chaka Fattah (D-PA)	\$1,000	06/08/2005
Rep. James Oberstar (D-MN)	\$1,000	01/05/2005
Rep. James Oberstar (D-MN)	\$1,000	07/27/2006
Rep. Allen Boyd (D-FL)	\$1,000	09/25/2006
Rep. Devin Nunes (R-CA)	\$1,000	07/27/2006
Rep. Lynn Woolsey (D-CA)	\$500	09/23/2005
Rep. Thelma Drake (R-VA)	\$500	10/31/2005
Rep. Thelma Drake (R-VA)	\$500	06/24/2005
Rep. Ellen Tauscher (D-CA)	\$500	11/28/2005
Rep. Richard Pombo (R-CA)	\$500	06/27/2005
Rep. Mike Thompson (D-CA)	\$500	11/28/2005
Commonwealth PAC (Gov. Mitt Romney, R-MA)	\$200	10/16/2006
NRCC	\$1,000	06/08/2005
NRCC	\$1,000	06/08/2005
The Badger Fund (Rep. Tom Petri, R-WI)	\$1,000	07/18/2005
Harvest PAC (Rep. Allen Boyd, D-FL)	\$1,000	12/05/2005
Virginia Victory PAC (Sen. George Allen, R-VA)	\$1,000	06/08/2005

2007-2008 Donors to American Freedom PAC (through 12/31/07)

DONOR	EMPLOYER	AMOUNT	Date
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Alcalde, Hector	Alcalde & Fay / Chairman	\$500	05/31/2007
Alcalde, Hector	Alcalde & Fay / Chairman	\$500	04/20/2007
Alcalde, Hector	Alcalde & Fay / Chairman	\$500	02/22/2007
Arison, Madeleine	Homemaker	\$5,000	03/29/2007
Arison, Micky	Carnival Corporation/Chairman/CEO	\$5,000	03/29/2007
Colenda, Cynthia	Alcalde & Fay / Lobbyist	\$250	04/20/2007
Dow, Thomas	Carnival Cruise Lines	\$2,500	03/14/2007
Fain, Richard	Royal Caribbean Cruises / Chairman	\$5,000	06/14/2007
Fain, Colleen	Homemaker	\$5,000	06/14/2007
Fay, Kevin	Alcalde & Fay / President	\$500	02/22/2007
Frank, Howard	Carnival Corporation / Vice Chairman	\$2,500	05/15/2007
Frank, Mary	Art Historian / Homemaker	\$2,500	05/15/2007
Prowitt, Nancy	Alcalde & Fay / Managing Partner	\$500	02/22/2007
Schlesinger, Paul	Alcalde & Fay / Lobbyist	\$250	03/22/2007

2007-2008 American Freedom PAC Expenditures (through 12/31/07)

RECIPIENT	AMOUNT	DATE
Sen. Bill Nelson (D-FL)	\$2,500	06/22/2007
Sen. Byron Dorgan (D-ND)	\$1,000	04/09/2007
Sen. Tom Harkin (D-IA)	\$1,000	04/03/2007
Sen. Tom Harkin (D-IA)	\$1,000	03/15/2007
Sen. Arlen Specter (R-PA)	\$1,000	03/21/2007
Rep. Chet Edwards (D-TX)	\$500	06/18/2007
Rep. John Murtha (D-PA)	\$400	06/18/2007
Rep. Corrine Brown (D-FL)	\$1,000	03/29/2007

Same Old Washington Corruption

John McCain is wrapped up in the worst Washington corruption. He has inappropriately used his powerful position on the Senate Commerce Committee to pay back his political benefactors and has associated himself and his campaign with Republicans tainted by indictment and scandal. His own involvement in scandal goes back to the beginning of his Senate career, when he was admonished by the Senate Ethics Committee for his role in the Keating Five Scandal. McCain has attempted to mask his questionable ethics with tough talk on ethics and campaign finance reform, which he has billed as his hallmark issue. However, even on campaign finance, McCain has been horribly inconsistent, engaging in fundraising activity that contradicts the principles he has repeatedly espoused.

Top Hits:

- McCain did favors for telecom companies in exchange for campaign contributions and trips on corporate jets.
- McCain has talked tough about lobbying reforms, but voted against real change.
- McCain's involvement in the Keating 5 Scandal shows his poor judgment and shady ethics.
- McCain has shown disregard for the campaign finance rules he helped to write.

McCain Took Campaign Cash to Intervene for Telecom Companies

McCain Intervened for Paxson Communications. According to *Forbes*: “Several factors are now well known: Paxson let McCain fly on his corporate jet four times and gave him numerous campaign contributions. In 1999, McCain helped Paxson by writing to the Federal Communications Commission (FCC), asking regulators to limit delays and rule on Paxson’s pending application to buy a Pittsburgh television station. [[Forbes, 2/27/08](#)]

- **Billions were at Stake for Paxson.** According to *Forbes*: “But while Paxson was clearly anxious to curry McCain’s favor in the late 1990s, his major objective in Washington had nothing to do with winning approval to purchase a single TV station. Had the Pittsburgh deal gone through, it would have increased the number of Paxson owned station in the U.S. from 73 to 74. A far more pressing concern: Paxson Communications was hemorrhaging red ink. Operating losses for 1999 were up 65%, to a record \$225 million, on \$248 million in revenue. As the company’s business faltered, McCain, as chairman of the Senate Commerce Committee, was in a position to help Paxson win – or lose – billions. During the six-year-long fight that followed, McCain never wavered from his opposition to the legislation Paxson pushed, which would have diverted those billions into his company’s coffers and away from the U.S. Treasury.” [[Forbes, 2/27/08](#)]

McCain Pushed For Expedited Approval Of Paxson Communications Deal. According to the *New York Times*, “In late 1999, Ms. Iseman asked Mr. McCain’s staff to send a letter to the commission to help Paxson, now Ion Media Networks, on another matter. Mr. Paxson was impatient for F.C.C. approval of a television deal, and Ms. Iseman acknowledged in an e-mail message to The Times that she had sent to Mr. McCain’s staff information for drafting a letter urging a swift decision.” The Chairman of the FCC rebuked McCain for the interference. [[New York Times, 2/21/08](#)]

- **McCain Wrote Letters After Paxson Donated More Than \$20,000 To His 2000 Campaign.** According to the *Associated Press*, “McCain wrote the letters after he received more than \$20,000 in contributions from Paxson executives and lobbyists. Paxson also lent McCain his company’s jet at least four times during 1999 for campaign travel.” [[Associated Press, 2/21/08](#)]

McCain Wrote Letters To The FCC, Urging the Approval Of Glencairn Deal. According to the *New York Times*, “Mr. McCain wrote letters in 1998 and 1999 to the Federal Communications Commission urging it to uphold marketing agreements allowing a television company to control two stations in the same city, a crucial issue for Glencairn Ltd., one of Ms. Iseman’s clients.” [[New York Times, 2/21/08](#)]

McCain Pushed Tax Incentives for Iseman’s Clients. According to the *New York Times*, “[McCain] introduced a bill to create tax incentives for minority ownership of stations; Ms. Iseman represented several businesses seeking such a program.” [[New York Times, 2/21/08](#)]

McCain Raised \$90,000 from Telecom Companies Before Interceding on their Behalf. According to the *Boston Globe*, “- Senator John McCain raised nearly \$90,000 from broadcast and telecommunications companies in four instances shortly before or after he interceded on their behalf with federal regulators in 1998 and 1999, according to campaign records reviewed yesterday.” [[Boston Globe, 1/9/00](#)]

McCain’s Letters to the FCC Coincided With Fundraising Efforts on his Behalf. “In several cases, according to federal campaign finance records that were matched against the letters, the correspondence to the Federal Communications Commission, which McCain’s committee oversees, coincided with substantial fund-raising efforts by the companies that stood to benefit from his actions. [[Boston Globe, 1/9/00](#)]

- **McCain Interceded on Behalf of BellSouth After \$16,750 in Donations.** “In one case, officials of BellSouth Corp. donated \$16,750 to the Arizona senator at a fund-raiser on May 6, 1998. Four months later, McCain asked the FCC in a letter to give “serious consideration” to allowing BellSouth to enter the long-distance market,” wrote the *Boston Globe*. [[Boston Globe, 1/9/00](#)]
- **McCain Aided AT&T, Sprint, & MCI Worldcom.** According to the *Boston Globe*, Although McCain has long favored the so-called Baby Bells, he also wrote to the FCC on behalf of AT&T, Sprint, and MCI Worldcom in June 1998. Two weeks later, Sprint officers donated \$2,000. In October 1998, McCain raised another \$25,800 from AT&T officials at a fund-raiser.” [[Boston Globe, 1/9/00](#)]
- **McCain Received \$25,000 from Echostar Chairman After Pressuring the FCC.** “The records show that McCain also interceded on behalf of two major satellite television companies, Echostar and DirecTV, in an effort to help them win permission to carry local broadcast signals. Echostar’s chairman raised about \$25,000 for McCain in a period between two McCain letters on his behalf,” wrote the *Boston Globe*. [[Boston Globe, 1/9/00](#)]
- **McCain Received \$120,000 After Rebuking the FCC on Behalf of “Baby Bells.”** According to the *Boston Globe*, McCain “rebuked the FCC for bias against two Baby Bells, SBC Communications and Ameritech, which were seeking FCC permission to merge. Just before that May 12 letter, officials of the two companies contributed or solicited donations of about \$120,000 to McCain’s campaign.” [[Boston Globe, 1/9/00](#)]
- **McCain Scolded The FCC After Receiving \$17,000 From Paxson & Sinclair.** On December 1, 1998, McCain wrote a scolding letter to the FCC warning them that tightening regulations was “clearly not in the spirit” of the 1996 Telecommunications Act. “In the months before the Dec. 1, 1998, letter, Paxson and Sinclair officials donated about \$17,000 to McCain’s Senate re-election campaign, according to records,” wrote the *Boston Globe*. [[Boston Globe, 1/9/00](#)]
- **Paxson Communications President Donated Thousands to McCain Before and After FCC Letter.** According to the Federal Elections Commission, Paxson Communications president, Dean Goodman, donated \$2,000 to McCain’s reelection campaign months before McCain intervened in Paxson’s case with the FCC. Goodman then donated \$1,000 to McCain’s 2000 presidential campaign after the notorious letter. [FEC]

McCain Acknowledged His Actions Look Corrupt. According to *Newsweek*, “With his typically blunt, almost cheery way of admitting the sinfulness of man, including his own weaknesses, he acknowledged in the deposition that his relationship with Paxson—flying on the corporate jet, taking \$20,000 in campaign contributions—would “absolutely” look corrupt to the ordinary voter.” [[Newsweek](#), 3/3/08]

McCain Was ‘Just Like Other Lawmakers’ And Flew On The Corporate Jets Of Iseman’s Clients.

According to the *New York Times*, “...like other lawmakers, he often flew on the corporate jets of business executives seeking his support, including the media moguls Rupert Murdoch, Michael R. Bloomberg and Lowell W. Paxson, Ms. Iseman’s client.” [[New York Times](#), 2/21/08]

- **McCain & Iseman Flew On The Corporate Jet of Paxson Communications, Iseman’s Client.**

According to the *New York Times*, Mr. McCain and Ms. Iseman attended a small fund-raising dinner with several clients at the Miami-area home of a cruise-line executive and then flew back to Washington along with a campaign aide on the corporate jet of one of her clients, Paxson Communications.” [[New York Times](#), 2/21/08]

McCain Took Favorable Action for Cablevision

McCain Conduct As Chairman Of Senate Commerce Committee Raised Questions. According to the *Washington Post*, “Beyond his fundraising, McCain’s conduct as chairman of the powerful Senate Commerce Committee between 1997 and 2004 has occasionally raised questions about whether he took actions to benefit major contributors to his political network, which included his Senate and presidential campaign committees, his Straight Talk political action committee and a foundation that he helped start called the Reform Institute. In 2003 and 2004, for example, McCain took two actions favorable to Cablevision, the cable TV company, while Davis, his chief political strategist at the time, solicited the company for a total of \$200,000 for the Reform Institute, a tax-exempt group that advocated an end to outsize political donations. Davis solicited an initial donation from Cablevision chief Charles Dolan a week after Dolan testified before the Senate Commerce Committee in favor of a position backed by McCain. Davis said there was no connection between the testimony and the solicitation. Less than a year later, McCain wrote to the Federal Communications Commission recommending Cablevision’s position on cable pricing, citing Dolan by name. Cablevision followed soon thereafter with a second \$100,000 donation, the Associated Press reported.” [[Washington Post](#), 12/31/07]

- **FCC Chairman Called McCain’s Intervention “Highly Unusual.”** According to the *Washington Post*, “In 1999, McCain wrote a letter as committee chairman on behalf of longtime political supporter Lowell ‘Bud’ Paxson, urging the FCC to vote on a long-delayed decision whether to approve the sale of a Pittsburgh television station to Paxson’s company. McCain had flown on Paxson’s corporate jet four times to appear at campaign events around that time, and had received \$20,000 from campaign donations from Paxson and its law firm, the Boston Globe reported. The FCC chairman at the time, William Kennard, called McCain’s intervention ‘highly unusual,’ but the senator denied doing any favors.” [[Washington Post](#), 12/31/07]

McCain: “I’ve Never Done Any Favors for Anybody...That’s a Clear, 24-Year Record.”

McCain said he had “Never Done any Favors for Anybody – Lobbyist Or Special Interest Group.” According to the Associated Press, in December 2007, McCain spoke to reporters in Detroit and they questioned him about a report that the *New York Times* was investigating allegations of legislative favoritism by McCain. In response to their questions, McCain said, “I have not been in talks with the *New York Times*. They’ve been communicating with our staff and with us,” McCain said. “I’ve never done any favors for anybody — lobbyist or special interest group — that’s a clear, 24-year record.” Apparently, McCain also said, “I do find the timing of this whole issue very interesting,” McCain said. “And we’re not going to stand for what happened to us in 2000. We’re getting close to

the primary. These allegations are coming out at a very interesting time, and I have never, ever done a favor for any lobbyist or special interest group.” [Associated Press via WST News, [12/20/07](#)]

McCain said he and Others were Trying to Stop Corruption in Washington. Appearing on the “Imus in the Morning” radio program, McCain said, “I work in Washington and I know that money corrupts. And I and a lot of other people were trying to stop that corruption. Obviously, from what we’ve been seeing lately, we didn’t complete the job. But I would rather have a clean government than one where quote First Amendment rights are being respected that has become corrupt. If I had my choice, I’d rather have the clean government.” [“Imus in the Morning,” 4/28/06]

McCain Helped Lead A Large Investigation Into A Boeing Tanker Deal. According to the *New Yorker*, McCain helped expose “grievous flaws in oversight” during an investigation into a Boeing tanker deal. As a result of the investigation, which was backed by the White House, Pentagon, and key members of Congress, “...two Air Force officials resigned, two Boeing officials [eventually went] to jail, the deal was scrapped, and McCain’s reputation as a giant killer was burnished.” [*New Yorker*, 5/30/05]

McCain and the Abramoff Scandal

McCain Withheld Controversial Abramoff E-mail. McCain withheld a potentially damaging email regarding the relationship between Alabama Governor Bob Riley and Jack Abramoff. In the email, “Abramoff explains to an aide what he would like to see Riley do in return for the “help” he received from Abramoff’s tribal clients.” The Coshatta Tribe of Louisiana paid \$13 million to re-elect the anti-gambling governor in order to maintain their dominance of the industry in the region. [Huffington Post, [2/25/08](#)]

McCain Let Fellow Republicans Off the Hook. According to Melanie Sloan, Executive Director of Citizens for Responsibility and Ethics, “Although Sen. McCain has long bragged of his role in the Abramoff investigation, he let Tom DeLay and the other members of Congress who were doing Abramoff’s bidding completely off the hook. The sole exception was Rep. Bob Ney, who served time in prison. Sen. McCain knew what his colleagues were up to, he chose to take the easier path and give them a free pass.” [Huffington Post, [2/25/08](#)]

McCain Appointed Abramoff-Linked Senator to Campaign Leadership Post. John McCain appointed Conrad Burns, former GOP Senator from Montana, to lead his campaign in that state. Burns lost his 2006 re-election race to Jon Tester, and was once under investigation for suspected links with convicted lobbyist Jack Abramoff. [[Raw Story](#), 1/29/08]

Abramoff said he Met with McCain. According to *Vanity Fair*, “Abramoff believes the hearings were unfair and blames McCain, with whom he says he has long had a contentious relationship: Abramoff raised money for Bush in 2000 and urged tribes not to contribute to McCain. McCain staffers deliberately humiliated him, he says, doling out to the press embarrassing e-mails that the Senate committee had subpoenaed-like the one in which he attempted to fabricate a Talmudic scholarship award from a Jewish organization to fortify his application to Washington’s prestigious Cosmos Club. ‘Mr. Abramoff flatters himself,’ said Mark Salter, the senator’s administrative assistant. ‘Senator McCain was unaware of his existence until he read initial press accounts of Abramoff’s abuses, and had never laid eyes on him until he appeared before the committee.’ ‘As best I can remember, when I met with him he didn’t have his eyes shut,’ replies Abramoff. ‘I’m surprised that Senator McCain has joined the chorus of amnesiacs.’” [*Vanity Fair*, April 2006]

- **McCain Spokesperson Acknowledged Receipt of Abramoff Donations and Pledged McCain Would Return the Money.** In 2006, the AP reported that McCain’s chief of staff, [Mark Salter,] said he “hadn’t realized the [McCain] campaign had received at least two donations from the Mississippi Band of Choctaw Indians while Abramoff was their lobbyist. One was received just before McCain decided in 2004 not to take any more donations from Indian tribes, Salter said. ‘We’re just finding out,’ Salter said. McCain was out of the country, but Salter said he was confident McCain would agree to return the money. But Salter said McCain likely would not return another \$5,000 from three other Indian tribes in the 2000 campaign cycle.” [AP, 1/4/06]

McCain's Double-Talk on Lobbying Reforms

McCain Said One Word Described Need for Lobby Reforms: "Abramoff." McCain, separate from most others who called the Abramoff practices unique and not the norm, said it was the way business is done in Washington. McCain also placed the blame on Abramoff, not the members who worked with him. In calling for increased transparency to lobbying activity, McCain said that the dealings between lobbyists and congressman had become "unfortunately, the ordinary way of doing business in this town." McCain reasoned that lobbyist Abramoff illustrated the need for reforms, saying, "It's obvious why it's needed. One word: Abramoff." [[USA Today](#), 1/10/06]

- **McCain's Abramoff Report Said No Need For New Lobbying Laws Following Abramoff Scandal.** The Indian Affairs Committee, chaired by Senator McCain, declared "No new or revised federal legislation [is] needed" in the aftermath of the Abramoff scandal. The report declared that "Without doubt, the depth and breadth of [Abramoff's and Scanlon's] misconduct was astonishing," but "the Committee concludes that existing federal criminal statutes are sufficient to deter and punish such misconduct," as evidenced by the guilty pleas obtained from the two. ["Gimme Five": Investigation Of Tribal Lobbying Matters, Final Report, Senate Committee On Indian Affairs, 6/22/06]
- **McCain Was Soft On Lobby Reforms While Strengthening K Street Fundraising Efforts.** "McCain's usual allies say he could have done more to strengthen what they consider a generally disappointing [lobbying] reform bill. At the same time, lobbyists say that McCain has been reaching out to K Street to strengthen his national fundraising network. While McCain's efforts to court Bush contributors around the country have been reported, his efforts inside the Beltway have been overlooked." [[The Hill](#), 3/8/06; [San Francisco Chronicle](#), 1/18/06]

McCain Criticized The Senate For Not Voting For An Independent Ethics Review Panel, Urged The Senate To Address Ethics. During debate on the need for an independent Office of Public Integrity to investigate allegations of misconduct in Congress spurred by the Abramoff investigation, McCain said, "If we don't do this, what are we going to do to try to restore some of the confidence that the American people have clearly lost in us?" McCain, stressed the need to "restore the confidence of the American people in the way [the Senate] do[es] business," urged his colleagues to support an independent Office of Public Integrity to recommend matters to the Senate Ethics Committee. McCain asked his colleagues, "Shouldn't we do what we can to help fix either a real or imagined problem?" [[Philadelphia Inquirer](#), 3/29/06; [Pittsburgh Post-Gazette](#), 3/29/06]

- **McCain Voted Against Bipartisan Lobbying Reform Bill, Saying That It Was Too Weak, But Rejected More Robust Lobbying Reform Bill.** McCain voted against the Legislative Transparency and Accountability Act of 2006, which passed 92-8, claiming that it was too "weak." However, when Senator Feingold asked McCain to support a bill with "more robust disclosure of lobbyists' activities," McCain "had considered the idea, but viewed it as 'too onerous' on the lobbying community." [[San Francisco Chronicle](#), 1/18/06; 109th Congress, S. 2349, Vote #82, 3/29/06; [New York Times](#), 3/30/06]

McCain's Report Made No Recommendations To The Ethics Committee And Referred Further Matters To The Finance Committee Alone. In section "E" of the recommendations made in the Final Report of the investigation of tribal lobbying matters, referrals to other committees, McCain's committee advised only that the Senate Committee on Finance investigate the possible IRS violations of tax exempt organizations, and made no mention of further investigations into members of Congress by the ethics committees. McCain previously "has insisted that the ethical behaviors of fellow members of Congress is not the jurisdiction of the Indian Affairs Committee he oversees but more the business of the Senate and House ethics committees," but did not refer any actions to the attention of the committees. ["Gimme Five"-Investigation Of Tribal Lobbying Matters, Final Report, Senate Committee On Indian Affairs, 6/22/06; [Arizona Republic](#), 6/22/06]

McCain Failed to Investigate Republican Colleagues

McCain Did Not Follow Up Leads Implicating Norquist in the Abramoff Scandal Because of His 2008 Aspirations. According to *New Republic*, “As McCain’s investigation reached its denouement, rumors flew through Washington that his committee was sitting on a trove of damning evidence... And then ...nothing. At the very moment when McCain could have pulled the trigger, he let Norquist walk away. Some mildly damaging e-mails were released by McCain’s committee, but the most tantalizing leads were never pursued. McCain gave up his fight for information about Norquist’s donors, and Norquist himself was never called to testify... Most of the grudges left over from the Bush-McCain wars have thawed, the mutual contempt gradually giving way to mutual self-interest. McCain seems to get the message. He voted last month to extend tax cuts he voted against in 2003. He’s wooing Norquist’s key allies, such as Mallory Factor, an influential New York conservative with whom McCain has met several times. McCain has even agreed to attend Factor’s monthly Monday Meeting, a forum Norquist helped create.” [*The New Republic*, 3/13/06]

McCain’s Investigation Ignored Congressional Republicans Even Though He Acknowledged They Bore Responsibility In The Lobbying Scandal. McCain acknowledged that Members were responsible for their conduct in Congress surrounding the lobbying scandal, saying, “[W]e should not forget that we, as Members, owe it to the American people to conduct ourselves in a way that reinforces, rather than diminishes, the public’s faith and confidence in Congress.” But during his investigation, McCain stated that his investigation would not include the legislative actions taken by Members of Congress saying, “We stop when we find out where the money went.” The AP reported that, “The intervention by congressional Republicans ... was all but ignored in recent hearings on Capitol Hill led by [McCain] that examined Abramoff’s lobbying inside Interior. [Senator McCain, CQ Transcriptions, 1/25/06; [Roll Call](#), 3/10/05; AP, 11/17/05]

Dirty Campaign Staff

McCain “Seems To Be Adopting Tactics He Previously Criticized.” According to the *Charleston Gazette*, “Respected Sen. John McCain, R-Ariz., is running for president again. Although he has long been a clean-campaigns advocate, he seems to be adopting tactics he previously criticized. At least, he’s hiring campaign operatives once involved in ugly smears. During early Republican primary elections in 2000, campaign dirty tricksters attacked McCain, falsely, for being a traitor while he was in jail as a prisoner of war in Vietnam. And an outfit backing George W. Bush made telephone calls to potential voters in the South Carolina primary suggesting that McCain had fathered a ‘black child,’ perhaps with a ‘black prostitute.’ (The McCains did adopt a daughter, named Bridget, through an orphanage Mother Teresa had created in Bangladesh.) During the 2004 presidential campaign, Swift Boat Veterans for Truth ran television ads smearing Sen. John Kerry, D-Mass., who was running against Bush. At the time, McCain attacked those Swift Boat ads as ‘dishonest and dishonorable.’ But today, McCain is using that same Swift Boat firm to help him plan campaign ads for 2008. He also has hired a wide array of dirty tricksters to run his presidential race, including key political operatives Bush used to attack McCain in 2000, according to *The New York Times*. Last fall, McCain’s top adviser criticized a TV smear of former Rep. Harold E. Ford Jr., D-Tenn, which showed the black congressman flirting with a young, scantily clad, blonde, white woman. The ad had racist overtones. Terry Nelson, a former Bush campaign consultant, headed the committee sponsoring that ad. McCain first hired Nelson as an adviser last spring. After the Ford TV ad controversy hit the news, McCain promoted Nelson to his national campaign manager, the *Times* reports. What has happened to the Arizona Republican known for integrity?” [Editorial, *Charleston Gazette*, 2/12/07]

McCain Hired Terry Nelson To Be His Campaign Manager. According to the *New York Times*’ *The Fix*, “Sen. John McCain (R-Ariz.) continues to recruit top GOP political operatives in expectation of a presidential run. According to a source close to the McCain operation, the candidate has lined up Terry Nelson to serve as campaign manager (if a formal bid is announced), and Republican National Committee Communications Director Brian Jones has committed to lead the press effort for a national bid. Nelson, who served as national political director for President Bush’s 2004 reelection campaign, joined McCain’s Straight Talk America political action committee in March.” [*New York Times*, “*The Fix*,” 12/07/06]

- **Nelson “Sandwiched Right Between Tom Delay And Rove’s RNC In The Alleged Money Laundering That Took Place In Texas In 2002.”** According to MyDD, “This recruit is a double-whammy, because Nelson was sandwiched right between Tom Delay and Rove’s RNC in the alleged money laundering that took place in Texas in 2002.” According to the Associated Press, “The political director for the Bush-Cheney re-election campaign testified Friday before a grand jury investigating charges that corporate money was used illegally in 2002 state legislative races. A spokeswoman for the Republican National Committee confirmed that political director Terry Nelson testified. ... The grand jury is looking into whether state law was violated when an RNC group gave \$190,000 to seven candidates for the Texas House in 2002. The donations to each candidate were made on the same day two weeks after Texans for a Republican Majority, created by U.S. Rep. Tom DeLay, R-Sugar Land, sent \$190,000 in corporate money to the RNC group.” [MyDD.com, [3/18/06](#); Associated Press, 3/20/04]

McCain’s New Hampshire State Director Asked For Leniency for Convicted Phone-Jammer James Tobin. Republican lobbyist Mike Dennehy, Senator McCain’s New Hampshire State Director, sent a letter to Judge Steven McAuliffe that asked the judge for a lenient sentence and called convicted phone-jammer James Tobin the “the most ethical man I know” despite the fact that Tobin was convicted of multiple felonies over his role in the 2002 phone-jamming crime. The letter was the only such letter from any Granite Stater. Dennehy’s appeal on behalf of Tobin came weeks after Senator McCain hired Terry Nelson--Tobin’s supervisor at the Republican National Committee and National Republican Senate Committee--as a senior political strategist. Even after learning about Nelson’s possible involvement in the phone jamming scheme, McCain later said that he had “no qualms” about Nelson’s ethics and that he considers Nelson to be “a fine man” who was “very helpful to President Bush.” [Cox News Service, 4/3/06]

South Carolina Strategist Richard Quinn Was Quoted As McCain’s South Carolina Spokesperson In December 2005. As recently as December 23, 2005, Richard Quinn was identified as “McCain’s South Carolina spokesman” in providing a response to criticism about McCain’s scheduled visit to Spartanburg. A 2004 *Vanity Fair* piece on McCain’s fall in the 2000 campaign identified Quinn as “the McCain [2000] campaign’s South Carolina strategist.” [*Spartanburg Herald-Journal*, 12/23/05; *Vanity Fair*, 11/04]

- **Quinn Was Founder and Editor In Chief Of A Magazine “Rabidly Devoted” To Confederate Heritage And Maintained Ownership Of The Magazine In 2001.** Quinn was the editor in chief of *The Southern Partisan* magazine, which was described by *Vanity Fair* as “rabidly devoted to the South’s Confederate heritage.” Following the 2000 McCain campaign, Quinn “removed his name from the magazine’s masthead to avoid further damage to the political candidates that are his clients...but he continues as part owner.” [*Vanity Fair*, 11/04; *The State*, 2/9/01]

McCain’s Campaign Finance Hypocrisy

McCain’s Campaign Loan Could Have Violated Donor Privacy. According to Politico.com, John McCain’s presidential campaign took out a loan from its bank, using his donor list as collateral. Apparently, “McCain’s own privacy policy promis[ed] donors he wouldn’t sell their information.” McCain’s spokeswoman, Jill Hazelbaker said that the campaign pledged all of its assets as collateral, not just the list. She said, “Such a blanket pledging... [was] normal procedure for a bank loan – and does not mean that they can [or] would even be used in any way that violate[ed] our policies.” Nonetheless, according to Politico.com, a post on McCain’s campaign website stated “John McCain 2008 will not sell your information to third parties or any commercial entities.” [Politico.com, [1/10/08](#)]

- **FEC Sent Letter To McCain Inquiring Whether He Used Taxpayers As Collateral For Campaign Loan.** According to the *Associated Press*, “Federal Election Commission Chairman David Mason, in a letter to McCain this week, said the all-but-certain Republican nominee needs to assure the commission that he did not use the promise of public money to help secure a \$4 million line of credit he obtained in November.” [Associated Press, [2/21/08](#)]

McCain Charged With Soliciting Soft Money From Prohibited Sources And In Excess Of The Federal Contribution Limits. According to the Associated Press, “The California Democratic Party said Friday it will ask government regulators to investigate Gov. Arnold Schwarzenegger and Sen. John McCain for allegedly violating campaign-finance law. The allegations center around a scheduled March 20 fundraiser in Beverly Hills, in which donors have been asked to contribute up to \$100,000 for Schwarzenegger and the state Republican Party. McCain, R-Ariz., is the featured speaker. ... At issue is whether McCain’s appearance runs afoul of restrictions on federal officeholders taking part in events that solicit political funds. Ironically, McCain is being accused of violating a law he helped write. The complaint, to be filed Monday with the FEC in Washington, charges that McCain and Schwarzenegger ‘are soliciting soft money from prohibited sources and in excess of the federal contribution limits.’” [Associated Press, 3/04/06]

McCain Demanded Regulatory Action to Benefit Major Contributor in 2000. According to the *New York Times*, “Senator John McCain, who has made fixing the corrosive influence of money in politics the cornerstone of his campaign, twice demanded in recent weeks that a regulatory agency take action in a matter that ultimately benefited a major contributor to his presidential campaign. Once in November and again last month, Mr. McCain wrote letters to the Federal Communications Commission seeking a speedy vote on a complicated swap of television station licenses in Pittsburgh that would enable the contributor’s company, Paxson Communications, to buy one of the stations in the only big market where it lacks one. Mr. McCain sent the letters after he and his aides had met with and received more than \$20,000 in contributions from executives for the company and lobbyists. The head of the company, Lowell Paxson, who also lent Mr. McCain his corporate jet four times last year for campaign travel, had scheduled a fund-raiser for Mr. McCain in Florida for this weekend, but canceled it at the end of the day.” [New York Times, 1/06/00]

- **Bush Accused McCain of Being Inconsistent on Reforming Campaign Finance.** According to the *New York Times*, “Gov. George W. Bush, did not use the disclosure to criticize Mr. McCain head-on, although he suggested that the senator’s action did not comport with his views on reforming the campaign finance system. ‘I think somebody who makes campaign finance an issue has got to be consistent, and walk the walk,’ Mr. Bush said at a New Hampshire campaign appearance.” [New York Times, 1/06/00]

McCain Accepted \$61, 650 From Swift Boat Donors And Associates, Though He Once Condemned Their Kerry Smears. According to the *Nation*, Senator John McCain’s presidential campaign has accepted as much as \$61,650 from Swift Boat donors and their associates. Also according to the *Nation*, when the Swift Boat ads that criticized John Kerry during the ‘04 election were first released, “...McCain was alone among his Republican colleagues to condemn them. A fellow Vietnam veteran, a good friend of Kerry’s and a former target of smears about his own service, McCain called the ads ‘dishonest and dishonorable,’ a ‘cheap stunt,’ and he urged Bush to condemn them.” [Nation, 1/2/08]

McCain Crusaded for Campaign Finance Reform, But Now, Pressed for Cash, Benefits From Soft Money Ad. In 2007, an ad was released, which supported the Wounded Warriors Act, but also highlights McCain ran in South Carolina, a state McCain needs to win to keep his campaign going. According to the *New York Times*, “Mr. McCain has crusaded for years against just this sort of unencumbered political spending and has publicly called upon the foundation to stop the advertisement, a request competitors say seems half-hearted and the group’s leader has ignored.” The Times continued, “The group that paid for the advertisement operates independently of Mr. McCain’s campaign, but was set up and financed by his supporters seeking to help him as much as possible up to the limits of the law.” [New York Times, 11/12/07]

Desperate For Cash, McCain Takes Lobbyist Tribal Money. According to *The Hill*, McCain “has sworn off taking tribal money in his presidential campaign but continues to accept donations from lobbyists whose firms represent tribal clients.” Records show that lobbying firms “who competed with Abramoff for tribal clients prior to the probe,” and have subsequently inherited Abramoff’s clients, consistently give to McCain’s campaign effort. [The Hill, 5/8/07]

- **McCain Accepted \$24,100 from Lobbyist Who Inherited Abramoff Clients.** According to *The Hill*, “But in accepting these contributions, McCain could be making himself vulnerable to some of the very

same tribal ties he wants to avoid. Scott Reed, who competed with Abramoff for tribal clients prior to the probe, inherited at least one of Abramoff's clients while McCain was investigating the scandal. Reed's firm, Chesapeake Enterprises, represented the Saginaw Chippewa tribe of Michigan during the committee investigation. Reed and the three other members of his firm consistently have contributed to McCain's presidential campaign, political action committee and reelection committee in the past three election cycles, doling out a total of \$24,100." [[The Hill](#), 5/8/07]

- **Two Firms Representing At Least 21 Tribal Clients Have Cut \$41,000 In Checks To McCain Committees In The Past Three Election Cycles.** According to *The Hill*, "Akin, Gump, Strauss, Hauer and Feld, with its affiliate, Ietan Consulting, is another powerful player in the tribal lobbying community. Combined the two firms represent at least 21 tribal clients, and employees of the firm have cut \$41,000 in checks to McCain committees in the past three election cycles. Akin Gump also has a direct link to the Indian Affairs Committee probe. Michael Rossetti, an Akin Gump lobbyist who previously served as counsel to former Interior Secretary Gale Norton, testified before the panel against former Interior Deputy Secretary J. Stephen Griles. Griles, who was convicted of obstruction of justice in the Abramoff probe two months ago, was accused of helping two Abramoff clients - the Louisiana Coushatta tribe and the Saginaw Chippewa - fend off casino proposals from rival tribes. Griles denied the allegations and Rossetti disputed his accounts. Rossetti is now a registered lobbyist for the Agua Caliente Band of Cahuilla Indians, another former Abramoff client, and four other tribes. In the wake of the Abramoff scandal, in addition to Chesapeake Enterprises, the Saginaw Chippewa also hired Ietan Consulting as well as Holland & Knight Philip Baker-Shenker, a top tribal lobbyist for Holland & Knight, also has donated consistently to McCain's committees, giving him \$4,300 in the last three election cycles." [[The Hill](#), 5/8/07]

McCain Raised More Than \$1.4M from Bush 2004 Donors. According to the *Arizona Republic*, "Sen. John McCain has tapped into President Bush's vast network of campaign contributors in greater numbers ... But using an already-organized political action committee as a proxy for his undeclared presidential campaign, McCain over the past 16 months has attracted more than \$1.4 million from about 640 of Bush's 2004 donors throughout 40 states. That is almost triple the \$505,999 collected from former Bush donors by a similar leadership PAC belonging to Giuliani, a former New York City mayor. ... An Arizona Republic analysis of Federal Election Commission records also shows that nearly seven out of 10, or 436, of the donors who gave to Bush in 2004 and have since given money to McCain's Straight Talk America PAC, are new supporters of the Arizona senator. They were not among contributors to McCain's presidential campaign in 2000, when he bucked the GOP establishment by running against then-Texas Gov. Bush for the party's presidential nomination." [[Arizona Republic](#), 12/19/06]

George Will: McCain Prepared To Operate Outside Campaign Finance Laws He Wrote. In 2006, George Will wrote, "McCain's undeclared but ubiquitous presidential campaign will produce a delicious moment when he announces, as he surely will, that he will not participate in the public funding system for presidential primaries... There are two compounded ironies. First, the mantra of campaign 'reformers' is that there is 'too much' money in politics. But McCain will shun public funding because it provides too little money. He can raise much more from private interests. (But not from 'special interests'—interests McCain disapproves of.)" McCain is "the person most responsible for the perverse consequences of the government's multiplying intrusions into what should be a free market for political speech." [[Washington Post](#), 5/28/06]

McCain Indecisive About Whether To Stay In Campaign Finance Limits In 2008. McCain "must decide whether [he] would stay inside the public financing system for the primary season, a decision that would limit the amount of money [McCain] can raise and spend. ... McCain expressed complete indecision, effectively leaving open the door to raising unlimited dollars for the campaign." McCain said, "We haven't gotten to that point of the discussions. If I decide to run, then we would make that decision." [[Roll Call](#), 5/1/06]

McCain Solicits Corporate Dollars Through Unregulated Main Street Partnership. According to the New York Times, McCain is a member of the The Main Street Partnership, which is a group that "Offer[s] special access to lawmakers in exchange for financial contributions." McCain's membership was notable because he "led the calls to tighten lobbying and campaign finance rules." The Main Street Partnership "can seek unlimited and undisclosed corporate donations because it is organized as a nonprofit advocacy group," a tactic which is "well

within the law,” but “soliciting corporate or unrestricted individual contributions is illegal for political candidates or the national political parties;” campaign finance reforms which “the group helped pass four years ago.” The partnership has been called hypocrisy by critics. “It is reformers on parade,” said Jan Witold Baran, a Republican campaign finance lawyer. “All of these moderate Republicans who support all this campaign finance reform and lobbying reform have this convoluted organization that basically raises a variety of corporate funding and apparently pays for pajama parties with lobbyists.” [[New York Times](#), 4/30/06]

McCain May Accept Corporate Travel

McCain Campaign Decided It No Longer Could Afford Eschewing Corporate Jet Travel. According to the *New York Times*, “And Senator John McCain, Republican of Arizona, began by eschewing corporate jet travel, but with his campaign in straitened financial circumstances has decided it can no longer afford such scruples -- even though Mr. McCain sponsored legislation in the Senate that would have required lawmakers to pay the full value of their trips on private planes. ‘Senator McCain had hoped that other candidates in the race would follow suit and pay the true cost of chartered planes,’ said Jill Hazelbaker, a campaign spokeswoman. ‘It’s regrettable, but moving forward we cannot continue at such an incredible financial disadvantage.’ The McCain campaign spent more than \$1.5 million on air travel during the first half of the year, mostly on chartered planes. Direct comparisons to what other candidates spent are difficult, because candidates have different travel schedules and records filed with the Federal Election Commission do not always make it clear exactly how many flights each campaign took. But it appears that Mr. McCain’s air travel bill was hundreds of thousands of dollars higher than some rivals who took corporate flights.” [[New York Times](#), 7/26/07]

- **McCain Spend \$850,000 On Private Jets As Of June 2007.** According to the *Arizona Republic*, “To cut travel costs, McCain now flies almost exclusively on commercial airliners. As of June 30, he had spent more than \$850,000 on private jets and nearly \$1.1 million total on travel.” [[Arizona Republic](#), 7/28/07]
- **McCain Called For Ending Low-Cost Private Jet Perk For Congressman.** McCain “endorses the idea of requiring senators to reimburse corporations at the much higher charter rate” for use of private jets, as opposed to the current rule of paying a first class fare. McCain said, “I have no doubt that the average American would love to fly around the country on very comfortable corporate-owned aircraft and only be charged the cost of a first-class ticket. It is a pretty good deal we have got going here. We need to face the fact that the time has come to end this congressional perk.” [[Los Angeles Times](#), 1/9/07]

McCain’s Problematic Contributors

McCain Has Accepted \$61, 650 From Swift Boat Donors And Associates, Though He Once Condemned Their Kerry Smears. According to the *Nation*, Senator John McCain’s presidential campaign has accepted as much as \$61,650 from Swift Boat donors and their associates. Also according to the *Nation*, when the Swift Boat ads that criticized John Kerry during the ‘04 election were first released, “...McCain was alone among his Republican colleagues to condemn them. A fellow Vietnam veteran, a good friend of Kerry’s and a former target of smears about his own service, McCain called the ads ‘dishonest and dishonorable,’ a ‘cheap stunt,’ and he urged Bush to condemn them.” [[Nation](#), 1/2/08]

McCain “Mingled With Hundreds Of Top Corporate Executives Assembled By J.P. Morgan Chase For Its Annual Leadership Conference.” According to the *Washington Post*, “Sen. John McCain (R-Ariz.) took a break from the presidential campaign trail in March to fly to a posh Utah ski resort, where he mingled with hundreds of top corporate executives assembled by J.P. Morgan Chase for its annual leadership conference. McCain’s appearance at the Deer Valley event, arranged by J.P. Morgan Vice Chairman James B. Lee Jr., a top McCain fundraiser, put him in a room with the chief executives of companies such as General Electric, Xerox and Sony. It was, Lee said, ‘a chance for him to let them see him for who he is and possibly decide to support him.’ The effort paid off: J.P. Morgan executives have donated \$56,250 to McCain’s campaign, two-thirds of which came after his Utah appearance. And his visit there was quickly followed up by dozens of smaller private meetings with corporate

executives in New York City arranged by leading Wall Street figures. ‘We tried to get him around to a lot of those kinds of things,’ said McCain campaign manager Rick Davis. ‘We were very much in the friend-making business.’” [[Washington Post](#), 12/31/07]

McCain Raised Money From “Sleazy” Wyly Brothers and Funders of Swift Boat Veterans for Truth. In response to ads run against him in 2000 by “Republicans for Clean Air,” a group funded by Texans Sam and Charles Wyly, McCain called the Wyls Bush’s “sleazy Texas buddies,” called the group “disgraceful” and their money “dirty.” He also attacked Swift Boat Veterans for Truth, which ran ads against John Kerry in 2004, as “dishonest” and “dishonorable.” However, McCain’s fundraiser in Dallas on May 15, 2006 for his political action committee had the Wyly brothers and Albert Huddleston and Harold Simmons, who together gave \$3.1 million to the Swift Boat Veterans for Truth, as members of the host committee. [UPI, 4/24/06; CBS News, 3/7/00; [Dallas Morning News](#), 5/14/06; [Dallas Morning News](#), 4/23/06; AP, 8/5/04; abcnews.com, 4/23/06]

- **McCain’s PAC Returned Contributions From Wyls Who Were Under Federal Investigation.** According to the Hotline, “Sen. John McCain’s Straight Talk America PAC returned \$20K in contributions from Sam and Charles Wyly after the STA finance team learned that the Wyls were under federal investigation for alleged tax evasion. McCain attended a May 15 fundraiser in Austin, TX co-hosted by the Wyly brothers. ‘After the checks were received from Sam and Charles Wyly, it was discovered through the normal vetting process here at Straight Talk America that a federal inquiry is ongoing into the two gentlemen,’ said STA exec. dir. Craig Goldman in a statement. ‘Once that was discovered, we have a policy internally not to accept contributions from people in that situation, so the checks were returned.’ ‘And at our request they did not attend the fundraiser in Dallas.’ You’ll recall that in 2000, the duo spent millions to air ads designed to hurt McCain in early primary states.” [The Hotline, 5/24/06]
- **McCain’s Returned Checks To Wyls Was An “Embarrassment” Given The Fact That The Wyly’s Scandal Was National Front Page News.** “The much-hyped detente between Sen. John McCain (R-Ariz.) and big Texas donors to President Bush ran into an embarrassing snag last month, prompting the Senator to return \$20,000 in donations from the Wyly family after realizing they were being investigated by federal tax authorities. McCain, whose active courtship of Bush’s financial network has been widely promoted by his political aides, gave back the checks from Sam and Charles Wyly Jr. and other relatives after his political action committee’s ‘vetting system’ turned up multiple probes into the Wyls regarding their offshore holdings on the Isle of Man. ‘There’s a government probe into some tax shelters they have,’ said Craig Goldman, the executive director of Straight Talk America, McCain’s leadership PAC, explaining the refunded donations. ... McCain’s decision to return the Wyly donations is a sign that he is taking his image as a campaign reformer seriously, not wanting to have even the appearance of impropriety for taking donations from businessmen accused of sheltering \$100 million in taxes on the Isle of Man. At the same time, the snafu carries some embarrassment for the Senator, since the Wyly investigation has been widely known for almost a year.” “The Wyls were also disinvented to a May 15 Dallas fundraiser for Straight Talk, Goldman said. McCain’s political operation initially touted the event as a sign of the inroads he had made among donors who worked against him in the 2000 presidential race.” [[Roll Call](#), 5/25/06; [Washington Post](#), 5/25/06]

Ethics Committee said McCain used “Poor Judgment” in Keating Five Scandal

Savings & Loan Official Said Keating Scandal Caused Damage. William K. Black, a former savings and loan regulator, said he believes McCain took part in pressuring regulators to “back off” Lincoln Savings & Loan. “I remain very upset that what they did caused such damage,” said Black. [[Boston Globe](#), 2/28/08]

McCain’s “Darkest Hour” Was His Involvement With the Infamous Keating Five Scandal. The *Washington Post* referred to Senator McCain’s “darkest hour” as the “Keating Five” scandal. The *Arizona Republic* reported on a recent book released by Ex-Sen. Dennis DeConcini, one of the “Keating Five,” in which he “depicts” McCain as “having backstabbed him” and the other Senators during the investigation by leaking information to the media. He

also “asserts that McCain gained leniency” because of the “close relationship” he had with the attorney heading the investigation.” [[Washington Post](#), 6/8/07; [Arizona Republic](#), 1/10/07]

- **The Senate Ethics Committee Investigated McCain, One of the “Keating Five,” in 1991.** Five Senators, including McCain, “were investigated by the Senate ethics committee in 1991. The inquiry centered on whether the five pressured federal regulators on behalf of Charles H Keating Jr., a Phoenix financier, and his Lincoln Savings and Loan Association. Each senator had received campaign contributions from Keating...Lincoln’s collapse cost taxpayers \$3.4 billion, and investors, many who were retirees, lost an estimated \$285 million on high-risk bonds.” McCain had a “long-standing relationship with Keating” which included “use of a Keating vacation home and airplane while McCain was in the House of Representatives.” [[Arizona Republic](#), 1/10/07]

Senate Ethics Committee Said McCain Used “Poor Judgment” With Regard to Charles Keating. According to the Associated Press, McCain and four other senators were accused two decades ago of trying to influence banking regulators on behalf of Charles Keating, a savings and loan financier later convicted of securities fraud. The Senate Ethics Committee said McCain had used “poor judgment” but also said his actions “were not improper” and warranted no penalty. McCain was faced with the favoritism question after the online Web site, the Drudge Report, said his aides and advisers had been trying to dissuade the newspaper from publishing a story. [[Associated Press](#), 12/20/07]

- **McCain Found By Senate Ethics Committee To Be Least Blameworthy Of Keating Five.** According to *Slate Magazine*, the Senate Ethics Committee eventually found Senators McCain and John Glenn to be “...least blameworthy” of the Keating Five senators, because they attended the meetings but did nothing else to influence regulators. [[Slate Magazine](#), 2/18/00]
- **McCain Guilty Of Poor Judgment, Contributed Amount Keating Raised For Him To U.S. Treasury.** According to *Slate Magazine* the Senate Ethics committee said, “McCain was guilty of nothing more than ‘poor judgment,’ ... and declared his actions were not ‘improper nor attended with gross negligence.’” Furthermore, “McCain considered the committee’s judgment to be ‘full exoneration,’ and he contributed \$112,000 (the amount raised for him by Keating) to the U.S. Treasury.” [[Slate Magazine](#), 2/18/00]

Keating Was Longtime Friend, Associate, Major Fundraiser For McCain. According to *Slate Magazine*, Charles Keating was “...was more than a constituent to McCain--he was a longtime friend and associate.” Apparently, McCain met Keating at a Navy League dinner in 1981, and the two became friends, especially since Keating shared a naval background with McCain. Keating fundraised for McCain’s 1982 and 1984 congressional campaigns, as well as his 1986 Senate campaign. According to *Slate*, “By 1987, McCain campaigns had received \$112,000 from Keating, his relatives, and his employees--the most received by any of the Keating Five.” [[Slate Magazine](#), 2/18/00]

McCain Failed To Disclose That He Made At Least 9 Trips At Keating’s Expense. According to *Slate Magazine*, “After McCain’s election to the House in 1982, he and his family made at least nine trips at Keating’s expense, three of which were to Keating’s Bahamas retreat. McCain did not disclose the trips (as he was required to under House rules) until the [Keating Five] scandal broke in 1989.” After the scandal broke, and the trips were disclosed, McCain paid Keating \$13, 433 for the flights. [[Slate Magazine](#), 2/18/00]

McCain’s Wife And Her Father Invested \$350,100 In Keating Strip Mall. According to *Slate Magazine*, “...in April 1986, one year before the Keating Five’s meeting with federal banking regulators, McCain’s wife, Cindy, and her father invested \$359,100 in a Keating strip mall.” [[Slate Magazine](#), 2/18/00]

McCain Believed Democrats Blocked Ethics Committee Recommendation That He Be Dropped From Investigation. According to *Slate Magazine*, Senate Ethics Committee special counsel Robert Bennett recommended that Senators McCain and Glenn be dropped from the Keating Five investigation, but were not. McCain believed that Democrats on the Ethics committee blocked the recommendation because he was the sole Republican involved in the scandal. [[Slate Magazine](#), 2/18/00]

McCain and Public Financing

2004: McCain Calls on FEC to Go After Those that “Thumb Their Noses at the Law.” In a 2004 op-ed, McCain wrote about “the Federal Election Commission's despicable failure to do its job. Led by a Democratic apparatchik on one side and a right-wing ideologue on the other, the commission is politically hidebound, and has refused to take on those who brazenly thumb their noses at the law.” [[John McCain for Senate 2004](#), 9/14/04]

2008: McCain Brazenly Thumbed his Nose at FEC Warning on Public Financing. The *Myrtle Beach Sun-News* reported: “McCain said he could withdraw from the system by telling the Federal Election Commission that he was doing so,” even though “The Chairman of the FEC, David Mason, said in a Feb. 22 letter to McCain that the FEC must approve McCain’s decision.” [[Myrtle Beach Sun News](#), 2/27/08]

As Frontrunner in Early 2007, McCain Wavered on Public Funding

Early in 2007, McCain and Rudy Giuliani were viewed as the frontrunners for the Republican nomination. On February 25, 2007, the Associated Press reported that “Arizona Sen. John McCain is running even or second to Giuliani” in most early polls [Associated Press, 2/25/07]. As a result, McCain expected to have a sophisticated fundraising machine capable of raising millions, causing him to hesitate in accepting public funds.

January 2007: McCain “Contemplating Opting Out” of Public Financing. In January 2007, the *Washington Post* reported: “Among the presidential candidates, McCain has long championed the importance of campaign finance laws. Yesterday, his spokesman, Danny Diaz, said the senator thinks the current public finance system ‘is not fulfilling its original goal’ and is also contemplating opting out.” [[Washington Post](#), 1/23/07]

February 2007: *Washington Post* – “Contrast Between McCain the Presidential Candidate and McCain the Reformer can be Jarring.” In February 2007, the *Washington Post* reported: “But now the contrast between McCain the presidential candidate and McCain the reformer can be jarring. McCain’s campaign says that he is still studying whether to forgo the public financing and spending limits he has long supported, but that he will not be handicapped by restrictions his competitors will not face in 2008.” [[Washington Post](#), 2/11/07]

February 2007: Common Cause “Disappointed” by McCain’s Lack of Leadership on Public Financing. In February 2007, Mary Boyle, Vice President for Communications at Common Cause, called McCain’s delayed decision on public financing disappointing, but said it was understandable given political realities. “Certainly we are disappointed that he has decided not to take the lead in fixing the presidential-financing system he is competing in,” Boyle said, adding that “it is understandable that he is opting out” because “It is apparent to us that to run a competitive presidential campaign inside a system that is still broken, that is what he has to do.” [[Washington Post](#), 2/11/07]

February 2007: *Washington Post* Editorial Said Public Financing Should be “No-Brainer” for McCain. In a February 2007 editorial, the *Washington Post* wrote: “The campaign of Sen. John McCain (R-Ariz.) hasn’t yet decided what to do; this should be a no-brainer for a man who’s been at the forefront of campaign finance reform.” [[Washington Post](#), 2/5/07]

As McCain’s Campaign Fell Apart in Mid-2007, He Changed his Tone

As 2007 drew on, McCain’s campaign all but fell apart. Barely raising any money and falling in the polls, McCain’s campaign manager, Terry Nelson, and long-time top aide, John Weaver, both left the campaign in early July [Washington Post, 7/11/07]. On August 30, 2007, CBS News released a poll showing McCain in fourth place, behind Giuliani, Fred Thompson, and Mitt Romney. In that poll, McCain only had the support of 12 percent of

voters [CBS Evening News, 8/30/07]. With his campaign near collapse, McCain changed his tone and sought public financing.

July 2007: McCain Campaign Considered Public Financing Because of “Anemic” Fundraising. In July 2007, the *Washington Post* reported: “With just \$2 million in the bank and a campaign organization in turmoil, Sen. John McCain now looks out on a vastly different landscape when it comes to financing a run for the White House. Every option before him carries a significant downside. Accepting public financing – an idea his campaign said yesterday that it was strongly considering after anemic second-quarter fundraising – could put McCain at a steep disadvantage in the early-primary states.” [[Washington Post](#), 7/12/07]

Through July 2007, McCain Had Spent More Than Half of 2004 Public Financing Primary Limit. In July 2007, the *Washington Post* reported that “McCain has already spent about \$23 million,” which was more than half of the primary spending limit under public financing in 2004, which “was about \$41 million.” [[Washington Post](#), 7/12/07]

- **Campaign Finance Expert Wondered how McCain would Survive.** Michael Malbin, director of the Campaign Finance Institute, wondered how McCain would go for over a year – from July 2007 to the Republican Convention: “I’d like to know, how would he get between now and the nomination on a total of \$18 million?” [[Washington Post](#), 7/12/07]
- **Republican Campaign Finance Expert Pointed Out Irony of McCain Having to Rely on RNC.** According to the *Washington Post*, “Jan Baran, a Republican campaign finance expert, said the practical problems of McCain would be compounded by the irony of the senator turning to the party to run what would essentially be a shadow campaign on his behalf. ‘He would then have to rely on a legal fiction he spent years criticizing: having the party spend tens of millions of dollars independently of his campaign,’ Baran said.” [[Washington Post](#), 7/12/07]
- **McCain Lacked Self-Funding Option Because he Transferred Assets to his Wife’s Name.** In July 2007, as his campaign floundered, the *Washington Post* and campaign finance experts noted that McCain could survive and avoid public financing by spending his own money. “But even that approach could be problematic for McCain. Property records show that McCain transferred ownership of his homes in Virginia and Arizona to his wife or to trust accounts that she controls.” [[Washington Post](#), 7/12/07]

July 2007: Struggling, McCain Considered Matching Funds. In July 2007, the *Washington Post* reported: “McCain is in even worse shape. Campaign manager Terry Nelson said this week that McCain may be forced to accept matching money from the federal government, along with the strict spending limits that are part of the bargain... If McCain accepted the public money and secured the GOP nomination early next year, he would likely find himself financially strapped and relying on the Republican National Committee to run ads on his behalf for months.” [[Washington Post](#), 7/4/07]

McCain Considered Public Financing Because of Weak Fundraising. In September 2007, the *Washington Post* reported, “McCain announced that he would strongly consider accepting public financing after a second-quarter fundraising letdown.” [[Washington Post](#), 9/28/07]

McCain Sought Public Financing to Bolster Campaign “Starved for Cash.” In February 2008, the *Washington Post* reported: “Last year, when McCain’s campaign was starved for cash, he applied to join the financing system to gain access to millions of dollars in federal matching money... By signing up for matching money, McCain agreed to adhere to strict state-by-state spending limits and an overall limit on spending of \$54 million for the primary season, which lasts until the party’s nominating convention in September.” [[Washington Post](#), 2/22/08]

March 2007: McCain Agrees to Public Financing if Democratic Nominee Does. In March 2007, the FEC ruled – after an inquiry from the Obama campaign – that candidates could collect general election money during the primary and later change their minds, return the money and opt into the public financing system. McCain’s then-campaign manager, Terry Nelson, said, “Should John McCain win the Republican nomination, we will agree to

accept public financing in the general election, if the Democratic nominee agrees to do the same.” [[Washington Post](#), 3/2/07]

In Desperate Straits, McCain Used Public Funding as Collateral for Loan

Desperately trying to keep his campaign afloat, McCain took \$4 million in campaign loans in late 2007 from Fidelity & Trust Bank of Bethesda. Because of his lackluster fundraising, the bank was skeptical of McCain's ability to re-pay the loan. McCain used his participation in the public financing system as collateral, guaranteeing the bankers he would seek federal matching funds if his fundraising did not improve. In doing so, McCain committed himself to the system, because FEC rules stipulate that using potential public financing provides a benefit equivalent to actually using the funds.

February 2008 *Washington Post* Headline: “McCain Got Loan by Pledging to Seek Federal Funds.” In February 2008, the *Washington Post* reported, “John McCain’s cash-strapped campaign borrowed \$1 million from a Bethesda bank two weeks before the New Hampshire primary by pledging to enter the public financing system if his bid for the presidency faltered, newly disclosed records show. ... Campaign finance lawyers speculated whether McCain may have inadvertently committed himself to entering the public financing system for the remainder of the primary season by holding out the prospect of taking public matching funds in exchange for the \$1 million loan in December.” [[Washington Post](#), 2/16/08]

- **\$1 Million Loan was Extension of Previous Loan.** According to the *Washington Post*, “McCain’s campaign filed the modification to his initial \$3 million loan on December 17, seeking an additional \$1 million. The bank asked him to produce something more than his campaign’s assets as collateral. ‘They said, ‘You’ve explained how you can afford to borrow more, and how you can pay us back if things go well. What happens if things go badly?’” said Trevor Potter, a McCain attorney. The campaign’s response, Potter said, was that McCain could reapply in the future for federal matching funds, and would agree to use the FEC certifications for those funds as collateral. **Under the agreement, McCain promised that if his campaign began to falter, he would commit to keeping his campaign alive and to entering the federal financing system.**” [[Washington Post](#), 2/16/08]
- **FEC Rules Require Candidates Using Federal Funds as Collateral to Stay in System.** According to the *Washington Post*, “Under FEC rules, a candidate who uses a certification for federal funds as collateral for a loan is obligated to remain within the public financing system.” [[Washington Post](#), 2/16/08]
- **Campaign Finance Lawyer Called Loan “Sweetheart Deal.”** According to the *Washington Post*, “Cleta Mitchell, a veteran campaign finance lawyer and a McCain critic, said she has never encountered a similar agreement. ‘They’ve clearly got a sweetheart deal with this bank,’ Mitchell said. ‘This bank is just a cash register for them.’” [[Washington Post](#), 2/16/08]

McCain’s Lender had Prior Relationships with Campaign Advisers. McCain's top advisers had previous relationships with the bank that loaned the campaign \$4 million. The *Washington Post* wrote, “But he noted that Fidelity's bankers had prior relationships with several top McCain advisers, including lobbyist Charles R. Black Jr. and campaign manager Rick Davis. Davis's consulting firm borrowed money from Fidelity bankers in the mid-1990s when they worked at Franklin National Bank, according to Watkins and public records.” [[Washington Post](#), 2/27/08]

- **Democratic Campaign Finance Lawyer Questioned Special Treatment.** In February 2008, the *Washington Post* reported Democratic campaign finance attorney Mac Elias was questioning “whether McCain received special treatment in obtaining the loan. [Bank official] Watkins said McCain did not. But he noted that Fidelity’s bankers had prior relationships with several top McCain advisers, including lobbyist Charles R. Black Jr. and campaign manager Rick Davis. Davis’s consulting firm borrowed money

from Fidelity bankers in the mid-1990s when they worked at Franklin National Bank, according to Watkins and public records.” [[Washington Post, 2/27/08](#)]

January 2007: McCain Campaign Regained Financial Footing. In January 2007, the *Washington Post* reported, “Advisers to Sen. John McCain (R-Ariz.) said yesterday that his campaign has regained its financial footing over the past three months.” [[Washington Post, 1/1/08](#)]

With Early Primary Wins, McCain Backed Away from Public Financing

With wins in New Hampshire, South Carolina, Florida and victories on Super Tuesday, McCain knew his fortunes were changing, and he quickly tried to wiggle his way out of the public financing system.

McCain Requested To Opt Out Even Though He’d Used Public Financing As Collateral. In February 2008, the *Washington Post* reported: “But after McCain won a series of early contests and the campaign found its financial footing, his lawyer wrote to the FEC requesting to back out of the program – which is permitted for candidates who have not yet received any federal money and who have not used the promise of federal funding as collateral for borrowing money.” [[Washington Post, 2/22/08](#)]

McCain Decided Against Public Financing Because of Early Wins. In February 2008, the *Washington Post* reported: “McCain’s victories in early primaries meant he never had to enter the public financing system. He formally returned his certification to the FEC on Feb. 6.” [[Washington Post, 2/16/08](#)]

McCain Rejects Primary Public Funds. The Associated Press reported: “Sen. John McCain, a passionate advocate of limits on campaign finances, is turning down government matching funds for the primary to free him to spend more money as he prepares for a general election contest. McCain, who appears headed to win the Republican presidential nomination, sent letters to the Federal Election Commission and the Treasury Department notifying them of his decision to withdraw from the presidential election financing system.” [[Associated Press, 2/11/08](#)]

McCain Decided to Forgo Public Funds. McCain, a staunch advocate of reducing money’s power in politics, has decided to forgo matching public funds for the general election. According to *Politico*, “the Arizona Senator’s rejection of the presidential public financing program he once defended is just the latest evidence of how ineffective the post-Watergate reform has become in an era of multimillion-dollar candidacies.” [[Politico, 2/4/08](#)]

McCain has Violated Federal Election Law

McCain Violated Law by Breaking Primary Spending Limit. On March 24, 2008, the *Boston Globe* reported: “John McCain has officially broken the limits imposed by the presidential public financing system, according to spending reports filed last week by the campaign. The senator from Arizona has spent \$58.4 million on his Republican primary effort. Those who have committed to public financing can spend no more than \$54 million on their primary bid.” [[Boston Globe, 3/24/08](#)]

By Ignoring Law, McCain Could be Sentenced to 5 Years in Prison. The *Washington Post* reported that through February 22, 2008, McCain’s campaign had already spent \$49 million for the primary, only \$5 million below the \$54 million spending limit before the GOP Convention in September. The *Post* noted that “**Knowingly violating the spending limit is a criminal offense that could put McCain at risk of stiff fines and up to five years in prison.**” [[Washington Post, 2/22/08](#)]

DNC Filed Complaint with FEC. In February 2008, the *Washington Post* reported: “The DNC filed a formal complaint yesterday with the Federal Election Commission, demanding an investigation of whether McCain

violated campaign finance laws he helped write when he asked to opt out of the public financing system.”
[[Washington Post, 2/26/08](#)]

- **Dean Said McCain Should Follow the Law.** In his letter of complaint to the FEC, DNC Chairman Howard Dean wrote that McCain “secured a \$4 million line of credit to keep his campaign afloat by using public financing as collateral. He should follow the law.” [[Washington Post, 2/27/08](#)]

FEC Chairman Warned McCain Cannot Immediately Leave Public Financing System. On February 22, 2008, the *Washington Post* reported: “The nation’s top federal election official told Sen. John McCain yesterday that he cannot immediately withdraw from the presidential public financing system as he had requested, a decision that threatens to dramatically restrict his spending until the general election campaign begins in the fall... But McCain’s attempts to build up his campaign coffers before a general election contest appeared to be threatened by the stern warning yesterday from Federal Election Commission Chairman David M. Mason, a Republican. Mason notified McCain that the commission had not granted his Feb. 6 request to withdraw from the presidential public financing system. The implications of that could be dramatic. [[Washington Post, 2/22/08](#)]

- **FEC Chairman Said McCain Cannot Leave Public Financing System Until Quorum-less FEC Votes.** The *Washington Post* reported that “the six-member commission lacks a quorum, with four vacancies because of a Senate deadlock over President Bush’s nominees for the seats. [FEC Chairman David] Mason said the FEC would need to vote on McCain’s request to leave the system, which is not possible without a quorum. Until that can happen, the candidate will have to remain within the system, he said.” [[Washington Post, 2/22/08](#)]
- **FEC Chairman Said McCain’s Use of Public Financing as Collateral Needs Investigation.** The *Washington Post* reported that Fidelity & Trust Bank of Bethesda “was worried about his ability to repay the loan if he exited the federal financing program and started to lose in the primary race. **McCain promised the bank that, if that happened, he would reapply for matching money and offer those as collateral for the loan.** While McCain’s aides have argued that the campaign was careful to make sure that they technically complied with the rules, **Mason indicated that the question needs further FEC review.** If the FEC refuses McCain’s request to leave the system, his campaign could be bound by a potentially debilitating spending limit until he formally accepts his party’s nomination.” [[Washington Post, 2/22/08](#)]

McCain’s Attorney said Lack of Quorum Renders FEC’s Warning Meaningless. In February 2008, the *Washington Post* reported: “McCain counsel Trevor Potter has said that the warning is meaningless because the chairman has no authority to act right now. The six-member FEC board lacks a quorum because the Senate has deadlocked on confirming nominees for four open seats. But election law experts said yesterday that the matter cannot be brushed aside. If the FEC seats are filled and the panel rejects McCain’s arguments for leaving the system, he will face severe restrictions on primary spending.” [[Washington Post, 2/23/08](#)]

Former FEC General Counsel said Loans were “Unusual.” According to the *Washington Post*, Former FEC General Counsel Lawrence M. Noble “said he believes the commission, with currently lacks a quorum to consider the matter, would want to study the loans when they are at full strength. ‘**This is a very unusual loan, and at the very least it does look like they were trying to use loopholes to make it work,**’ Noble said.” [[Washington Post, 2/27/08](#)]

McCain Used Public Financing System to Get on Ballot

McCain has used his qualification for the public financing system to avoid the costly and time-consuming practice of collecting signatures to get his name on the ballot. Instead, he was able to skip that step and get on the ballots in some states automatically.

McCain Used His Application For Public Financing To Get On The Ballot In OH And DE. In March 2008, Gannett reported: “McCain also used his qualification for matching funds to get on the primary ballots in Ohio and Delaware instead of going through the costly and time-consuming process of gathering signatures.” [Gannett News Service, 3/4/08]

McCain Used Public Financing to Get on Kentucky Ballot Even After he “Withdrew” from the System. *Fox Business* reported, “Facing questions about whether the campaign leveraged eligibility for public matching funds to gain access to the ballot in several states, the McCain campaign yesterday sunk to a new low... On a call with reporters yesterday, the McCain campaign erroneously stated that the campaign was getting on the Kentucky ballot by collecting signatures.” The DNC released documents revealing that “the McCain campaign did not file for the Kentucky ballot by collecting signatures, but by demonstrating that he had qualified for the ballot in at least 20 other states. One of the states the campaign cited was Delaware. As the DNC revealed yesterday, McCain qualified for the Delaware ballot by citing the FEC’s approval of his application for matching funds, thereby avoiding the need to collect signatures.” [Fox Business, [2/27/08](#); [Wall Street Journal](#), 2/27/08]

After Defying FEC Warning, McCain AGAIN Changes Tone and Says He’ll Consider Public Financing

McCain Said He’ll Consider Public Financing. On April 2, 2008, the *Wall Street Journal* reported: “Sen. John McCain said he would consider accepting public financing for the general election, even if his Democratic opponent opts out and is able to raise much more. ‘Obviously, I would prefer not to have to worry about fund-raising. But it depends on how much we think the opposition is going to have, how much difficulty we would have in raising money. I think we would seriously look at that at this time,’ he told reporters.” [[Wall Street Journal](#), 4/2/08]

In Sign He is Again Changing his Tone, McCain Returning \$3 Million in Contributions. On April 4, 2008, the *Boston Globe* reported, “In another sign that John McCain is moving toward accepting public financing this fall, the Republican’s campaign is returning about \$3 million in checks to contributors who have given money for his general election campaign, funds he could not use if he opts into the public system. McCain’s campaign, in letters to contributors, is asking supporters to write new checks to a special fund created to help the Arizona senator pay legal and accounting expenses related to compliance with the public funding system.” Candidates who participate in the public financing system will be limited to spending about \$84 million in the general election. [[Boston Globe](#), 4/4/08]

- **McCain Campaign Said “Move is Largely Procedural” and No Decision Made.** The *Boston Globe* reported, “The move is largely procedural, and McCain’s campaign said yesterday that it has not yet decided whether to accept public funding or to raise money on its own for the November presidential election.” [[Boston Globe](#), 4/4/08]

McCain's Involvement in the Keating 5 Scandal

Charles H. Keating was an Arizona businessman and McCain's political benefactor during his two campaigns for Congress and his first campaign for the U.S. Senate. McCain and his family took multiple trips on Keating's private plane, including junkets to Keating's private vacation home in the Bahamas for vacations with the businessman. Keating was involved in the savings and loan scandal of the 1980s and leveraged his significant political contributions and personal gifts to get McCain and four other Senators to in a quid pro quo arrangement to benefit his company. Keating had McCain and the other four senators apply pressure on federal regulators to back off Keating's company. Ultimately, the federal government seized the company, leaving American taxpayers responsible for a \$2.8 billion bailout. Keating spent four years in prison before his conviction was overturned on a technicality. He later pleaded guilty to several fraud counts.

McCain's Connection to Keating

Keating Was Longtime Friend, Associate, Major Fundraiser For McCain. According to *Slate Magazine*, Charles Keating was "more than a constituent to McCain--he was a longtime friend and associate." McCain met Keating at a Navy League dinner in 1981, and the two became friends, especially since Keating shared a naval background with McCain. Keating fundraised for McCain's 1982 and 1984 congressional campaigns, as well as his 1986 Senate campaign. According to *Slate*, "**By 1987, McCain campaigns had received \$112,000 from Keating, his relatives, and his employees--the most received by any of the Keating Five.**" [*Slate Magazine*, 2/18/00].

- **McCain was Top Recipient of Keating Contributions During Senate Bid.** Shortly before the 1986 election, *United Press International* reported that "Seven members of Congress who aided an Arizona company in a bitter regulatory fight with the Federal Home Loan Bank Board have received more than \$150,000 in campaign money this year from the firm's officers or their families." Of those seven, *United Press International* found McCain received \$55,000 of that money from Keating's company. "Tory Clark, McCain's press secretary, the biggest recipient of American Continental-linked money, acknowledged that he co-sponsored a House resolution in 1985 urging [Bank Board Chairman Edwin] Gray to delay for six months implementation of the regulation." Clark "said McCain supported the resolution 'so that people would have time to comment on the regulations.' 'Charles Keating is a friend' of McCain, she said, noting the lawmaker has spoken to American Continental's employees 'on several occasions.'" [*United Press International*, 11/1/86]

McCain Failed To Disclose That He Made At Least 9 Trips At Keating's Expense. According to *Slate Magazine*, "After McCain's election to the House in 1982, he and his family made at least nine trips at Keating's expense, three of which were to Keating's Bahamas retreat. McCain did not disclose the trips (as he was required to under House rules) until the [Keating Five] scandal broke in 1989." After the scandal broke, and the trips were disclosed, McCain paid Keating \$13, 433 for the flights. [*Slate Magazine*, 2/18/00]

- **McCain Took Money, Trips and Vacations from Keating.** "McCain was deeply entangled with Keating, accepting not only political contributions from him, but also free trips aboard Keating's corporate jet, including some to his friend's vacation home in the Bahamas. McCain only paid for the trips years later." [*Washington Post*, 3/3/00]

McCain's Wife And Her Father Invested \$350,100 In Keating Strip Mall. According to *Slate Magazine*, "...in April 1986, one year before the Keating Five's meeting with federal banking regulators, McCain's wife, Cindy, and her father invested \$359,100 in a Keating strip mall." [*Slate Magazine*, 2/18/00]

The Keating 5 – McCain and 4 Others Pressured Regulators

Keating Tricked Elderly into Junk Bonds. According to the Associated Press, “Keating’s Lincoln Savings & Loan sold worthless, high-risk junk bonds. Many of the 23,000 investors were elderly customers who didn’t realize their investments were not federally insured. Many were left destitute while Keating maintained a lavish lifestyle. Keating also participated in the risky investments that led to the collapse of S&L’s across the country.” [Associated Press, 3/23/08]

Federal Regulators Filed Largest Bank Fraud Suit to Date Against Keating. In 1989, the *Washington Post* reported, “Federal banking regulators yesterday filed the biggest bank fraud lawsuit ever, accusing Arizona real estate developer Charles Keating and his associates of directing a racketeering scheme that destroyed a California savings association and cost the taxpayers \$1.1 billion. The lawsuit charged that Keating’s group set out to buy a savings and loan association so they could use its deposits to finance their real estate speculation, and then drained off hundreds of millions of dollars by manipulating deals, concocting phony land sales, making loans to insiders and other violations of federal banking regulations.” The Keating group ‘conceived a fraudulent scheme to divert funds from a federally insured thrift to their own use,’ the government charged, alleging a dozen types of ‘illegal, fraudulent and imprudent’ actions that is said add up to a ‘racketeering influence criminal organization,’ or RICO.” [Washington Post, 9/16/89]

McCain Leaned on Federal Regulators to End Examination of Keating’s Company. In 1987, the *Los Angeles Times* reported: “Five U.S. senators in an unusual show of support for a constituent, pressed federal regulators at a meeting last April to wind up a then yearlong examination of Lincoln Savings & Loan Assn. and to end ‘unfair treatment’ of the Irvine-based S&L, a spokesman for one of the senators said Monday. Lincoln is owned by an Arizona company whose president, Charles H. Keating Jr., has been a major critic of Edwin J. Gray, whose term as chairman of the Federal Home Loan Bank Board ended in June. The senators who attended the meeting were concerned that Lincoln Savings was a victim of ‘over-regulation’ by the FHLBB, said Bob Maynes, press secretary for Sen. Dennis DeConcini (D-Ariz.), whose staff organized the meeting. The other senators who attended were Alan Cranston (D-Calif.), John McCain (R-Ariz.), John Glenn (D-Ohio) and Donald W. Riegle Jr. (D-Mich.)” [Los Angeles Times, 9/29/87]

Keating 5 Scandal Called “Mini-Watergate” by Banking Committee Chairman. In 1989, the *Washington Post* reported, “Housing Banking Committee Chairman Henry B. Gonzalez (D-Tex.), calling the collapse of Irvine, Calif.’s Lincoln Savings & Loan a ‘mini-Watergate in federal financial regulation,’ announced yesterday a new and intensified investigation of the crippled S&L and its political activities.” [Washington Post, 8/29/89]

- **Keating “Sought a Quid Pro Quo” from McCain.** The Associated Press reported, “Keating sought a quid pro quo from the five. He wanted government regulators, who were investigating Lincoln, off his back. And he demanded reversal of a new rule limiting an S&L’s direct investment in risky ventures to 10 percent of assets. **The banker’s attitude was summed up the day a reporter asked whether his political donations to the senators encouraged their intervention. ‘I want to say in the most forceful way I can, I certainly hope so,’ Keating replied.**” [Associated Press, 3/23/08]
- **Bank Board Chairman Felt Intimidated by Senators.** In 1990, the *Washington Post* reported, “Gray, who was chairman of the Federal Home Loan Bank Board from 1983 to 1987, while Keating was engaged in a losing battle with the regulators to save his failing Lincoln Savings and Loan, told the Senate Select Committee on Ethics that he felt he was being intimidated by the senators at the April 2, 1987 meeting. ‘I felt awkward and pressured,’ he testified under questioning from committee counsel Robert S. Bennett. ‘The whole setting was an intimidating one under these circumstances because I had never had a meeting like this before.’” [Washington Post, 11/28/90]

Federal Home Loan Bank Board Chairman Accused McCain of Being Swayed by Contributions. In 1989, the *Washington Post* reported: “Former Federal Home Loan Bank Board chairman Edwin J. Gray yesterday charged that former White House chief of staff Donald T. Regan and five U.S. senators were swayed by political contributions seeking special favors for the owners of Lincoln Savings and Loan Association, the California thrift whose collapse is expected to cost the taxpayers more than \$2 billion.” McCain was one of the senators named by Gray. [Washington Post, 11/8/89]

The Fallout

McCain Admonished by Senate Ethics Committee. According to the Associated Press, the Senate Ethics Committee admonished McCain for his involvement in the Keating 5 Scandal, saying he used “poor judgment.” [Associated Press, 12/20/07]

Federal Government Seized Keating’s Company, Sticking U.S. Taxpayers with the Bill. The Associated Press reported, “The U.S. government seized Lincoln in 1989, sticking taxpayers with a bailout cost of \$2.8 billion.” [Associated Press, 3/23/08]

Keating Spent Four Years in Prison before Conviction Over-Turned on Technicality. The Associated Press reported, “Keating went to prison for more than four years after a federal fraud conviction. The conviction was reversed on appeal after he argued that jurors improperly had knowledge of a prior state conviction on related charges. He was to be retried in federal court but instead pleaded guilty to four federal fraud counts. Keating admitted he siphoned nearly \$ 1million from his S&L’s insolvent parent company. He was sentenced to time he already had served.” [Associated Press, 3/23/08]

Lifestyles of The Rich & Famous

Before a president can effectively govern this diverse nation, they must first be able to understand the needs and struggles of its citizens. McCain's astonishing wealth makes it impossible for him to relate to the millions of Americans who have been hurt by the economy.

Ten Homes = \$13,962,019

John & Cindy McCain Own At Least Ten Houses In Arizona, California, and Virginia Worth an Estimated \$13,962,019. John and Cindy McCain own a plethora of houses spread throughout the United States, including: a beachfront condo in Coronado, California, a condo in La Jolla, California, a two-unit condominium complex in Phoenix, Arizona, four ranch houses located outside of Sedona, Arizona, a high-rise condo in Arlington, Virginia, and, according to *GQ*, a loft they bought for their daughter, Meghan. The value of their houses is an estimated \$13,123,269. [San Diego County Property Records; Maricopa County Property Records; Yavapai County Property Records; Arlington County Property Records; *GQ*, [3/18/08](#)]

John McCain's Family Owns Its Property Through Various Private Investment Companies and Family Trusts. The McCain's family's real estate is owned by various private investment limited liability companies (LLCs) and family trust funds. Many of the properties, owned by entities such as Dream Catcher Family LLC, Wild River LLC, The Cindy Hensley McCain Trust, and the Marguerite Hensley Survivors Trust, which are all officially controlled by McCain's wife and children. [Executive Branch Personnel Public Financial Disclosure Report; Arizona Property Records]

The McCain's Primary Residence

1. In 2006, McCains Purchased Two Condominiums in Phoenix For \$4,666,814. According to property records from Maricopa County, Arizona, the McCains spent \$4,666,814 Condominium in Phoenix, AZ in 2006. Officially, the sale was made to The Cindy Hensley McCain Family Trust on October 18, 2006. (2211 E Camelback Rd., Units 1105& 1106, 85016) [Maricopa County Property Records]

- **The McCains Converted the Two Condominiums Into A "Single Dwelling."** According to *The Arizona Republic*, "Property records show that Cindy [McCain's] trust recently bought a condo at the Residences at 2211 Camelback for \$4.66 million." The paper added, "The **deal was actually for two condos that could be combined to one space of 6,000 to 7,000 square feet**. That is plenty of elbow room, even for a high-end condo, in a region where the typical single-family home runs about 1,600 square feet." [*Arizona Republic*, 10/26/06, emphasis added]
- **The McCains Own A \$4.7 Million Condo, Vastly Exceeding The Neighborhood's Average Home Value of \$375,011.** In a profile of presidential candidates' homes, the *Richmond Times-Dispatch* reported that the McCain's condominium in Phoenix is worth an estimated \$4.7 million. The average home value in their neighborhood is reported to be \$375,011. They added, "Cindy McCain, heiress to the John Hensley liquor empire, paid \$3 million for two units, which the couple combined for 6,000 square feet." [*Richmond Times-Dispatch*, 2/10/08]



The McCains' Primary Residence Is Outfitted With The Following Amenities:

- Valet parking for residents and guests
- Travel and driver services.
- Roof top pool terrace with zero edge pool, sun deck, spa, fire pit, gas barbeque, and panoramic mountain and downtown views
- Exclusive resident party room featuring separate guest entrance from porte-cochere, fireplace, 50" plasma
- Fitness Center with state-of-the-art equipment, men's and ladies' locker rooms, steam rooms, and massage room.
- Roof top entertainment terrace with lounge seating and breathtaking views of Piestewa Peak

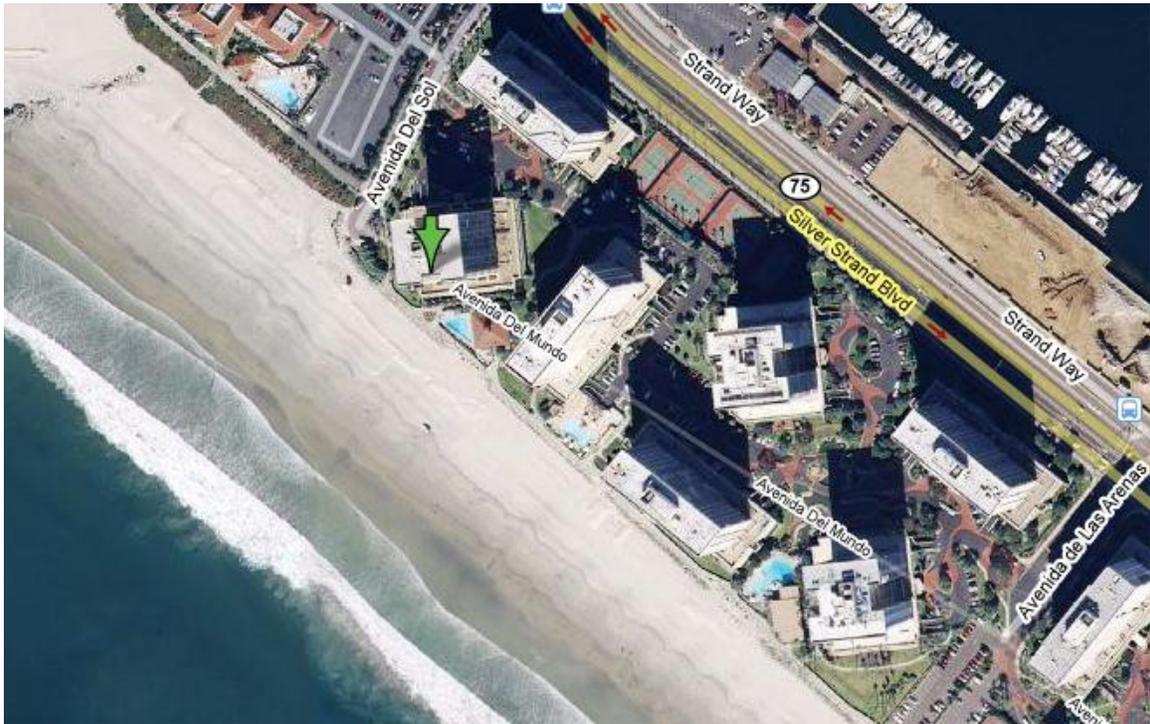
[Photo & amenities found at www.2211camelback.com, accessed on [4/2/08](#)]

Beachfront Condos in Coronado, California

2. The McCains Own A \$2,705,040 Beachfront Condominium on a Small Island Outside of San Diego.

According to property records from San Diego County, California the McCains own a \$2,705,040 condominium in Coronado, California. Coronado boasts the **second best beach in the country**, according to the Travel Channel. The condominium is officially the property of Dream Catcher Family. (1710 Avenida Del Mundo, Unit #802, 92118) [San Diego County Property Records; City of Coronado website, accessed [3/31/08](#), emphasis added]

3. In February 2008, The McCains Bought Another \$2.1 Million Condominium In Coronado. According to property records from San Diego County, California the McCains bought another \$2.1 million condominium in Coronado, California. Records show that the sale was completed on February 27, 2008. The condominium is officially the property of Dream Catcher Family. (1710 Avenida Del Mundo, Unit #204, 92118) [San Diego County Property Records]



[Google Maps]

Hidden Valley Ranch

The McCains Own Three “Hidden Valley Ranches” Worth \$1,942,365 in 2007. According to property records from Yavapai County, Arizona, the McCains own three ranch houses worth a combined \$1,103,615:

4. \$405,757 - 11455 E Hidden Valley Ranch Rd
5. \$369,929 - 11445 E Hidden Valley Ranch Rd
6. \$327,929 –11415 E Hidden Valley Ranch Rd
7. \$838,750 - 11405 E Hidden Valley Ranch Rd

All ranch properties are held by the Cindy Hensley McCain Family Trust. According to the *Arizona Republic*, the three houses include, “A main house, guest house and caretakers’ quarters[and] total more than 4,800 square feet.” [Yavapai County Property Records; 2007 Executive Branch Personnel Public Financial Disclosure; *Arizona Republic*, 8/12/00]

- **McCain Said There Are Six Houses On His Lot.** According to *CNN*, “McCain said the valley was settled by Mormons and that the Hidden Valley Ranch got its name from the horseshoe shape of the creek that runs through the property. He said he built the first house on his property 24 years ago and **now there are six houses on his lot.**” [CNN, 3/3/08, emphasis added]
- **McCain’s Ranch Was Described As “One of the Most Spectacular Creekfront Properties in the State.”** According to the *Arizona Republic*, McCain’s neighbor, Daniel Sims, said “It’s called Hidden Valley, and everyone who sees it says they would never expect to find such a beautiful place in such an arid climate.” He added that McCain’s ranch is “one of the most spectacular creekfront properties in the state.

Lush lawns go from their house gently down to the water's edge. The creek makes a natural pool there. It's very romantic." [[Arizona Republic](#), 8/12/00]

- **AP: McCain's 15-Acre Ranch "Includes Four Single-Family Homes And Is Worth Nearly \$1.8 Million."** According to the *Associated Press*, "John McCain held a barbecue recently for reporters at a two-story cabin near Sedona, Ariz., that sits on 15 acres owned by his wife's family trust and a real estate partnership in her name. The property includes four single-family homes and is worth nearly \$1.8 million." [[Associated Press](#), 4/3/08]



[McCainBloette, accessed [4/2/08](#)]

Beachfront Condo in La Jolla, California

8. McCains Own A \$1 Million Condominium In La Jolla, California. According to John McCain's Executive Branch Personnel Public Financial Disclosure, the McCains own a condominium in La Jolla, California valued at over \$1 million. The La Jolla property is held in the Hensley Survivors Trust. (8263 Camino Del Oro #379, 92037) [2007 Executive Branch Personnel Public Financial Disclosure ; San Diego County Property Records]



[Photo found at www.beachagent.com, accessed on [4/2/08](#)]

High-Rise Condo in Arlington, Virginia

9. The McCains Own A \$847,800 High-Rise Condominium in Arlington, Virginia. According to property records from Arlington County, Virginia, the McCains own a \$847,800 High-Rise Condominium in Arlington, Virginia. The condominium is officially the property of the Cindy Hensley McCain Family Trust. (1300 Crystal Drive #1702S, 22202) [Arlington County Property Records]

Meghan McCain's Loft

10. McCains Bought Their Daughter A \$700,000 Loft When She Graduated From College. According to property records from Maricopa County Arizona, the McCains purchased a \$700,000 Phoenix Loft in May of 2007. Wild River LLC bought the loft on May 24, 2007. (4326 N 25th St., Unit 2, Phoenix, AZ 85016) [Maricopa County Property Records]

- **John And Cindy McCain Paid For Meghan's Loft With \$700,000 Cash.** According to the Property Transfer Record from Maricopa County, Arizona, **the McCains paid cash for Meghan McCain's \$700,000 Biltmore Loft.** [Maricopa County Property Transfer Records]
- **Meghan McCain's Parents Bought Her A Loft That "Looks Like A Spaceship Furnished By West Elm."** According to a Meghan McCain profile piece written in *GQ*, "Meghan's parents, Senator John and Cindy McCain, bought her this loft around the time she graduated from Columbia University last spring, and the interior looks like a spaceship furnished by West Elm. There's a giant silver chimney that extends out of her fireplace into the ceiling about twenty feet above. Across the living room is a very stylish and very uncomfortable-looking pod chair." [GQ, [3/18/08](#)]

Richie Rich

McCain Was The Eighth Wealthiest Senator In 2006 Based On His 2006 PFD. According to the Center for Responsive Politics, John McCain was the eighth wealthiest Senator in 2006, based on his 2006 personal financial disclosure. McCain's minimum net worth was listed at \$ 27,817,187 and his maximum net worth was listed at \$45,045,011. [Center For Responsive Politics via Opensecrets.org, accessed [4/2/08](#)]

Money Magazine: McCain's Net Worth Is \$40.4 Million. According to *Money Magazine* McCain's net worth is an estimated \$40.4 million, with \$24.6 million in miscellaneous family trusts. [[Money Magazine](#), January 2008]

McCain Was Spotted Wearing An Armani Tie While Visiting Iraq. According to the *New Republic*, McCain was photographed wearing an Armani tie, which often cost over \$130. [[The New Republic](#), [3/31/08](#)]

McCain's Home Was Featured As The Subject of A Cover Story In Architectural Digest. In July 2005, the McCain family's home was featured on the cover of *Architectural Digest* magazine. The article featured ten photographs of the majestic estate. [[Architectural Digest](#), [July 2005](#)]

McCain Reportedly Visited Palau To Scuba Dive With His Family & Palauan President. According to the *Pacific Daily News*, "U.S. Sen. John McCain is expected to arrive Monday for a short dive vacation with his family." The paper added, "President Tommy Remengesau said McCain and his two sons are scuba divers and

Palau's president, also a scuba diver, hopes to dive with the McCains during their expected stay." [[Pacific Daily News](#), 4/14/03]

McCain's Mother Is Daughter Of "Wealthy Oil Wildcatter"; Was Too Old To Rent Car In Europe, So She Bought A New Mercedes. According to *Vanity Fair*, at the age of 94, John McCain's mother was "unstoppable." Apparently, she is "the daughter of a wealthy oil wildcatter" and when she went to Europe, and was too old to rent a car, "...she simply bought herself a new Mercedes and hit the road." [*Vanity Fair*, February 2007]

McCain's Family Oversees Eight Financial Entities. According to public records, McCain's family manages and oversees the finances of numerous companies, trusts, and foundations that hold the family's vast financial wealth. Including:

- Hensley & Company
- The Cindy Hensley McCain Family Trust
- John and Cindy McCain Family Trust (Non-Profit)
- Dream Catcher Family LLC
- Wild Creek Enterprises LLC
- Wild River LLC
- Wild Rapids LLC
- 701/801 LLC

[2007 Executive Branch Personnel Public Financial Disclosure]

McCain's Children Attended Expensive Private Schools. According to his campaign website, McCain's children have attended various private schools in the Phoenix area, including Christ Lutheran Elementary, Phoenix Country Day School, Brophy College Preparatory, and Xavier College Preparatory. Below are the tuition figures for these schools:

Brophy College Preparatory: **\$11,150 annually** (2007-2008)

Xavier College Preparatory: **\$11,961 annually** (2007-2008)

Christ Lutheran Elementary: **\$5,725 annually** (2007-2008)

Phoenix Country Day School: **\$18,800 to \$20,700 annually** (2007-2008)

[Brophy College Preparatory website, accessed on [4/4/08](#); Xavier College Preparatory website, accessed on [4/4/08](#); Christ Lutheran Elementary website, accessed on [4/4/08](#); Phoenix Country Day School, accessed on [4/4/08](#)]

- **McCain: "Parents Should Be Empowered" To Send Kids to Private Schools "Just As Many Members of Congress Do With Their Own Children."** John McCain believes parents should be empowered with school choice to send their children to the school that can best educate them just as many members of Congress do with their own children. He finds it beyond hypocritical that many of those who would refuse to allow public school parents to choose their child's school would never agree to force their own children into a school that did not work or was unsafe. [JohnMcCain.com, accessed [4/4/08](#)]

Assets Galore

McCain Receives A \$75,949 Annual Pension From The U.S. Navy. According to his 2006 Senate Personal Finance Disclosure, John McCain received an annual pension of \$75,949 from the U.S. Navy Finance Center. [2007 Executive Branch Personnel Public Financial Disclosure]

In 2006, Cindy McCain's Retirement Plan Held Up To \$1.5 Million In Investment Funds. According to his 2006 Senate Personal Finance Disclosure, Cindy McCain's retirement plan held from \$700,000 to \$1.5 million from excepted investment funds through Hensley & Co., a major distributor for Anheuser-Busch. [2007 Executive Branch Personnel Public Financial Disclosure]

In 2006, Cindy McCain's Retirement Plan Held Up to \$100,000 Of Anheuser-Busch Stock. According to his 2006 Senate Personal Finance Disclosure, Cindy McCain's retirement plan held from \$50,000 to \$100,000 worth of stock in Anheuser-Busch. [2007 Executive Branch Personnel Public Financial Disclosure]

In 2006, The Cindy McCain Revocable Trust Held Up To \$1 Million In Assets. According to McCain's 2006 Senate Personal Finance Disclosure, the Cindy McCain Revocable Trust holds from \$500,000 to \$1 million worth of assets. [2007 Executive Branch Personnel Public Financial Disclosure]

In 2006, The Marguerite Hensley Survivor Trust Held More Than \$3 Million In Assets. According to McCain's 2006 Senate Personal Finance Disclosure the Marguerite Hensley Survivor Trust, of which Cindy McCain is a trustee, holds more than \$3 million in assets. [2007 Executive Branch Personnel Public Financial Disclosure]

In 2006, McCain Owned A Parking Lot Worth Over A Million Dollars. According to McCain's Senate Personal Finance Disclosure, the McCain family owns a parking lot worth over \$1 million. [2007 Executive Branch Personnel Public Financial Disclosure]

- **The Average Family's Home Is Worth \$217,800.** According to a report by the National Association of Realtors, the average sale price for American homes in the final quarter of 2007 was \$217,800. [National Association of Realtors, "Single Family 4th Quarter 2007," accessed on [3/27/08](#)]

Cindy McCain

McCain's Wife "Is The Millionaire Daughter of An Arizona Beer Magnate." While describing the wealth of presidential candidates, The *Washington Post* wrote, "Sen. John McCain (R-Ariz.) married money -- his wife is the millionaire daughter of an Arizona beer magnate." [[Washington Post](#), 5/17/07]

Cindy McCain Is "An Executive Whose Net Worth May Exceed \$100 Million." According to the *Associated Press*, "As heiress to her father's stake in Hensley & Co. of Phoenix, Cindy McCain is an executive whose worth may exceed \$100 million." [Associated Press, [4/3/08](#)]

Cindy McCain's Assets Have Afforded John McCain "A Wealthy Lifestyle With A Private Jet And Vacation Homes." According to the *Associated Press*, "Her beer earnings have afforded the GOP presidential nominee a wealthy lifestyle with a private jet and vacation homes at his disposal, and her connections helped him launch his political career." [Associated Press, [4/3/08](#)]

Cindy McCain Is The Majority Shareholder Of Hensley & Co. Which Surpassed \$300 Million In Revenues. Cindy Hensley is the majority shareholder and chairman of Hensley & Company, the Anheuser-Busch distributor founded by her father. According to the *Arizona Republic*, the company surpassed "\$300 million in revenues, [and sold] more than 22 million cases of beer." [[Arizona Republic](#), 3/5/05]

- **Beverage Industry Experts Estimate Hensley & Co. To Be Worth Over \$250 Million.** According to the *Associated Press*, "Beverage industry analysts estimate Hensley's value at more than \$250 million and its annual sales at \$300 million or more." Additionally, "Within the industry, as heiress to her father, she is widely assumed to own a majority of the company. If so, that would make her net worth at least \$100 million, if industry estimates of Hensley's value are accurate." [Associated Press, [4/3/08](#)]
- **In 2000, Cindy McCain's Suburban Had A Vanity License Plate That Said "Ms. Bud."** In an article describing the history of Hensley & Company, the *Phoenix New Times* wrote, "Cindy drives a Suburban with the license plate 'Ms Bud.'" [[Phoenix New Times](#), 2/17/00]

Cindy McCain Was “A Child of Privilege” Who “Grew Up In Affluence.” *Cox News Service* wrote, in a section titled *A Child of Affluence*, “Cindy Lou Hensley was born in Phoenix in 1954, the only child of James and Marguerite “Smitty” Hensley. Her father was the founder of Hensley & Company, one of the largest Anheuser-Busch distributorships in the country. She grew up in affluence, vacationing at a beach house on Coronado Island near San Diego and becoming a rodeo beauty queen.” [Cox News Service, 2/22/08]

Cindy McCain’s Income From Her Investments Amounted To About \$3.7 Million. According to *Money*, “Cindy is the chairman of Hensley & Co., the Anheuser-Busch beer distribution business she inherited from her father. As an only child, Cindy is in charge of the family trusts. Although she only has to report that she has a salary of \$1,000 or more, her income from investments in 2006 came to about \$3.7 million.” [Money, January 2008]

Celebrating Its 50th Anniversary, Cindy McCain’s Company Hosted A Party With The Budweiser Clydesdale. According to the *Arizona Republic*, “the beer distributor threw itself a 50th anniversary bash last month at the Arizona Biltmore. **About 600 employees and their guests had their pictures taken with a Budweiser Clydesdale** and listened to Anheuser-Busch Chairman August Busch III and President Patrick Stokes describe Hensley as a model among its suppliers.” [Arizona Republic, 3/5/05, emphasis added]

Cindy McCain Was Seen Shopping At An Elite Washington Jewelry Store. According to the *Washington Post*, “[Cindy McCain](#) [was seen] shopping for spring accessories at [Ann Hand](#) Tuesday. The presumptive GOP nominee’s wife (in a silver-gray pantsuit) and daughter *Meghan* (white T-shirt, black pants, really high heels) dropped by the jeweler’s MacArthur Boulevard store with a few friends; they picked up two custom-designed pearl necklaces -- one an oval butterscotch, the other a ruffled white. [Washington Post, 4/3/08]

Meghan McCain: Washington DC’s Answer To Paris Hilton

Newsweek Named Meghan McCain As The Next “Brash, Boozy, Barely Legal Hellraiser-in-Chief.” In a blog post predicting who will be the heir to Jenna Bush’s legacy as the “brash, boozy, barely legal hellraiser-in-chief, *Newsweek*’s Andrew Romano predicted Meghan McCain to beat out the other candidates’ children. Romano said, “Think: The Simple Life: 1600 Pennsylvania Avenue.” [Newsweek, 11/5/07]

Meghan McCain’s Parents Bought Her A Loft That “Looks Like A Spaceship Furnished By West Elm.” According to a Meghan McCain profile piece written in *GQ*, “Meghan’s parents, Senator John and Cindy McCain, bought her this loft around the time she graduated from Columbia University last spring, and the interior looks like a spaceship furnished by West Elm. There’s a giant silver chimney that extends out of her fireplace into the ceiling about twenty feet above. Across the living room is a very stylish and very uncomfortable-looking pod chair.” [GQ, 3/18/08]

Meghan McCain “Loves” The Way Fetish Model Dresses. Meghan McCain told *GQ* that she is a fan of Dita Von Teese, the famed fetish model and burlesque stripper. She said, “And, yes, I know she’s a fetish star, but I think that’s rock ‘n’ roll.” [GQ, 3/18/08]

Meghan McCain Bragged About Wearing Giuseppe Zanotti Boots. On her blog McCainBlochette, Meghan McCain posted a picture of herself sitting on the floor while wearing a pair of tall, black, leather boots. The caption read, “I don’t like chairs... (boots Giuseppe Zanotti).” [McCainBlochette.com, accessed 4/1/08]

- **Meghan McCain’s Giuseppe Zanotti Boots Cost An Estimated \$999.** Meghan McCain posted a picture of herself wearing Giuseppe Zanotti boots. A pair of 16inch patent leather croc print Giuseppe **Zanotti boots has a regular price of \$999.00** according to Zappos.com. [McCainBlochette.com, accessed 4/1/08; Zappos.com, accessed on 4/2/08; emphasis added]