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# **THE PRIMARY CAMPAIGN: WHAT DID THE CANDIDATES SAY, WHAT DID THE PUBLIC LEARN, AND DID IT MATTER?**

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**Annenberg Public Policy Center  
Primary Campaign Survey and Content Analysis**

- The issue agendas of the candidates varied both within parties and between parties.
- In debates:
  - Bush: Taxes
  - McCain: Campaign finance
  - Gore: Race Relations
  - Bradley: Campaign finance, race
- In ads:
  - Bush: Taxes
  - McCain: Social Security
  - Gore: Health care
  - Bradley: Political experience
- The Republican candidates were more likely to focus on attacking Gore than Gore or Bradley were to concentrate on attacking the Republicans or Bush.
- Primaries matter. Across the country, people gained greater awareness and knowledge of the candidates and their positions as the primary season progressed. Knowledge gains were higher in states with primaries in which the candidates actively campaigned than in states without candidate activity.
- As in previous elections, men got more of the answers to questions about candidate policy positions correct than did women. The difference did not appear on all issues.
- The amount of candidate communication to which citizens were exposed differed from primary to primary with more information available in New Hampshire, South Carolina, and Michigan than in the Super Tuesday states.
- One exception was voters in Iowa, who despite an intense campaign neither learned more than voters in other states nor appeared more engaged with the campaign. New Hampshire voters, on the other hand, showed high levels of learning and political discussion. This finding is probably attributable to the low number forecasting caucus involvement.
- On the issues on which the candidates focused, voters learned the distinctions between the two major contenders in each party. Some were more successful than others in making their positions known. For example, more voters learned of McCain's stand on campaign finance reform than Bradley's stand on universal health care.

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## Candidates and Issues

To analyze the claims made in 13 Republican and 8 Democratic primary season debates as well as those in 92 televised ads, we divided issues into 35 categories (see appendix 1 for a list). Each claim in a debate and ads was coded and the claims aggregated by issue (see appendix 2 for debate and advertising claims).

### Debates

The parties differed in the emphasis that their candidates placed on the issues of taxes, foreign policy and health care, with Republicans spending most of their time in debates on the former two and Democrats spending more time on health care. The two candidates in each party usually focused on the same issues, but in opposite order. While McCain's most discussed issue is campaign finance and his fourth is taxes, Bush's most discussed issue is taxes and his fourth is campaign finance. Bradley's focal issue is also campaign finance and his fourth is education, while Gore's focal issue is race relations and his fourth is campaign finance.

#### ***Differences Between Parties***

- Taxes - Taxes registers as the top issue that Bush spends time on in debates (13% - 134 claims) and the issue that McCain spends the fourth most time on (6% - 91 claims) in debates. It does not register in the top four issues of either Gore or Bradley.
- Foreign Policy - Foreign Policy registers as the second most talked about issue for both of the Republican candidates, 12% (183 claims) for McCain and 10% (109 claims) for Bush. It does not register in the top four issues of either Gore or Bradley.
- Health Care – Health Care registers as Bradley's third issue (11% - 223 claims) and Gore's third issue (9% - 131 claims). It does not rank as one of the Republican candidates' top four issues.

#### ***Differences Within Party***

- Campaign finance is Bill Bradley's number one issue, consuming 12% (243 claims) of his attention in debates. Gore also discusses campaign finance, 8% (116 claims) of the time in debates (as his fourth issue).
- Gore second issue is education (10% - 145 claims), in debates for Bradley it is fourth at 8% (162 claims).
- Campaign finance is McCain's number one issue, with 15% (198 claims) of his time in debates spent on it. Bush also talks about campaign finance, but it is fourth on his list at 7% (77 claims).
- Taxes are number one on Bush's list, eliciting 13% (142 claims) of his focus in debates, while it is fourth on John McCain's list at 6% (91 claims).

#### ***Top Issues by Candidate***

- Bush: taxes 13% (134 claims), foreign policy 10% (109 claims), education 8% (87 claims), campaign finance 7% (77 claims).
- McCain: campaign finance 15% (228 claims), foreign policy 12% (183 claims), education 8% (122 claims), taxes 6% (91 claims)
- Gore: race relations 13% (189 claims), education 10% (145 claims), health care 9% (131 claims), campaign finance 8% (116 claims)
- Bradley: campaign finance 12% (243 claims), race relations 12% (243 claims) health care 11% (223 claims), education 8% (162 claims).

## Ads

The ad claims differed more than the debate claims, and the number of arguable claims for ads was also much lower than debates. Claims such as "There is goodness in most of us" were coded in an "Other" category.

### ***Differences Between Candidates***

- Both Gore and Bradley addressed health care in their ads. Health care was the topic Gore's ads addressed most frequently (17% - 35 claims). Bradley devoted the same percent of ad time to health care (17%) but because his ads contained more total claims he made more statements about health care overall (51 claims).
- Both Bush and McCain discussed taxes in their ads, with Bush making taxes his most frequently mentioned issue in claims in ads (31% - 53 claims), and McCain making it his second issue (12% - 10 claims).
- An interesting note is that McCain did not make many campaign finance claims in ads, but Bush did, leaving Bush as the Republican candidate who discussed campaign finance the most in ads (10% - 17 claims). For Bradley, campaign finance was the fourth most-discussed issue (6% - 18 claims).

### ***Top Issues by Candidate***

- Bush: taxes 31% (53 claims), education 11% (19 claims) campaign finance 10% (17 claims)
- McCain: social security 12% (10 claims), taxes 12% (10 claims), personal 10% (8 claims)
- Gore: health care 17% (35 claims), education 13% (27 claims), environment 12% (25 claims)
- Bradley: political experience 26% (79 claims), health care 17% (51 claims), other 10% (30 claims)

## Issue Specific Debates Influence Issue Profiles

The December 16<sup>th</sup> campaign finance forum between Bradley and McCain and the Democratic debate in Harlem on February 21st significantly increased candidate discussion of two issues: For McCain and Bradley campaign finance; for Bradley and Gore race relations. If the Bradley- McCain exchanges on campaign finance are removed from the debate totals, the issue profile for each changes: Foreign policy (12% - 188 claims) becomes McCain's most frequently discussed issue followed by campaign finance (11% - 165 claims) and education (8% - 122 claims). Race relations (13% - 240 claims) tops Bradley's agenda followed by health care (12% - 232 claims), education (8% - 157 claims), and campaign finance (7% - 142 claims). Bradley and Gore's issue profiles also change with the removal of the Harlem debate. Campaign finance (14% - 233 claims) becomes Bradley's most frequently discussed issue followed by healthcare (12% - 207 claims) and foreign policy (7% - 120 claims). Campaign finance (10% - 118 claims) becomes Gore's largest issue category followed by healthcare (10% - 114 claims) and race relations (10% - 108 claims).

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## Political Knowledge in the 2000 Primary Campaign

The Annenberg 2000 Survey is the largest survey of the American electorate ever undertaken. By the end of 2000, over 100,000 interviews will have been conducted on Americans' political knowledge, media use, and opinions about candidates and issues.

To date interviews have been conducted with over 30,000 randomly selected U.S. residents. Under the direction of Princeton Survey Research Associates (PSRA), the survey uses a rolling cross-sectional design, continuously interviewing throughout the campaign season. The number of interviews conducted

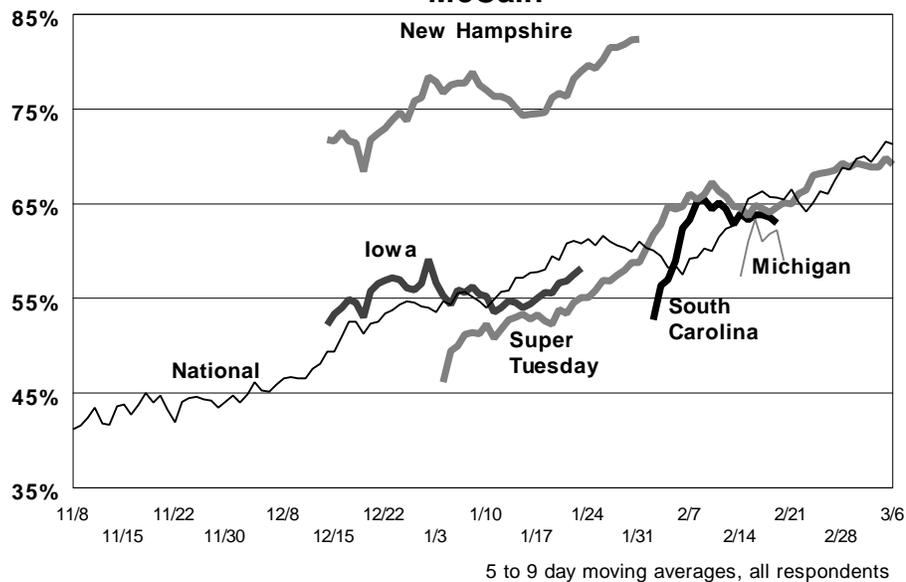
per day ranges from a low of 50 to a high of 500. The error varies depending on the sample size. For most of the data reported here, the error is +/-3%. The results we report are based on interviews completed December 14, 1999 through March 6, 2000 with random samples of adults, 18 years of age or older, living in telephone households.

There are a number of things individuals can learn from an election campaign. First, they can learn to identify the candidates. Second, they can learn enough about a candidate to be able to determine whether they regard him as honest, trustworthy, caring, and knowledgeable. They can also learn to place the candidates on a scale ranging from liberal to conservative on a given issue. Additionally, those surveyed can acquire biographical information about the candidates, for example, learning which is a Senator and which a governor, which a former basketball player, which a former P.O.W. Respondents can also learn the policy positions of the candidates.

### Awareness of Candidates

To assess candidate awareness, we asked whether respondents could rate each candidate on overall favorability from 0 to 100. Over the course of the campaign, citizens significantly increased their awareness of the four major candidates. The rate of learning was generally constant across samples, although New Hampshire respondents had significantly higher awareness overall. Not surprisingly, around 93% of respondents in the national sample were able to identify Governor Bush and Vice President Gore as presidential candidates. This number was stable though most samples and through the course of the campaign. Where the number of individuals able to mention the two primary challengers, former Senator Bradley and Senator McCain, nationally, was below 45% at the beginning of our survey in mid-November, it was 70% by the first week of March.

**Name Recognition of Bradley, Bush, Gore & McCain**

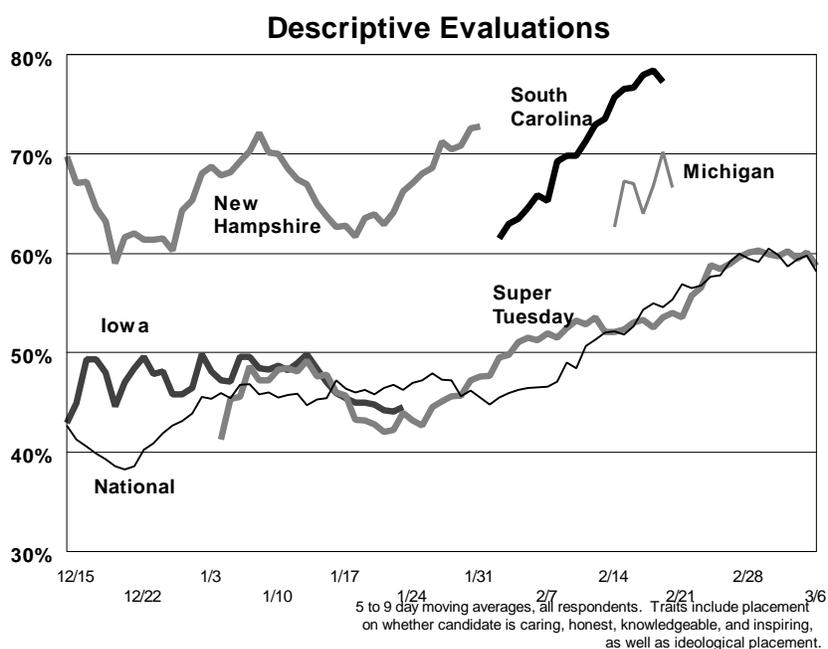


In the final weeks before Super Tuesday, over 90% of Republican respondents living in a Super Tuesday state were aware of John McCain as a presidential candidate. By contrast 70% of Republican Iowans were aware of McCain the week before their caucus. McCain did not campaign in Iowa. Nearly 90% of Iowa Democrats said they were aware of former Senator Bill Bradley, who did campaign in the state.

## Descriptive Evaluations

We asked respondents to assess whether each candidate was caring, inspiring, honest, and knowledgeable. In addition, we asked respondents to place each candidate on an ideological scale ranging from very conservative to very liberal. Respondents who lived in states that held competitive primaries had significantly higher levels of trait placement. It appears that primaries matter: The greatest increase in respondents' ability to place all four major candidates on traits occurred in the weeks leading up to the South Carolina and Michigan primaries.

In general, the number of respondents who provided descriptive evaluations of the four major candidates increased in the national sample from approximately 45% in mid-December to 60% in early March. The greatest movement for this group, as well as for Super Tuesday respondents, occurred during the weeks leading up to the South Carolina and Michigan primaries. While New Hampshire shows some instability over time, the overall mean of New Hampshire, South Carolina, and Michigan respondents is some 20 percentage points better than national, Iowa, or Super Tuesday state respondents. Unlike name recognition, in which all samples generally improved at the same rate, here we have some circumstantial evidence that citizens in states in which the campaign was intense and competitive exhibited greater improvement than respondents from other states, a trend that is more pronounced in the next type of knowledge, biographical knowledge.



## Biographical Knowledge

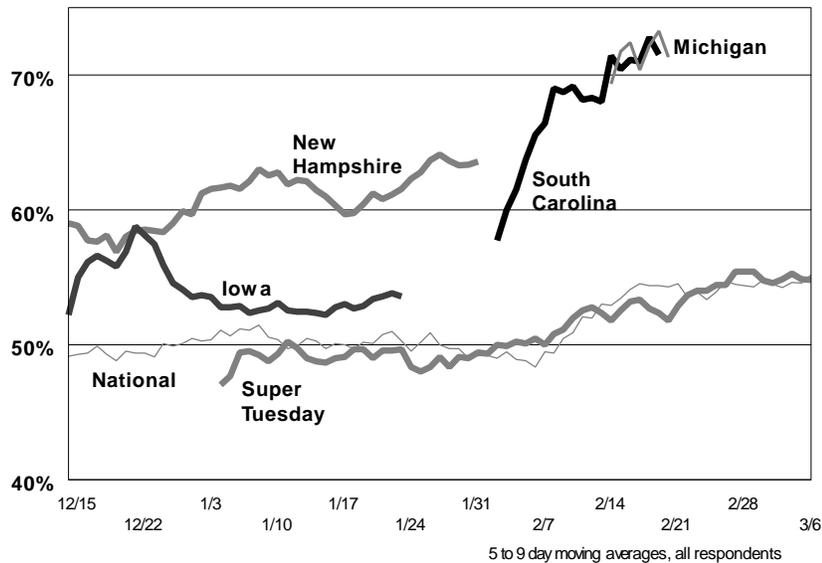
Throughout the survey, respondents were asked three biographical questions about the two leading candidates of each party. For the Democrats, we asked which of the candidates was a former senator, the son of a former senator and a former professional basketball player. For the Republicans, we asked who was a governor, a Senator, and a Vietnam POW.

Once again, it appears that primaries matter: South Carolina, New Hampshire, and Michigan respondents made significant improvements on these measures leading up to their respective primaries. Nationally, learning occurred during the weeks leading up to the Michigan and South Carolina primaries; overall levels of biographical knowledge were just over 50%.

The majority of learning took place in New Hampshire, South Carolina, and Michigan. The increase in knowledge for Super Tuesday and national respondents during the week of February 14 can be interpreted as a residual effect of the attention paid to the South Carolina and Michigan primaries.

In addition to demonstrating the most improvement, New Hampshire, South Carolina, and Michigan respondents also fared well in a cross sectional sense. Whereas the national sample got, on average, just over 50% of the biographical questions correct, New Hampshire, South Carolina, and Michigan respondents were correct nearly 65% of the time.

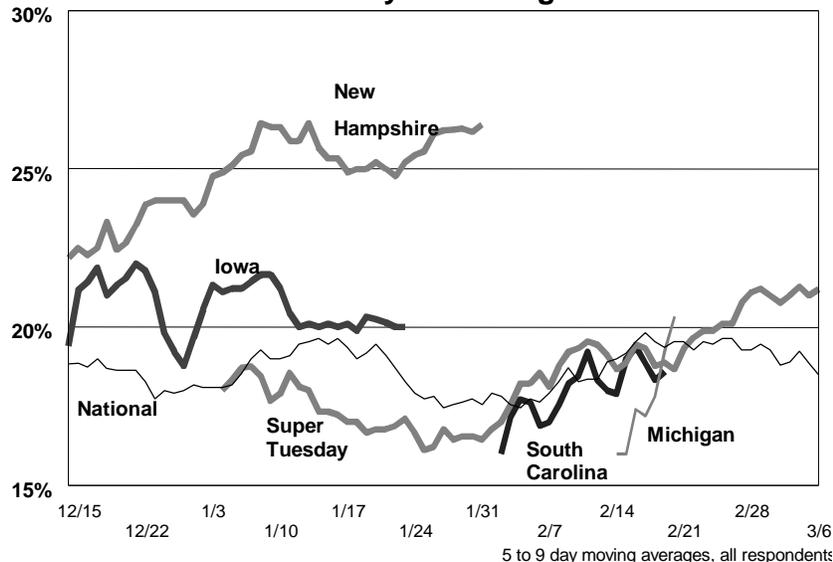
### Biographical Knowledge



### Policy Knowledge

To assess policy knowledge, we determined whether respondents were able to locate each candidate's positions on various matters of policy. The percentages here represent correct answers to the six questions that were asked on every day of the survey. For the Democrats, these questions concerned universal health care, school vouchers, and tax cuts, and for the Republicans: abortion, gun background checks, and soft money. Overall levels of policy knowledge are low. Nationally, respondents got policy questions correct 18% of the time. But once again, primaries matter. While there is little evidence of learning over time nationally, in New Hampshire, South Carolina, Michigan, and Super Tuesday states respondents increased their policy knowledge over time.

### Policy Knowledge



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## **Women and Political Knowledge in the 2000 Primary Campaign**

### **Background: Gender Gap in Political Knowledge**

Since 1980, women have voted either at the same or at a higher rate than men . Why then do scholars consistently find that women answer fewer questions correctly about political affairs than do men? This finding is especially perplexing given that the status of women has changed substantially in the last fifty years. Educational attainment is now comparable between the sexes. There is greater female presence in the labor force. And, the number of women seeking political office has risen. Nevertheless, gender differences in political knowledge persist.

### **Significant gender differences found in political knowledge levels during the 2000 primary campaign period.**

To ascertain if sex differences in political knowledge are present in the 2000 presidential primary campaign period, a political knowledge scale was composed of thirteen knowledge items that asked adults about the issue positions and backgrounds of Gore, Bradley, McCain and Bush. Using a national sample of adults interviewed between December 14, 1999 and March 13, 2000, statistical analyses were performed to determine the variables that predict political knowledge. Three outcomes were analyzed: (1) getting an item correct, (2) answering the question but selecting an incorrect answer, or (3) stating that one does not know an answer.

Prior research by Kenski and Jamieson (in press) of voters in the 1996 general election suggested that while there were sex differences in getting items correct and stating that one did not know an answer, there were no significant gender differences in selecting an incorrect answer. Men were more likely to get answers correct, and women were more likely to say that they did not know an answer to a question. In the 2000 presidential campaign, women were also more likely to answer questions incorrectly. These gender differences did not disappear when several sociodemographic variables, such as age, race, education, income, marital status, party identification, media exposure, etc., were controlled for. Being male accounted for almost one additional item answered correctly out of thirteen knowledge questions.

### **Gender differences vary by the specific type of question asked.**

Significant gender differences were not found for all issues. The answers to 25 individual political knowledge items about candidate background and policy positions were analyzed independently for gender differences. Eleven of these questions were about the Democratic candidates, and fourteen of them were about the Republican candidates.

***Sex differences in selecting correct answers on questions about the candidates controlling for several sociodemographic characteristics***

<b><i>Questions about Democratic candidates</i></b>	<b><i>Significant gender differences found</i></b>
Universal health care	M
Public campaign funding	F
Test ban treaty	M
College savings accounts	ND
Former Senator	M
Son of former Senator	M
School vouchers	M
Abortion rights	M
HMO suits	ND
Basketball player	M
Voted for Reagan tax cuts	M
<b><i>Questions about Republican candidates</i></b>	
Abortion amendment a priority	ND
Test ban treaty	M
School vouchers	ND
Ethanol tax breaks	M
Instant gun checks	M
Soft money ban	M
State governor	M
Senator	M
Vietnam POW	M
Medical savings accounts	ND
Missile defense	ND
Gay marriage	ND
Raising social security age	ND
Russian aid tied to Chechnya	ND

M=Males have higher score; F=Females have higher score; ND=No difference

In all but one instance where sex differences were found, males scored better than females on the items. The fact that significant gender differences were found on some issues but not others suggests that women may perform better on questions about issues that they perceive as more important to them.

The perplexing finding that women do not perform as well as men on political knowledge still persists in the year 2000. Prior research on the 1996 general election indicated that while men got political knowledge items correct more often than women and women said that they did not know the answer more often than men, there were no gender differences in selecting the incorrect answer. In the 2000 presidential primary, however, women are more likely to select the incorrect answer. This, however, does not apply to all types of specific political knowledge.

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## Political Discussion in Primary States

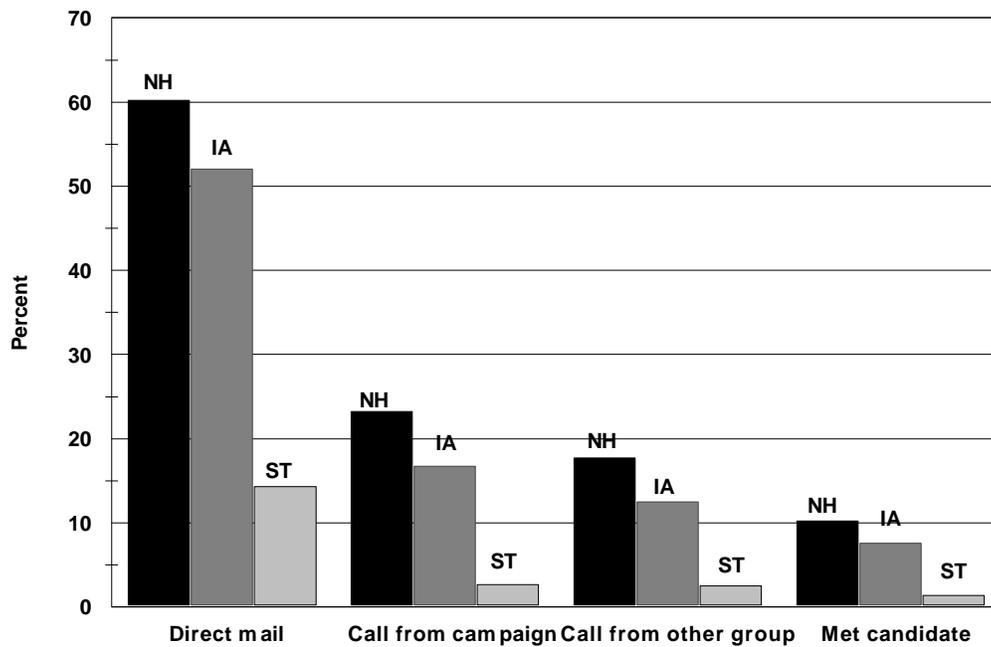
### Campaign Exposure

One of the key measures of citizens' involvement in political affairs is the frequency with which they discuss politics with their family, friends, and associates. In order to capture this element of political engagement, we asked our respondents how many days in the previous week they had talked about politics.

One would expect that voters in New Hampshire and Iowa would be substantially more engaged in the campaign than their counterparts in other states. After all, the campaigns pay an extraordinary amount of attention to them, and they can reasonably expect that their behavior will have a greater impact on the outcome of the primary election contest than that of voters in Nevada or Oklahoma. Compared with voters in Super Tuesday states – a group that was too large and geographically spread to experience much “retail” campaigning – voters in New Hampshire and Iowa had a great deal of exposure to the candidates and their messages. While the candidates spent slightly more money in New Hampshire than they did in Iowa, both states were flooded with television and radio advertising.

### Exposure to the Campaign, Average Week

New Hampshire, Iowa, Super Tuesday States

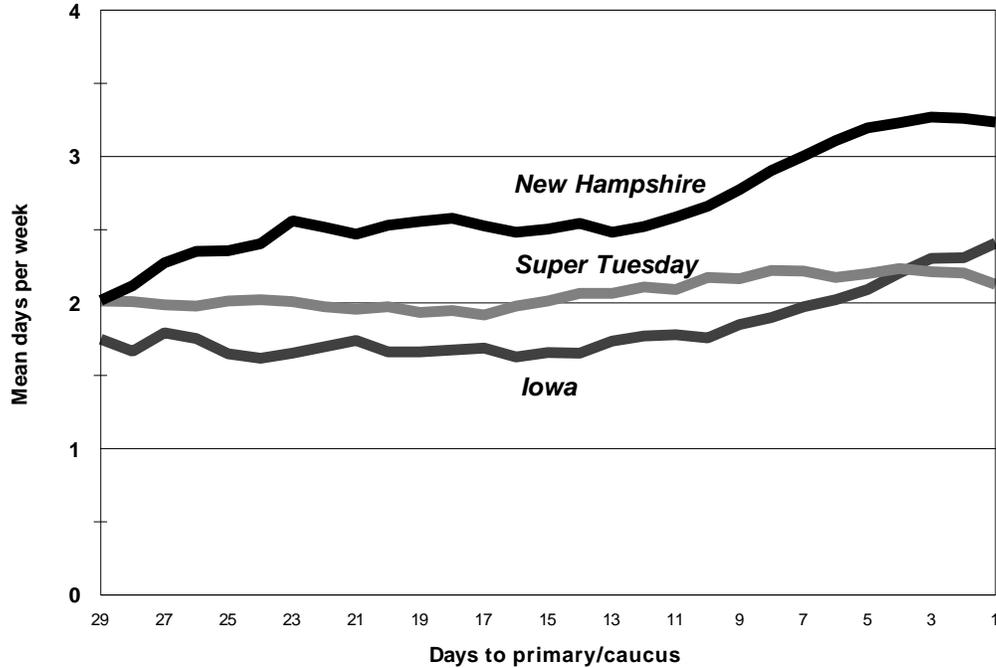


Nonetheless, when we examine the level of political discussion, we see that voters in New Hampshire talked to each other about politics substantially more than Iowans or Super Tuesday voters. About a month before the primary, levels of discussion in New Hampshire began to rise. The last two weeks saw another, steeper climb, as voters reported engaging in political discussions nearly every other day.

Iowans, however, talked about politics less than their counterparts in New Hampshire and less than even Super Tuesday voters. Where Iowans did not increase their levels of discussion until the last ten days

before the caucuses, political discussion in Super Tuesday states climbed slowly over the period before the primary.

### Political Discussion New Hampshire, Iowa, Super Tuesday States

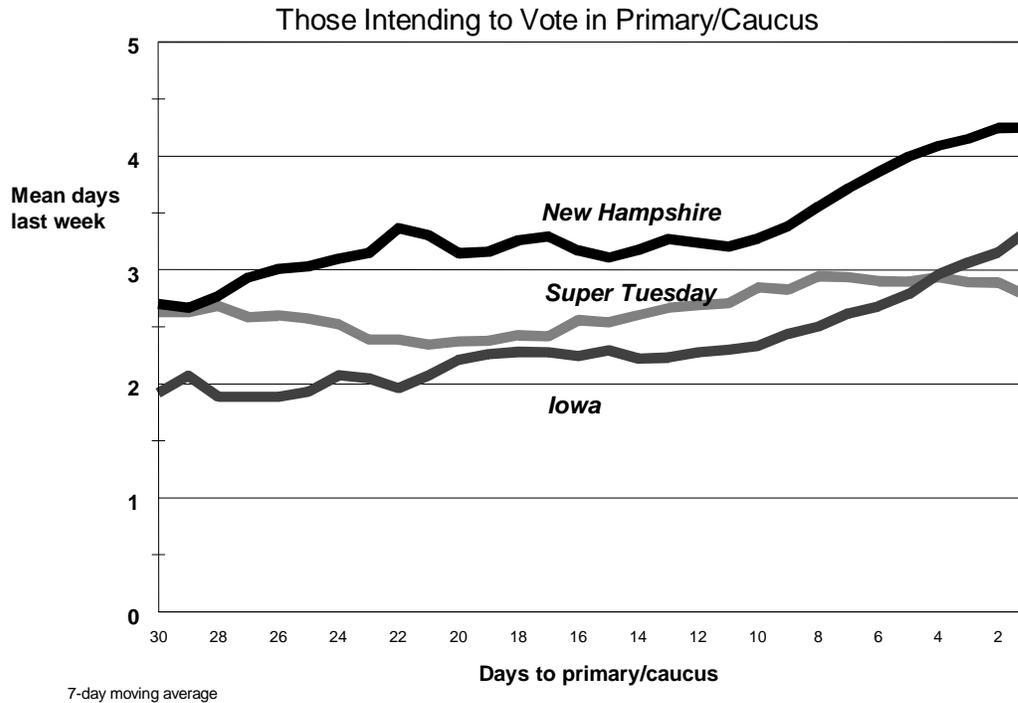


7-day moving average

One explanation for the fact that respondents in New Hampshire talked more than those in Iowa would be that more of the New Hampshire respondents see themselves as likely voters. After all, approximately three out of every four New Hampshire residents voted in the primary, whereas only ten percent of Iowans made it to a caucus. The low turnout in Iowa is usually attributed to the fact that despite the intensity of Iowa campaigns, voting in a caucus involves a commitment of time and energy most people are unwilling to make. However, if we examine only those most likely to vote, we see an identical pattern – Iowans talked about politics less often than those in New Hampshire or in Super Tuesday states

We asked respondents whether they planned to vote in their primary or caucus, and if they said yes, we asked them to rate the likelihood they would vote on a one-to-ten scale. The next graph shows only those who responded with a “ten.” So even here, among respondents claiming that they absolutely will vote, New Hampshire residents seem to be talking about politics substantially more.

## Political Discussion



### Further Issues

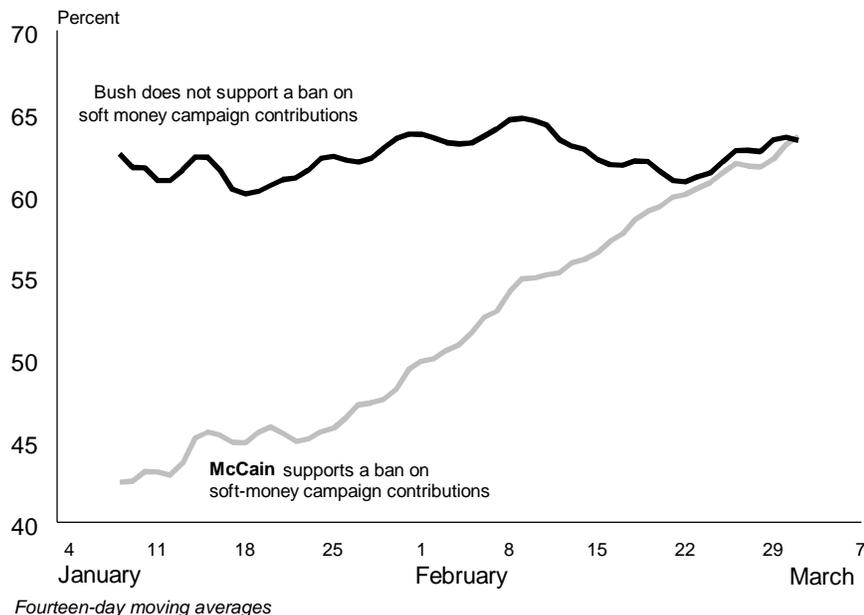
### More on Learning

People did learn some of the policy positions emphasized by the candidates, especially by the candidates less well known at the start of the campaign:

- Bradley on health care
- Gore on school vouchers
- Bush on soft-money campaign contributions (a little)
- McCain on campaign contributions (a lot)

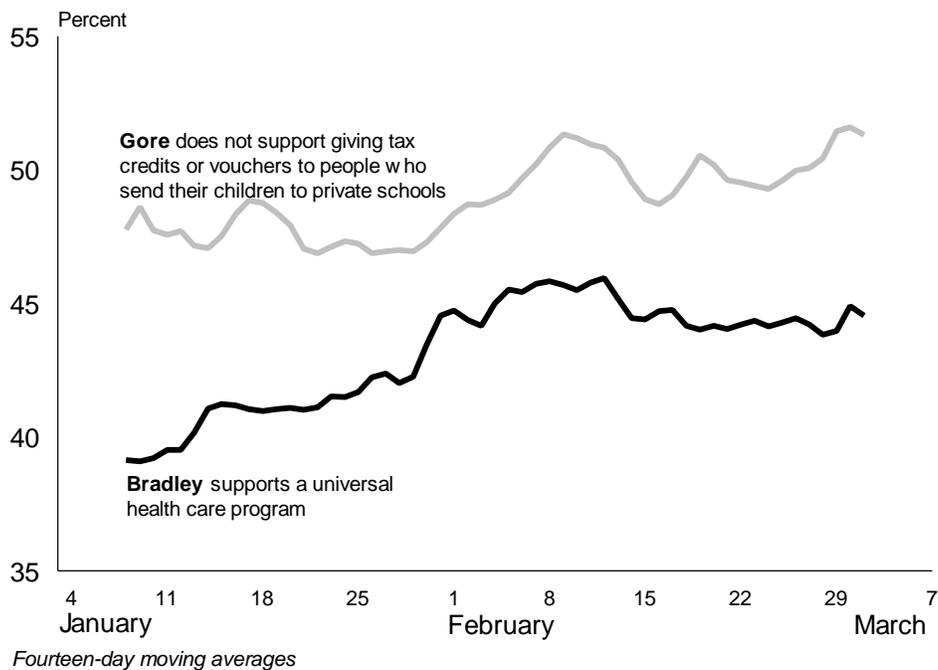
### Learning about Republican candidates

*Super Tuesday states*



## Learning about Democratic candidates

*Super Tuesday states*

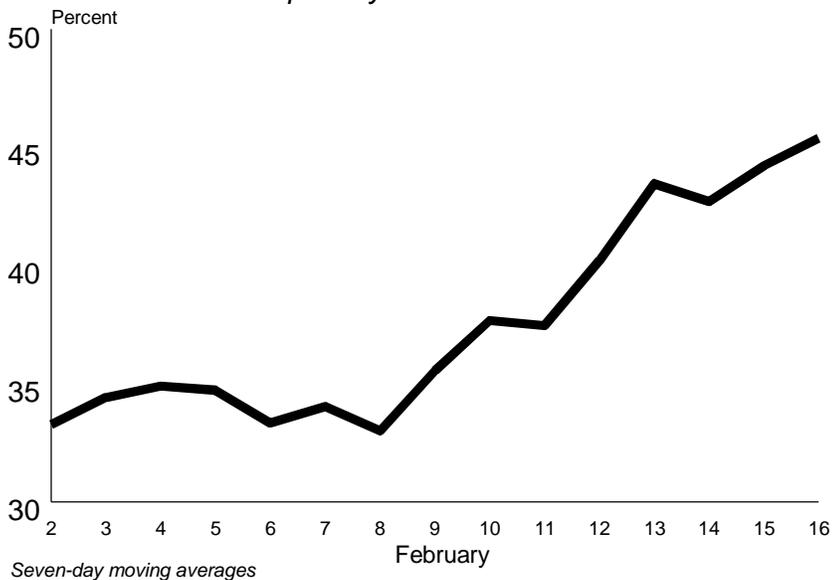


The information people acquired during the campaign influenced the votes they cast in primaries:

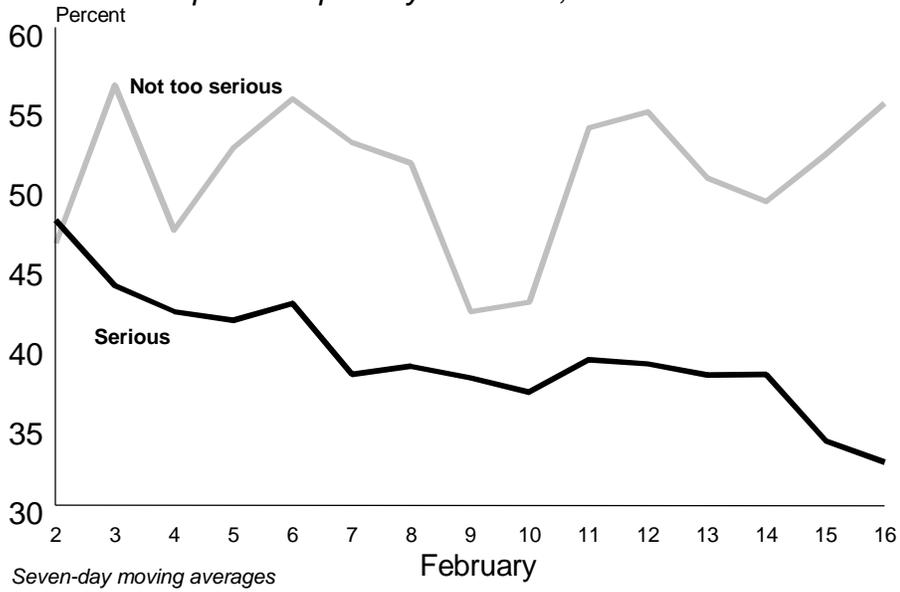
- Many South Carolinians intending to vote in the Republican primary learned in the two weeks between the New Hampshire and South Carolina primaries that Bush favored deeper tax cuts than McCain.
- Those who regard taxes as a more serious problem over the two weeks shifted strongly toward Bush, while those to whom taxes were a less serious concern remained loyal to McCain.
- In the end, the differences between the votes cast by people with different views of taxes were greater than those between the votes cast by people who consider themselves evangelical or born-again Christians and those who do not.

## Percent saying Bush will cut taxes more than McCain

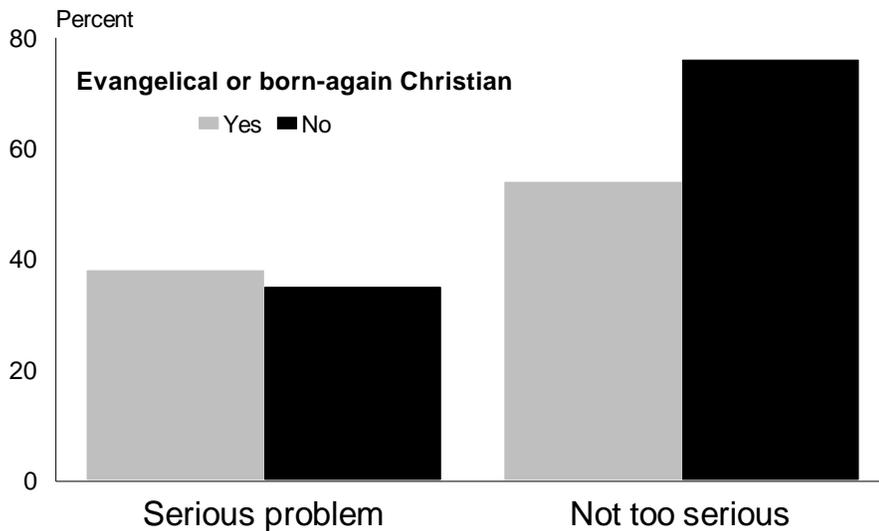
*Of intended primary voters in South Carolina*



**McCain vote share, by problem of  
"the amount of money Americans pay in taxes"**  
*Republican primary intenders, South Carolina*



**McCain vote share,  
by born-again Christian and problem of taxes**  
*Republican primary voters, South Carolina*



## **Appendix 1**

### **List of Issues for Coding**

Abortion  
Agriculture  
Budget  
Campaign Finance  
Child/Family Care  
Crime  
Defense/Military  
Drugs  
Economy  
Education  
Energy  
Environment  
Foreign Policy  
Gay Rights  
Gun Control  
Health Care  
Immigration  
Internet/Technology  
Judiciary  
Media  
Medicaid  
Medicare  
Other  
Personal  
Political/Biographical Experience  
Poverty  
Race Relations  
Running Mate  
School Safety  
Social Security  
South Carolina Flag  
Taxes  
Trade  
Veterans  
Welfare Reform

## Appendix 2

# Claims By Individual Candidates in Debates and Ads

## George W. Bush

### ***Tax cuts encourage economic growth***

- Ad (Priorities) 10/26/99: "We ought to cut tax rates to continue economic growth."
- Debate 12/3/99: "I want to keep our economy prosperous by cutting the taxes."
- Debate 12/13/99: "I want to keep our economy growing by cutting the taxes."
- Ad (Manchester West) 12/24/99: "It's important to cut the rates in order to keep the economy growing."
- Debate 1/11/00: "Should I become the president, I'll cut taxes to make sure that our economy continues to grow."
- Debate, 1/16/00: "It's important to cut taxes to make sure the economy continues to grow."
- Ad (Bush Returns to Tax Plan) 1/19/00: "And cutting taxes helps keep the economy growing."

### ***\$3 Billion in tax cuts***

- Ad (Priorities) 10/26/99: "\$3 billion in tax cuts." (visual)
- Debate 12/3/99: "We've returned nearly \$3 billion of taxes to the people -- good, hard-working people who live in my state."
- Ad (Record) 1/20/00: "In 1997, I cut taxes by \$1 billion...In 1999, I cut taxes by \$2 billion more."
- Debate 1/27/00: "In terms of tax cuts, I not only led our state to a billion-dollar tax cut in '97...I led our state to a \$2 billion tax cut in 1999, real meaningful tax cuts."

### ***The biggest tax cut in the history of Texas***

- Debate 1/7/00: "As governor of Texas, I fought for and signed the two largest tax cuts in my state's history."
- Debate 1/11/00: "What is accurate is that I led my state, in 1997, to the largest tax cut in Texas history."
- Debate 1/11/00: "And in the 1999 legislative session, I proposed, and was able to enact and sign the largest tax cut in our state's history."
- Debate 1/16/00: "I signed the two largest tax cuts in my state's history."

### ***Foreign policy***

- Debate 2/15/00: "The current president has called the relationship with China a strategic partnership I believe our relationship needs to be redefined as one of competitor. Competitors can find areas of agreement such as in trade."
- Debate 2/15/00: "So I'm going to change the relationship [with China] to the point that we can bring certainty into an uncertain world."
- Debate 2/15/00: "I'm going to work with the Russians to get rid of the Anti-Ballistic missile treaty, so we can bring certainty to an uncertain part of the world and that's the Far East as well."
- Debate 2/15/00: "I do believe there's an area where we can work with Russia in the post-Cold War era. And that's to work with them to dismantle strategic and tactical nuclear warheads."
- Debate 2/15/00: "And when I'm the president, I'm going to continue to fund Nunn-Lugar to make sure that we work with the Russians to bring certainty into that part of the world."
- Debate 3/2/00: "It is important for China to recognize that our relationship is going to change from one of strategic partner to one of competitor. But competitors can find areas of agreement, such as in trade."

### ***Education – local control***

- Ad (Successful Leader) 10/26/99: "Improved public schools by restoring local control, raising standards, and returning to basics."
- Ad (Every Child) 10/26/99: "Local control." (visual)
- Debate 12/3/99: "I'm running to pass power back from Washington, DC, to local folks because I believe in local control of our schools."
- Ad (Education NH) 12/28/99: "I believe in local control of schools."
- Ad (Iowa Caucus) 1/13/00: "When I launched my campaign in Iowa, I said I believed we could restore local control."
- Debate 1/16/00: "I strongly believe in local control of schools."
- Ad (America's Spirit) 1/25/00: "I'll demand high standards in our schools, encourage character education, and restore local control."

### ***Test scores are up in Texas – particularly among minority students***

- Debate 12/13/99: "Our test scores for students are up."

- Debate 1/27/00: "We're making the best progress in the nation for improvement amongst minority students."
- Debate 2/15/00: "Who has got tangible results and can say that our test scores amongst African American students or Hispanic students are up?"
- Debate 3/2/00: "Our test scores are up in the State of Texas for African-American students and Hispanic students."

#### ***Give parents choices***

- Ad (Education NH) 12/28/99: "I'm going to ask the question are they learning? And if they're not we will free the parents so they can make other choices."
- Debate 1/16/00: "But when we find failure, if we find our children trapped in failed schools, we must liberate their parents to make different choices, different options."
- Debate 1/27/00: "But I believe we owe it to our children to say to the state, you need to set standards and you need to measure and if the schools don't rise to the challenge as opposed to allowing the status quo to reign, we need to free the children. We need to free the parents."
- Debate 3/2/00: "What I said was, to Jeff, is that if the school is not measuring up to standards, the parents get to make a different choice."

## **John McCain**

#### ***The special interests rule in Washington***

- Debate 10/29/99: "The special interests rule in Washington."
- Debate 10/22/99: "Washington is grid-locked by special interests."
- Debate 10/22/99: "The special interests rule in Washington over the public interests."
- Debate 12/3/99: "The special interests rule..."

#### ***There will be a controlling legal authority***

- Debate 12/16/99: "[I want to tell the vice-president and everybody else] when I am president, there will be a controlling authority."
- Debate 12/16/99: "There will be a controlling legal authority."
- Debate 1/26/00: "I'm going to give you the controlling legal authority..."
- Debate 1/7/00: "Well, I'll give him a controlling authority" (referring to Gore)
- Debate 1/7/00: "With John McCain as president, there'll be a controlling authority."

#### ***We need to get the government out of the hands of the special interests***

- Debate 1/15/00: "We can't do that unless we get the government out of the hand of the special interests and back into the public interest."
- Debate 1/15/00: "I want to get the special interests out of Washington and give the government back to you."
- Debate 12/3/99: "We're going to rid the government of the special interests."
- Debate 12/3/99: "I can't do that unless we rid Washington of the special interests..."
- Debate 1/26/00: "And not going to get it back until we get it out of the hands of the special interests [the American people's money]."
- Debate 1/26/00: "[Governor Bush says that it's unilateral disarmament if we] get the special interests out of Washington."
- Debate 12/14/99: "[We can stop it now, we commit that to that and we] can get the special interest money out of American politics."
- Debate 2/15/00: "[The key to reform is] getting the government out of the hands of the special interests."
- Debate 2/15/00: "[I can't do that (reform the government, health care, education and the military) unless we get the government out of the hands of the special interests.]"

#### ***The real scandal in Washington was the debasement of every institution of government by the Clinton/Gore administration***

- Debate 1/7/00: "The real scandal in Washington, along with Monica Lewinsky was the debasement of every institution of government."
- Debate 12/16/99: "The scandal was the debasement of every institution of government by the Clinton-Gore campaign."
- Debate 1/15/00: "You know that scandals of 1996 where the debasement of every institution of government by the Clinton-Gore campaign and their abuses were incredible."
- Debate 1/10/00: "The scandal in Washington, besides Monica Lewinsky was the debasement of every institution of government by the Clinton-Gore campaign in 1996."

- Debate 1/26/00: “[I am going to turn to Al Gore and say] you and Bill Clinton debased the institutions of government in 1996.”
- Debate 1/7/00: “[You are defending a system that has caused] the debasement of every institution of government.”

#### ***Choice and competition in education are the key to the future***

- Debate 10/22/99: “We need competition in education.”
- Debate 10/22/99: “[technology education and jobs] requires choice in education.”
- Debate 10/22/99: “[technology education and jobs] requires competition in education.”
- Debate 10/22/99: “We need choice in education.”
- Debate 10/22/99: “We can, through choice, improve the level of education in America.”
- Debate 10/22/99: “We can, through competition, improve the level of education in America.”
- Debate 10/29/99: “But the fact is that we have to have choice . . . in schools in order to improve our school system.”
- Debate 10/29/99: “But the fact is that we have to have competition in our schools in order to improve our school system.”
- Debate 1/15/00: “Choice and competition are the key to the future of education in America.”
- Debate 1/15/00: “Choice and competition, that’s the answer.”
- Debate 1/26/00: “I believe that we need choice and competition in schools.”

#### ***We need merit pay for teachers***

- Ad 10/22/99: “We need merit for teachers . . . “
- Debate 10/22/99: “Let’s put in merit pay [for teachers]”
- Debate 10/29/99: “I think it’s important that we have merit pay for teachers”
- Debate 10/29/99: “I would argue that merit pay rewards good teachers.”

#### ***I want to reform education***

- Debate 10/22/99: “We need competition in education.”
- Debate 10/29/99: “I’m for reform of education.”
- Debate 12/16/99: “I want to reform education.”
- Debate 1/10/00: “I want to reform education [and get it out of the hands of the labor bosses].”
- Debate 12/3/99: “I want to reform education so every parent in America has the same choice as the wealthy parent . . . :”
- Debate 12/14/99: “I want to reform education.”
- Debate 12/7/99: “I want to reform education so that every parent in America can have the choice of sending their child to the school of their choice.”
- Debate 1/7/00: “I want to reform the education.”
- Debate 2/15/00: “I want to reform education . . .”

#### ***Foreign policy: This administration has conducted a feckless photo-op foreign policy***

- Debate 10/22/99: “This administration has conducted a feckless photo-op foreign policy which may cost us in American blood and treasure in the next century.”
- Debate 1/15/00: “This administration has conducted foreign policy in a feckless, photo-op way that will cause us perhaps to have to expend our most precious assets, our American blood and treasure.”
- Debate 12/7/99: “[The fact is] that this administration has conducted a feckless photo-op foreign policy for which we will pay a very heavy price in American blood and treasure.”
- Debate 1/26/00: “[Unfortunately] this administration has conducted a feckless, photo-op foreign policy for which we may have to pay a very heavy price in the future in American blood and treasure.”
- Debate 3/2/00: “This administration has conducted a feckless photo-op foreign policy for which the next president of the United States may pay a very heavy price in American blood and treasure.”

#### ***Rogue state rollback***

- Debate 2/15/00: “[I would also look very -] revise our policies concerning these rogue states: Iraq, Libya, North Korea.”
- Debate 2/15/00: “I’d institute a policy that I call a rogue state rollback.”
- Debate 3/2/00: “[Doyle, I think you have made a very narrow interpretation of] what I call rogue state rollbacks.”

#### ***I will not take a poll as to how to conduct foreign policy***

- Debate 1/15/00: “I will not take a poll as President of the United States as to how to conduct foreign policy.”
- Debate 2/15/00: “As President of the United States, on foreign policy issue, I will never take a poll.”
- Debate 2/15/00: “I will never take a poll [in foreign policy].”

- Debate 2/15/00: "No, I will never, ever take a poll on a matter of national security."

***There was no need to intervene in Kosovo***

- Debate 12/7/99: "We didn't have to get into Kosovo."
- Debate 2/15/00: "We shouldn't have gone into Kosovo."
- Debate 2/15/00: "We shouldn't have stumbled into Kosovo."
- Debate 2/15/00: "There was no need to intervene there [in Kosovo]."

## Al Gore

***Race relations: I support affirmative action***

- Debate 12/17/99: "I support affirmative action."
- Debate 1/8/00: "I support vigorous enforcement of our laws against discrimination including affirmative action."
- Debate 2/21/00: "I believe the best reparations is a good education and affirmative action to make available resources, to make available the kind of direct assistance that has brought an empowerment zone here to Harlem that has created new opportunities."
- Debate 2/21/00: "I think that we still need affirmative action in this country."
- Debate 2/21/00: "The average African-American family wealth and also the average Latino family wealth is less than one-tenth that of the average white family wealth. To me that justifies making available capital for young entrepreneurs, it justifies making available opportunities for advancement and affirmative action in every sphere."
- Debate 2/21/00: "I think the policy of mend it don't end it is the right approach [to affirmative action]."
- Debate 2/21/00: "Affirmative action that opens up new opportunities and makes available the resources, the spots in universities, the loans, the investment capital, that is the direction that we should go in."

***We need to enforce civil rights laws***

- Debate 12/17/99: "I support the most vigorous enforcement of the civil rights laws."
- Debate 1/18/00: "I believe that we need vigorous enforcement of the civil rights laws."
- Debate 1/18/00: "We should have...civil rights enforcement."
- Debate 2/21/00: "I want to provide opportunities for all Americans to bring about the kind of future that our children deserve. That's why I think we have to invest in education as the number one priority. Why we need to keep the prosperity going, enforce the civil rights laws and make sure that nobody is left out of the prosperity and have the kind of future that all Americans deserve."

***I would issue an executive order to ban racial profiling***

- Debate 1/18/00: "The first day of a Gore presidency, I would issue an executive order to ban racial profiling, the first civil rights bill introduced from the White House of the year 2001 would be a bill outlawing racial profiling."
- Debate 2/21/00: "The first civil rights act of the 21st century will be a national law outlawing racial profiling."

***Education: we need revolutionary improvements in public schools***

- Ad (*Bio*) 10/20/99: "His cause is revolutionary improvements in education..."
- Ad (*Teachers II*) 1/13/00: "The only Democratic candidate with a revolutionary plan to improve our public schools."
- Debate 12/17/99: "I want to bring about revolutionary improvements in our public schools."
- Debate 12/17/99: "I have put forward a \$115 billion plan to bring about revolutionary improvements in our public schools."
- Debate 1/18/00 - "...bringing about revolutionary improvements in our public schools has to be the number one priority for investment in the future."
- Debate 1/27/00: "We've just begun to fight for revolutionary improvements in public education."
- Debate 2/21/00: "I think that what we need instead is to bring revolutionary improvements to our public schools, not gradual improvement."
- Debate 2/21/00: "We have to have revolutionary improvements."
- Ad (*Ask*) 2/26/00: "I'm for Revolutionary improvements in our schools."

***We need to reduce class size***

- Ad (*Learning*) 12/16/99: "We need to invest in smaller class sizes..."
- Ad (*Teachers II*) 1/13/00: "He wants smaller class sizes..."
- Debate 10/27/99: "I think that one of the reasons we do need more teachers is to reduce the class size..."
- Debate 12/17/99: "I think we also need to commit ourselves to our kids' future by reducing the size of the classrooms."

- Debate 12/17/99: "We have to reduce the class size."
- Debate 1/8/00: "My plan will reduce the size of each class."
- Debate 1/8/00: "We also need smaller class size..."
- Debate 1/18/00: "I think it's time to give them smaller class sizes."
- Debate 3/1/00: "We need more teachers with smaller classes."

#### ***\$10,000 hiring bonus for Teacher Corps***

- Debate 10/27/99: – (#147) "I proposed a 21st Century Teacher Corps to give \$10,000 hiring bonuses to young people who come out of college."
- Debate 10/27/99: – (# 406) "I proposed a 21st Century Teacher Corps to give \$10,000 hiring bonuses to areas where teachers are needed..."
- Debate 10/27/99: – (#407) "I proposed a 21st Century Teacher Corps to give \$10,000 hiring bonuses to get qualified for teaching..."
- Debate 12/17/99: – (#261-262) "I've proposed teacher's corps, \$10,000 bonuses for mid-career professionals to switch over and join the teaching profession."
- Debate 1/18/00: – (#599) "I've proposed a 21st-century teacher corps with \$10,000 hiring bonuses..."
- Debate 2/21/00: – (#1243) "I have proposed a \$10,000 hiring bonuses for teachers to teach in areas where teachers are needed."

#### ***Health care: universal health care step by step***

- Ad (*Insure*) 12/15/99: "To put us on the road to universal coverage for everyone."
- Debate 12/17/99: "I want to have universal health insurance in a step by step way."
- Debate 12/17/99: "I think we can have universal health insurance in a step by step way."
- Debate 1/5/00: "I am committed to providing universal health care to every single American."
- Debate 1/8/00: "I want universal health care."
- Debate 1/18/00: "Opportunity for all through universal health care."
- Debate 1/27/00: "I was the first candidate in this race in either party to put out a comprehensive health care reform bill. It's based on the principle we can best get to universal health care for all Americans in a step by step way..."
- Debate 1/27/00: "We've just begun to fight for universal health insurance step by step."
- Debate 2/21/00: "I think it's time to move step by step to universal healthcare."
- Ad (*Momentum*) 2/1/00: "I want to fight for your families, for universal health care..."
- Ad (*Momentum*) 2/1/00: "For universal healthcare."
- Ad (*Ask*) 2/26/00: "I'm for universal health insurance."
- Debate 3/1/00: "We need to move toward universal health care."
- Debate 3/1/00: "Imagine the country we can have when we educate every child to the utmost, when we move step by step to universal healthcare..."

#### ***Bradley's \$150 a month voucher/cap/allowance for healthcare***

- Debate 12/17/99: "We've talked about some of the details [of Bradley's plan on] health care subsidies capped at \$150 a month."
- Debate 1/5/00: "And if you look at the groups that are hurt when Medicaid is eliminated and they're given instead a little \$150-a-month voucher for H.M.O.'s or health care capped at \$150..."
- Debate 1/5/00: "The plan that you just cited for the mail handlers cost \$182.72 for an individual as a premium. You cap that at \$150."
- Debate 1/8/00: "There's not a single plan that is offered anywhere in the state of Iowa that you can purchase for \$150 for an individual."
- Debate 1/18/00: "A weighted average means a half or so of the states would get less than \$150 a month."
- Debate 1/18/00: "I haven't heard any mention that we'd get less than \$150 a month."
- Debate 1/27/00: "It's not a negative attack to defend Medicaid when Senator Bradley proposed to substitute vouchers or subsidies as he prefers to call them limited to \$150 a month."
- Debate 1/27/00: "I said before there's not a single place here in New Hampshire where an individual can buy health insurance for \$150 per month per person."
- Debate 2/21/00: "His proposal would eliminate the Medicaid program and replace it with a \$150-a month voucher."
- Debate 2/21/00: "You give them a \$150-a-month voucher, they can't buy it [health insurance]."

- Debate 2/21/00: “ In theory, the idea of eliminating Medicaid and giving people a\$150-a-month voucher might sound good in theory. But you talk to people on the street outside the Apollo Theater and you ask them about it. And they know that you can't go out there and buy an insurance policy that will cover your health care benefits, much less prescription drug benefits, for \$150 a month. ”

***I favor a patient's bill of rights***

- Ad (*Insure*) 12/15/99: “Now Al Gore's leading the fight for a patient's bill of rights...”
- Debate 10/27/99: “I strongly support an HMO Patient's Bill of Rights.”
- Debate 10/27/99: “I strongly support a health care Patient's Bill of Rights.”
- Debate 12/17/99: “I want to implement right away the health care Patient's Bill of Rights.”
- Debate 12/17/99: “I've fought strongly for the health care patient's bill of rights.”
- Ad (*Fighter*) 2/19/00: “He's {Gore} taken on the HMOs and big drug companies fighting for a Patient's Bill of Rights...”
- Ad (*Fighter*) 10/27/99: “I strongly support...an HMO Patient's Bill of Rights...”
- Ad (*Taken*) 2/18/00: “Fighting for a Patient's Bill of Rights ...”
- Ad (*Committed*) 2/19/00: “Fighting for a Patient's Bill of Rights ...”
- Ad (*Best*) 2/28/00: “And he's fighting the insurance industry to pass a Patient's Bill of Rights...”
- Debate 3/1/00: “We need to pass a health care Patient's Bill of Rights to prevent health care decisions from being made by bureaucrats and accountants.”
- Debate 3/1/00: “We need to pass a health care Patient's Bill of Rights to give every family the opportunity to have medical decisions made by doctors and not accountants.”

## Bill Bradley

***Campaign finance – loss of faith in government because of big money, money is corrupting Democracy***

- Debate 12/16/1999: “Today a Republican and a Democrat, people who differ on any number of other issues, have come together because we believe that money is eating away at the core of our democracy like acid eats away at cloth.”
- Debate 12/16/1999: “I think about all the people in this country who put their faith and trust in government.” Debate 12/16/1999: “The problem is, money is like a giant stone wall that comes between the people and their elected representatives.”
- Debate 12/16/1999: “And if you believe democracy is eating away -- or money is eating away at the core of democracy, that [campaign finance reform] is your ultimate position.”
- Debate 12/16/1999: “Every year we spend about \$900 million promoting democracy abroad.”
- Debate 12/16/1999: “And the reason that is occurring, in my opinion, is because they do not want to be tainted by the implied corruption that emanates from Washington on this issue.”
- Debate 12/16/1999: “And the third reason was that I didn't think enough politicians spoke from their core convictions.”
- Debate 1/8/2000: “Al, in 1964, 76 percent of the people in this country said they trusted the government to do the right thing most of the time.”
- Debate 1/8/2000: “That's a fundamental question [above] for our democracy.”
- Debate 1/8/2000: “Money distorts the democratic process in a fundamental way.”
- Debate 12/16/1999: “I think about all the people who believe that Congress will be responsive to them.”
- Debate 12/16/1999: “I think of those individuals in this country who think that the essence of the democratic process is elected representatives speaking of them and they listening to those elected representatives - to their hopes, to their fears, to their aspirations.”
- Debate 12/16/1999: “On all of these issues, money is at the core of the problem from my perspectives.”
- Debate 12/16/1999: “And I believe that it's an incredibly important step [campaign finance reform] that we have to take in order to restore trust in the system.”
- Debate 12/16/1999: “And unless you can liberate them from that system, you're going to continue to have this kind of doubt in people's minds.”
- Debate 1/8/2000: “That number [people who trust in government] is now down to 29 percent.”
- Debate 1/8/2000: “Why do you think that's so [that the number of people who trust in government is down to 29%]?”
- Debate 1/8/2000: “One of the reasons I got into this race was to try to restore confidence in the collective will and a belief in public integrity.”
- Debate 1/8/2000: “...if we spend \$900 million on democracy abroad, we ought to be able to spend the same amount of money to totally take the special interests out of democracy at home.”
- Debate 1/8/2000: “...and then our government will be returned to the people and this woman will believe once again and trust government to do the right thing most of the time.”
- Debate 1/26/2000: “It [campaign finance reform] will break down the wall that's come between the people and their elected representatives.”

- Debate 3/1/2000: "Most people in this country think democracy is like a broken thermostat, you turn the dial and nothing happens..."
- Debate 3/1/2000: "...and money is at core of that problem..."

### ***We need to ban soft money***

- Debate 12/16/1999: "I think that not only do we need to have things like a ban on all soft money, public financing, and free television time."
- Debate 12/16/1999: "If it were me, we'd have no soft money."
- Debate 12/16/1999: "It is a position of the Democratic Party in the platform to abolish soft money;"
- Debate 12/16/1999: "Well, I think that the only way to get around that is a constitutional amendment that simply says you can limit the total amount of money spent in a political campaign."
- Debate 12/16/1999: "Yes, I am. I'm in favor of abolishing soft money, public financing of elections, and free television time for candidates in the last six weeks of the campaign."
- Debate 12/16/1999: "In relation to your point about money, the way you make sure that no pharmaceutical company has any impact whatsoever on the political process is by banning all soft money so they can't make \$100,000, \$300,000, \$500,000 contributions."
- Debate 12/16/1999: "That's why we begin with the elimination of soft money."
- Debate 1/26/1999: "If I could, I think also there are some corporations in America who are waking up to the evil of soft money."
- Debate 12/16/1999: "We need to eliminate all soft money..."
- Debate 1/29/2000: "He's against accepting PAC money."
- Debate 1/29/2000: "...commitment against accepting PACs..."
- Debate 10/28/1999: "...no soft money;"
- Debate 12/16/1999: "...that [banning soft money] is supported by the [Democratic] leadership of Congress."
- Debate 12/16/1999: "I mean, General Motors, Time Warner, for example, has said we will no longer do soft money."
- Debate 3/1/2000: "He [ McCain] only wants no soft money."
- Debate 3/1/2000: "And the commitment we made, was that if we were nominees of our party, that we would not accept soft money."
- Debate 3/1/2000: "...which means no soft money..."
- Ad: Bill Bradley: "No soft money."

### ***Special interests, lobbyists, rich are in control of Washington, DC***

- Debate 1/8/2000: "I think the rich should have the right to buy as many homes and cars and houses that they want, but they shouldn't have the right to buy democracy."
- Debate 1/8/2000: "The rich in this country should be able to buy as many vacations and homes and cars as they want, but they shouldn't be able to buy democracy."
- Debate 1/26/2000: "And I read in the Boston Globe today the following thing, it said, what's wrong with Washington is it's in the vice-like grip of moneyed special interests and their lobbyists."
- Debate 1/26/2000: "So my question to you is how can you be fighting for the people when you're working hand in glove with the special interests who essentially are fighting against the people?"
- Debate 1/26/2000: "Promised to every little special interest group, attack, attack, attack every day."
- Debate 1/26/2000: "And quite frankly I think the people are fed up with it, but from your standpoint, nothing is changed, the lobbyists are still in charge in Washington."
- Debate 12/16/1999: "And I believe in a presidential campaign it's important to lay out a specific proposal so that the people can give you a mandate to overcome the special interests."
- Debate 12/16/1999: "...so that they in their good judgment can give you a mandate that you then can use to overcome the special interests in Washington."
- Debate 12/16/1999: "For about the same amount of money, we can totally take the special interests out of the election process in this country."
- Debate 1/5/2000: "For about the same amount of money we could take -- probably could take the special interests out of democracy."
- Debate 1/8/2000: "I believe that American people, by voting for me to give me the mandate, will overcome the special interests in Washington..."
- Debate 1/8/2000: "...and that is the only thing that's going to overcome the special interests in Washington."
- Debate 1/26/2000: "And it [Boston Globe] went on to say that you're [Gore] the favorite of Washington lobbyists."
- Debate 3/1/2000: "The most important thing that you can do is to cut off the flow of money from lobbyists, from special interests groups..."
- Debate 3/1/2000: "Secret deals, special interests money, that's the connection."

- Debate 3/1/2000: "I believe that the rich have a right to buy as many houses or vacations or cars as they want, but they don't have a right to buy our democracy."
- Debate 3/1/2000: "...carry away the special interests and empower the people once again to make decisions."
- Ad: Bill Bradley: "The politics of Washington now is the politics of special interests and money."
- Ad: Bill Bradley: "We have to liberate our government from the encrusted control of special interests."

***Race relations: promoting racial healing***

- Debate 10/28/1999: "...to find new ways to promote racial unity in this country."
- Debate 10/28/1999: "...if you care about unity in America ,..."
- Debate 12/17/1999: "And I want to promote racial unity..."
- Debate 12/17/1999: "What I view as related to soul are such things as, can we cross the racial divide in this country and achieve a deeper level of racial harmony?"
- Debate 12/17/1999: "Or I'd take issues that were considered volatile, like race and try to play to our better angels."
- Debate 1/5/2000: "...healing the racial divide, helping working families."
- Debate 1/5/2000: "And to say to me whose had the deep commitment to the issue of racial unity in this country since I started in politics that I would go out and hurt African-Americans and Latinos, consciously, as a part of policy, I think really offended me."
- Debate 2/21/2000: "That requires a president whose strong and willing to lead on the central question of race in our country today."
- Debate 2/21/2000: "When it comes to the issue of race in America, we have to do both."
- Debate 2/21/2000: "We have to change the underlying conditions..."
- Debate 2/21/2000: "...and we also have to change the hearts of the American people."
- Debate 2/21/2000: "I believe the American people are good people."
- Debate 2/21/2000: "Reverend Dr. Martin Luther King once said that the reason civil rights revolution didn't occur sooner than it did in America was because of the silence of good people."
- Debate 2/21/2000: "What my campaign is about is asking good people to come forward and join us so that our voices will be heard."
- Debate 2/21/2000: "I believe that we can move ahead in this country as one nation."
- Debate 2/21/2000: "I believe that we can respect each other."
- Debate 3/1/2000: "...and yet as Dr. Martin Luther King said, trying to explain why the civil rights revolution didn't occur sooner..."
- Debate 3/1/2000: "...he said it was because of the silence of good people."
- Debate 3/1/2000: "...and where we will be able to live as brothers and sisters in a great democracy."
- Ad 2/11/2000: "Michael Jordan: It's time for us to believe in something that will give every American an opportunity to succeed, and be viewed equally."
- Ad 3/2/2000: "...and heal the racial divide."
- Ad 3/2/2000: "The Reverend Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr. once said that the reason the civil rights movement didn't occur sooner than it did in this country was because of the "silence of good people."
- Debate 2/21/2000: "...but the issue of acknowledging the contributions of African-Americans to this country's history over its entire history."

***Opposition to tax exempt status for racially segregated schools, including Bob Jones University***

- Debate 2/21/2000: "I think it is important to note that in 1980, '81, in 1979, there was an issue before the Congress."
- Debate 2/21/2000: "...that related to whether the - the whether the government would provide tax exempt status to schools --"
- Debate 2/21/2000: "...schools that racially discriminate."
- Debate 2/21/2000: "Al Gore supported those measures [about tax exempt status for racially discriminatory schools] and I'd like to know today why."
- Debate 2/21/2000: "Given Al's answer, I kind of expected his answer on his vote to preserve tax-exempt status for schools like Bob Jones that racially discriminate."
- Debate 2/21/2000: "...and Trent Lott's statement in support saying that this would go to Bob Jones University."
- Debate 2/21/2000: "And I'm still going to offer you the opportunity to explain a little more carefully why you voted to preserve tax-exempt status for schools..."
- Debate 2/21/2000: "...not just Bob Jones, so all of the schools in Mississippi, you know, where those white schools that started to be built whenever we had integration..."
- Debate 2/21/2000: "...to preserve tax-exempt status for those schools."
- Debate 2/21/2000: "I wonder if any of you in here know what the subject was of Gov. George Bush's speech at Bob Jones University."

- Debate 2/21/2000: "Now, the only thing that I observe is that by going to Bob Jones University to make speech about the new conservatism..."
- Debate 2/21/2000: "And I think, once again, we cannot have - we must not have tax exempt status for schools who discriminate on the basis of race."
- Debate 2/21/2000: "...the university [Bob Jones] that practices racial discrimination..."
- Debate 2/21/2000: "In his congressional career, Al voted five times, to support tax-exempt status for schools that practice racial discrimination, such as Bob Jones."
- Debate 2/21/2000: "Republicans are down at Bob Jones University preaching the old conservatism."
- Debate 3/1/2000: "...and then those individuals went to the Congress to try get the Congress to overrule the IRS decision to disallow tax-exempt status."
- Debate 3/1/2000: "...and the amendment actually gave and protected the tax-exempt status of these segregated academies..."

***Racial justice, including an end to racial profiling***

- Debate 2/21/2000: "[But I also think it reflects racial profiling] in the sense of racial profiling that seeps into the mind of someone so that he sees a wallet in the hand of a white man as a wallet, but a wallet in the hand of a black man as a gun."
- Debate 2/21/2000: "I would issue an executive order that would eliminate racial profiling at the federal level."
- Debate 2/21/2000: "I would try to pass a law to get information gathered at local levels so that we can see how police departments are acting."
- Debate 2/21/2000: "I would make sure that the Justice Department was involved..."
- Debate 2/21/2000: "The most important thing that we can do now to deal with the disparity in the application of the death penalty with African Americans is to pass the racial justice act..."
- Debate 2/21/2000: "I will push for the racial justice act."
- Debate 2/21/2000: "The issue of the criminal justice system is though deeper than simply the death penalty."
- Debate 2/21/2000: "There is unequal justice in this country..."
- Debate 2/21/2000: "...not only racial profiling..."
- Debate 2/21/2000: "The Vice President said he wanted to take race out of, I think the criminal justice system or out of policing he said."
- Debate 3/1/2000: "Racial profiling is a deep and serious issue."
- Debate 3/1/2000: "But what it said to me was that the real tragedy was how deeply racial profiling had seeped into the min of those who were in the police department..."
- Debate 3/1/2000: "Well, what I would do in addition to the challenge I offered to everyone is that I would issue an executive order ending racial profiling in federal agencies."
- Debate 3/1/2000: "It is having the justice system in this country finally provide equal justice for all."

***Health care - \$150 weighted average for Medicaid***

- Debate 12/17/1999: "They're not vouchers, Al. They are not..."
- Debate 12/17/1999: "...that is not vouchers."
- Debate 12/17/1999: "It's not vouchers."
- Debate 1/5/2000: "The - Al is saying all the time about a hundred-and-fifty dollar cap."
- Debate 1/5/2000: "So first of all I'm glad you confirmed that indeed, even on a weighted average, even on a cap with a family of four in New Hampshire would be eligible under the program I've offered."
- Debate 1/8/2000: "Well again misrepresenting, there are programs under the federal health system in Iowa for \$150."
- Debate 1/26/2000: "What you're wrong about and how you've mischaracterized that is saying New Hampshire would have \$150."
- Debate 1/26/2000: "The figure of \$150 [for Medicaid] does not apply to New Hampshire."
- Debate 1/26/2000: "And what - the average of the Medicaid recipient, all of them, has a fee under \$150."
- Debate 1/26/2000: "That is what you're trying to cover up by this misrepresentation on \$150 [on Medicaid]."
- Debate 1/26/2000: "There are 24 states that have a waiver from the national government in order to do Medicaid and that is under \$150."
- Debate 12/17/1999: "The health care program doesn't have vouchers."
- Debate 1/5/2000: "That's not a cap."
- Debate 1/5/2000: "It's a weighted average."
- Debate 1/5/2000: "And with a weighted average even the individual could bump up so that they would be available as well."
- Debate 1/8/2000: "But the point is, this is not \$150 voucher."
- Debate 1/8/2000: "This is not \$150 voucher."
- Debate 1/8/2000: "This is a weighted average."

- Debate 1/8/2000: "That means in some states you'll do it for \$100, in other states you'll do it for \$180, \$190."
- Debate 1/26/2000: "...New Hampshire will have more [than \$150 Medicaid cap]."
- Debate 1/26/2000: "It [\$150 Medicaid cap] applies to other states."
- Debate 1/26/2000: "[Expenses in Medicaid have been] Under \$150."

#### ***Universal access to affordable, quality health care***

- Debate 1/5/00: "I'm for access to affordable health care for all..."
- Debate 1/8/2000: "I'm for affordable quality health care accessible to all Americans..."
- Debate 1/8/2000: "For example, I've proposed a national health insurance bill that will provide access to affordable, quality health care for all Americans."
- Debate 1/8/2000: "And yes, that is why providing affordable, accessible health care to all Americans is important because last year, one million more people lost their jobs and lost health insurance."
- Debate 1/26/2000: "Al, I've offered a health care plan that provides access to universal affordable quality health care for all Americans."
- Debate 1/26/2000: "The big difference is here by raising this issue, you are trying to get away from facing up to the fact that I've offered a proposal that would provide access to quality affordable health care for all Americans."
- Debate 1/26/2000: "I am the first candidate that's out there in this campaign offering them universal access to quality, affordable health care."
- Debate 1/5/2000: "of course I'll practice politics to achieve the objectives like getting health care access to all Americans."
- Debate 1/5/2000: "And now, we're in a period of unprecedented surplus and yet you've not proposed anything that comes close to universal coverage, not even universal access."
- Debate 1/8/2000: "Just like I want to cover everybody with health care."
- Debate 2/21/2000: "The other view is to go the road to making access to quality affordable health care available to everyone in this country."
- Debate 2/21/2000: "Because if you've looked at the programs I've offered, health insurance, access to all Americans..."
- Debate 3/1/2000: "...would provide access to affordable, quality health care for all Americans."
- Debate 3/1/2000: "...where everyone will have health insurance..."
- Debate 1/5/00: "That's why I'm in politics and of course I'll practice politics to achieve the objectives like getting health care to all Americans..."
- Ad 2/24/00: "Only one [presidential candidate] is for access to health care for all Americans."
- Ad 3/2/00: "Some people say, 'you're never going to give health insurance to every American...'"
- Ad: "I think everybody in America oughta have access to quality health care..."
- Ad: "Give every adult access of affordable health care."
- Ad: "We make available affordable health care for all Americans."

#### ***Prescription drug benefit for seniors***

- Debate 10/28/1999: "...that it provides a drug benefit for the elderly."
- Debate 12/16/1999: "I've proposed a plan that would have Medicare pay for drug benefits for life-saving drugs."
- Debate 1/8/2000: "I think that senior citizens are really inundated by high medical costs, indeed, particularly high drug costs."
- Debate 1/8/2000: "That's why as a part of an overall health care program that I've proposed that I cover drug costs for senior citizens."
- Debate 1/26/2000: "A health care plan that gives the elderly a Medicare drug benefit."
- Debate 1/26/2000: "In terms of the Medicare drug benefit, let me say that the difference between our plans are this:"
- Debate 1/26/2000: "...would provide a Medicare drug benefit for the elderly that's much more generous than yours, much bigger than yours..."
- Debate 1/26/2000: "If you look at my drug program, prescription drug program, what you'll find is it has a preference stated for generic drugs."
- Debate 12/17/1999: "...if they want to have a drug benefit for seniors..."
- Debate 1/8/2000: "So if we make sure they get access to the right drugs and we pay for them, that will save overall health costs because they will not be put into hospitals or have to pay very much high expenses for doctor bills."
- Debate 1/8/2000: "I had a chance to talk to a lady there who told me that her mother paid \$10,000 a year for drug costs."
- Debate 1/8/2000: "All of her social security check went right to pay for the drugs."
- Debate 1/26/2000: "The fact of the matter is, as I said earlier, if you had \$10,000 in pharmaceutical costs, for prescription drugs, your plan would cap that at \$1,000."
- Debate 2/21/2000: "I will tell you, in addition, I have a prescription drug benefit that will give you no cap..."
- Debate 2/21/2000: "...between a little bit and making sure you give people real insurance for prescription drugs."

- Ad: "Provide senior citizens with access to life-saving drugs."
- Ad: "We provide a prescription drug benefit for the elderly so they can get access to life-saving drugs..."
- Debate 1/8/2000: "And we've got to remember that when we have the elderly treated with life-saving drugs they'll live longer, chronic diseases, catastrophic diseases."