

THE REAL REPUBLICANS



SIMI VALLEY, CALIFORNIA
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*A PRODUCT OF THE
DNC RESEARCH DEPARTMENT*



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Rudy Giuliani, John McCain and Mitt Romney

On the eve of the first Republican presidential primary debate, the leading contenders for the nomination have distinguished themselves by showing how out of step they are: Out of step with the mainstream of their party, out of step with the American people and even out of step with their own previous positions and public records. The first Republican debate offers the first chance for these candidates to salvage some portion of their character and explain how they can offer real leadership to a country hungry for change.

RUDY GIULIANI: GETTING TO KNOW THE RUDY YOU DON'T

Rudy's Real Record as NYC Mayor: Giuliani is spinning his record as Mayor of New York City as a cornerstone of his campaign. But about all we hear about is 9/11 and some vague claims about taxes. A closer look at those eight years is in order. His ratings were tanking prior to 9-11; contrary to his claims, he actually raised taxes, increased the city payroll, and left with a budget deficit. Giuliani has yet to demonstrate that his record and temperament as New York City mayor's translate as qualifications for the presidency.

What's Behind the 9-11 Record? 9/11 is the keystone of Giuliani's campaign. He wants us to believe that a Democratic president will lead to more attacks, and that his leadership was exceptional. But little is said about his performance on terrorism before and after 9-11. The truth about his record is a little more complicated.

Rudy's Moneymaking Career After He Left Office: Giuliani has become a multi-millionaire selling his reputation, influence and name. He's worked to advance the interests of the prescription drug companies, nuclear power plants and his firm even lobbied for Venezuelan President Hugo Chavez. How does a businessman who got rich off clients opposed to the interests and safety of middle class Americans convince them he can fight for their interests as president?

Rudy's Gang: Who Are His Friends and Business Associates? Bernie Kerik was one of Rudy's closest associates during and after his Mayoral career. He even urged President Bush to appoint him to be Homeland Security Secretary. Now Kerik is under federal investigation. Kerik is just the tip of the iceberg of characters that will surface during Giuliani's campaign.

JOHN MCCAIN: WILL HE REALLY DO ANYTHING TO WIN?

McCain the Maverick? Ever since John McCain began running for President he has undergone a dizzying transformation from Republican Maverick to Republican Panderer-in-Chief. He's changed positions on immigration, taxes, gay marriage, and the right to choose. How long can the McCain keep his independent image when he's cashed in his principles in exchange for political support?

McCain Puts All the Chips on Iraq: While McCain previously was a critic of the Bush approach in Iraq, he has now been co-opted. He recently claimed that there were neighborhoods in Baghdad where you could "take a walk today," but appeared in the Baghdad market with a massive security detail. At one point he called for 80,000 more Army personnel and 20,000 to 30,000 more Marines to secure Iraq, but the so-called "surge" that he has adopted as his own has placed barely 10,000 more troops in

the country. And McCain has been virtually silent about the Administration's position on torture that he worked hard to oppose a few months ago.

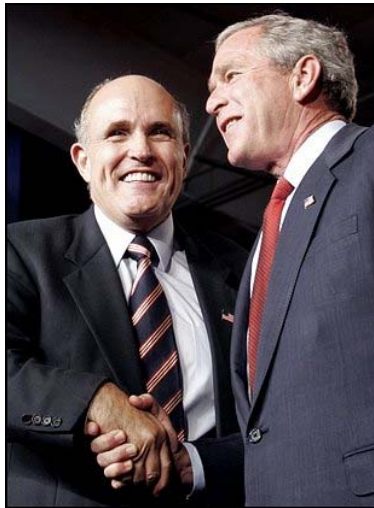
MITT ROMNEY: WILL VOTERS LOOK PAST THE SMOOTH TALK?

Mitt Romney Has Never Met a Position He Didn't Like: Not long ago, the conventional wisdom on Mitt Romney said that he would have a hard time squaring the positions he took as a moderate to liberal Republican in Massachusetts with the views of the majority of Republican primary voters. However, this has scarcely been a problem at all. The Mitt of 2002 would hardly recognize the Mitt running for President today. He's changed positions on choice, tax cuts, gun control, Iraq, and a long list of other issues crucial to gaining support in the primary.

Mitt Romney Embraces Republican Dirty Politics: A Mitt Romney strategy session must look like a Who's Who of dirty politics. His Deputy Campaign Manager just quit, apparently over ties to Jack Abramoff. He's hired media consultants responsible for racially divisive ads, and raised money from funders who have backed some of the ugliest smears in American politics, including the infamous Swift Boat Veterans. If this is who is working for Romney in May, imagine the tone of the campaign he will be running by September.

Mitt Romn-oops: But He Sounded So Good Saying It! Romney's reputation for smooth talk masks the fact that he has been one of the more gaffe-prone presidential candidates in recent years. Recent Mitt-isms include launching his campaign at a museum honoring well-known anti-Semite Henry Ford, claiming he was a long-time hunter, when in fact he had hunted twice; referring to a Fidel Castro slogan in a speech in South Florida, and veering off into a weird examination of Hitler's coal gasification accomplishments. How long until he's asked to spell "potato?"

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Chapter 1: The New York City Record – Don't Take His Word For It

Giuliani is banking his campaign on his record as the mayor of New York City. But about all we hear about is 9/11 and some vague claims about taxes. A closer look at those eight years is in order:

BEFORE 9/11: AMERICA'S MAYOR WAS DISLIKED IN HIS HOMETOWN

Flashback To August 2001 – Half of New Yorkers Wanted Different Mayor. Between August 1999 and August 2001, Giuliani's approval rating surpassed 50% only once. An August 2001 poll showed that Giuliani was essentially tied with any Democrat in a hypothetical re-election. Six years into Giuliani's term, according to an April 2000 poll, 60% of New York City voters saying they viewed Giuliani *unfavorably*, with only 26% viewing him favorably. [New York Times, 4/7/00, 8/15/01]

New York Magazine: Prior to 9/11 a Giuliani Presidential "Would Have Been Laughable."

"Before 9/11, the idea of Rudy Giuliani running for president would have been laughable. That morning, Giuliani had breakfast at the Peninsula Hotel with Bill Simon, a longtime friend. Simon, a business executive and the son of a former Treasury secretary, was contemplating a 2002 California gubernatorial bid. Giuliani agreed to help, but wasn't sure he would be of much assistance. 'I could endorse your opponent,' joked Giuliani. 'That might help you more.'" [New York Magazine, 3/5/07]

GIULIANI'S FISCAL RECORD: REALITY DOES NOT MATCH RHETORIC

Giuliani Grew Government, Although Now He Claims He Shrunk It. Giuliani claims that he "reduced the size of government in New York." But in New York City, spending went up 30%, or \$9.5 billion under Giuliani. Even stopping the tally before costs related to 9/11 finds a 28% increase, or \$8.9 billion more in annual spending then before he took office. According to the city's Independent Budget Office and the Washington Post, the city had thousands more employees when Giuliani left then when he started. Meanwhile his website claims that "he cut the size of city-funded government bureaucracy by nearly 20% - excluding the number of cops on the street and teachers in the classroom." According to the conservative Citizens Budget Commission, a frequent critic of Giuliani's spending, "The budget exploded in the last few years under Giuliani," and the New York Times noted that "City spending over the last five full budget years increased by an average of 5.3 percent per year, or more than twice the rate of inflation." [Associated Press, 4/17/07; NYC Independent Budget Office Agency Expenditures, Full Time Positions; Washington Post, 1/2/03; <http://www.joinrudy2008.com/index.php?section=2>, accessed 4/23/07; New York Daily News, 4/11/07; "Hannity And Colmes," Fox News Channel, 2/5/07]

Taxes Revenue Soared Under Giuliani Though He Claims He Saved Taxpayers \$9 Billion: Giuliani brags that "New York City taxpayers saved more than \$9 billion in taxes" under his leadership. But city records show that fees and fines increased, and overall tax revenues rose by \$3.5 billion, or 19%, between the last budget of Giuliani's predecessor and his own last budget. Income taxes alone went up by 40% (\$1.45 billion), while property tax revenues went up 12.7%. The tax burden for New York City residents remained at the top of the list in the nation under Giuliani. And "in the case of one of the biggest tax cuts during his tenure, the elimination of the commuter tax, Mr. Giuliani actually opposed the tax cut so vigorously that he brought a lawsuit jointly with the city's Democratic City Council speaker in an effort to get a court to order state lawmakers to keep the tax in place." [Associated Press, 4/17/07; NYC Independent Budget Office Tax Revenues; New York Times, 2/24/00; New York Sun, 3/29/07; <http://www.joinrudy2008.com/index.php?section=2>, accessed 4/23/07]

Contradicting Experts And Himself, Giuliani Now Claims He Left The City A Surplus. Giuliani claims that he "turned a \$2.3 billion budget deficit into a multi-billion dollar surplus." But as he left office at the end of

2001, the New York Times wrote that Giuliani, “estimated the 2003 fiscal year budget gap at \$2.9 billion.” Other city and state analyses showed figures as high as \$4 billion in shortfalls. The Citizens Budget Commission graded his last budget (fiscal year 2002) with a “D” for “budgeting responsibly,” writing that “the City has done a poor job of addressing its long term structural fiscal imbalance, resulting in large gaps between planned spending and expected revenues in future years.” [http://www.joinrudy2008.com/index.php?section=2, accessed, 4/23/07; New York Times, 1/4/02; “City Budget Report Card: Fiscal Year 2002,” Citizens Budget Commission , http://www.cbcny.org/cbc_report_card.pdf]

GIULIANI’S RECORD ON CRIME IS MORE COMPLICATED

Crime Would Have Decreased in NYC Without Giuliani. “The question of how much credit Mr. Giuliani deserves for the crime reduction continues to spur debate. Several external factors certainly played a role, including the waning of the city’s crack cocaine epidemic and a \$1 billion program begun under the Dinkins administration to increase the ranks of police officers. There was also a significant decline in crime nationwide, even in cities with seriously troubled police departments, suggesting that crime would have dropped in the city no matter who was mayor, no matter how improved the police work was.” [New York Times, 12/31/01]

New York Times: Bratton Deserves Credit For Reduction in NYC During Giuliani Administration.

“Bratton is widely respected among criminal justice experts for his successes in rapidly reducing New York’s rampant street crime after becoming commissioner in early 1994. He is an advocate of ‘community policing,’ an approach that puts more officers on the street and tries to integrate the police into the daily lives of residents rather than merely responding to calls for help. In New York, he began a system of tracking crimes block by block on a computer, then flooding the high-crime zones with officers until the crime rate dropped. He achieved sharp reductions in street crime using the method.” [New York Times, 10/3/02]

Giuliani Forced Bratton’s Resignation. “Giuliani forced Mr. Bratton’s resignation in March 1996...At the time; Mr. Bratton was a nationally known crime fighter whose popularity in opinion polls exceeded that of any New York official, including Mr. Giuliani.” [New York Times, 10/3/02]

GIULIANI’S ETHICS RECORD FITS WITH GOP CULTURE OF CORRUPTION

Giuliani’s Last Mayoral Campaign Was Fined Over \$240,000 For Illegal Contributions – Among Largest in History of NYC Campaign Finance Board. In 1997, the New York City Campaign Finance Board found that Giuliani’s mayoral campaign broke the city’s campaign finance law by taking more than \$300,000 in contributions from those doing business with the city and contributions that broke the limits. The fines levied – \$ 243,490 — remain the second highest in the history of the board for a single campaign. The Board noted that the Giuliani’s campaign ignored repeated letters flagging hundreds of problematic donations, writing about “repeated failure to correct its violations or provide an adequate response” and a “lack of self-regulation and lack of effective internal controls.” [New York Times, 9/19/97; New York Times, 10/24/97; New York Daily News, 10/24/97; “Determination,” NYC Campaign Finance Board Administrative Proceeding 1997-2]

Giuliani Engaged in Patronage; Deputy Mayor Explained, “Of Course, We’re Hiring Supporters.” The Village Voice reported, “Despite pre-election pledges that he would ‘remove the corrupting influence’ of patronage ‘once and for all,’ [Giuliani’s] administration is so awash in patronage that every newspaper has published articles listing the dubious and wired hires.” Deputy Mayor Randy Mastro said, “Of course we are hiring supporters. Who else would we appoint?” [Village Voice (New York, NY), 11/4/97]

Giuliani Hired Family Members for City Jobs. Giuliani’s cousin, Catherine Giuliani, a gym teacher and homemaker, was given a \$50,000-a-year job as a community program coordinator for the mayor’s

office in 1994, and then a \$108,000-a-year job as a senior vice president of the city Economic Development Corp in 1999. [New York Daily News, 1/21/00]

HIGHLIGHTS OF GIULIANI'S CONTROVERSIAL RECORD ON RACE

Giuliani Drew Criticizes Over Timid Reaction to Deputy's Use of Racial Slur. As the New York Times' editorial page wrote, Giuliani "did not go far enough in chiding Deputy Mayor John Dyson for using racially loaded language in a discussion involving a black-owned investment firm. Mr. Giuliani acknowledged that his aide erred when he said that Alan Hevesi, the City Comptroller, 'ought to know the difference between a bid and a watermelon.' Coming in the context of a disagreement over Mr. Hevesi's desire to hire a minority firm, the wording was blatantly insensitive." [Editorial, New York Times, 7/2/94]

Giuliani Compared Al Sharpton to David Duke. Giuliani compared black activist minister Al Sharpton to notorious former Ku Klux Klansman David Duke. When a reporter commented Sharpton had a sizable following in the black community, Giuliani said, "David Duke had a large following. So what. You make judgments about the people you think you should respond to or the people you think you shouldn't respond to." Asked specifically if he was comparing Sharpton to Duke, Giuliani said, "I think it's a pretty apt comparison." [Daily News (New York), 1/19/06]

Chapter 2: 9/11 – Questions Of Competence

9/11 is the keystone of Giuliani's campaign. He wants us to believe that a Democratic president will lead to more attacks, and that his leadership was exceptional. The truth about his record is a little more complicated.

DESPITE DATA SHOWING DANGERS, GIULIANI EXPOSED WORKERS AND PUBLIC

Giuliani Said Air Was Safe After Tests Showed Otherwise, Overruled Health Experts. In late September 2001, Giuliani flatly denied that air quality at Ground Zero was an issue, saying at a press conference: "The air quality is safe and acceptable. And I know there are people that are concerned about it and people that are worried about it, *but that's just the reality.*" Investigations by the media and the public interest groups revealed documents showing that "New York Mayor Rudy Giuliani re-opened sections of downtown Manhattan weeks after the 9/11 attacks despite knowing the air was toxic," and that he "overruled" the city's Department of Environmental Protection. 27 of 38 tests before the statement showed high levels of asbestos. [UPI, 9/7/06; Giuliani, 9/28/01; New York Post, 9/7/06; Daily News (New York), 9/6/06 (emphasis added)]

Giuliani's Administration Hid Findings of Contamination. "Government documents uncovered by this column since 9/11 showed city and federal officials hid important information about the true extent of contamination. The city's Department of Environmental Protection, for example, found high levels of asbestos in 27 of the first 38 air samples it took in lower Manhattan before Sept. 17, 2001. But the city didn't publicly disclose those results until five months later." [Daily News (New York), 9/6/06]

FIREFIGHTERS CALLED GIULIANI ACTIONS "CRIMINAL" AS GIULIANI BASHED THEM

Firefighters Called Drastic Cut In Number of Firefighters Allowed to Search For Bodies "Criminal." In November 2001, Giuliani's administration moved to reduce the number of firefighters who could search for bodies at the World Trade Center site. Initially, the number was cut from 102 to 25, then after protests, the city agreed to allow 50 firefighters on the site. George Burke, spokesman for the International Association of Firefighters (IAFF) said, "The unions were never consulted. The widows were never consulted. They have cut the search in half. It is criminal." IAFF president Harold Schaitberger told union members, "When the city essentially ended this Herculean recovery operation, it made a decision to leave ... your brothers at the mercy of the seagulls at the world's largest garbage dump," the Fresh Kills landfill where Ground Zero debris was being trucked. [Gannett News Service, 11/9/01]

Giuliani Pressed Charges Against Emergency Workers Who Protested His Decision To Cut Workers at WTC. Under Giuliani, New York City accused 18 emergency workers of criminal trespassing and harassment following their demonstration against Giuliani's decision to scale down recovery work at Ground Zero. All charges were eventually dropped. However, eight firefighters filed a lawsuit that their arrests deprived them of their constitutional rights. The lawsuit - which named Giuliani and former Police Commissioner Bernard Kerik - sought unspecified damages for the "distress" caused by their arrests. [Bristol Evening Post, 11/12/01; Daily News (New York), 12/19/01; New York Post, 11/6/02]

Giuliani Dismissed Firefighter Union Leaders As "Sinful." Giuliani criticized union leaders for airing their opinions about his leadership, saying "the name calling that they're engaging in is disgusting and what they're doing is really, really sinful." [Gannett News Service, 11/9/01]

GIULIANI'S PRE-9/11 DECISIONS (AND LACK THEREOF) MADE SITUATION WORSE

Giuliani Put Emergency Command Center Close To Vulnerable WTC. According to a Chicago Tribune Book review of “Grand Illusion: The Untold Story of Rudy Giuliani and 9/11,” “Giuliani made the infamous decision to place the city's emergency command center on the 23rd floor of 7 World Trade Center because he didn't want to schlep to a more secure, better-protected Brooklyn location from City Hall. When the planes hit the trade center, [The Office of Emergency Management's] bunker-in-the-clouds was rendered useless, and Giuliani was forced to embark on his dusty journey through lower Manhattan, scattering the city's command structure.” [Chicago Tribune, 9/15/06]

Giuliani Neglected to Outline A Clear Chain of Command for Emergency Workers. “Giuliani and his top aides did not put in place a clear chain of command for police officers and firefighters.” [Washington Post, 8/17/06]

Giuliani Did Not Implement Fire Department Recommendations After First WTC Bombing. According to a Chicago Tribune Book review of “Grand Illusion: The Untold Story of Rudy Giuliani and 9/11,” Giuliani “failed to fully implement a single recommendation made by the fire department official who identified crucial emergency response failures after the 1993 World Trade Center bombing. [Chicago Tribune, 9/15/06]

Widely Known Lack of Compatible Radios Caused Problems on 9/11. In a book review, Washington Post noted the well-documented problem that “many radios did not work, keeping important information from firefighters inside the doomed buildings.” The Philadelphia Inquirer wrote, “The [9/11] commission said that because public-safety agencies did not have compatible radio networks, emergency workers on the scene did not know which stairwells were open and which, if any, elevators and public-address systems were working.” [Washington Post, 9/3/06; Philadelphia Inquirer, 5/20/04]

Chapter 3: Since 2002: More Ethical Problems And Lots Of Shady Money

As soon as he left office, Rudy Giuliani focused on cashing in on his connections and helping out his cronies.

GIULIANI PUBLICLY STUCK BY CONTROVERSIAL BERNARD KERIK

Giuliani “Stuck By” “Radioactive” Kerik: Even after Bernard Kerik’s bid to become Secretary of Homeland Security disintegrated with repeated revelations of ethical problems, Giuliani, who has been close to Kerik for years, had “stuck by Mr. Kerik publicly” according to the New York Times. The Associated Press reported that “Kerik’s close association with Giuliani became radioactive when Kerik pleaded guilty [in June 2006] to...accepting a gift from a company seeking city work.” Giuliani and Kerik have a fifteen year old relationship in which Giuliani promoted his bodyguard to police commissioner, employed him at his consulting firm, and named a jail after him. [The Bismarck Tribune, 7/1/06; AP, 3/24/07; Herald News (Passaic County, NJ), 2/15/07; Newsweek, 12/27/04; New York Times, 11/16/05, 9/28/06]

Rudy’s Firm Assisted With Kerik Papers That Are Focus Of Felony Probe. Staff at Giuliani’s consulting firm, where he ran a security consulting practice called Giuliani and Kerik, helped fill out background questionnaires for Kerik’s White House nomination. Now federal prosecutors are pursuing felony charges against Kerik for providing false information on those forms during his nomination. [Washington Post, 4/8/07]

Stay Tuned For More: Kerik Still Subject Of Multiple Investigations

Federal Charges Looming: Federal prosecutors “have told Kerik that they are likely to charge him with several felonies, including providing false information to the government when Bush nominated him” In early 2007, he refused a plea bargain involving jail time for charges of federal tax fraud and a wiretap conspiracy involving the New York State election for attorney general. Federal officials are also looking into the finances of a foundation connected to city’ Department of Corrections [Washington Post, 4/8/07; New York Times, 3/14/07; 8/4/06]

New York Officials Continuing Probes: The Bronx District Attorney’s office and the New York City Department of Investigation are continuing to investigate various charges relating to Kerik’s acceptance of gifts, ethical violations and grand jury testimony, all during his time working for or with Giuliani. [Washington Post, 4/8/07]

New Jersey Authorities Interested Too: In 2005, NJ gambling enforcement authorities accused Kerik of using his Giuliani administration job to demand gifts from the DiTomasso family, a mob-connected government contractor. [Washington Post, 4/8/07]

GIULIANI FINANCIALLY BENEFITTED FROM HUGO CHAVEZ

Giuliani’s Law Firm Got Six Figure Payments From Chavez’s Oil Company. Giuliani’s law firm, Bracewell & Giuliani, netted \$125,000 to \$250,000 lobbying for Citgo, beginning only weeks after Giuliani joined the firm. Citgo is controlled by Hugo Chavez, Venezuela’s president and a “strident” critic of the US. This income was part of the 40-fold increase of the firm’s lobbying income after Giuliani joined, jumping from \$150,000 in 2004 to more than \$6 million in 2005. [Bloomberg, 3/14/07, Boston Globe, 3/15/07; AP, 1/10/07]

Chavez a Vocal Critic of U.S. “Chavez has used his country’s oil wealth to lure fellow Latin American leaders away from alliances with the United States. In recent years, he has also called Bush a ‘donkey,’ a ‘drunkard’

and a 'coward,' blamed him for a failed 2002 coup attempt in Venezuela, and allied himself with Fidel Castro." ["The Caucus," NYT.com, 3/14/07]

Ironically, Giuliani Insisted That the U.S. Must Not Depend Enemies For Oil. Giuliani said that "The goal...over the next 10 to 15 years is to reduce, and then eliminate, our reliance on oil from sources that are enemies of the United States." ["The Caucus," NYT.com, [3/14/07](#)]

GIULIANI WORKED FOR PHARMA, PROVIDED "EVIDENCE" FOR THEIR STANCE AGAINST DRUG RE-IMPORTATION

Giuliani Partners Had Multi-Million Contract With PhRMA. Giuliani was a paid consultant to the Pharmaceutical Research and Manufacturers of America, the drug maker trade group that is fighting drug importation proposals in Congress. Giuliani Partners was hired by Pharmaceutical Research and Manufacturers of America (PhRMA) to study the safety of reimported prescription drugs. The National Journal reported, "Giuliani Partners, industry lobbyists said, has a one-year deal with PhRMA that was valued at a few million dollars. [National Journal, 3/13/04]

Giuliani Testified To Congress That Imported Drugs Were Dangerous. Speaking before the US Senate on the probe's conclusions, Giuliani parroted the talking points of the special interests paying his consulting firm. "It is pretty much right now a wide open system," Giuliani told senators. The report asserted safety and security risks "far outweigh any alleged benefits for US residents." The report also said, "It is not difficult to imagine a scenario in which terrorist groups could use this system to finance their operations or, worse, as a vehicle of attack." Giuliani also touted the report's findings to the public. [Contemporary Pediatrics, 5/1/05; Tulsa World (Oklahoma), 6/18/04; Biotech Business Week, 7/15/06; United Press International, 4/26/04]

GIULIANI WORKED FOR NUCLEAR ENERGY, DEFENDED PROBLEMATIC SAFETY RECORD

Giuliani Minimized Risks of Nuclear Power After Being Hired By Nuke Plant. Giuliani said the industry needed to do a better job of promoting an optimistic view of nuclear plants. "You have to show how you are helping solve people's problems," he said. "The rewards are many. The risks are relatively small, and they can be reduced by good planning. That is the way people should assess nuclear power." Newsday reported, "Giuliani, private consultant to energy corporations, [urged] governors and state lawmakers to ease permits for nuclear plants." [Newsday (New York), 6/19/06; Times Picayune (New Orleans), 11/18/03]

Giuliani Pronounced Indian Point As Safe and "An Excellent Model" Despite Long Standing Safety Concerns. A potential political vulnerability may be the consulting agreement that ties Giuliani Partners to a pair of nuclear reactors known as Indian Point. The reactors, located 35 miles north of midtown Manhattan and owned by a subsidiary of Entergy Corp. of New Orleans, have long evoked safety concerns, which surged after the 9/11 attacks, when the reactors were seen as potential terrorism targets....Entergy hired Giuliani Partners to conduct a security assessment. According to the Wall Street Journal, "Shortly after signing a contract in 2003, Mr. Giuliani's company oversaw a mock terrorist drill at the site and pronounced it safe -- an assertion Mr. Giuliani repeated to reporters in November, when Entergy applied for a 20-year extension of its permit to operate. 'Our view is that Indian Point is as safe as a facility can be, and a pretty good model, if not an excellent model for not only other nuclear power plants but other industries,' Mr. Giuliani said...Mr. Giuliani's firm remains a consultant at Indian Point." [Wall Street Journal, 3/23/07]

Indian Point Has Safety Issues, Including Escaped "Deadly Nuclear Material." "Indian Point has had troubles. In 2005, it emerged that deadly nuclear material had leached into the groundwater under the plant. The reactors have been unexpectedly shut down at least five times since the beginning of

2006. In December, the federal Nuclear Regulatory Commission said some plant workers feared retribution for raising safety issues. And in February, an inspection found a cracked fuel rod, a situation that could conceivably lead to a loss of nuclear material.” [Wall Street Journal, 3/23/07]

GIULIANI REFUSES TO DISCLOSE CLIENTS

Giuliani Refused To Release A Full Client List. “Already, some business ventures have caused him trouble in the campaign, including his now-halted \$100,000 motivational speeches and his law firm's ties to Citgo Petroleum, which is controlled by anti-American Venezuelan President Hugo Chávez. His campaign so far has refused to release a full client list.” [Newsday (New York), 4/2/07]

Giuliani Failed To File Statement of Candidacy To Avoid Filing A Personal Financial Disclosure In December 2006. Questions also have been raised about whether or not Giuliani's strategy of registering his presidential exploratory committee without formally declaring his candidacy may have been designed to hide details of his business dealings. As Newsday noted, “by holding off [announcing his candidacy in November 2006], Giuliani avoided the risk of having to file a personal financial disclosure form by mid-December... and lay bare several intriguing, and possibly controversial, facts about Rudy the businessman that have never surfaced publicly.” [Newsday (New York), 2/3/07]

Giuliani Said He Will Use An Extension To Further Delay Filing A Personal Financial Disclosure. “Giuliani has said for weeks that he'd eventually get around to making his presidential campaign "official," and he'll finally do it with a formal announcement sometime this month, his campaign said yesterday. It doesn't change much - he's been running for months now - but an announcement would trigger a requirement that Giuliani file a personal financial disclosure form, which would lay bare his personal wealth and the details of his business empire....The next filing deadline is May 15 but Federal Election Commission rules are generous in allowing extensions, and Giuliani has said he expects to file the disclosure in two or three months.” [Newsday (New York), 4/2/07]

Chapter 4: Another Campaign Means Its Flip Flop Time

While Giuliani says he's being consistent, the record shows otherwise. He has shown an ability to contradict himself, sometimes within hours. A few recent examples follow.

IRONY ALERT: GIULIANI SAYS HE WILL BE CONSISTENT

Giuliani Pledged Not To “Go Back And Forth With The Wind.” “I’m not somebody who is going to put their finger up and kind of go back and forth with the wind,” Giuliani said. “I will tell you what I believe. If you agree with it, fine. If you don't agree with it, you have a right not to agree with it and then don't vote for me.” [Birmingham News, 4/11/07]

GIULIANI’S ABORTION POSITION CHANGES DAILY

Giuliani Flip Flipped On Public Funding of Abortions Six Times, Including Four Times In 24 Hours. In March 2007, Giuliani’s campaign told the Christian Broadcasting Network and the National Review Online that he supported the Hyde Amendment, which since 1976 has banned federal funding for abortion except in cases of life of the mother, rape and incest. However, on April 4th, Giuliani was asked directly by CNN’s Dana Bash if he supported the use of public funding for abortions and Giuliani said “Yes” and said he would “probably” keep that position as president. “The [Giuliani] campaign noted later in the day [on April 4th] that the former mayor would not seek to make any changes to current law, which restricts federal funding to cases of rape, incest and the life of the mother.” But then on April 5th, Giuliani said again he favors the public funding of abortion. At 11:30 am, AP reported, “Giuliani today defended his record of personally opposing abortions but still favoring the use of public money for the procedures.” However, at 12:45 pm, The National Journal’s “Hotline On Call” shared a brand new e-mail from the Giuliani campaign claiming that “Rudy would not seek to change current federal law which provides federal funding for abortion only in cases of life of the mother, rape and incest.” [National Review Online, 4/9/07; Hotline on Call, 4/5/07; AP/Fox21, 4/5/07, CNN Political Ticker, 4/4/07, 4/5/07, National Review, 3/1/07]

Giuliani Campaign Shamelessly Claimed Consistency. Four days later, on April 9th, Giuliani campaign policy director Bill Simon claimed Giuliani has been consistent in his position on public funding, writing “Rudy Giuliani has repeatedly said that he will not seek to change current law as described in the Hyde Amendment.” [Brody File, CBN News, 3/28/07]

FLASHBACK: Giuliani Also Flip-Flopped In 1989 For Political Reasons. Giuliani’s 2007 flip on public funding of abortion is nothing new; he flipped flopped on the issue in 1989, bring his total number of flops to seven. A November 1989 video clip shows Mayoral candidate Giuliani saying, “There must be public funding for abortion for poor women. We can not deny any women the right to make her own decision about abortion because she lacks resources....I have also stated that I disagree with President Bush’s veto last week of public funding for abortion.” Earlier that year, Giuliani told New York’s Conservative Party – a pro-life group whose endorsement he wanted – in mid-1989 that he “did not favor government funding.” [Newsday, 11/3/89]

Giuliani Said He Wouldn’t Change His Position on Late Term Abortion, Then Did. In a 2007 statement, Giuliani said he supported the ban on partial birth abortions saying, “The Supreme Court reached the correct conclusion in upholding the congressional ban on partial birth abortion. I agree with it.” However, in 2000, Senate candidate Giuliani ironically supported Bill Clinton’s veto of a bill similar to the one he recently upheld by the Supreme Court. “I’m not going to twist myself all around for anybody's endorsement. I wouldn't do it for the Republican endorsement, much less the Liberal or the Conservative or any other. They know who I am.” And, in 1999, asked “whether he supports a ban on what critics call partial-birth abortions,” Giuliani said “no, I have not supported that, and I don't see my position on that changing.” [CNN Inside Politics, 12/2/99; Giuliani statement, 4/18/07; Special Report With Brit Hume, Fox News Channel, 2/8/00]

GIULIANI'S FLAT TAX FLIP FLOP CONFUSES EVERYONE

Giuliani Made “Befuddling” Comments On Flat Tax, Calling Own Statements “Academic”. New York Magazine documented Giuliani’s 2007 back and forth on the flat tax, where he said the move would be a disaster in the past, then embraced a flat tax, then called his support “academic” while expressing his strong preference for it at the same time: “That was nothing compared with the former mayor's befuddling statements about income taxes. Three days after staging a Wall Street event to accept the endorsement of Steve Forbes-and cozying up to Forbes's signature issue, the flat tax-Giuliani was in South Florida speaking to the ultra-capitalist Club for Growth. Why is Rudy now in favor of the flat tax, given that he'd ridiculed the idea as ‘a disaster’ in 1996? ‘I didn't favor it’ Giuliani said. ‘I said something academic. What I said was-and it was not a joke, but it was half-jocular-what I said was that if we didn't have an income tax, in other words—when did we pass the income tax, 1916?—in the early part of the twentieth century, way back there when we had no tax, no income tax, what would I favor? First, I'd favor no tax; that would be my first position. My second position would be probably for a flat tax ... But that I thought, both then and now, meaning the last time I expressed myself on it, and now, that that would probably not be feasible given the way our economy has developed.’ Oh. The half-joke is on Steve Forbes.” [New York Magazine, 4/16/07]

GIULIANI'S IMMIGRATION FLIP FLOP BLATANT

Presidential Candidate Giuliani Opposes Mayor Giuliani on Immigration. “In contrast to his years as mayor, when he fought federal efforts to curtail public hospital or educational services to illegal immigrants, he now talks of penalties for people here illegally and requirements for them to wait at the back of the line. And while he once pushed policies like providing schooling for the children of illegal immigrants by saying, ‘The reality is that they are here, and they’re going to remain here,’ now he emphasizes denying amnesty.” [New York Times, 4/22/07]

Chapter 5: Meet Team Giuliani

A person's company can tell you a lot about them. In Giuliani's case, his top donors and staff have a stunning track record of controversy and misdeeds.

TOP SWIFT BOAT FUNDERS LIKE GIULIANI

#2 SBVT Donor T Boone Pickens. Giuliani backer T Boone Pickens was the second biggest financial backer of Swift Boat Veterans For Truth, donating \$3 million. Now he “figures prominently” in Giuliani’s fundraising plans; Boone took part through a conference call in the inaugural meeting of Giuliani’s finance committee on November 12, 2006, serves on Giuliani’s national finance committee and also serves at finance chair for the Southwest. Pickens hosted a Giuliani event in early March at the Del Mar Country Club in California and Pickens and his wife, Madeline, each gave Giuliani’s exploratory committee \$2,100 in December 2006. As of the end of 2006, “Pickens and others in his Dallas investment firm, BP Capital Management, have given at least \$50,000 of the roughly \$4 million that Giuliani had raised” for his PAC and presidential committees. [FECINFO.com; Los Angeles Times, 2/8/07; New York Times, 11/17/06; Associated Press, 11/17/06; Houston Chronicle, 1/29/07; Wall Street Journal, 8/25/04; Chicago Tribune, 3/1/06; USA Today, 10/18/04]

Aubrey McClendon, 5th Biggest Donor to SBVT, Hosted Giuliani Fundraiser and Maxed Out for Giuliani. McClendon, who runs Chesapeake Energy in Oklahoma, was the number five donor to Swift Boat Veterans For Truth. He and his wife Kathleen both gave the maximum \$2300 to the Giuliani campaign on 3/31/07, and served as hosts for a Giuliani event at the end of March, which appears to have raised over \$90,000 [FEC; “Giuliani Plans OKC Event On March 29th,” (<http://www.tmrcom.blogspot.com/2007/03/giuliani-plans-okc-fundraiser-on-march.html>) accessed 4/24/07]

GIULIANI CAMPAIGN LINKED TO SCANDAL AFTER SCANDAL

Richard Grasso, Disgraced NYSE Executive, And His Wife Maxed Out For Giuliani. Richard Grasso, the recipient of the NYSE’s infamous \$139.5 million compensation package, and his wife ponied up the maximum, \$4,200, to Giuliani’s presidential bid. Grasso is being sued by NY AG Elliot Spitzer, and is appealing a 2006 ruling that he return \$112.2 million in compensation. The scandal led to federal regulators clamping down on exchange compensation rules. Giuliani cited Grasso as a model leader after the scandal broke. [USA Today, 9/18/03; New York Times, 3/14/04; New York Times, 12/20/06; Associated Press, 2/1/07; American Banker, 12/2/05; FEC; The Times Union, 1/18/2007]

Anthony Carbonetti, Chief Advisor and Former Chief of Staff, Involved in City Hall Scandals. Carbonetti is one of Giuliani’s chief advisors. As Giuliani's chief of staff, Carbonetti benefited from Russell Harding’s criminal misuse of city money; he was a guest on a November 2000 trip to Las Vegas mentioned in the indictment against Harding. Giuliani hired the inexperienced, politically-connected Russell Harding to work in the city’s Housing Development Corp., only to witness a 2005 guilty plea by Harding to charges he embezzled more than \$400,000 from the agency and downloaded child pornography at work. Harding is serving 5 years and must pay back \$366,000. [New York Sun, 3/18/03; Fort Wayne Journal-Gazette (Indiana). 3/2/07; New York Sun, 3/4/03; New York Post, 11/20/06]

Giuliani’s Senior Political Adviser, Jim Dyke, Involved in Fraudulent Voter Fraud Report. In March 2007, the Giuliani campaign hired Jim Dyke, a former chief spokesman for the RNC, as a senior communications adviser. Dyke was the spokesperson for the American Center for Voting Rights (ACVR), a group touting itself as “nonpartisan group” but whose three public faces were “very partisan Republican operatives -- including one who claims to be a sounding board for senior White House adviser Karl Rove.” The Pittsburgh Tribune-Review called the group a “fraud” for its report that claimed that Democrat operatives were

far more involved in voter intimidation and suppression activities than were their Republican counterparts during the 2004 presidential election. Dyke also defended Voters Outreach of America, a group who destroyed Democratic voter registration forms after being paid nearly \$500,000 by the RNC. [Editorial, Pittsburgh Tribune-Review, 8/8/05; Associated Press, 3/19/07; American Center for Voting Rights Legislative Fund press release via US Newswire, 8/2/05; Atlanta Journal-Constitution, 10/17/04; San Jose Mercury News; 10/14/04]

Giuliani's Lawyer Represented Disgraced Congressmen Delay and Sherwood. Bobby Burchfield is the counsel of record for Giuliani's exploratory committee. Burchfield was Tom Delay's personal attorney. He was also the personal attorney for Don Sherwood. [Associated Press, 11/3/06; Associated Press, 5/27/05, 9/8/03, 3/21/03; Greenwire, 4/25/05; Philadelphia Inquirer, 4/25/05]

Sherwood Paid Ex-Mistress To Keep Quiet After She Accused Him of Abuse. Sherwood, a Republican congressman, was accused of abusing his mistress, Cynthia Ore, and agreed to pay her about \$500,000 in a settlement that the Associated Press reported as containing, "a powerful incentive for her to keep quiet until after Election Day." The settlement reached in November 2005, called for Ore to be paid in installments. The Associated Press reported that in early November, 2006 (a year later) Ore had received less than half the money, and would not get the rest until after the Nov. 7 election. She also risked forfeiting the money if she spoke publicly about the case. [Associated Press, 11/3/06]

Burchfield Fought McCain-Feingold With Ken Starr. Burchfield also worked for Kenneth Starr on a legal team that represented parties opposing McCain-Feingold [Associated Press, 5/27/05, 9/8/03, 3/21/03; Greenwire, 4/25/05; Philadelphia Inquirer, 4/25/05]

THE REAL JOHN MCCAIN



SIMI VALLEY, CA
MAY 3, 2007

*A PRODUCT OF THE
DNC RESEARCH DEPARTMENT*



Chapter 1: McCain 2.0 and His Straight Talk Express are Stuck in the Mud *McCain's do-anything-to-win approach on the campaign trail has sent him into a downward spiral.*

McCain's Prospects Began to Dim as a Result of His Do-Anything-to-Win Campaign. McCain's leading role in pushing for the Bush-McCain escalation of the war began to dim the Senator's prospects. An LA Times poll in early January showed 42 percent voters would be less likely to support McCain because he supported Bush's escalation strategy. Eventually, however, it was his do-anything-to-win approach to the campaign for the GOP nomination that alienated moderates and independents, and continued to turn off conservatives who are "programmed to hate" him. McCain's blatant pandering to conservatives took its toll early on, with the head of ARG, an independent polling firm, stating in January in no uncertain terms that, "McCain is tanking." [Boston Herald, 1/18/07; LA Times/Bloomberg poll, 1/18/2007; The Hill, 1/18/2007; Roll Call, 1/10/07; Worldnetdaily.com, 1/13/07; AP, 1/17/07; The State, Op-Ed, 1/14/07; AP, 12/20/06; washingtonpost.com, The Fix, 1/16/07]

- **McCain's Downward Spiral Intensified When He Said He Could Safely Walk Around Baghdad.** "McCain's latest problem began before he left for the region, when he told Bill Bennett on the radio that 'there are neighborhoods in Baghdad where you and I could walk today.' After Michael Ware of CNN's Baghdad bureau accused the senator of living in 'Neverland,' McCain charged that it's reporters who are living in a 'time warp of three months ago.'" [Newsweek, Alter, 4/16/07 edition]
- **Which Revealed How "Out of Sync" he is With American Voters.** "McCain's in trouble because he is out of sync with the country and with himself. The senator's timing seems off in a way that might be admirable if it weren't so politically clumsy. And promoting success in Iraq seems at odds with the facts on the ground: the 'significant progress' McCain said he saw came when the average daily death toll of Iraqis was higher in March than in February." [Newsweek, Alter, 4/16/07 edition]

McCain, Once Considered the Frontrunner, Came in Last in Fundraising Among Top GOP Candidates. McCain announced in the beginning of April that he had raised only \$12.5 million in the first fundraising quarter, putting him behind both top GOP candidates. "On the Republican side, obviously, everyone agrees the big loser is John McCain," said Larry Sabato, director of the University of Virginia's Center for Politics. "That is really an unimpressive total, especially considering how long he's been out there, how well-known he is." [Arizona Republic, 4/3/07]

Trailing the Rest of the Pack, McCain Was Forced to "Overhaul" His Fundraising Operation, and Fire Staff. After a disappointing first quarter of fundraising, and taking increased criticism for his position on the Iraq war, Senator McCain "overhauled" his campaign finance operation and announced that he would delay "the official announcement of his candidacy." The campaign said McCain "would adopt the kind of big-donor fund-raising program pioneered by President Bush," and create "an honorary campaign designation to reward the campaign's top money raisers. Mr. Bush called his Rangers and Pioneers; Mr. McCain will call his the McCain 100's, for supporters who collect \$100,000 for the campaign, and the McCain 200's, who collect \$200,000." Amid an array of finance concerns, McCain's "troubled" campaign was forced to eliminate a number of positions from its staff, a number they would not "quantify exactly." [New York Times, 4/4/07; AP, 4/11/07]

McCain Drew Fire Again When He Sang About Bombing Iran. When asked about sending a message to Iran at a campaign stop in South Carolina, McCain joked about bombing the country, singing the chorus of the Beach Boys classic 'Barbara Ann.' "That old, eh, that old Beach Boys song, bomb Iran, Bomb, bomb, bomb, bomb, anyway, ah." [AP, 4/20/07]

Chapter 2: McCain's Double Talk Express Shifts Gears for 2008

McCain's straight talk has turned into double-talk as he positions himself for a 2008 White House run. McCain has changed his position on hot-button issues in order to appeal to conservative Republican primary voters.

MCCAIN DOUBLE TALK AN APPEAL TO THE CONSERVATIVE BASE

WHAT MCCAIN STANDS FOR		
	THEN	NOW
Pork Spending	McCain: Earmarks Have Got to Stop, "We Cannot Do That With American Tax Dollars." [McCain Speech at the Southern Republican Leadership Conference, 3/10/06]	McCain Hired Tom Loeffler to Senior Campaign Post, Loeffler Earned \$3.9 Million for Creating \$40 Million in Federal 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]
Immigration	McCain Called For Documenting Illegal Immigrants And Providing Them A Path To Citizenship. [Los Angeles Times, 11/29/05]	McCain Said He Would Reconsider Position on Immigration Because Of Conservative Pressure. [New York Times, 3/20/07; Boston Globe, 3/22/07]
Campaign Finance	McCain Was A Champion For Campaign Finance Reform. [New York Times, 10/22/01]	McCain Laying the Groundwork To Opt Out Of Campaign Finance System. [National Journal, 12/17/05; Hotline On Call, 12/16/05; Roll Call, 5/1/06; New York Times, 4/30/06]
Grassroots Lobbying	McCain Sponsored Legislation In 2006 To Restrict Grassroots Lobbying Activities And Force Disclosure. [Los Angeles Times, 3/8/06]	McCain Flip-Flopped, Voted Against Grassroots Lobbying Disclosure. [The Hill, 1/18/07; S.Amdt.20 to S.1, Vote #17, 1/18/07, agreed to 55-43; R: 48-0, D: 7-43, McCain voted "Yea"]
Gun Control	McCain Called for Further Gun Control After Columbine. [Congressional Quarterly Weekly, 9/6/02]	After Virginia Tech Massacre, McCain Said There Should Be No Gun Control. [AP, 4/19/07]
Veterans	McCain worked to "galvanize the military vote" through network of veterans. [Guardian Unlimited, 2/13/00]	McCain Hired Swift Boat Advertising Firm Designed to Attack Veterans and McCain Stood Out in Opposing Veterans' Funding. [New York Times, 2/4/07; Senate Roll Call Vote #98, 4/26/06]
Tax Cuts	McCain Opposed Bush Tax Cuts. [Baltimore Sun, 5/27/01; Statement, 3/18/03]	McCain Voted For Bush Tax Cuts. [New York Times, 2/21/06]
Tax Revenues	McCain Was Against Tax Cuts Because It Would Help "Lower the National Income." [McCain Release, March 18, 2003]	McCain Said Tax Cuts Increase Revenue. [The National Review, 3/5/07]
Estate Tax	McCain Voted Repeatedly Against Repealing The Estate Tax. [Vote #170, H.R. 1836, 5/26/01, 58-33; Vote #151, S. Amdt 3833 to H.R. 8, 6/12/02, 54-44; Vote #62, S.Amdt 288 to S.Con.Res. 23, 3/20/03, 51-48; Roll Call, 6/5/06]	McCain Voted To Advance The Repeal Of The Estate Tax. [Vote #164, H.R. 8, 6/8/06, 57-41]

Abortion	McCain Opposed Overturning Roe: It Would Force Women To Seek Illegal Abortions. [San Francisco Chronicle , 8/20/99]	McCain Wouldn't Be Bothered By Supreme Court Ban On Abortion Would Sign South Dakota's Abortion Ban. [CBS News, 1/25/06; ABC News, 3/29/06; ABC News, 2/26/06; NationalJournal.com , 2/28/06]	
Evil	McCain Called Falwell "Evil Influence" on GOP. [Kansas City Star , 5/28/05]	McCain Met With Falwell To Lay Groundwork for 2008 Run And Agreed To Speak At Falwell's Liberty University. [US News and World Report , 11/14/05; Lynchburg News & Advance , 3/28/06; NBC News, 4/2/06]	
Gay Marriage	McCain Opposed Federal Gay Marriage Ban. [Los Angeles Times , 1/25/05]	McCain Says He Would Sign the Federal Marriage Amendment Into Law. [Politico , 3/19/07]	McCain Voted Against Considering An Amendment to Ban Gay Marriage. [Vote #163, SJRes 1, 6/7/02]
Creationism / Intelligent Design	McCain: Local Schools Should Decide on Teaching Creationism. [Times Union , 8/28/99]	McCain: "Young People Have the Right to Be Told" About Intelligent Design, Refused To Exclude It From Science Classes. [Courier Journal , 12/20/05; Arizona Daily Star , 8/28/05; NPR, 11/7/05]	
Standing Up to Racism	McCain Condemned Bush For Failing to Denounce Racist Beliefs At Bob Jones University. [Fox , 2/24/00]	McCain Endorsed George Wallace Jr., Keynote Speaker at White Supremacist Group Gathering. [AP , 11/17/05; 6/6/05]	
Ethanol	McCain Called Ethanol "Not Worth It" And A Product With "Absolutely, Under No Circumstances, Any Value Whatsoever[.]" [Des Moines Register , 12/19/99; Aberdeen American News , 5/2/04]	McCain Voiced Support For Ethanol In Iowa And Called For Increased Investment In Its Use. [Des Moines Register , 4/14/06; Arizona Republic , 5/9/06]	

PORK SPENDING

2006: McCain: Earmarks Have Got to Stop, "We Cannot Do That With American Tax Dollars." In his speech before the Southern Republican Leadership Conference on March 10th 2006, McCain said, "It's a system that's gotten broken and gone terribly out of control, and it's called earmarking and we have to fix it. ... Now on the last highway bill it was 6,140 earmarks. My friends that's your money. One of them was a bridge to nowhere in Alaska for \$233 million to a place that has 50 people in it. We cannot do that with American tax dollars. We cannot do it. We cannot do that." [McCain Speech at the Southern Republican Leadership Conference, 3/10/06]

2007: Loeffler Earned \$3.9 Million for Creating \$40 Million in Federal Pork. McCain's new Presidential campaign consigliere and chief fundraising strategist, Tom Loeffler 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 appropriations for Texas cities. 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]

IMMIGRATION

2005: McCain Called For Documenting Illegal Immigrants And Providing Them A Path To Citizenship.

McCain, through his Kennedy-McCain immigration reforms, “want[s] to allow undocumented workers who participate in a guest worker program to be able to stay in America and apply for permanent residency or citizenship after paying fines and satisfying other requirements.” [Los Angeles Times, 11/29/05]

2007: McCain Abandoning Immigration Reform Because of Conservative Pressure.

"McCain's hesitancy about joining [Senator] Kennedy on the same issue they worked together on in the previous Congress," the Boston Globe reported, "speaks to an emerging dynamic in the Republican presidential race. McCain has encountered anger from hard-line immigration foes on the campaign trail, particularly over an aspect in last year's bill that would have allowed most undocumented immigrants to work toward citizenship." [Boston Globe, 3/22/07; New York Times, 3/20/07]

CAMPAIGN FINANCE

Doing Anything He Can To Win, McCain Wavering on Campaign Finance Reform.

McCain has "long supported" public financing and spending limits on campaigns. But now McCain's campaign “is still studying whether to forgo the public financing and spending limits” and have said that he “will not be handicapped by restrictions his competitors will not face in 2008.” [Washington Post, 2/11/07]

GRASSROOTS LOBBYING

McCain Flip-Flopped On Grassroots Lobbying Reform.

McCain boasted that the legislation he introduced required “greater disclosure of the activities of lobbyists, including for the first time, grassroots lobbying firms.” Then he voted to strip the provision under pressure from conservatives, saying there were “ambiguities concerning it.” [Senate Floor, Introducing The Lobbying Transparency and Accountability Act of 2005, 12/16/05; S.Amdt.20 to S.1, Vote #17, 1/18/07, agreed to 55-43; R: 48-0, D: 7-43, McCain voted "Yea"; NBC, Meet the Press, 1/21/07]

GUN CONTROL

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]

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]

VETERANS

McCain Hired Swift Boat Advertising Firm Designed to Attack Veterans. “Senator John McCain, intent on succeeding where his freewheeling presidential campaign of 2000 failed, is assembling a team of political bruisers for 2008. And it includes advisers who once sought to skewer him and whose work he has criticized as stepping over the line in the past. In 2000, Mr. McCain, Republican of Arizona, said the advertisements run against him by George W. Bush, then the governor of Texas, distorted his record. But he has hired three

members of the team that made those commercials -- Mark McKinnon, Russell Schriefer and Stuart Stevens -- to work on his presidential campaign. In 2004, Mr. McCain said the Swift Boat Veterans for Truth advertisement asserting that Senator John Kerry of Massachusetts had not properly earned his medals from the Vietnam War was 'dishonest and dishonorable.' **Nonetheless, he has hired the firm that made the spots,** Stevens Reed Curcio & Potholm, which worked on his 2000 campaign, to work for him again this year. [New York Times, 2/4/07]

McCain Stood Out in Opposing Veterans' Funding. McCain was one of only 13 Republicans to vote against an amendment that added over \$400 million for inpatient and outpatient care for veterans. [Senate Roll Call Vote #98, 4/26/06]

TAXES

2001, 2003: McCain Was Against Bush's Tax Cuts. In 2001, Congress passed "the first major tax cut in two decades and gave President Bush a speedy victory on the top priority of his administration. ... McCain was one of two Republicans to join "the majority of Democrats against" the tax cut package. In 2003, McCain said on the floor of the Senate, "I cannot in good conscience vote in favor of tax cuts," as "no one can be expected to make an informed decision on fiscal policy at this time with so many uncertain contingencies." McCain called on Congress to pause before passing tax cuts, saying, "Let us wait...it is far sounder statesmanship than cutting taxes in the dark, or running up spending[.]" [Baltimore Sun, 5/27/01; Statement, 3/18/03]

2006: McCain Voted For Bush Tax Cuts. "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,**" [New York Times, 2/21/06; Washington Times, 3/6/06; Washington Times, 2/27/06]

TAX REVENUES

2003: McCain Was Against Tax Cuts Because It Would Help "Lower the National Income." 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." [McCain Release, March 18, 2003]

2007: McCain Said 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]

ESTATE TAX

2006: 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]

2006: McCain Voted With His Republican Colleagues To Advance 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. [Vote #164, H.R. 8, 6/8/06, 57-41]

ABORTION

1999: 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: McCain Said He Wouldn't Be Bothered By An Abortion Ban And Jerry Falwell Was "Happy" With McCain's Views On Life. McCain told CBS News he wouldn't be bothered by an overturn of Roe v. Wade. McCain was asked, January 25, 2006, if he thought the nomination of Samuel Alito would sway the Supreme Court to ban abortion. McCain replied, saying, "I don't know the answer to that. I've never agreed with Roe v. Wade, so it wouldn't bother me any." Additionally, McCain's stance was accepted by the reverend Jerry Falwell who noted that he and "most of the pro-life community" are "happy" with McCain's "pro-life views." [CBS News, 1/25/06; ABC News, 3/29/06]

RIGHT-WING ICONS

2000: 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: McCain Changed His Mind on Falwell. Asked if he still thought that Jerry Falwell is still an agent of intolerance, Senator McCain responded, "No, I don't. I think that Jerry Falwell can explain to you his views on this program when you have him on." [NBC, Meet the Press, 4/4/06]

GAY MARRIAGE

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." [Tucson Citizen, 2/25/04; Senate floor statement, 7/13/04; Boston Herald, 4/1/04; Washington Post, 7/15/04]

2007: McCain Says He Would Sign the Federal Marriage Amendment Into Law. When asked if he would sign the federal marriage amendment if elected President, McCain, "without thinking about it," replied, "of course." McCain "has opposed the legislation in the Senate on federalism grounds." [Politico, 3/19/07]

INTELLIGENT DESIGN

McCain Said Creationism / Intelligent Design Should Not Be Federal Issue In 2000. McCain refused to answer a questionnaire on teaching creationism in public schools during the 2000 campaign that was solicited by the San Francisco Chronicle. On the same questionnaire, McCain responded to questions on charter schools, vouchers, teacher shortage, and school spending, but left the creationism question without a response. McCain was reported as believing the matter of teaching creationism in schools "should be left to the states," and was

“for local school boards to decide.” [San Francisco Chronicle, 2/15/00; Washington Post, 8/30/99; Times Union, 8/28/99]

DECEMBER 2005: Young People Have A Right To Be Told About Intelligent Design. “McCain said he agrees that ‘young people have a right to be told’ about intelligent design. ‘It’s a theory, just like evolution is a theory ... [even though] it may not be as plausible.’” [Courier-Journal, 12/20/05]

SPEAKING OUT AGAINST RACISM

2000: McCain Called Bob Jones “Racist and Cruel,” Said Bush Should Have Condemned Racist Beliefs. “If I’d have been invited to go to Bob Jones University, sure, I’d have gone! And I’d have told them, ‘Get out of the 16th century and into the 21st century. What you’re doing is racist and cruel!’ Instead -- instead, Governor Bush went there and never said a word. I would never, ever do such a thing.” [Fox, 2/24/00]

2005: McCain Endorsed George Wallace Jr., Keynote Speaker for White Supremacist Hate Group. In November 2005, McCain endorsed George Wallace Jr. for lieutenant governor, saying, “I’m proud to offer my support to this committed conservative reformer.” Wallace spoke to the Council of Conservative Citizens, which opposes interracial marriage, massive immigration of non-European and non-Western peoples, hate crime legislation, and multicultural and “Afrocentric” curricula in schools, once in 1998, twice during 1999, and gave the opening remarks to their national meeting in June of 2005. The audience for his speech included Don Black, proprietor of Stormfront.org, the most influential hate site on the Internet, and former Alabama grand dragon of the Knights of the Ku Klux Klan; Jared Taylor, editor of the neo-eugenicist *American Renaissance* magazine; and Alabama CCC leader Leonard “Flagpole” Wilson, who got his nickname shouting “Keep Bama white!” from atop a flagpole during the University of Alabama race riots in 1956. [Associated Press, 11/17/05; Southern Poverty Law Center, *Intelligence Report*, Summer 2005; AP, 6/6/05]

ETHANOL

After Opposing Ethanol Consistently, McCain Softened His Stance in 2006. McCain opposed ethanol as far back as 1998-1999, when McCain said, “Ethanol is not worth it. It does not help the consumer.” But in 2006, McCain softened his stance and said “he thinks ethanol can be competitive in an increasingly costly oil market.” [Fox News, 6/15/99; Des Moines Register, 12/19/99; 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; 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; Des Moines Register, 4/13/06]

Chapter 3: McCain Becomes Bush's Top Iraq War Cheerleader

McCain's double talk on the Iraq War has taken its toll and McCain has proven to be just as disconnected from the realities in Iraq as the current Administration.

MCCAIN'S "STRAIGHT-TALK" EXPRESS DERAILED IN BAGHDAD MARKET

McCain's Claim That He Could Safely Walk Around Baghdad Was Only the Latest Example of McCain's Disconnect on Iraq. "McCain's latest problem began before he left for the region, when he told Bill Bennett on the radio that 'there are neighborhoods in Baghdad where you and I could walk today.' After Michael Ware of CNN's Baghdad bureau accused the senator of living in 'Neverland,' McCain charged that it's reporters who are living in a 'time warp of three months ago.'" [Newsweek, Alter, 4/16/07 edition]

- **McCain Says He "Misspoke" When He Failed to Mention His Massive Security During Baghdad Market Trip.** "Wearing a bulletproof vest and surrounded by 100 soldiers in Baghdad's central market, McCain said: 'Never have I been able to go out into the city as I was today.' Headlines soon after called his statements 'propaganda' and a 'magic-carpet ride.' The Statesman Journal in Salem, Oregon, declared: 'Brainwashed McCain is a straight-talker no more.'" An op-ed in the Rocky Mountain News called McCain's staged walk through a Baghdad market "a truly Orwellian publicity stunt," that was turned into a "desperate attempt to give some sliver of credence to claims that the dreaded 'liberal media' are failing to report on all the wonderful things happening in Iraq... Chastened, McCain issued a half-hearted apology a few days later, saying he 'mis-spoke' when he pointed to his little walk under the protection of several platoons from the world's most powerful military as evidence of Baghdad's excellent shopping opportunities." [Washington Post, 4/7/07; Rocky Mountain News, 4/10/07]
- **And Finally, McCain Said He Disagreed With the General's Recommendation for Armed Escorts, but Did What Was "Asked" of Him.** Senator McCain said he "would have taken his tour of an Iraqi market last week even if he had not been accompanied by heavily armed U.S. soldiers. McCain hopeful said he would have walked through a central Baghdad market without the military protection, but the top U.S. commander in Iraq, General David Petraeus, had recommended the armed escort. 'I'm not notorious for being nervous about going anywhere,' said McCain. 'I'll gladly go almost anywhere in the world, under any circumstances, but I did respond and do what General Petraeus asked me to do... That place is being rebuilt today and is a functioning market... Of course it isn't entirely safe, but it certainly is a functioning market and progress is being made there.'" [AP, 4/10/07]

OUT OF TOUCH, OUT OF SYNC, MCCAIN WON'T RETHINK

Newsweek: McCain Is "Out of Sync." "McCain's in trouble because he is out of sync with the country and with himself. The senator's timing seems off in a way that might be admirable if it weren't so politically clumsy. And promoting success in Iraq seems at odds with the facts on the ground: the 'significant progress' McCain said he saw came when the average daily death toll of Iraqis was higher in March than in February." [Newsweek, Alter, 4/16/07 edition]

McCain Was Caught Exaggerating That the Top U.S. Military Official Travels in "Unarmored Humvee Almost Everyday." Senator McCain recently asserted that "General Petraeus goes out there almost every day in an unarmed Humvee." Taking questions from reporters, McCain later admitted "There is no unarmed Humvee, obviously that's the case. I'm trying to make the point over and over and over again that we are making progress. There are signs of progress. But it's long and it's hard and it's tough." [CNN, 3/27/07; CBSNews, 4/8/07]

McCain Apologized After Saying American Lives Were “Wasted” During Mismanagement of Iraq War. On February 28, during the “Late Show With David Letterman,” Mr. McCain “criticized President Bush’s management of the war, saying, ‘We’ve wasted a lot of our most precious treasure, which is American lives, over there.’ He apologized the next day for the word ‘wasted,’ saying he should have said ‘sacrificed.’” [New York Times, 4/7/07]

McCain Claimed That al-Sadr Forces Were “Not Contesting” U.S. Troops. Within a day of Senator McCain writing that Moqtada al-Sadr’s followers “are not contesting American forces,” Reuters reported that “Iraqi and U.S. forces clashed with Shi’ite militia loyal to the radical cleric Moqtada al-Sadr[.]” In addition, al-Sadr issued a statement that ordered “his militiamen to redouble their battle to oust American forces, and argued that Iraq’s army and police should join him in defeating ‘your archenemy.’” At the same time, tens of thousands of demonstrators “marched from Kufa to neighboring Najaf,” in a rally ordered by al-Sadr, and shouting anti-American slogans. [Washington Post, McCain op-ed, 4/8/07; CBS/AP, 4/9/07; Reuters, 4/7/07]

MCCAIN NOT KEEPING UP WITH HIS DAY JOB

McCain Called Iraq the “Premier Issue” of Our Time, and Troop Surge a “Last Chance.” According to accounts in The Washington Post, Senator McCain said: “Look, this is the issue. This is the premier issue of my time and the next generation. We’re taking fire and we’re taking heat, but this is the right thing to do.” McCain’s communications Director echoed that sentiment, saying “Iraq is the most important issue facing the country.” McCain even called the Iraq troop surge a “last chance.” [Washington Post, 4/7/07; CBS, Face the Nation, 1/14/07]

BUT McCain Put Campaign Before Iraq Withdrawal Vote. Senator McCain famously said “I would rather lose a campaign than a war,” and while campaigning in South Carolina with Senator Lindsey Graham, said “If we leave Iraq there will be chaos, there will be genocide, and they will follow us home[.]” Despite the stakes, both McCain and Graham missed the critical Iraq war vote that called for withdrawal of U.S. troops. [AP, 4/26/07]

- **McCain Missed Earlier Crucial Votes On Iraq Because He Was Too Busy Campaigning.** Senator McCain was campaigning while he missed each of the first three most crucial votes on the Iraq war this year. The first time, on February 5, “McCain admitted he was mending fences with conservatives in Texas when the Republicans in the Senate blocked a debate on the war.” The second time, on February 17, McCain chose “to spend the day courting conservative voters for his presidential campaign in Iowa,” and then immediately headed to Orlando, Florida for the National Religious Broadcasters convention. And finally, McCain missed the third Iraq war vote on March 15, because he was “campaigning in Iowa.” [Dallas Morning News, 2/5/07; AP, 2/16/07; MSNBC.com, 2/14/07; Los Angeles Times, 3/16/07]

Chapter 4: McCain Abandons His Own Immigration Plan

While Senator McCain was once the leading proponent of the Kennedy-McCain comprehensive immigration reform bill, he has backed away from it in the face of opposition from conservative Republican activists. McCain's reversal on immigration is the latest signal that the Double Talk Express is willing to do anything to win, even if it means compromising on principles.

IMMIGRATION IS LATEST VICTIM OF DO-ANYTHING-TO-WIN CAMPAIGN

THEN: McCain Backed Out of Leadership Role on Immigration Reform. “Senator John McCain, Republican of Arizona, who until recently joined Senator Edward M. Kennedy, Democrat of Massachusetts, in pushing for a compromise in overhauling immigration, has moved away from a lead role on the issue in the Senate.” [New York Times, 4/22/07]

NOW: McCain Said He Would Consider Reconsider Position on Immigration. “As he left Iowa, Mr. McCain said he was reconsidering his views on how the immigration law might be changed. He said he was open to legislation that would require people who came to the United States illegally to return home before applying for citizenship, a measure proposed by Representative Mike Pence, Republican of Indiana. Mr. McCain has previously favored legislation that would allow most illegal immigrants to become citizens without leaving the country.” [New York Times, 3/20/07]

CONSERVATIVES DEMANDED MCCAIN ABANDON HIS “SHAMNESTY” PLAN

Conservatives Derided McCain-Kennedy Immigration Plan as "Shamnesty." Conservative political writer Tom Bevan wrote that McCain's stance on immigration reform made no sense if he was trying to win conservative votes. Bevan wrote, “Many conservatives have long since deemed McCain's immigration proposal ‘shamnesty,’ a derisive term meant to conjure up unfavorable comparisons with the dreaded Simpson-Mazzoli bill of 1986.” Bevan added that “if McCain is really concerned about conservatives staying home in November, how can he think that passing a comprehensive immigration bill, opposed by large numbers of conservative activists in districts all over the country, is something that will help improve Republican prospects? It makes little sense.” [Foxnews.com, 7/30/06]

McCain Faced "Pointed and Sometimes Hostile" Questions About His Immigration Plan in Concord, NH. At a reception in Concord, McCain faced questions that were “pointed and sometimes hostile” on his immigration plan. McCain's efforts “to persuade skeptics” only created more friction and “prompted more and sometimes heated questions.” When he asked that those who disagreed with him speak up, “people did,” including one who complained of lower wages and said: ‘A criminal is a criminal.’” All of the disagreement was not vocal against McCain, as supporters “stood toward the back of the room, clearly unhappy about McCain's view.” [Washington Post, 4/9/06; Union Leader, 4/8/06; Hartford Courant, 4/12/06]

Conservatives in Keene, NH Expressed a "Seething" Anger Towards McCain's Immigration Plan. In Keene, McCain faced opposition from “conservatives expressing a seething anger over McCain's stance on immigration,” such as one attendee who declared, “There's no job an American can't or won't do.” Another said, “they should all be thrown out. No amnesty, no exception.” [American Spectator, 4/11/06; Hartford Courant, 4/12/06]

McCain's 2000 NH Supporters Questioned His Immigration Plan. On his first trip to New Hampshire since 2004, McCain faced skepticism from his earlier supporters about his immigration plan. Ron Dupuis, who supported McCain in 2000, asked McCain, “don't we have to enforce the laws we already have?” Dupuis also

said “he'd prefer to see the borders closed immediately.” Allan and Elizabeth Bloomquist, also McCain supporters in 2000, said they weren't concerned about McCain shifting to the right, but “that he and Ted Kennedy [were] co-sponsoring that new immigration bill,” about which Mr. Bloomquist said, “I'm not sure I agree with that.” [AP, 4/8/06; Union Leader, 4/5/06]

Protesters Dogged McCain in South Carolina for Immigration. When John McCain visited South Carolina to raise money for the state GOP in June 2006, he was met with conservative protesters angered by his stances on immigration and the confederate flag. The AP reported that “nearly 50 people joined the South Carolina chapter of the League of the South in picketing McCain's stop at the Lace House.” Lourie Salley, the political director of the group, questioned McCain's stance on immigration, saying, “If our citizens didn't pay income tax, they'd go to jail. If an illegal immigrant does that, they get amnesty and citizenship.” Salley continued, “I am surprised Governor Sanford would associate himself with John McCain.” [AP, 6/30/06]

McCain Was Met by Protesters on Immigration in Florida and Arizona. At a book signing event by McCain in Palm Beach County, Florida, “about a dozen people protested McCain's co-authoring a recent Senate bill that would give some undocumented immigrants the opportunity to become legal residents.” McCain was protested in his home state as well, where he held numerous town hall meetings with his constituents. The conservative backlash to McCain's immigration proposal reared its head when “McCain faced tough questions at a town hall meeting Thursday night [August 25, 2005] in Mesa, where conservatives accused him of going soft on illegal immigrants. 'No amnesty!' some shouted.” At a town hall meeting in Tempe, “attendees didn't wait for the event to begin to ask their questions or share their thoughts. Protestors and admirers alike greeted McCain outside the Pyle Adult Recreation Center[.]” [South Florida Sun-Sentinel, 4/10/06; AP, 8/27/05; Arizona Republic, 4/20/06]

Chapter 5: Meet Team McCain

A person's company can tell you a lot about them. In McCain's case, he is willing to use top-level fundraisers who are at odds with the principles McCain says he holds.

SCUMLORD RIPPED OFF HUNDREDS, TARGETED VIETNAMESE

Argyros Ripped-Off Hundreds of Tenants. Questions about George Argyros' "political connections in business dealings" came "under scrutiny after former tenants filed a class-action lawsuit over security deposits against his Arnel Management Co." The Orange County Register reported over 25 former residents "losing their deposits -- and some being sent a bill to boot," from Arnel Management Co., whose chairman and chief executive at the time was George Argyros. "According to internal documents, DA investigators estimate that thousands of renters in Arnel's 4,535 Orange County units were over charged for repairs and shortchanged on their deposit refunds." [AP, 8/19/01; Orange County Register, 2/7/01]

- **Argyros Charged Tenants With Vietnamese Surnames Even More.** "The Orange County District Attorney's Office began investigating whether Arnel illegally withheld renter deposits and overcharged tenants for repairs when they moved out. 'It was the black cloud at Arnel,' internal D.A. documents say. Some Arnel employees quit because of their distaste for the 'systematic rip-off of tenants.' The documents accuse Arnel of charging tenants with Vietnamese surnames even more." A former employee for Argyros' company said "her job was to 'try to collect extra money from as many tenants as possible,' regardless of ethnicity," but "Vietnamese-Americans were targeted and were the ones most likely to pay the fictional bills without a fight." [Orange County Register, 9/29/01; OC Weekly, 2/23/01]

MCCAIN'S TOP FUNDRAISER IS A LOBBYIST FOR PORK PROJECTS

Loeffler Earned \$3.9 Million for Creating \$40 Million in Federal Pork. McCain's new Presidential campaign consigliere, 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. [Lobbyist Disclosure Documents Filled with Secretary of the Senate, Citizens Against Government Waste Pig Book 2003-06]

MCCAIN'S SENIOR FUNDRAISER IS A LOBBYIST FOR SAUDI ARABIA

Loeffler Received Nearly A Million Dollars A Year To Set Up Meetings Between the White House And Saudi Arabia. "The Loeffler Group, the powerful firm hired to lobby for the Saudis, has given senators a 70-page Saudi-friendly position paper, and several paid experts have written op-ed pieces in the Arab media denouncing scheduled witnesses." "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." [New York Post, 11/8/05; National Journal, 1/15/05]

- **McCain Trying to Have it "Both Ways" On the U.S. Relationship With Saudi Arabia.** McCain criticized President Bush for his close relationship with the Saudi government and denounced the Saudi Arabian government for funding extremist groups. On MSNBC's Hardball, McCain criticized Bush for his dealings with the Saudi Arabian government, noting, "15 of the 19 terrorists were Saudi citizens. They've got to stop the money that goes to the extremists." According to the Philadelphia Inquirer, McCain accused the Saudi government of "trying to have it both ways," by financing extremist groups and allowing them to "have the megaphone." [MSNBC Hardball, 10/16/02; Philadelphia Inquirer, 10/22/01]

THE REAL MITT ROMNEY



SIMI VALLEY, CA
MAY 3, 2007

*A PRODUCT OF THE
DNC RESEARCH DEPARTMENT*



Chapter 1: There Are Two Sides to Mitt Romney like Two Sides To A Coin

“There’s no problem, in my view, with someone who changes their view on an issue, because I certainly have.” --Mitt Romney, Atlanta Journal-Constitution, 2/22/07

WHAT HASN'T ROMNEY CHANGED POSITIONS ON?

ISSUE	OLD MITT	NEW MITT
Abortion	Romney: I Believe that Abortion Should be Safe and Legal; I Support Roe v. Wade. [1994 Senate Debate]	Romney: Every Vote I Took Has Been in Favor of Life. [Charlotte Observer, 4/15/07] Romney: I Was Pro-Choice Before I Was Pro-Life. [Politico, 2/25/07]
Bush Tax Cuts	Romney Refused to Publicly Endorse Bush Tax Cuts. [Boston Globe, 4/11/03]	Romney: Make Bush Tax Cuts Permanent. [Detroit Economic Club speech, 2/7/07]
Campaign Finance Reform	Romney Supported Taxing Political Contributions, Abolishing PACs and Spending Limits. [Lowell Sun, 10/27/02; Boston Globe, 7/27/94]	Romney Called for Repeal of McCain-Feingold. [Romney for President Press Release, 3/2/07]
Climate Change	Romney Pledged to Enforce Global Warming Regulations to Reduce Greenhouse Gas Emissions. [Telegram & Gazette, 11/15/02; Los Angeles Times, 3/25/07] Romney Announced MA Climate Protection Plan to Reduce Greenhouse Gas Emissions. [Governor Romney Press Release, 12/7/05]	Romney: Republicans Should Not Embrace the Ideas of Al Gore & Liberal Left. [Monitor, 3/12/07]
Conservative Credentials	Romney: I’m Not the Most Conservative Candidate. [NewsMax.com, 2/9/07]	Romney: I’m the Conservative Candidate. [Boston Globe, 3/2/07]
Favorite Movie	Romney’s Favorite Movie is “O Brother, Where Art Thou?” [Boston Globe, 10/31/02]	Romney Listed Favorite Movie as “Raiders of the Lost Ark.” [Boston Herald, 3/4/07]
Gaming	Romney Supported Expanding Gaming to Generate Revenue for Massachusetts. [Providence Journal-Bulletin, 4/16/03]	Romney Flip-Flopped on Gaming to Posture for Higher Office. [Boston Herald, 10/18/05]
Gays in the Military/ “Don’t Ask, Don’t Tell”	Romney: “Don’t Ask Don’t Tell” Must Lead to Gays Serving Openly in Armed Forces. [Boston Herald, 10/20/94]	Romney Said He Supports POTUS Decision to Maintain “Don’t Ask, Don’t Tell” Policy. [New York Observer, 3/19/07]
Gun Control/NRA Endorsement	Romney Signed Bill Extending Gun Control. [Governor Romney Press Release, 7/1/04]	Romney: Americans Should Have Right to Own a Firearm; I Safely Use a Firearm. [Press Release, 1/12/07]

Health Care Plan	Romney Signed Landmark Healthcare Legislation. [Governor Romney Press Release, 4/12/06]	Romney Distances Himself From Health Care Plan. [Boston Globe, 2/3/07]
Hunting	Romney: I've been a Hunter Pretty Much ALL My Life. [Associated Press, 4/4/07]	Romney's Campaign Admits Romney NOT an Avid Hunter. [Washington Post, 4/6/07] Romney: Description of Being a Hunter is an Overstatement. [Austin-American Statesman 4/10/7]
Immigration Reform	Romney: We Should Not Deny ALL Services to People Who Come from Across the Border. [Boston Herald, 3/14/07] Romney Expressed Support for Path to Citizenship. [Lowell Sun, 3/30/06]	Romney Rejected Guest-Worker Program; Called for Change in Policy of Granting Citizenship to Those Born on American Soil. [Boston Globe, 3/16/07]
Iraq	Romney Distanced Himself from Bush on Iraq; Said He Would Have Done it Differently. [Christian Science Monitor, 1/27/06] Romney: Iraq War has been Mismanaged. [Omaha World-Herald, 3/23/07]	Romney: I Would NOT Presume to Do it Differently from Bush, We MUST Finish in Iraq. [O'Reilly Factor, FNN, 9/27/06]
"It Takes a Village"	Romney: Clinton is Right, "It Takes a Village" to Raise a Child. [Boston Globe, 3/1/98]	Romney Said HRC Wrong, "It Takes a Family" to Raise a Child. [Associated Press, 4/17/07]
Minimum Wage	Romney: Minimum Wage Ought to Keep Pace with Inflation. [Boston Globe, 10/17/94]	Romney Vetoed Measure to Raise Massachusetts Minimum Wage; Legislators Overrode Veto. [Associated Press, 8/1/06]
No New Taxes Pledge	Romney: I Will Not Enter Written Tax Pledge; Called Pledge "Government by Gimmickry." [Boston Globe, 3/28/02]	Romney: I Just Signed One for Grover Norquist. [Boston Globe, 1/19/07]
NRA Endorsement	Romney: NRA Won't Make Me its Hero. [Boston Herald, 9/23/94; Associated Press, 4/4/07]	Romney: I'm After the NRA's Endorsement. [Associated Press, 4/4/07]
Personal Friendships	Romney: Personal Friendship with Anderson Transcends Politics. [Boston Globe, 3/23/07; Boston Globe, 10/7/03]	Romney Distanced Himself from Longtime Friend Over Politics [Boston Globe, 3/23/07]

Political Hero	Romney: I'm NOT Trying to Return to Reagan-Bush. [1994 Senate Debate]	Romney Posturing to be Successor to Reagan Legacy. [Washington Times, 4/20/07; Associated Press, 4/16/07; NewsMax, 4/2007; Politico, 2/25/07]
Social Security	Romney Said He Would Not Cut Social Security to Balance Federal Budget. [Boston Globe, 10/17/94]	Romney Intrigued by Idea of Gradual Reduction in Benefits and Privatization. [Salt Lake Tribune, 2/7/07] Romney's Economic Team Mirrors President Bush's 2001 Social Security Commission. [<i>Special Report with Brit Hume</i> , FNN, 2/7/07]
Stem Cell Research	Romney Supported Stem Cell Research. [Boston Globe, 12/4/02]	Romney Proposed Legislation Limiting Stem Cell Research. [New York Times, 2/10/05]

Chapter 2: Romney Campaigns as an Outsider But Remains The Establishments Candidate

ROMNEY SAYS WASHINGTON NEEDS A CHANGE

Romney: It Takes Leadership to Change Washington. While campaigning in Davenport, IA, Mitt Romney said he has the leadership to change Washington. Romney said his impressive fundraising quarter is the result of people's desire for change. He said he is doing well financially "because people in Iowa who get a chance to see us one by one recognize that I can bring, and my family can bring, something to this country that we need, and that is the leadership to change Washington." [Associated Press, 4/20/07]

Romney Called Washington a "Mess;" Said Change is Needed. Romney called himself "a conservative through and through." He tried to cast himself as an outsider. He called Washington "a mess," despite twelve years of Republican control. Romney said, "If there ever has been a time we needed a change in Washington, it's now." He said, "We're spending too much money in Washington." [Charlotte Observer, 4/15/07]

- **Romney: Republicans Buy Votes; We Tolerate Abuse and Cheating.** Romney criticized the Bush Administration for wasteful spending. He said, the government appropriates money "based on who will vote for us or for our party: in effect, we buy votes." He continued, "We fund programs that don't work. We tolerate abuse and cheating in the multiples of billions of dollars." [Associated Press, 7/14/04]

Romney Campaign Strategy Listed "Washington Establishment" as a Political Target. Romney's campaign plan indicates that Romney will define himself by focusing on and highlighting enemies and adversaries, such common political targets as "Jihadism," the "Washington establishment," and taxes. He also targets Democratic presidential candidate Hillary Clinton, "European-style socialism," and France. He lists Massachusetts

WITH SO MANY BELTWAY CONNECTIONS WE CAN EXPECT MORE OF THE SAME

In Two Man Race: Romney v. McCain, Romney Gains Most of the Establishment's Backing. Rudy Giuliani is a useful opponent for McCain. Former Massachusetts Governor Mitt Romney has failed to unite the Right behind him. In a McCain versus Romney race, Romney would have most conservatives and portions of the party establishment behind him, and might win the nomination. [National Review, 3/19/07]

Romney Leads Presidential Candidates in Congressional Endorsements. Mitt Romney has received more congressional endorsements than any other presidential candidate with twenty-nine: 5 Senators and 24 Representatives. Notably, Romney has received the endorsements of Senators Orrin Hatch and Bob Bennett of Utah; and of Senator Jim DeMint of, the early-primary state, South Carolina. [The Hill, 4/20/07; Romney Press Release, 4/16/07]

Former House Speaker Dennis Hastert Endorsed Romney for President. Former Speaker of the House Dennis Hastert endorsed Mitt Romney for president. He leads the list of 24 Representatives that includes: Robert Aderholt (AL), Rodney Alexander (LA), Marsha Blackburn (TN), Ginny Brown-Waite (FL), Dave Camp (MI), John Campbell (CA), Mike Conaway (TX), John Duncan (TN), Tom Feeney (FL), Phil Gingrey (GA), Peter Hoekstra (MI), Joe Knollenberg (MI), Ron Lewis (KY), John Linder (GA), Jim McCrery (LA), Buck McKeon (CA), Tom Price (GA), Ralph Regula (OH), Hal Rogers (KY), Mike Rogers (AL), Bill Shuster (PA), Mike Simpson (ID), and Ed Whitfield (KY). [The Hill, 4/20/07]

Romney Named Jim McCrery as Congressional Liaison; Dave Camp and Buck McKeon as Co-Liaison.

Romney appointed Representative Jim McCrery of Louisiana as his House congressional liaison. Romney's exploratory committee said McCrery would lead Romney's "outreach efforts" in the House. Romney said, "I am proud to have the support and service of Jim McCrery on my exploratory committee. Congressman McCrery will be a strong voice in the U.S. Capitol for our vision to move America forward. Today's announcement is just another sign of our growing support." The campaign announced the appointment of Representatives Dave Camp of Michigan, who will also serve as his Michigan co-chairmen, and Buck McKeon of California as co-House congressional liaisons. "With their help, we will find new solutions for the new generation of challenges confronting our nation," Romney added. [The Hill, 1/18/07]

- **Romney Won the Support of Sixteen RNC Members.** According to sources familiar with the campaign, Mitt Romney has won the support of 16 Republican National Committee members. The list includes: Cindy Costa (SC), Darrell Crate (MA), David Norcross (N.J), Donna Gosney (WV), Jody Dow (MA), June Hartley (OR), Louis Pope (MD), Lynn Windel (OK), Peter Cianchette (ME), Robert Manning (RI), Ron Kaufman (MA), Sara Gear Boyd (VT), Solomon Yue (OR), Tom Rath (NH), Tony Parker (DC) and Vance Day (OR). [The Hill, 1/18/07]

Chapter 3: Romney Embraces Corruption, the Dirty Politics Of Divisiveness And Nastiness

“We tolerate abuse and cheating in the multiples of billions of dollars.”

–Mitt Romney, Associated Press, 7/14/04

HIS DEPUTY CAMPAIGN MANAGER & EVENT HOSTS ARE LINKED TO CORRUPTION

Romney’s Deputy Campaign Manager Jason Roe Resigned Abruptly Due to Abramoff Links. Jason Roe resigned from Romney’s campaign just days after the FBI contacted his former employer, Representative Feeney about his connections with Jack Abramoff. Representative Feeney was the third congressman, along with Bob Ney and Tom DeLay, to accompany Abramoff on a golfing trip to Scotland paid for by the lobbyist. The FBI contacted two Central Florida newspapers, St. Petersburg Times and the Orlando Sentinel, requesting correspondence from Roe that answered questions about Feeney’s Scotland trip. Roe said he had no knowledge of an investigation and had not yet been contacted by the FBI. [St. Petersburg Times, 4/24/07]

- **Roe’s Resignation from Romney’s Campaign Coincided with Congressional Aide’s Guilty Plea on Abramoff Dealings.** Prior in the day of Roe’s resignation, a congressional aide, Mark Zachares pled guilty and released documents detailing Jack Abramoff’s ties with members of congress, including Roe’s former employer, Representative Tom Feeney. Zachares coordinated lies with Abramoff regarding the Scotland trip, including assertions that the trip was paid for by a think tank, that it cost \$5,643 and that its purpose was fact-finding. Feeney claimed the exact same details in the travel report he filed pertaining to the Scotland outing, though records released with Zachares plea show the cost of the trip to be \$20,000. The FBI requested an email from Roe to the St. Petersburg Times that answered questions about payment for Feeney’s Scotland trip. [St. Petersburg Times, 4/25/07]

Three Co-Hosts of “Lawyers for Romney” Event were Deputies to Gonzalez during Run-up to Firings of U.S. Attorneys. Brad Berenson, Timothy Flanigan, and David Leitch, all former deputies to then-White House counsel Alberto Gonzales, were co-hosts of a “Lawyers for Romney” kick-off event. Leitch, who remained at the White House after Gonzales went over to DOJ, was the official whose name has popped in the January 2005 email titled ““Questions from Karl Rove’ regarding how to deal with U.S. Attorneys in Bush’s second term. Leitch forwarded the message, sent from another White House aide, over to Kyle Sampson, Gonzales’s recently departed Chief of Staff.” Brad Berenson now represents Sampson. [*Jonathan Martin’s Blog*, Politico, 3/20/07]

- **Romney Event Co-Host Involved in Email Controversy Surrounding Dismissal of U.S. Attorneys.** Emails released by the Justice Department shows direct involvement by “Lawyers for Romney” event host David Leitch in the dismissal of either U.S. Attorneys. The email says, “David – Karl Rove stopped by to ask you (roughly quoting) ‘how we planned to proceed regarding US Attorneys, whether we were going to allow all to stay, request resignations from all and accept only some of them, or selectively replace them, etc.’ I told him that you would be on the hill all day for the Judge’s hearing, and he said the matter was not urgent.” [Email from Colin Newman, Office of White House Counsel, to David Leitch, Deputy White House Counsel, 1/9/05]

ROMNEY SHOWS NO DISDAIN FOR THE POLITICS OF DIVISIVENESS

Romney: “A Good Thing” Ann Coulter Spoke at CPAC. Romney proclaimed, during his CPAC speech, “I’m happy to learn also that after you hear me, you’re going to hear from Ann Coulter, and that is a good thing. Oh yeah!” [Romney’s CPAC Speech, 3/2/07]

- **Coulter: John Edwards a Faggot.** Ann Coulter, at the Conservative Political Action Conference in March said “I was going to have a few comments on the other Democratic presidential candidate, John Edwards, but it turns out that you have to go into rehab if you use the word faggot.” She continued, “So I’m kind of at an impasse - can’t really talk about Edwards.” [Austin-American Statesman, 3/9/07]

Alex Castellanos is Known for Producing Vicious Irresponsible and Racially Divisive Ads. Castellanos is “father of the modern attack ad.” He is known as “vicious [and] irresponsible.” [Salon.com, 3/15/04]

Castellanos Produced Racially Divisive Ad Blasting Black Senate Challenger. In 1990, Castellanos produced a racially divisive ad blasting Jessie Helms’s challenger, Harvey Gantt, a black man, for his support of racial quotas. “The ad depicted a pair of white hands ripping up a rejection letter from an employer. ‘You needed that job and you were the best qualified, but they had to give it to a minority,’ the narrator says.”

2000: Castellanos Used Subliminal Messages in Derogatory Ad. In 2000, Castellanos produced an infamous television ad for Bush against Vice President Al Gore’s prescription drug plan. In the ad, the word “RATS” flashes for a split second. Democrats accused Castellanos of using subliminal derogatory messages. [Atlanta Journal-Constitution, 2/4/07; Boston Globe, 11/16/06]

- **Jeb Bush Canned Castellanos Because of Vicious Ad.** “In a 1994 spot for Jeb Bush, who was challenging Chiles for Florida governor, Castellanos tried to paint Chiles as soft on crime for refusing to sign a death warrant for the murderer of a 10-year-old girl. But it turned out that Florida courts were still hearing the killer’s appeal, and some observers believe the backlash from the ad helped Chiles eke out a victory. Four years later, Bush ran a successful campaign with a different ad man.” [Boston Globe, 11/16/06]

Rokita is a Co-Chair of Romney’s Indiana Finance Committee. On April 5, 2007, Rokita hosted a fundraiser for Romney at the Columbia Club, and was named a Co-Chair of his Indiana State Finance Committee. Rokita and his wife have donated \$4,200 to Romney’s campaign. [Romney First Quarter 2007 FEC report; Associated Press, 4/5/07]

Todd Rokita Made Incendiary Racial Comments Likening African-Americans’ Voting Preferences to Slavery. Todd Rokita, co-chair of Romney’s Indiana finance committee and Indiana secretary of state, made incendiary racial comments likening African-Americans to slaves in terms of their voting patterns. After asserting that African-Americans vote Democratic 90% of the time, Rokita asked, “How can that be?” He then asked: “Who’s the master and who’s the slave in that relationship?” [Washington Times-Herald, 4/13/07]

- **Rokita’s Comments Prompted Outrage from Black Leaders.** Black leaders expressed outrage at the Rokita’s remarks. State Representative William Crawford of Indianapolis said, “He needs to apologize to the people that he called ignorant and uninformed, and that is 90% of [African-Americans].” Others expressed shock that Rokita could be so careless so soon after renowned radio personality Don Imus captured the attention of the nation and was fired for incendiary racial remarks. Representative Charlie Brown of Gary said, “I can’t even begin to fathom what could have been going through Rokita’s mind, to let those words come out of his mouth, especially this close on the heels of the Imus debacle.” [Washington Times-Herald, 4/13/07; Associated Press, 4/16/07]

ROMNEY WELCOMES MONEY FROM MEN THAT PRACTICE DIRTY TRICKS

John Rakolta Named as National Finance Co-Chair for the Romney Campaign. Romney named John Rakolta, Jr., as National Finance Co-Chair. Rakolta serves on Romney's Florida statewide Finance Steering Committee. John Rakolta is also Scott Romney's former brother-in-law. [Romney Press Release, 2/22/07; Associated Press, 1/5/07; Boston Globe, 9/24/05]

Voice the Vote Bankrolled by Rakolta and Cummings Families. Detroit political consultant Adolph Mongo solicited contributions from the families of John Rakolta and Peter Cummings to fund Voice the Vote political action committee. John Rakolta and his wife each donated \$5,000 to Voice the Vote. The Cummings each contributed \$5,000 to the group. [Detroit Free Press, 3/15/07]

- **Voice the Vote PAC Produced Ad Comparing Democrats to Adolf Hitler.** In 2006, the Detroit-based political action committee Voice the Vote ran an ad in the Michigan Chronicle newspaper that featured photographs of Hitler, Jennifer Granholm and former Democratic presidents. The ad claimed Granholm was the latest of a growing list of Democratic politicians to take the black vote for granted. It played upon Democratic President Franklin Roosevelt's refusal, like Hitler's, to shake 1936 Olympic gold medalist Jessie Owens' hand after his victory. [Detroit Free Press, 3/15/07]

Bob Perry is Named to Romney's Texas Fundraising Team. Bob Perry, a Texas homebuilder and one of the primary funders of the Swift Boat Veterans for Truth, has signed on to raise money for the presidential campaign of former Governor Mitt Romney. An invite to the Dallas fundraiser for Romney on March 26 includes Perry's name as a member of the governor's "Texas Leadership Team." [The Fix, Washington Post, 3/16/07]

- **Bob Perry Was Chief Backer of Swift Boats Veterans for Truth.** Bob Perry, who owns Houston-based builder Perry Homes, is a Republican Party financial donor who gained notoriety as the chief financial backer of Swift Boat Veterans for Truth, whose ads criticized the Vietnam War record of Senator John F. Kerry. Perry gave \$4.5 million to Swift Boat Veterans for Truth's campaign in 2004 to distort John Kerry's military record. [Washington Post, 3/17/07; Washington Post, 8/9/05]
- **Bush Friend Bankrolled Anti-Kerry Vet Group During Campaign.** IRS records show that the Texas Anti-Kerry group is being bankrolled by Bob Perry, a good friend of George Bush & Karl Rove. Perry is one of the largest Republican donors in Texas, having given "hundreds of thousands of dollars" in campaign contributions to state and national Republican parties, local and federal Republican candidates and President Bush's campaign. [IRS records, 4/23/04-6/30/04]

Bob Perry's Massive Contributions Called a "Corrosive" Force in Politics "Critics say the 71-year-old donor has introduced a level of giving that is corrosive in politics." [Associated Press, 11/2/03]

Perry is Top Donor to College Republican Club Criticized for Racist, Anti-Immigrant Activities. Having given \$200,000 on October 24, 2006, Bob Perry is the fourth largest donor to the College Republicans 527 organization. The group has come under fire lately for sponsoring activities including:

- Offering a dinner for two at a local Mexican restaurant for the winner of a 'food stamp drawing' that required climbing through a hole in a chain link fence and offering fake identification.

- Sponsoring a game called ‘Catch the Illegal Immigrant’. Under the game’s rules, according to one student Republican, players were to search on campus for the student chosen to wear a name tag saying ‘illegal immigrant.’ [New York Times, 2/23/07]
- Advocating events like ‘Fun with Guns,’ in which young Republicans would use a BB gun or paintball gun to shoot cardboard cut-outs of Democratic leaders such as Sen. Hillary Clinton (D-N.Y.) and Sen. John Kerry (D-Mass.)” [The Michigan Daily, 9/12/06]

Lindner Family Joined List of Romney Financial Backers; Brings Fundraising Ties to Romney Camp. S. Craig Lindner and Carl Lindner joined Mitt Romney as financial backers. S. Craig and Carl Lindner will serve as co-Chairs of the Ohio Finance Steering Committee. Carl Lindner will serve as co-Chair of the National Finance Committee. The backing of the Lindner family brings a vast fundraising network to Romney’s campaign since there are untold numbers of other corporate-types in this part of the world who generally follow the Lindner family’s lead when it comes to campaign contributions. [Cincinnati.com, 3/28/07]

- **Lindner Family Contributed Nearly \$50,000 to Romney’s Campaign in the First Quarter.** The Lindner family contributed a total of \$47,900 to Romney’s primary campaign. Each Lindner family donor – even those still in college or listed as students under occupation – contributed the maximum \$2,300 allowed by law to Romney’s primary campaign. Employees at American Financial Group, the company at which the Lindners sit at the helm, contributed a total of \$28,600. [FEC Data, Mitt Romney for President]

Carl Lindner Donated \$479,224 To Common Sense Ohio. American Financial Group Chairman Carl Lindner of Cincinnati and Massachusetts abortion foe Raymond Ruddy financed \$827,000 worth of ads that Common Sense Ohio ran during the 2006 elections. The Lindner’s contributions to Common Sense Ohio totaled \$479,224. [Openers, Cleveland Plain Dealer Blog, 4/11/07; Campaign Finance Institute, 4/11/07]

- **Common Sense Ohio Spent \$827,000 On Deceptive Push Polls and Ads in Seven States.** According to the Campaign Finance Institute, Common Sense Ohio was responsible for \$827,000 in deceptive ads and push polls in Ohio, Missouri, Rhode Island, Maryland, Tennessee, South Dakota and Montana. [Openers, Cleveland Plain Dealer Blog, 4/11/07]

Romney’s RGA Gave \$70,000 to Common Sense Ohio. The RGA gave a \$70,000 contribution to Common Sense Ohio, a group funded and run by Ken Blackwell supporters. [Cleveland Plain Dealer, 9/30/06]

RGA Affiliate Linked to Donations to Common Sense Ohio. “Common Sense Ohio, is a nonprofit advocacy organization and is financed by wealthy Republican donors. A sister organization, Common Sense 2006, has received a donation from the Republican Governors Public Policy Committee, an affiliate of the Republican Governors Association. Under federal law, the groups are not required to disclose their donors publicly or reveal how much money they have raised.” [New York Times, 11/6/06]

Chapter 4: Romney's Many Mistakes and Numerous Slip-Ups Proves He Does Not Have What It Takes to Be President

Sager: Romney is the Most Gaffe-Prone GOP Candidate; Called Wife Ann OLD. Ryan Sager of the New York Sun commented, "In fact, a study of the campaign so far shows that Mr. Romney is the most gaffe-prone of all the Republican candidates... Heck, I was even in the audience at a small gathering in early March when the governor accidentally insulted his wife. 'I feel old,' Ann Romney told a crowd at the Conservative Political Action Conference. 'You are!' her husband chimed in. The crowd winced. 'It's a joke, we're the same age,' he clarified to the uncomfortable audience." [New York Sun, 4/20/07]

CAN ROMNEY LOOK THE VICTIMS OF 9/11 IN THE FACE AND SAY...?

Romney: Not Worth Moving Heaven and Earth Spending Billions of Dollars to Capture Osama bin Laden. Mitt Romney doubts the capture of Osama bin Laden would substantially improve American security. Romney said, "It's not worth moving heaven and earth spending billions of dollars just trying to catch one person." He claimed the country would be safer by only "a small percentage" and would see "a very insignificant increase in safety." Rather than targeting bin Laden, Romney supports a broader strategy to defeat the global Islamic jihad movement. [Associated Press, 4/27/07]

Romney: It's NOT Only About Osama bin Laden. During a speech to the Herzliya Conference, Romney said: "In America, the attack by Al Qaeda has led some to believe that we are threatened by a band of fanatics that live in the mountains of Afghanistan and Pakistan. They imagine that if we could only get Osama Bin Laden and put him away, all this unpleasantness would simply end." He continued, "But Jihadism is much, much greater. Jihadists are among Sunni and Shia, promoted by Hezbollah and Hamas and the Muslim Brotherhood, financed by knowing and unknowing Muslim governments, and preached to hundreds of millions in many nations." [Romney Speech to 7th Annual Herzliya Conference, 1/23/07]

WAS ROMNEY SUGGESTING AMERICA BE MORE LIKE NAZI GERMANY?

Romney Says U.S. Needs French, Refers to Hitler in Discussions on Energy. At a speech to the Northern Virginia Technology Council in McLean, Virginia, Romney said, "I'm afraid building a nuclear power plant in our country today would require us first to hire the French to show us how to do it." Then Romney continued, "Liquified coal, gosh. Hitler during the Second World War – I guess because he was concerned about losing his oil – liquefied coal." [New York Sun, 4/20/07]

- **Sager: Romney Prone to Nazi-Related Gaffes; Announced Presidential Bid at Anti-Semite's Museum.** Sager wrote, "It's worth noting that [the Hitler comment] wasn't Romney's first gaffe – not even his first Nazi-related gaffe." In February, Romney drew criticism when he kicked off his presidential campaign at the Henry Ford Museum in Dearborn, Michigan. Ford was also a notorious anti-Semite who was awarded the Grand Service Cross of the Supreme Order of the German Eagle by Hitler. [New York Times, 2/19/07; New York Sun, 4/20/07]

ROMNEY JUST DOES NOT KNOW WHAT TO SAY OUT OF HIS MOUTH

Romney Botched Florida Speech to Cuban Americans; Offended Many with Stereotypical Comments. Romney delivered a speech to the Miami-Dade Republican Party that was heavy on anti-communist rhetoric but full of errors. First, he condemned the Venezuelan president who has embraced Castro. Romney said, "Hugo Chávez has tried to steal an inspiring phrase -- *Patria o muerte, venceremos*. It does not belong to him. It belongs to a free Cuba." Actually, the quote belongs to Castro who is abhorred in the Cuban American

community. The quote, for many Cuban Americans, represents the oppressive regime of Fidel Castro. Then, “he punctuated his speech with ‘*Libertad, libertad, libertad!*’ to show his support for freedom in Cuba. But to some, he was echoing a line from *Scarface*, a movie notorious for its stereotyped portrayal of Cuban immigrants.” [Miami Herald, 3/19/07]

- **Romney Reaffirmed Castro Phrase Belongs to “Free Cuba” Despite Scholarly Claims to the Contrary.** Scholars and prominent Cubans said “*Patria o muerte, venceremos*” has always been a Communist rallying cry and that it represents the oppressive regime of Fidel Castro. Florida state-Representative Rene Garcia said, “It means communism. It means Fidel Castro. It’s a Communist catch phrase.” However, Romney spokesman Eric Fehrstrom said, “The phrase belongs to liberators, not oppressors. It doesn’t belong to Fidel Castro. It doesn’t belong to Hugo Chavez. It belongs to a free Cuba.” Garcia said Romney was “ill-advised” to mention the saying, especially at the epicenter of the Cuban-American struggle. Garcia said, “When you come into our community, you should be a little better-prepared.” He added that Romney’s comments “left a negative taste with local officials.” [Boston Herald, 3/20/07]

SO HOW OFTEN DOES HE REALLY HUNT?

Romney: I’ve been a Hunter Pretty Much ALL My Life. During an appearance in Keene, New Hampshire, Romney touted his hunting credentials to a man wearing a National Rifle Association cap. Romney said, “I support the Second Amendment. I purchased a gun when I was a young man. I’ve been a hunter pretty much all my life. I’ve never really shot anything terribly big. I used to hunt rabbits.” Romney added, “Shooting a rabbit with a single-shot .22 is pretty hard, and after watching me try for a couple of weeks, my cousins said, ‘We’ll slip you the semiautomatic. You’ll do better with that.’ And I sure did.” [Associated Press, 4/4/07]

Romney NOT a Big Game Hunter; Has Been Hunting TWICE. However, Romney has only been hunting twice: as a 15-year-old; and last year, when he attended an outing of major donors to the Republican Governors Association on a fenced gaming preserve in Georgia. Romney spokesman Eric Fehrstrom said, “Mitt Romney is not a big-game hunter, but he knows how to handle a firearm.” He added, “Governor Romney’s support for the Second Amendment doesn’t come from the fact he knows how to handle a firearm; it comes from his appreciation of the Constitution and the rights enshrined in it, including the right to keep and bear arms.” [New York Times, 4/6/07; Associated Press, 4/4/07]

- **Romney: I’ve Hunted More Than Twice; Four States Unable to Verify Hunting License.** Romney issued a statement saying, “The report that I only hunted twice is incorrect. I’ve hunted small game numerous times, as a young man and as an adult. I’m by no means a big game hunter. I’m more Jed Clampett than Teddy Roosevelt.” Romney asserts that he hunted as a teenager mainly in Utah where a license is not required to hunt small game and animals. However, a recently passed law prevents public access to Romney’s hunting license. Massachusetts, New Hampshire and Michigan officials report that Romney was never issued a license to hunt. [Associated Press, 4/8/07]
- **Romney’s Campaign Admits Romney NOT an Avid Hunter.** Romney spokesman Kevin Madden said, “I wouldn’t describe the governor as an avid hunter. I don’t think if we were sitting around the hunting lodge, he would have a lot of stories to tell about big game.” [Washington Post, 4/6/07]

Romney: Description of Being a Hunter is an Overstatement. When asked about his hunting gaffe at a private fundraiser in Austin, TX, Romney said, “I’m more like Bill Murray in ‘Caddyshack’ than the great hunter. So any description of my being a hunter is an overstatement of capability.” [Austin-American Statesman 4/10/7]