



# He's No Ronald Reagan

*Why Conservatives Should Not Vote for John McCain*

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1006 Pennsylvania Avenue, SE \* Washington, DC 20003 \* Phone: (202) 547-1249 \* Fax: (202) 547-5421

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## Executive Summary

For the past year, Senator John McCain, Republican of Arizona, has been vigorously attempting to convince conservative leaders and primary and caucus voters, whose support is critical in the Republican presidential nominating process, that he is the “right” choice.

He indeed boasts an impressive resume. He is a war hero. He is a distinguished United States senator in his fourth term—re-elected in 2004 with 77% of the vote. His media appeal is the envy of politicians on both sides of the aisle.

But throughout his Capitol Hill career, John McCain has loudly and proudly opposed a myriad of bedrock conservative principles. His record is replete with glaring examples of why conservatives should not support his presidential candidacy. On issues like abortion, campaign finance, global warming, gun control, illegal immigration, judicial appointments, same sex marriage, stem cell research, tax relief, and terrorist interrogation methods, McCain has staked out positions that are anathema to conservatism.

Consider campaign finance regulations, which is McCain’s signature issue and thus epitomizes his political worldview. As even the senator himself has conceded, banning political speech in the run-up to an election violates the First Amendment. Yet McCain believes there is a higher good than the Constitution—the purported purity of the political process—to be enforced by that instrument of incorruptibility: government itself. Never mind that McCain has taken millions of dollars from the corrupting “special interests” that he decries. It seems voters are just supposed to trust that John McCain, rather than we the people, knows what’s best.

McCain’s views and votes aren’t his only problems. News reports confirm that he has considered changing his party affiliation, and during the 2000 presidential primary campaign he actually ran against the Christian conservative base. The result speaks for itself: George W. Bush stood strong with conservatives—and won both the Republican nomination and the presidency.

Conservatives understand that John McCain is pandering to us, in the hope that we will minimize his past apostasy. But the apostasy isn’t just in the past—it’s in the very fiber of his character. Conservatives deserve a standard-bearer who is completely committed to a conservative agenda, not one who just mouths its slogans. In other words, we want an heir to Ronald Reagan.

John McCain is decidedly not that person.

# John McCain Is Not a Conservative: The Big Picture

## “Richly Layered History of Apostasy”

“However much he courts the base, it will never be enough to allay the suspicions of diehard opponents on the right, who loathe what the *National Review*’s Rich Lowry calls McCain’s ‘richly layered history of apostasy.’”<sup>1</sup>

## “Conservatives Remain Suspicious”

“[M]any conservatives remain suspicious of McCain’s commitment to their causes, such as banning abortion, fighting gun control, and prohibiting same-sex marriage. McCain has also run afoul of conservatives by pushing for an overhaul of the campaign finance laws.”<sup>2</sup>

Dick Morris: “He’s the author, with Ted Kennedy, of the amnesty for illegal aliens. He’s the author of the limits on interrogation of detainees, the campaign finance reform legislation, global warming. They’re [Republican primary voters] not going to buy that.”<sup>3</sup>

James Dobson: “I would not vote for John McCain under any circumstances.”<sup>4</sup>

“He also faces a host of enemies among Republican interest groups and social conservatives who have not forgiven or forgotten his run as an iconoclastic insurgent in 2000 and who dislike some of the positions he currently holds on litmus-test issues such as the gay marriage amendment (he’s against it) and stem cell research (he’s for it).”<sup>5</sup>

## Flip-Flopping

“The Arizonan used to vote against President Bush’s tax cuts; now he’s voting for them. He said during the 2000 campaign that the Reverend Jerry Falwell was an ‘agent of intolerance,’ but now he’s showing respect by speaking May 13 at Falwell’s college. He has softened his earlier opposition to a federal amendment banning gay marriage. He used to punt on the issue of teaching creationism, but now he endorses it.”<sup>6</sup>

2000: “Mr. McCain’s attacks on the religious right appeared to be a mistaken gambit—or one that did not yield him hoped-for new support among more moderate voters.”<sup>7</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> Glen Frankel, “The McCain Makeover,” *Washington Post*, 8/27/2006.

<sup>2</sup> Kenneth T. Walsh, “And They’re Off!,” *U.S. News & World Report*, 11/20/2006.

<sup>3</sup> Dick Morris, *O’Reilly Factor*, 11/30/2006.

<sup>4</sup> *American Morning* (CNN), 1/16/2007.

<sup>5</sup> Glen Frankel, “The McCain Makeover,” *Washington Post*, 8/27/2006.

<sup>6</sup> Dick Polman, “Candidate McCain Puts His Right Foot Forward,” *Philadelphia Inquirer*, 4/16/2006.

<sup>7</sup> Richard L. Berke, “Gore and Bush Triumph Nationwide, Putting Nominations in Their Grasp,” *New York Times*, 3/8/2000.

2008: “After being painted as a liberal by George W. Bush in the 2000 primaries, McCain has sought to prove his right-wing bona fides, recently visiting Jerry Falwell’s university and emphatically describing himself as a ‘conservative.’”<sup>8</sup>

“Moments like these help explain why the constituency that McCain sometimes jokingly refers to as his base—the press—has not already tried to derail him by highlighting the politically expedient positioning that would be regarded as standard procedure for most elected officials but seems somehow so much worse in a man with such self-defined high standards.”<sup>9</sup>

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<sup>8</sup> Glenn Thrush, “Rudy in the Running,” *Newsday*, 11/14/2006.

<sup>9</sup> Todd S. Purdum, “Prisoner of Conscience,” *Vanity Fair*, 2/07.

## A Timeline

### One of the Christian Right's "Most Visible Critics"

The *Washington Post* describes McCain as one of the Christian right's "most visible critics."<sup>10</sup> *U.S. News & World Report* reports that during his unsuccessful presidential run in 2000, he argued that the leaders of the Christian conservative movement were "prejudiced and divisive."<sup>11</sup>

### 2000: Christian Conservatives Are "Agents of Intolerance" and "Forces of Evil"

"After his defeat [in South Carolina], McCain journeyed to Virginia Beach, home of televangelist Pat Robertson, one of his right-wing critics, and denounced Robertson and fellow Christian conservative Jerry Falwell as 'agents of intolerance.' Riffing to reporters on the bus the next morning, McCain joked about battling 'the forces of evil.' It was the supreme moment of McCain's insurgency: the maverick white knight tilting at the legions of religious bigotry. Many left-leaning commentators applauded his audacity. But Republican voters were less enthralled."<sup>12</sup>

"[A]fter [losing the primary in] South Carolina, he [McCain] gave a speech in Virginia Beach attacking the religious right and in an offhand comment on the bus called Pat Robertson and Jerry Falwell 'forces of evil.' As he explained the next day, this was sarcastic 'Luke Skywalker talk,' which reporters often heard on the bus but which rarely appeared in their reports. But to many Christian conservatives, a large segment of the Republican primary vote, it sounded like angry hostility."<sup>13</sup>

### 2000: "To Attack 25, 30 Percent of Your Base Just Isn't Smart"

Pat Robertson, the television evangelist whom McCain has harshly attacked: "To attack 25, 30 percent of your base just isn't smart."<sup>14</sup>

### 2000: McCain's Character Resembles Bill Clinton's

James Dobson: "Senator McCain's character [is] reminiscent of the man who now occupies the White House," i.e., Bill Clinton.<sup>15</sup>

### 2000: McCain's "Enemy Talk"

During the 2000 presidential campaign in South Carolina, "[B]oth the Republican establishment and Christian conservatives lined up with [George W.] Bush ... [McCain's] emphasis on

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<sup>10</sup> Glen Frankel, "The McCain Makeover," *Washington Post*, 8/27/2006.

<sup>11</sup> Kenneth T. Walsh, "And They're Off!," *U.S. News & World Report*, 11/20/2006.

<sup>12</sup> Glen Frankel, "The McCain Makeover," *Washington Post*, 8/27/2006.

<sup>13</sup> *The Almanac of American Politics 2006*, pp. 95-96.

<sup>14</sup> As quoted in Richard L. Berke, "Gore and Bush Triumph Nationwide, Putting Nominations in Their Grasp," *New York Times*, 3/8/2000.

<sup>15</sup> As quoted in Thomas B. Edsall, "On the Right, a Risk of Isolation," *Washington Post*, 6/27/2000.

campaign finance reform and his criticisms of Bush's tax plan for giving too much to the rich helped with independents, but sounded like enemy talk to Republicans."<sup>16</sup>

### **2001: "Increasingly Likely to ... Oppose Most Republicans"**

After McCain lost the GOP presidential nomination in 2000, he "became more legislatively active than ever—and increasingly likely to ally himself with Democrats and oppose most Republicans. His first priority was the campaign finance bill ... [I]n January 2001, he threatened to tie up the Senate unless Majority Leader Trent Lott set aside two weeks of debate on the issue."<sup>17</sup>

### **2001: McCain Praises Jim Jeffords for Leaving the GOP**

"I am sorry to see Senator Jeffords, an independent, principled senator, leave the Party. Despite occasional policy differences between us, I have long respected Jim Jeffords' integrity and his conscientious service to his constituents and to the nation. He placed what he perceived as the national interest before partisan or personal interests, and though we may disagree over whether his positions on one or another policy question were the right course for our government or the country to take, he held those positions honorably and bravely. I wish him well and I look forward to continuing to work with him on issues important to our country. Although we have lost our majority in the senate, I do believe Senator Jeffords's departure can have a positive impact on how our party responds to members who occasionally dissent from party orthodoxy. For his votes of conscience, he was unfairly targeted for abuse, usually anonymously, by short-sighted party operatives from their comfortable perches in K Street offices, and by some Republican members of Congress and their staff. Perhaps those self-appointed enforcers of party loyalty will learn to respect honorable differences among us, learn to disagree without resorting to personal threats, and recognize that we are a party large enough to accommodate something short of strict unanimity on the issues of the day. Tolerance of dissent is the hallmark of a mature party, and it is well past time for the Republican Party to grow up."<sup>18</sup>

### **2001: McCain Considers Switching Parties**

"After Jim Jeffords switched parties, he [McCain] invited [the soon-to-be Democratic Senate Majority Leader] Tom Daschle to a friendly visit to his vacation home near Sedona [Arizona]; speculation abounded that McCain would switch parties too, and liberals writing in the *Washington Monthly* and the *New Republic* argued that he would be the strongest Democratic nominee for president."<sup>19</sup>

### **2001: McCain Considers Caucusing with Democrats**

"A year later [2001], with bad feeling still so high that [McCain] strategist John Weaver had been virtually blackballed from working in Republican politics, Weaver went so far as to sound

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<sup>16</sup> *The Almanac of American Politics 2006*, p. 95.

<sup>17</sup> *The Almanac of American Politics 2006*, p. 96.

<sup>18</sup> Statement by Senator John McCain on Senator Jim Jeffords, 5/24/01.

<sup>19</sup> *The Almanac of American Politics 2006*, p. 96.

out Democratic Senate leaders about the possibility of having McCain caucus with them. This would have put the Senate, then divided 50–50, into Democratic control.”<sup>20</sup>

### 2001: “At Some Point He Might Leave” the GOP

“On Sunday, Senator John McCain wrapped up an attention-getting weekend at his 13-acre mountain ranch with Senate Democratic leader Tom Daschle of South Dakota, who becomes majority leader in the realigned Senate this week. Their get-together fueled speculation that McCain might bolt the GOP to become an independent, following the senator who triggered the realignment, Jim Jeffords of Vermont, and position himself for a challenge to President Bush in 2004. McCain denied he had either course in mind, at least for now. But the developments focused attention anew on McCain, who lost a bitter GOP presidential primary battle to Bush last year and has been at odds with the administration and GOP congressional leaders on issues such as campaign-finance reform and managed-care regulation. Bill Kristol, editor of the conservative *Weekly Standard* magazine, who is close to McCain, said a Bush veto of campaign-finance reform could be enough to drive McCain out of the party and launch a presidential challenge. ‘I don’t think he’s going to leave the Republican Party in the near future, but I don’t think it’s out of the question that at some point he might leave, he might run,’ Kristol said.”<sup>21</sup>

### 2002-2003: McCain Escapes a Primary Challenge

In late 2002 and early 2003, the Club for Growth, a fiscally conservative 527, encouraged Congressman Jeff Flake to challenge McCain in the Republican Arizona primary.<sup>22</sup>

### 2004: Kerry-McCain Ticket?



“Two years ago, McCain was unsparing in his criticism of the Swift Boat Veterans for Truth, who slimed his friend and fellow Vietnam veteran John Kerry. Kerry felt close enough to McCain at the time to make multiple and serious inquiries about McCain’s interest in running for vice president on a national-unity ticket (and McCain basked in the courtship, even if he knew nothing could ever come of it).”<sup>23</sup>

“As John Kerry, his fellow Vietnam veteran, clinched the Democratic nomination in March 2004, there was speculation that he would ask McCain to be his vice

<sup>20</sup> Todd S. Purdum, “Prisoner of Conscience,” *Vanity Fair*, 2/07.

<sup>21</sup> William M. Welch and Susan Page, “McCain Grabs Spotlight As Senate Preps for Switch,” *USA Today*, 6/4/2001.

<sup>22</sup> *The Almanac of American Politics 2006*, p. 98.

<sup>23</sup> Todd S. Purdum, “Prisoner of Conscience,” *Vanity Fair*, 2/07.

presidential nominee ... After some days of speculation and talks with Kerry, he firmly rejected the idea.”<sup>24</sup>

### **2006: McCain Flip-Flops on the Christian Right**

“McCain won’t talk about his efforts to prepare for a second run for the White House, but his actions make it clear he’s reaching out to key factions, including evangelicals, who fueled George W. Bush’s two election victories. In 2000, McCain had referred to politically active evangelicals, such as Jerry Falwell, as ‘agents of intolerance.’ But last spring, McCain spoke to the graduating class of Falwell’s Liberty University. And in April, during an interview on *Meet the Press*, McCain said: ‘I believe that the Christian Right has a major role to play in the Republican Party. One reason is because they’re so active and their followers are. And I believe they have a right to be a part of our party.’”<sup>25</sup>

### **2006: “Changing Just to Win the Nomination”**

“As he moves toward formally announcing his candidacy for president in early 2007, Arizona Senator John McCain is lining up support from former contributors to George W. Bush, other prominent ‘Establishment’ Republicans, and Christian conservatives with whom he has tangled in the past. As a result, many GOP insiders are troubled by McCain’s perceived moves to the right. ‘He seems to be changing just to win the nomination, and he’s in danger of becoming seen as just another politician,’ says a former fan.”<sup>26</sup>

### **2007: “Version 2.008”**

“[T]he plain truth is that the Straight Talk Express [the name of McCain’s presidential campaign bus], Version 2.008, is often a far cry from the Magic Bus of 2000.”<sup>27</sup>

### **2007: McCain on Hillary Clinton: “I Like Her”**

“People underestimate her political intelligence and her antennae. She’s not her husband—no one’s her husband. But she’s good. And I like her. I know you’re not supposed to say that, but I do.”<sup>28</sup>



<sup>24</sup> *The Almanac of American Politics 2006*, p. 97.

<sup>25</sup> “McCain Warms Up to the Republican Base,” *Orange County Register* (California), 11/13/2006.

<sup>26</sup> Kenneth T. Walsh, “McCain’s Move to the Right Troubles GOP Insiders,” *USNews.com*, 12/21/2006.

<sup>27</sup> Todd S. Purdum, “Prisoner of Conscience,” *Vanity Fair*, 2/07.

<sup>28</sup> Todd S. Purdum, “Prisoner of Conscience,” *Vanity Fair*, 2/07.

## On the Issues

### ABORTION

#### McCain Does Not “Warrant the Support of Pro-Life Voters”

Douglas Johnson of the National Right to Life Committee: “Senator McCain’s positions have been conflicting, and we do not think he warrants the support of pro-life voters.”<sup>29</sup>

#### McCain Would Have Allowed His Then-15-Year-Old Daughter to Have an Abortion

“On NBC News, reporter David Bloom explained: ‘John McCain hurt himself today with voters on both sides of the abortion issue. He made a series of contradictory statements after being asked about what he would do if his 15-year-old daughter became pregnant and wanted to have an abortion ... But the Arizona Senator has only himself to blame. Aboard his campaign bus this morning, McCain told reporters it would be a quote, ‘personal, painful decision,’ but that he would allow his 15-year-old daughter Meghan to have an abortion.’ After a clip of McCain, Bloom observed: ‘But that is essentially a pro-choice position, and within an hour, McCain, who wants to make abortion illegal, was calling reporters to say he misspoke.’”<sup>30</sup>

#### McCain Has Repeatedly Rejected Overturning *Roe v. Wade*

“At a campaign event [in 2000], he said, ‘I would not seek to overturn *Roe v. Wade* tomorrow, because doing so would endanger the lives of women,’ *World* magazine reported on August 21. In a written release dated August 22, McCain said, ‘If *Roe v. Wade* were repealed tomorrow, it would force thousands of young women to undergo dangerous and illegal operations.’ And on Cable News Network on August 22, McCain said, ‘We all know, and it’s obvious, that if we repeal *Roe v. Wade* tomorrow, thousands of young American women would be performing illegal and dangerous operations.’”<sup>31</sup>

#### McCain Abandons Caveats on *Roe*

“This past weekend, out on the campaign trail, John McCain declared—in a shift from his previous stated positions—that he believes the landmark Supreme Court abortion case *Roe v. Wade* should be overturned ... McCain’s shift on abortion, as well as other issues dear to the conservative base of the Republican Party, has widely been interpreted as a political maneuver intended to help him win the support of a key part of the Republican electorate for the 2008 presidential primary.”<sup>32</sup>

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<sup>29</sup> As quoted in “More Abortion Troubles,” Media Research Center.  
<<http://www.mediaresearch.org/cyberalerts/2000/cyb20000127.asp#1>>

<sup>30</sup> “More Abortion Troubles,” Media Research Center.  
<<http://www.mediaresearch.org/cyberalerts/2000/cyb20000127.asp#1>>

<sup>31</sup> Douglas Johnson, “How John McCain Threatens the Pro-Life Cause,” National Right to Life News, 2/20/2000.  
<<http://www.nrlc.org/news/2000/NRL02/doug.html>>

<sup>32</sup> Alex Koppelman, “John McCain Rethinks *Roe*,” *Salon*, 2/20/2007.

## **McCain Has Appeared on National TV Disparaging Pro-Life Voters**

“In earlier stages of his presidential campaign, McCain made little effort to conceal his disrespect for the pro-life movement. For example, during an appearance on the Don Imus radio show on November 23, McCain referred disparagingly to ‘otherwise intelligent people who say that that’s the only issue that will determine their vote.’”<sup>33</sup>

## **McCain Wanted to Dilute the Republican Platform on the Right to Life**

“But while Bush has said he is satisfied with the Republican platform that advocates a strict, no-exceptions ban on abortion, McCain on Tuesday said that he favored loosening the platform language. ‘I’m for the exemption; that’s my position,’ McCain said on ABC’s *Good Morning America* program.”<sup>34</sup>

## **“He’s Not Really So Anti-Abortion”**

“McCain’s people whisper, Don’t worry. He’s not really so anti-abortion. He’ll come around on gay rights, gun control, and almost anything else you can name.”<sup>35</sup>

## **ARCTIC NATIONAL WILDLIFE REFUGE**

“Allowing ANWR drilling would show that the nation is finally getting serious about acting in its best interest by tapping a rich energy source and curbing its dependence on Middle Eastern dictatorships.”<sup>36</sup>

### **In 2003, McCain Voted Against ANWR Exploration**

S. Con. Res. 23, CQ Vote #59: Adopted 52-48; R 8-43; D 43-5; I 1-0, 3/19/03, McCain voted yea.

### **In 2005, McCain Again Voted Against ANWR Exploration**

S. Amdt. 168 to S. Con. Res. 18, Rejected 49-51; McCain voted yea.

## **CAMPAIGN FINANCE**

“The issue McCain is most closely identified with is campaign finance regulation. His interest came from his experience as one of the ‘Keating Five’ senators investigated for meeting in 1987 with regulators on behalf of Charles Keating’s Arizona savings and loan.”<sup>37</sup>

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<sup>33</sup> Douglas Johnson, “How John McCain Threatens the Pro-Life Cause,” National Right to Life News, 2/20/2000. <<http://www.nrlc.org/news/2000/NRL02/doug.html>>

<sup>34</sup> Anne-Marie O’Connor, Mark Z. Barabak and Cathleen Decker, “GOP Opposition Targets Bush As Campaign Moves to New Hampshire,” *Los Angeles Times*, 1/26/2000.

<sup>35</sup> Richard Cohen, “The Very Authentic McCain,” *Washington Post*, 12/14/99.

<sup>36</sup> “Time to Drill in Alaska,” *USA Today*, 12/21/05.

<sup>37</sup> *The Almanac of American Politics 2006*, pp. 94-95.

## **McCain Authored and Voted for the 2002 Campaign Finance Regulations**

H.R. 2356, CQ Vote #54: Passed 60-40: R 11-38; D 48-2; I 1-0, 3/20/02, McCain voted yea.

### **“Special Interests ... Guide Our Legislative Hand”**

John McCain, January 2007: “During my travels around the country last year, it quickly became clear that there is a deep perception that we legislators do not act on the priorities of the American people, that special interests, and not the people’s interests, guide our legislative hand.”<sup>38</sup>

### **Hypocrisy**

“For nearly two weeks, presidential candidate George W. Bush and his surrogates have been trying to tar rival John McCain as a hypocrite for taking gobs of campaign money from special interests while denouncing the clout the contributors enjoy in Washington.

There’s no doubting the hypocrisy. McCain has raised millions from lobbyists and big business while attacking them and championing changes that would restrict their ability to pour megabucks into future campaigns ... McCain’s campaign has been fueled heavily by executives and lobbyists for transportation, telecommunications and other businesses wanting favors from the Senate Commerce Committee that he chairs.”<sup>39</sup>

### **McCain-Feingold Is a Boon for the Left**

“Commentators such as [Rush] Limbaugh never forgave McCain for pursuing campaign finance reform, which they say led to the rise of big-money independent expenditures on the left.”<sup>40</sup>

### **“Infringement on Free Speech”**

“Striking down key portions of a popular law, a three-judge panel on Friday ruled unconstitutional a ban on soft money contributions from corporations and unions to political parties, ensuring that the question of how federal campaigns are financed will be settled by the Supreme Court ... The court essentially found that the law infringed on the constitutional protections of free speech. Paid political speech, the judges said, is no different from other forms of communication protected by the First Amendment ... One of the judges, Karen LeCraft Henderson, labeled the law ‘unconstitutional in virtually all of its particulars.’ ‘It breaks faith with the fundamental principle—understood by our nation’s Founding Generation, inscribed in the 1<sup>st</sup> Amendment and repeatedly reaffirmed by the United States Supreme Court—that ‘debate on public issues should be uninhibited, robust and wide-open,’ she wrote in a separate document explaining her approach to the ruling.”<sup>41</sup>

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<sup>38</sup> John McCain, Statement on Lobbying and Ethics Reform Bill, 1/4/2007.

<sup>39</sup> “McCain May Be Hypocritical, but He Has Plenty of Company,” *USA Today*, 2/16/2000.

<sup>40</sup> Nina J. Easton, “GOP Emotions Running High,” *Boston Globe*, 5/25/2005.

<sup>41</sup> Michael Tackett, “Judges Soften Campaign Finance Law; Portions Found Unconstitutional; High Court Will Review,” *Chicago Tribune*, 5/3/2003.

### “I Would Rather Have a Clean Government”

“I work in Washington and I know that money corrupts. And I and a lot of other people were trying to stop that corruption. Obviously, from what we’ve been seeing lately, we didn’t complete the job. But I would rather have a clean government than one where quote First Amendment rights are being respected that has become corrupt. If I had my choice, I’d rather have the clean government.”<sup>42</sup>

### McCain’s Top Campaign Contributions Since 1989

Industry			Firm		
1	Retired	\$3,328,157	1	AT&T Inc	\$150,200
2	Lawyers/Law Firms	\$1,531,839	2	Goldman Sachs	\$105,720
3	Securities & Investment	\$1,469,106	3	Viacom Inc	\$81,304
4	Health Professionals	\$873,110	4	Qwest Communications	\$79,600
5	Real Estate	\$866,450	5	Merrill Lynch	\$76,775
6	TV/Movies/Music	\$713,973	6	BellSouth Corp	\$71,800
7	Misc. Finance	\$704,167	7	Verizon Communications	\$71,400
8	Business Services	\$581,406	8	Time Warner	\$71,025
9	Telephone Utilities	\$490,392	9	Microsoft Corp	\$70,099
10	Computers/Internet	\$462,731	10	JP Morgan Chase & Co	\$67,653
11	Insurance	\$448,397	11	Pinnacle West Capital	\$66,900
12	Air Transport	\$432,949	12	Hensley & Co	\$64,950
13	Telecom Services & Equipment	\$378,935	13	Citigroup Inc	\$63,450
14	Lobbyists	\$342,194	14	US West	\$55,900
15	Commercial Banks	\$336,126	15	Del Webb Corp	\$55,285
16	Pro-Israel	\$315,777	16	CSX Corp	\$53,975
17	Misc Manufacturing & Distributing	\$307,207	17	Mashantucket Pequot Tribe	\$53,200
18	Republican/Conservative	\$287,834	18	Union Pacific Corp	\$52,751
19	Education	\$280,076	19	Phelps Dodge Corp	\$51,750
20	Oil & Gas	\$262,110	20	UBS Americas	\$49,100

<sup>43</sup>

<sup>42</sup> As quoted in George F. Will, “Our Right and His Wrongs,” *Washington Post*, 5/11/06.  
<http://www.washingtonpost.com/wp-dyn/content/article/2006/05/10/AR2006051001787.html>

<sup>43</sup> “John McCain: Career Profile (Since 1989),” Center for Responsive Politics.  
<http://www.opensecrets.org/politicians/allindus.asp?CID=N00006424>

### **With \$15 Million, McCain Was the 20<sup>th</sup> Wealthiest Member of Congress in 2001**

“McCain’s got more than one reason to celebrate this year. He hopes the recent passage of his ballyhooed campaign finance reform bill will mean less money in politics, but there’s more money than ever in his own personal bank account.”<sup>44</sup>

“McCain’s got more than one reason to celebrate this year. He hopes the recent passage of his ballyhooed campaign finance reform bill will mean less money in politics, but there’s more money than ever in his own personal bank account. McCain—who gained national popularity in 2000 with an unsuccessful run for the GOP presidential nod—has been steadily moving up the ranks of the 50 richest for the past several years, rising from 24th place to 20th this year. Just how rich is this decorated Vietnam War veteran who’s been making waves in the Senate for the past 15 years? He listed more than \$16.6 million in assets on his 2001 financial disclosure forms, with much of his fortune derived from his wife, Cindy Hensley McCain, heiress to the Hensley liquor fortune. With a couple million dollars in liabilities, his net worth is pegged at about \$15 million. The largest assets in McCain’s financial portfolio include Sedona, Arizona, property valued at more than \$1 million and a trust in his wife’s name. That trust is worth in excess of \$1 million and is principally invested in the U.S. Government Money Market Fund. Other assets in his wife’s and children’s names include raw land in Mesa, Arizona, and stock in a beer distributorship and Anheuser-Busch, as well as in the Phoenix-based King Aviation.”<sup>45</sup>

### **With \$29 Million, McCain Was the 10<sup>th</sup> Wealthiest Member of Congress in 2005**

“The 2000 GOP presidential hopeful jumped 10 spots on our [*Roll Call*] list this year, with McCain more than doubling his worth from last year’s \$12 million.”<sup>46</sup>

“The 2000 GOP presidential hopeful jumped 10 spots on our list this year, with McCain more than doubling his worth from last year’s \$12 million. The Arizona Republican’s 2005 income included more than \$1 million from Hensley & Co. stock, a beer distribution company to which his wife, Cindy, is the heir. McCain included his wife and his dependent children’s assets and income in his annual disclosure form, checking the ‘over \$1,000,000’ asset box 11 times in his report. His liabilities total \$2.52 million, including an ‘over \$1,000,000’ promissory note to Dream Catcher Family LLC, two promissory notes from JP Morgan Chase & Co. totaling more than \$600,000 and \$160,000 in credit card debt from six cards.”<sup>47</sup>

## **GLOBAL WARMING**

### **Republicans and Democrats Roundly Rejected McCain’s Global Warming Legislation**

49 Republicans and 11 Democrats voted against McCain’s greenhouse gas amendment to the energy bill.<sup>48</sup>

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<sup>44</sup> Amy Keller, “The Roll Call 50 Richest,” *Roll Call*, 9/9/2002.

<sup>45</sup> Amy Keller, “The Roll Call 50 Richest,” *Roll Call*, 9/9/2002.

<sup>46</sup> Stephanie Woodrow, “The 50 Richest Members of Congress,” *Roll Call*, 11/11/06.

<sup>47</sup> Stephanie Woodrow, “The 50 Richest Members of Congress,” *Roll Call*, 11/11/06.

<sup>48</sup> H.R. 6, CQ vote #148: Rejected 38-60: R 6-49; D 31-11; I 1-0, 6/22/05, McCain voted yea.

## **McCain-Lieberman Bill, 2003**

“At a packed committee hearing, Senators John McCain, Republican of Arizona, and Joseph I. Lieberman, Democrat of Connecticut, joined forces today to challenge the Bush administration on global warming. The two former—and possibly future—political rivals to President Bush and each other offered their bill to reduce the emissions of heat-trapping gases, saying the administration was stuck in neutral on that crucial environmental matter. ‘The United States is responsible for 25 percent of the worldwide greenhouse gas emissions,’ Mr. McCain, chairman of the Science, Commerce and Transportation Committee, said as he opened the hearing. ‘It is time for the United States government to do its part to address this global problem, and a discussion of mandatory reductions is the form of leadership that is required.’ That assertion was a direct challenge to Mr. Bush, whose approach relies on voluntary reductions.”<sup>49</sup>

## **McCain-Lieberman, Continued (2007)**

In 2007, McCain “introduced a new version of the Climate Stewardship and Innovation Act, which he has pursued since 2003 with Senator Joe Lieberman, Connecticut independent. Their ‘cap-and-trade’ plan would place a ceiling on emissions of six kinds of greenhouse gases. It would allow emitters from four sectors—electric utilities, transportation, general industry and commercial—to either reduce emissions outright or buy tradable permits to comply with the rules ...’ Given our will and what’s at stake, America can and must assume its proper leadership role in addressing the preeminent environmental issue of our time,’ maverick Republican McCain said in a statement.”<sup>50</sup>

## **GUN CONTROL**

### **McCain Advocates Background Checks**

During the 2002 election cycle, McCain “appeared in ads in Colorado and Oregon for ballot propositions requiring background checks for sales at gun shows.”<sup>51</sup>

### **McCain’s Support “Critical Factor” in Passing Gun Show Amendments**

Senator John “Warner’s support, along with that of Senator John McCain, the Arizona Republican who was a co-sponsor of the gun show amendment, was a critical factor in passing the amendments, said Deborah Barron, a spokeswoman for Americans for Gun Safety, a group that advocates gun control.”<sup>52</sup>

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<sup>49</sup> Katharine Q. Seelye, “McCain and Lieberman Offer Bill to Require Cuts in Gases,” *New York Times*, 1/9/2003.

<sup>50</sup> Chris Baltimore, “Six Senators Back Mandatory Greenhouse Gas Cuts,” Reuters, 1/12/07.

<sup>51</sup> *The Almanac of American Politics 2006*, p. 96.

<sup>52</sup> Sheryl Gay Stolberg, “Looking Back and Ahead after Senate’s Votes on Guns,” *New York Times*, 3/4/2004.

# ILLEGAL IMMIGRATION

## McCain-Kennedy Bill

“He [McCain] and Senator Edward Kennedy of Massachusetts have pushed through the senate a compromise that allows for stricter enforcement of the law against illegal immigration but also offers a mechanism under which illegals can turn themselves in and qualify eventually for citizenship.”<sup>53</sup>

## An “Amnesty Mercenary”

According to Congressman Steve King (R-IA), “Senators John McCain (R-AZ) and Edward M. Kennedy (D-MA) [are] an amnesty coalition,” and “amnesty mercenaries of the senate” should have a “big, bright, scarlet letter *A* branded on their robes.”<sup>54</sup>

## “The Goddamned Fence”

“Then he [McCain] added, unable to help himself, ‘By the way, I think the fence is least effective. But I’ll build the goddamned fence if they want it.’”<sup>55</sup>

## McCain Supports Giving Benefits to Illegals

“But he opposed Proposition 200, cutting off public benefits to illegal immigrants, arguing that it would ‘delay, possibly derail, the search for a solution.’”<sup>56</sup>

## 2007: McCain Still Supports Amnesty

“Retoold immigration legislation that could get a vote in Congress by spring amounts to ‘amnesty’ for millions of undocumented workers, Rep. Peter King (R-LI) fumed yesterday ... King was responding to word that a bipartisan bill is being prepared for consideration by the new incoming Congress. According to a senate Democratic aide, Senators Ted Kennedy (D-MA) and John McCain (R-AZ) have already opened ‘preliminary’ discussions with two House members over the revised legislation.”<sup>57</sup>

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<sup>53</sup> Glen Frankel, “The McCain Makeover,” *Washington Post*, 8/27/2006.

<sup>54</sup> Henry C. Jackson, “Iowa Lawmaker’s Brashness Earns Notice,” Associated Press, 9/26/06.

<sup>55</sup> Todd S. Purdum, “Prisoner of Conscience,” *Vanity Fair*, 2/07.

<sup>56</sup> *The Almanac of American Politics 2006*, p. 98.

<sup>57</sup> Geoff Earle, “Rep. King Zings Alien ‘Amnesty,’” *New York Post*, 12/27/2006.

## JUDICIAL APPOINTMENTS

### Gang of 14

“Senator John McCain has once again enraged Republicans by publicly opposing Majority Leader Bill Frist’s plan to employ the so-called nuclear option for ending the filibusters against President Bush’s judicial nominees.”<sup>58</sup>

### Conservative Lawyers “Furious” with McCain

“McCain also will speak today to the Federalist Society, an organization of conservative lawyers that has been at the heart of bitter Senate debates over confirmation of Bush’s judicial nominees. That faction of the party was furious with McCain and others in a bipartisan group of senators, nicknamed the Gang of 14, who last year blocked a bid by GOP leaders to deny Democrats the right to filibuster judicial nominations.”<sup>59</sup>

### “The Middle Finger”

“The agreement hatched Monday night by Senator John McCain, Republican of Arizona, and his bipartisan band of moderates to avert a showdown over judicial nominations reverberated yesterday through the echo chamber of Republican primary politics. On conservative talk radio, blogs, and citizen-group Web sites, emotions ran high over two prospective presidential candidates. Toward McCain, no friend of the right, the emotion was anger ... But with the Monday night agreement, greeted with dismay by interest groups on both the left and the right, the Arizona senator threw down an early gauntlet, openly defying the party’s conservative base. ‘We had McCain-Feingold,’ said talk show host Rush Limbaugh in a reference to the senator’s signature campaign finance law, widely denounced by the right. ‘This is McCain—the middle finger.’”<sup>60</sup>

## SAME SEX MARRIAGE

“He [McCain] opposed the constitutional amendment to ban same-sex marriage as ‘antithetical in every way to the core philosophy of Republicans. It usurps from the states a fundamental authority they have always possessed and imposes a federal remedy for a problem that most states believe does not confront them.’”<sup>61</sup>

### McCain: Same Sex Marriage Ban Is “Un-Republican”

“Republican Senator John McCain of Arizona broke forcefully with President Bush and the senate GOP leadership Tuesday evening over the issue of same-sex marriage, taking to the

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<sup>58</sup> Charles Hurt, “McCain Irks Republicans over Anti-Filibuster Option,” *Washington Times*, 4/16/05.

<sup>59</sup> Janet Hook, “McCain Moves Toward ’08 Presidential Run,” *Los Angeles Times*, 11/16/2006.

<sup>60</sup> Nina J. Easton, “GOP Emotions Running High,” *Boston Globe*, 5/25/2005.

<sup>61</sup> *The Almanac of American Politics 2006*, p. 97.

senate floor to call a constitutional amendment that would effectively ban the practice unnecessary—and un-Republican.”<sup>62</sup>

### **In 2004, McCain Was One of Only Six Republicans Who Voted Against the Same Sex Marriage Ban**

“Six Republicans—including Senator John McCain of Arizona—joined 43 Democrats and one independent to defeat the measure. Three Democrats and 45 Republicans voted for it. The amendment, as proposed by Senator Wayne Allard, would add these two sentences to the Constitution: ‘Marriage in the United States shall consist only of the union of a man and a woman. Neither this Constitution, nor the constitution of any State, shall be construed to require that marriage or the legal incidents thereof be conferred upon any union other than the union of a man and a woman.’”<sup>63</sup><sup>64</sup>

### **“Notoriously Pro-Gay”**

*Slate*’s Jacob Weisberg: “I remember McCain telling me during an interview in the mid-1990s about how a gay member of his staff sensitized him to the issue. When he ran for president in 2000, he won the endorsement of the Log Cabin Republicans. The *Advocate* calls him ‘notoriously pro-gay.’ In 2004, McCain was one of only six Republican senators to vote against the Federal Marriage Amendment, and after a Massachusetts court affirmed gay unions, he took the position that states could decide their own marriage laws without federal help. McCain has lately fallen back into formation, saluting an obnoxious Arizona bill that would deny benefits to unmarried couples. Gay leaders in his state, who know better than to take such maneuvering seriously, have already let him off the hook. The rest of us should be sophisticated enough to recognize that politics is the art of the possible, and that what’s in McCain’s heart on this subject (as President Bush might say) is not a viable stance for any presidential candidate just yet, especially a Republican one.”<sup>65</sup>

### **Given Another Vote in 2006, McCain Again Defied Marriage and Party**

47 Republican and two Democratic senators voted for the ban that McCain voted against.<sup>66</sup>

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<sup>62</sup> “McCain: Same Sex Marriage Ban Is ‘Un-Republican,’” CNN.com, 7/14/2004.  
<<http://www.cnn.com/2004/ALLPOLITICS/07/14/mccain.marriage/>>

<sup>63</sup> “Same Sex Marriage Senate Battle Over, War Is Not,” CNN.com, 7/15/2004.  
<<http://www.cnn.com/2004/ALLPOLITICS/07/14/samesex.marriage/>>

<sup>64</sup> S. J. Res. 40, CQ vote #155: Motion rejected 48-50: R 45-6; D 3-43; I 0-1, 7/14/04, McCain voted nay.

<sup>65</sup> Jacob Weisberg, “The Closet McCain,” *Slate*, 4/12/2006. <<http://www.slate.com/id/2139775>> See also <[http://www.advocate.com/news\\_detail\\_ektid20099.asp](http://www.advocate.com/news_detail_ektid20099.asp)>

<sup>66</sup> S. J. Res. 1, CQ vote #163: Motion rejected 49-48: R 47-7; D 2-40; I 0-1, 6/7/06, McCain voted nay.

## STEM CELL RESEARCH

### **McCain Voted to Allow Federal Funding of Research on Stem Cells Derived from Human Embryos**

H.R. 810, CQ Vote #206: Passed 63-37: R 19-36; D 43-1; I 1-0, 7/18/06, McCain voted yea.

### **McCain Campaigned in Favor of Expanding Stem Cell Research**

“Senator John McCain, Arizona Republican, was the headliner ... McCain spoke in an onstage conversation with Cisco Systems Chief Executive John Chambers ... In a discussion moderated by Stephen Wright, editorial page editor of the *Mercury News*, Chambers often expressed optimism, while McCain spoke in grimmer terms about the political climate in Washington. They touched on several issues ... Research and development: tax credits and more should be done to encourage more research and development, the two said. ‘By the way, that includes stem-cell research,’ McCain added.”<sup>67</sup>

## TAX RELIEF

“A spate of critical columns, some of them by disaffected liberals who were once honorary McCainiacs, seemed to culminate last weekend on *Meet the Press* when Tim Russert asked: ‘Are you concerned that people are going to say, ‘I see, John McCain tried ‘Straight Talk Express,’ it didn't work in 2000, so now in 2008 he’s going to become a conventional, typical politician, reaching out to people that he called agents of intolerance, voting for tax cuts he opposed, to make himself more appealing to the hard-core Republican base?’”<sup>68</sup>

### **Class Warfare**

“I just thought [Bush’s tax cut] was too tilted to the wealthy, and I still do. . . . We have a wealth gap in this country, and that worries me.”<sup>69</sup>

### **In 2001, McCain Was One of Only Two Republican Senators to Vote Against President Bush’s \$1.35 Trillion Tax Cut**

The bill lowered marginal rates, eliminated the marriage penalty, and doubled the child tax credit.<sup>70</sup>

### **In 2003, McCain Was One of Only Three Republican Senator to Vote Twice Against President Bush’s \$350 Billion Tax Cut**

The comprehensive bill lowered taxes by \$350 billion over 11 years, including increasing the child tax credit and eliminated the marriage penalty.<sup>71</sup>

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<sup>67</sup> Scott Duke Harris, “McCain’s Valley Splash,” *San Jose Mercury News*, 11/4/2006.

<sup>68</sup> Howard Kurtz, “For McCain and the Press, the End of the Affair?,” *Washington Post*, 4/10/2006

<sup>69</sup> As quoted in Robert Novak, “John McCain: Born-again Supply-Sider?,” *RealClearPolitics*, 2/5/2006.

<sup>70</sup> H.R. 1836, CQ vote #170: Adopted 58-33: R 46-2; D 12-31; I 0-0, 5/26/01, McCain voted nay.

## **McCain Was One of Only Two Republicans to Vote Against Repealing the Death Tax**

H.R. 8, CQ Vote #151: Motion Rejected 54-44: R 45-2; D 9-41; I 0-1, 6/12/02, McCain voted nay.

## **TERRORIST INTERROGATION METHODS**

### **McCain's Position**

“The comments underscore continuing uncertainty over precisely which techniques can be used legally during CIA interrogations of terrorism suspects. Senator John McCain and other lawmakers have said recent legislation that established ground rules for interrogations should effectively bar waterboarding and other methods that are viewed as violations of the Geneva Conventions and U.S. criminal law.”<sup>72</sup>

”Republican Senator John McCain’s standoff with the White House over treatment of detainees—an issue the former POW knows intimately well—threatens to exacerbate his already contentious relationship with conservatives. ‘Maverick status is looked upon as a strength in Congress, but a maverick in the White House is not looked upon with great admiration from our folks,’ Tony Perkins, president of the Family Research Council, said ... The warnings from conservatives over the detainee issue illustrate the risk McCain faces in taking on the White House alienating a base of support he would need to win the Republican presidential nomination.”<sup>73</sup>

### ***Manchester Union Leader Asks, “Can the Nation Afford a President McCain?”***

“[C]an the nation afford a President McCain? No doubt his motives are pure, but McCain’s current actions are blocking our ability to gain from terrorist captives the vital information we need to fight a war in which the enemy strikes us here at home from multiple locations around the world. This is a new kind of war waged by a ruthless, extremist enemy that cares nothing for Geneva Convention niceties. The enemy is out to impose its religious views on the Western world in general and the United States in particular and it attacks innocent women and children as well as our men and women in uniform. And if the latter are taken prisoner, they are burned, butchered or beheaded. Senator McCain is fighting the wrong war when he equates stateless Islamic jihadists with nations with whom we have fought in the past. You don’t read Miranda rights to barbarians or worry about ‘what the world thinks’ when you are fighting an enemy that is out to destroy you. If McCain can’t understand that, New Hampshire citizens must question why they should support him for president.”<sup>74</sup>

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<sup>71</sup> H.R. 2, CQ vote #179: Passed 51-49: R 48-3; D 3-45; I 0-1, 5/15/03, McCain voted nay; H.R. 2, CQ vote #196: Adopted 50-50: R 48-3; D 2-46; I 0-1, 5/23/03, McCain voted nay.

<sup>72</sup> Dan Eggen, “Cheney’s Remarks Fuel Torture Debate,” *Washington Post*, 10/27/2006.

<sup>73</sup> Liz Sidoti, “McCain Annoys Conservatives on Detainees,” Associated Press, 9/19/2006.

<sup>74</sup> Joseph W. McQuaid, “McCain Fights the Wrong War,” *Union Leader* (Manchester, NH), 9/16/2006.

## Iowa

“The two issues that rankle [Iowan] activists the most are the senator’s cooperation on campaign finance reform with Senator Russ Feingold (D-WI) and his participation in the ‘Gang of 14,’ a bipartisan group of senators in the 109<sup>th</sup> Congress that worked together to diffuse the partisan divide over Bush’s judicial nominees. A number of county chairmen said the legislation known as McCain-Feingold has made it more costly for their county parties to advertise in local media.”<sup>75</sup>

### “Disdain for His Politics”

“The prevailing sentiment in recent interviews with 63 of Iowa’s 99 GOP county chairmen was one of respect for McCain as a war hero and public servant but disdain for his politics—particularly his handling of President Bush’s judicial nominees and his association with the issue of campaign finance reform. Disenchantment with his candidacy reaches all corners of the state, including the pivotal Republican stronghold of northwest Iowa and vote-rich counties such as Polk, Linn and Scott.”<sup>76</sup>

### County GOP Chairmen

“Of Iowa’s 99 county GOP chairmen, 63 responded to interview requests, with 42 of those saying likely caucus-goers in their area are not inclined to support McCain. Fifteen chairmen said opinions on the senator are mixed, with about half of them suggesting the Arizonan has significant hurdles to clear.”<sup>77</sup>

### “I Don’t Trust Him”

“‘I never cared for John McCain and I don’t trust him,’ said Bonnie Hall, chairwoman of the Boone County GOP just northwest of Des Moines. ‘I think he’s perceived as being too middle of the road—too moderate—and you never know where he’s going to come down. He’s very unpredictable.’”<sup>78</sup>

### “No Use for Him”

“Personally, I have no use for him,” said Andrea Roys, chairwoman of the Fayette County GOP in northeastern Iowa. “He tries to appeal to the media and make himself liked—and is a RINO Republican as far as I am concerned.”<sup>79</sup>

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<sup>75</sup> David M. Drucker, “Iowa GOP Chairs Cool to McCain,” *Roll Call*, 1/10/2007.

<sup>76</sup> David M. Drucker, “Iowa GOP Chairs Cool to McCain,” *Roll Call*, 1/10/2007.

<sup>77</sup> David M. Drucker, “Iowa GOP Chairs Cool to McCain,” *Roll Call*, 1/10/2007.

<sup>78</sup> David M. Drucker, “Iowa GOP Chairs Cool to McCain,” *Roll Call*, 1/10/2007.

<sup>79</sup> David M. Drucker, “Iowa GOP Chairs Cool to McCain,” *Roll Call*, 1/10/2007.

## What They're Saying

### Grover Norquist, Lou Sheldon and Rush Limbaugh

“Grover Norquist, head of Americans for Tax Reform and a longtime McCain antagonist, has accused him [McCain] of flip-flopping on gun control and taxes. Lou Sheldon, founder of the Traditional Values Coalition, has said McCain is not a loyal Republican. Rush Limbaugh has denounced him [McCain] as a ‘RINO—Republican in Name Only.’”<sup>80</sup>

### CNN's Candy Crowley

“He also has these primaries to go through, and a lot of conservatives in the party don't really trust McCain. He joined that group of 14 up on Capitol Hill that was going to try to ease the way for judicial nominations. Conservatives really wanted to fight. They think he was way too moderate on that. So he could have some trouble in the primaries.”<sup>81</sup>

### Dan Nowicki, *Arizona Republic* (McCain's Hometown Newspaper)

“Some conservatives still don't trust McCain because of his past ‘maverick’ tendencies to tweak President Bush and other Republicans.”<sup>82</sup>

### James Guth, an Expert on Christian Conservatives at Furman University in South Carolina

“There's a sense among ... Christian conservatives that you just can't trust McCain to take a strong stand on issues they're concerned with.”<sup>83</sup>

### Larry Sabato, Director of the University of Virginia's Center for Politics

“Yet when we travel around the country, we see waves of anti-McCain sentiment among the Republican grassroots—the people who will actually show up in the early contests. These activists don't like the maverick in McCain. They don't trust him and can't guess where he'll be on some issues on any given day.”<sup>84</sup>

### Steve Forbes, Businessman and Former Presidential Candidate

Forbes “predicts a close contest, but thinks McCain's biggest challenge will be building trust with the religious right, who distrust his liberal policies.”<sup>85</sup>

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<sup>80</sup> Glen Frankel, “The McCain Makeover,” *Washington Post*, 8/27/2006)

<sup>81</sup> *American Morning*, CNN, 11/16/06.

<sup>82</sup> Dan Nowicki, “McCain Takes Spotlight As Political Buzz Shifts to '08,” *Arizona Republic*, 11/30/06.

<sup>83</sup> As quoted in Matt Stearns and David Goldstein, “Brownback Eyes White House,” *Kansas City Star*, 12/5/06.

<sup>84</sup> Larry Sabato, “Part II: The Republicans in the '08 Presidential Race,” 2/1/2007.

<<http://www.centerforpolitics.org/crystalball/article.php?id=LJS2007020101>>

<sup>85</sup> James Robinson, “The Magazine for Millionaires: It's Just a Little Family Business,” *Observer* (England), 12/10/06.

## **Conclusion: John McCain Is Not a Conservative**

### **Ronald Reagan's Legacy and How It Affects the Politics of 2008**

“On a warm January 20 morning precisely 25 years ago, Ronald Reagan assumed the presidency in an inaugural ceremony that served as the catalyst for the conservative movement that now dominates each branch of the federal government. Whether it's tax cuts, deregulation, a strong defense or judicial and cultural conservatism, Reagan policies have become firmly embedded throughout American society. ‘Reagan is more powerful today than when he was president,’ said Martin Anderson, one of his White House advisers.”<sup>86</sup>

### **An Opportunist, Not a Conservative**

Should conservatives trust John McCain to carry Reagan's torch? The totality of McCain's career leaves the unavoidable conclusion that he has legislated not as a conservative but as an opportunist.

### **Conservatives vs. Republicans**

“Grassroots conservatives have repeatedly shown they have the energy, the dedication and the numbers to wrest control of the Republican Party from the branch that has variously been known as the Rockefeller Republicans, the Eastern Establishment, the country club Republicans, the moderates, or the RINOs, or Republicans in Name Only. Conservatives took leadership in the Republican Party in 1964 when they nominated Barry Goldwater for president after defeating Nelson Rockefeller. Conservatives took leadership in the Republican Party again in 1980 when they nominated and elected Ronald Reagan after defeating the so-called moderates who were backing Gerald Ford. Conservatives took leadership in the Republican Party again in 1994 when they elected the first Republican Congress in 40 years. They've done it before so, ergo, they can do it again.”<sup>87</sup>

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<sup>86</sup> William Neikirk, “Reagan's Legacy at Crossroads,” *Chicago Tribune*, 1/21/2006.

<sup>87</sup> Phyllis Schlafly, “Conservatives Are Challenged to Reassert Themselves,” Copley News Service, 11/16/2006.