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Where They Stand

The sheer number of candidates now running for president of the United States, particularly on the Republican side, makes the task of learning the positions of each candidate daunting, to say the least. The nationally televised debates certainly shed some light on the candidates' positions, but the questions that should be asked often are not posed, the candidates on the debate stage do not get equal time, and, for the most part, the viewers do not have the background to know how candidates' current positions square with what they may have said or done in the past.



AP Images

To help our readers gain a better understanding of the presidential candidates, we have prepared a series of 13 profiles on the candidates for president who have generally scored at least one percent or higher in national pubic opinion polls — 10 Republicans and three Democrats. Candidates who have not broken the one-percent threshold are not included in our overview. Each candidate's profile is two pages long, and each profile surveys the candidate based on 10 key issues:

- Abortion
- China
- Federal Reserve
- Foreign Aid
- Healthcare/Repealing ObamaCare
- Immigration
- International Terrorism and ISIS
- Privacy: PATRIOT Act and NSA Surveillance
- · Same-sex "Marriage" and Religious Liberty
- Trans-Pacific Partnership

In the 20 pages that follow, we take a look at the 10 GOP presidential candidates included in our overview. In the next (December 7, 2015) issue of The New American, we will look at the three Democrats — Hillary Clinton, Bernie Sanders, and Martin O'Malley.

We have confined our overview of the candidates to their professed positions without opining on the rightness or wrongness of those positions. But as always, we ask readers to evaluate all candidates' positions based on the U.S. Constitution. Unfortunately, no candidate's positions are in 100-percent accord with the Constitution, as the information assembled shows. For instance, no candidate states he would end all U.S. foreign aid, period, despite the fact that the U.S. foreign aid program is





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unconstitutional.

Finally, we ask readers to keep in mind that the Congress, not the president, is the key to restoring sound (read: constitutional) government in Washington.

Jeb Bush

The son of former President George H. W. Bush and younger brother of former President George W. Bush, Jeb Bush served as governor of Florida from 1999 to 2007. Former Governor Jeb Bush announced his candidacy for the Republican presidential nomination on June 15, 2015.

Abortion

As governor of Florida, Jeb Bush had a strong pro-life record. Governor Bush fought, and at times intervened, to stop abortions from taking place in cases of rape, pregnant minors, and mentally disabled women. Governor Bush signed House Bill 501 to create "Choose Life" license plates, which allocated the proceeds to local pregnancy care centers via Choose Life, Inc.

China

On January 17, 2012, former Florida Governor Jeb Bush met with then-Vice President (now President and General-Secretary of the Communist Party of China) Xi Jinping at the Great Hall of the People in Beijing. There, according to an article published on the Communist Party of China's official website, Bush and Xi called "for closer cooperation between China and the United States." The article further noted that "Xi took time during the meeting to applaud Bush's attention to, and efforts in, the development of China-U.S. relations." On February 18, 2015, the *Wall Street Journal* quoted Jeb Bush saying, "We have an ongoing, deep relationship" with China. Bush "counseled to let it evolve." If elected president, Bush would likely continue negotiations on the ongoing U.S.-China Bilateral Investment Treaty originally begun in 2008 under his brother President George W. Bush and then-Chinese President Hu Jintao.

Federal Reserve

Jeb Bush has remained virtually silent about the Federal Reserve in recent years; however, one of his top economic advisors is Kevin Warsh, a current member of the Bilderberg Group's Steering Committee and a member of the Federal Reserve's Board of Governors from 2006 to 2011.

Foreign Aid

Pro-foreign aid, Jeb Bush has stated that foreign aid should be used as a tool to influence and spread American values abroad, rather than to win friends, which he says is "not a proper use of foreign aid." On Fox News's *On the Record With Greta Van Susteren*, on August 12, 2015, Bush said, "Our foreign aid should reflect our values, should reflect our free market philosophy economically. We shouldn't give aid to countries that deters their interest in reforming so that their people can rise up."

Healthcare/Repealing ObamaCare

Jeb Bush has taken a softer approach toward repealing ObamaCare, saying, "I think Republicans need to just take a step back and show a little self-restraint and let this happen a little more organically,"





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according to <u>Politico.com</u>. However, Bush does advocate for an alternative "catastrophe" healthcare insurance plan to replace ObamaCare. According to <u>Politico.com</u>, Bush reportedly said, "The effort by the state, by the government, ought to be to try to create catastrophic coverage, where there is relief for families in our country, where if you have a hardship that goes way beyond your means of paying for it, the government is there or an entity is there to help you deal with that."

Immigration

On August 3, 2015, Jeb Bush posted a detailed six-point summary of his immigration plan to his campaign website. Bush's proposal, entitled "Securing the Border and Enforcing Our Immigration Laws," calls for: 1) building a "forward-leaning Border Patrol (BP)" with the "flexibility to deploy resources as needed," by way of creating "more forward-operating bases" to minimize the response time of agents on the border; 2) utilizing new surveillance technologies such as "drones, advanced sensors, and radars"; 3) improving existing infrastructure as well as the creation of new roads in order to enable agents to respond to otherwise inaccessible areas and also granting BP agents access to federal lands currently restricted due to environmental rules and regulations; 4) utilizing an E-Verify system in order to "ensure that American businesses are not hiring illegal immigrants"; 5) tracking down and deporting individuals who overstay their visas or "otherwise violate the terms of their admission"; and 6) cracking down on sanctuary cities by withholding federal law-enforcement funds to those cities and also "expand[ing] federal partnerships that train state and local police to help enforce immigration laws, particularly in jails and prisons."

Bush's immigration plan is almost identical to that of the 2013 Gang of Eight amnesty bill proposed by Senators Marco Rubio and Chuck Schumer (D-N.Y.). On March 15, 2015, Jeb Bush expressed to the *Wall Street Journal* his support for the 2013 Gang of Eight bill. "If you could get a consensus done, where you could have a bill done and it was 15 years [to achieve citizenship] as the Senate Gang of Eight did, I'd be supportive of that," Bush said.

Although not mentioning Trump's name, Bush's six-point immigration plan concludes by attacking the concept of deporting those currently illegally residing in the United States as advocated by Trump: "While passions run high on this issue, there is no rational plan to deport millions of people that the American people would support. It would disrupt communities and families and could cost taxpayers hundreds of billions of dollars," Bush states on his website.

International Terrorism and ISIS

During the Fox News/Facebook Republican Debate, aired on August 6, 2015, Jeb Bush said, "To honor the people that died, we need to stop the Iran agreement, for sure, because the Iranian mullahs have their blood on their hands, and we need to take out ISIS with every tool at our disposal."

Despite admitting that his brother's invasion of Iraq was a mistake, Jeb Bush blames the rise and expansion of ISIS on the "power vacuum" created by President Obama when he pulled out of Iraq. Bush has criticized Obama's approach toward ISIS as "minimalist" and vows to eliminate the organization if elected president.





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Privacy: PATRIOT Act and NSA Surveillance

On April 21, 2015, during a radio interview on the *Michael Medved Show*, Jeb Bush praised President Barack Obama over NSA surveillance and metadata collection. "I would say the best part of the Obama administration would be his continuance of the protections of the homeland using, you know, the big metadata programs, the NSA being enhanced," Bush said. Bush further added, "Even though he never defends it, even though he never openly admits it, there has been a continuation of a very important service, which is the first obligation I think of our national government is to keep us safe."

Jeb Bush has also defended the -PATRIOT Act from criticism. "There's not a shred of evidence that anybody's civil liberties have been violated by it. Not a shred," Bush said after a breakfast organized by the Concord Chamber of Commerce, on May 21, 2015. According to *Business Insider*, during the same campaign venue, "Bush vocalized his support for NSA surveillance." On August 18, 2015, Bush stated that the NSA's power should be broadened to "make sure that evildoers aren't in our midst."

Same-sex "Marriage" and Religious Liberty

Although opposed to the Supreme Court's decision in *Obergefell v. Hodges*, which legalized same-sex marriage, Bush says that the "law," i.e., the court's decision, must be obeyed, but also says that accommodations should be made for people with religious objections. During the Second Republican Debate on CNN, aired on September 16, 2015, Bush said, "You can't just say, 'well, they — gays can't get married now.'"

Trans-Pacific Partnership

In a guest article for Medium.com published on April 22, 2015, Bush declared his support for President Obama's Trans-Pacific Partnership (TPP) initiative and attacked Hillary Clinton for her recent apparent flip-flopping. "I have no problem supporting TPP," Bush wrote. In the same article Bush states that he agrees with Hillary Clinton, who described the TPP as a "great deal for America." Bush further elaborated that the TPP "would strengthen our ties to our allies throughout the Pacific region, including our close allies and partners in Australia, Mexico and Japan."

Ben Carson

Former neurosurgeon Dr. Benjamin Carson garnered nationwide publicity for his humorous yet critical remarks about President Obama at the 2013 National Prayer Breakfast. On May 4, 2015, Dr. Carson formally announced his candidacy for the Republican presidential nomination in his hometown at Detroit's Music Hall Center for the Performing Arts.

Abortion

Despite strong pro-life rhetoric, Carson has a mixed record on abortion and the sanctity of human life. For example, as a physician Carson referred pregnant women carrying babies with genetic defects to doctors willing to perform abortions, and he has conducted research on fetal tissue derived from aborted babies. However, Carson is currently very much opposed to embryonic stem-cell research, noting the little scientific value derived from such medical research.





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China

In a guest article published by *The National Interest* on September 24, 2015, Dr. Carson called China "America's most serious long-term strategic challenge." Dr. Carson argues in favor of maintaining a "strong military presence in Asia," designed to "serve as a deterrent to Chinese aggression." He calls for "the re-establishment [of] a U.S. military presence in the Philippines and support for Japan to undertake a combat role in collective security." Carson also advocates challenging China's territorial sea claims by "sailing or flying by China's artificial islands in the South China Sea with U.S. military aircraft or vessels to make clear that America does not recognize the artificial islands' legitimacy under international law." He further advocates that the U.S. "retaliate against China" for committing "large-scale cyber espionage."

Federal Reserve

Dr. Carson has voiced concern about the lack of sound money, saying, "We don't really have a solid basis for our dollar." According to *Newsweek* magazine, in 2014, when asked "about reviewing the role of the Federal Reserve," Carson replied, "I definitely think we need to start looking." However, on January 28, 2015, *Forbes* quoted Dr. Carson as saying, "There are both good and bad things about the Fed."

Foreign Aid

On July 29, 2015, appearing on Fox News' *Special Report*, Dr. Carson explained his general opposition to foreign aid. "The reason that I'm not interested in America giving away billions of dollars to other countries is because we don't have billions of dollars to give away," he said. "We're borrowing money from other people, paying the interest, and then giving it as foreign aid to people. That doesn't make any sense. That's craziness." Dr. Carson has previously called for the elimination of all foreign aid; however he does make an exception for Israel, which he notes is a "strategic ally."

Healthcare/Repealing ObamaCare

Dr. Carson favored government-run healthcare before he was against it. In 1996, he wrote an essay published by the *Harvard Journal of Minority Public Health* outlining his own version of government healthcare. In the essay, entitled "Health Care Reform — A Paradigm Shift," Dr. Carson proposed government-run catastrophic healthcare funded by the compulsory seizure of profits from insurance companies and replacing Medicaid with "health care vouchers" for the poor similar to food stamps, as well as a national medical-records database, allowing the elderly "the dignity of dying in comfort, at home," and the creation of "national guidelines" to determine "who should be treated and who should not be" (which would be the same as "death panels"). Dr. Carson no longer advocates these views.

Despite prior preconceived notions on income equality and the necessity of government-run healthcare, Dr. Carson has become an outspoken critic against ObamaCare. In a guest article he wrote for the *Washington Times*, published on December 9, 2014, Dr. Carson said, "When the preamble to the Constitution of the United States talks about, 'the general welfare,' it is talking about things that are good for all Americans and not just the chosen few at the expense of others."

Dr. Carson has been one of the most vocal critics of ObamaCare in terms of its constitutionality, cost,





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regulations, and actual effectiveness in providing healthcare. Rather than government control over healthcare, Dr. Carson favors Health Saving Accounts (HSAs), which he says will "empower families to make their own decisions about their medical treatment" and "will also drive down health care costs while protecting patient choice and freedom."

Immigration

During a tour of the U.S.-Mexico border in Naco, Arizona, on August 21, 2015, Dr. Carson explained to reporters that the current fence on the Arizona-Mexico border would only "slow down" immigrants illegally crossing the border, as opposed to stopping them from entering. "A wall or fence is a good thing but not in isolation," he said. Carson advocates expanding the number of Border Patrol agents on the U.S.-Mexico border to stop the flow of illegal immigrants.

As for those who have already illegally entered and currently reside in the United States, Carson told a group of prominent Latino elected officials on June 20, 2015 that he also supports a path toward their legalization and eventual citizenship, i.e., amnesty. "Many of them have never known any other country," Carson told the Latino officials, "to where are you going to send them?" Carson elaborated that the United States must "provide them a way so that they don't have to hide in the shadows" and instead "give them an opportunity to become guest-workers," further explaining that they would then "have to enroll in a back tax program."

International Terrorism and ISIS

Although Dr. Carson initially opposed the U.S. wars in Afghanistan and Iraq, when asked by Fox News' Bill O'Reilly on September 17, 2015 how he would "defeat ISIS," Carson replied, "Well first of all, make it very clear that we do want to defeat them and I would use everything available to us."

Dr. Carson further elaborated, "And I believe that it would probably require that we actually put some men on the ground." However, rather than going into Syria, which Carson opposes, he advocates sending troops back into Iraq to drive ISIS out of Iraq into Syria, which Carson explains, "That's a big part of the victory, because that's part of their caliphate. That's the majority of the caliphate, in Iraq."

Privacy: PATRIOT Act and NSA Surveillance

On May 20, 2015, in an interview with *The Hill*, Ben Carson took a soft or moderate stance on the PATRIOT Act. "I think some aspects of the PATRIOT Act are wise," Dr. Carson said, "but certainly in terms of the Fourth Amendment, the unwarranted mining of data from citizens is a violation. I totally oppose that." Carson further said, "Our authorities can get a warrant any time they want. If they need it in the middle of the night they can get it, no problem."

Same-sex "Marriage" and Religious Liberty

On September 8, 2015, Dr. Carson told Fox News' Megyn Kelly, "Congress now has a responsibility to step to the plate and protect the rights of all Americans." Carson believes in traditional marriage and acknowledges that the United States "is a Judeo-Christian nation in the sense that a lot of our values and principles are based on our Judeo-Christian faith," Carson told Kelly.





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Trans-Pacific Partnership

Dr. Carson opposes the TPP. When asked if he would give Trade Promotion Authority (TPA) to President Obama to fast-track trade agreements such as the TPP, Dr. Carson told the Huffington Post, "I would not." Dr. Carson further elaborated, "I think free trade is a wonderful thing, but I think it needs to be done the right way." Carson continued, "We are a republic, and that means that the people are in charge through their representatives, and the president is only one person. And I think we need to have much more input. These are very important agreements that need to be made."

Chris Christie

New Jersey Governor Christopher "Chris" Christie made a reputation with his confrontational and outspoken remarks, unafraid to say what is on his mind. At the age of 15, Christie entered the world of politics as a volunteer for the gubernatorial campaign of Republican New Jersey Governor Thomas Kean. Christie later campaigned for Presidents George H. W. Bush and George W. Bush. On December 7, 2001, President George W. Bush appointed Christie as U.S. attorney for the District of New Jersey, which Christie held until 2008. Christie defeated incumbent Democratic Governor Jon Corzine in the 2009 New Jersey gubernatorial election and was reelected in 2013. On June 30, 2015, Governor Christie formally announced his candidacy for the Republican presidential nomination.

Abortion

Governor Chris Christie has repeatedly vetoed measures funding Planned Parenthood and expanding access to family-planning abortion services in New Jersey. On June 26, 2011, addressing the issue of abortion while on NBC's *Meet the Press*, Governor Christie said, "Here's my position on it. My name's the name on the ballot. I am pro-life, I believe in exceptions for rape, incest and the life of the mother. That's my position, take it or leave it."

China

According to the Associated Press, Chris Christie told voters at a campaign event in New Hampshire on June 9, 2015, "That [China] is an issue that we can handle militarily by going out there and making sure that we show them that we don't respect their claims to these artificial islands in the South China Sea that they're building that they're saying are theirs that are hundreds and hundreds of miles from the coast of China and are clearly in international waters."

Federal Reserve

Governor Christie has criticized the fed for its "printing of money" and slashing of interest rates, which he says will cause "real problems as we move forward." On May 12, 2015, Governor Christie said, "The Fed's easy money policies and the president's anti-growth policies have made the rich even richer and made our middle class work longer and harder for less pay and less promise for their future."

Instead, Christie believes the Fed should have increased interest rates. On November 2, 2015, in an interview with the Fox Business Network's Maria Bartiromo, Governor Christie said, "The Fed, who has kept the interest rates at zero now have nothing in the toolbox in case we do go into recession. Where are we going to go from here? They should have been raising rates appropriately before."





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Bartiromo followed up by asking Christie what he would do with the Federal Reserve if elected president. Christie argued in favor of keeping the Fed independent from politics. "You want the Federal Reserve to be independent and you want them to make decisions not based upon politics but upon sound monetary policy," he said. "And also, the Fed should be audited to make sure that everyone has a sense of comfort that we're doing what we need to do especially after a number of rounds of quantitative easing," Christie added.

Foreign Aid

Governor Christie supports foreign aid to Israel. During the Fox News/Facebook Republican Debate, aired on August 6, 2015, Christie said, "I don't disagree with Senator Paul's position that we shouldn't be funding our enemies. But I absolutely believe that Israel is a priority to be able to fund and keep them strong and safe after eight years of this administration." Aside from providing financial and military assistance to Israel, Christie touts the typical conservative line of opposing foreign aid to "enemy" nations.

Healthcare/Repealing ObamaCare

On June 6, 2015, Governor Chris Christie said, "If Congress messed up the statute, the Congress and the President created the statute; they should fix it. If they're saying it's not what they intended, then go back and fix it."

Christie has previously called Obama-Care a failed program from the start, but more recently has called for Congress to "fix it," suggesting that if modified by Congress, ObamaCare is here to stay. Christie refused to create the healthcare exchange for New Jersey, but instead expanded Medicaid coverage within the state.

Christie also believes in expanding healthcare options for veterans. His official presidential campaign website states, "Governor Christie believes veterans should be able to receive their health care benefit from any medical institution."

Immigration

On December 20, 2013, Governor Christie signed into law the Tuition Equality Act, commonly known as the New Jersey Dream Act, which grants in-state college tuition rates to illegal immigrants residing in New Jersey. The legislation was a compromise between Governor Christie and Senate Democrats in the New Jersey Legislature. Governor Christie agreed to sign the bill under the condition that the Democrats strike a provision that would have granted illegal immigrants access to state financial aid. Christie has also wavered on his support for what he once called a "common sense path to citizenship" for illegal immigrants currently residing in the United States. On August 4, 2015, during a campaign event in New Hampshire, Christie said, "This path to citizenship stuff is garbage."

International Terrorism and ISIS

On April 15, 2015, Governor Christie said, "We have to be willing as Americans to say, if need be, we'll also put soldiers into the fight." When asked by Fox News' Sean Hannity on how he would "deal with ISIS as president," Christie replied, "First, we've got to empower our allies in the region." Christie explained that he would train and provide intelligence to the military forces of Jordan, Egypt, Saudi





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Arabia, and the United Arab Emirates, relying on them to send the necessary ground forces to defeat ISIS.

Privacy: PATRIOT Act and NSA Surveillance

Governor Christie is a strong proponent of the PATRIOT Act and advocate of expanding the NSA's powers even further. On May 22, 2015, as reauthorization of the PATRIOT Act was being debated among Republicans on Capitol Hill, he said, "This debate that we're having right now about the PATRIOT Act — it's a very dangerous debate." Referring to Senator Rand Paul, Governor Christie continued, "It's done by people with no experience dealing with what I've dealt with." In defense of the PATRIOT Act, Christie further added, "I'm the only person in this national conversation who has used the PATRIOT Act, signed off on it, [and] convicted terrorists because of it."

On June 19, 2015, while again defending the PATRIOT Act, Governor Christie took another swipe at Rand Paul without mentioning his name. "This is about life and death for our country, and I stand for keeping America safe and making America strong and not giving political speeches on the floor of the Senate to raise money for a political campaign," Christie said.

Same-sex "Marriage" and Religious Liberty

On September 8, 2015, appearing on Fox News, Governor Chris Christie said of the Supreme Court's ruling in favor of same-sex marriage, "You have to follow the law, and the law is these licenses have to be issued."

Despite personal disagreement with the decision, Governor Christie accepts the Supreme Court's ruling as final, just as he did when the New Jersey Superior Court ruled that New Jersey could not prohibit same-sex couples from marrying. When the U.S. Supreme Court denied the Christie administration's request to halt the Superior Court's decision pending an appeal, Christie withdrew the state's appeal, thus removing any obstacles to same-sex marriage in New Jersey.

Trans-Pacific Partnership

Governor Christie supports the TPP but does not trust President Obama with its negotiation. Instead, Christie wants a Republican president to negotiate and oversee its implementation. On April 14, 2015, Governor Christie said, "I'm sure we could get TPP in the kind of shape that it needs to be to be able to be a force for good in the world, not only for us but for other countries that we engage in the partnership with. But I have real concerns about this president's ability to negotiate anything that represents a great deal for America."

Ted Cruz

Senator Rafael Edward "Ted" Cruz (R-Texas) is generally regarded as one of the most conservative senators. Cruz has a 100-percent lifetime rating from the American Conservative Union, 100 percent from the Heritage Foundation's "Heritage Action" scorecard, and 89 percent from The New American's "Freedom Index," which rates congressmen according to the Constitution. Prior to becoming senator, Ted Cruz served as Texas solicitor general from 2003 to 2008. On March 23, 2015, Senator Cruz formally announced his candidacy for the Republican presidential nomination.





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Abortion

As solicitor general of Texas, Ted Cruz successfully led 18 states in defending New Hampshire's parental notification law in the 2006 U.S. Supreme Court case *Ayotte v. Planned Parenthood of Northern New England*. In the 2007 U.S. Supreme Court case *Gonzales v. Carhart*, Cruz successfully defended the Partial Birth Abortion Ban Act, which prohibits physicians from knowingly conducting a form of partial-birth abortion known as "dilation and extraction" (D&X) or "intact D&E," on behalf of 13 states.

China

On October 11, 2011, Senator Cruz voted against the Currency Exchange Rate Oversight Reform Act of 2011 (S. 1619). This bill would have cracked down on China's currency manipulation, and would have empowered small and private business that could clearly demonstrate they have been damaged as a result of dumping caused by Chinese currency manipulation to require the Department of Commerce to open an investigation. During an interview on *The Laura Ingraham Show* Cruz said about the bill, "I don't support that bill. I understand the concerns about China and I think we need to be vigorous in dealing with China but I think it's a mistake to try to start a trade war with them."

Federal Reserve

On January 6, 2014, Senator Cruz voted against the confirmation of Janet Yellen to be chairman of the Board of Governors of the Federal Reserve System. Cruz cosponsored Senator Rand Paul's Federal Reserve Transparency Act of 2013 (S. 209) and his Federal Reserve Transparency Act of 2015 (S. 264). On January 28, 2015, in an official press release, Senator Cruz said, "Enough is enough. The Federal Reserve needs to fully open its books so Congress and the American people can see what has been going on. This is a crucial first step to getting back to a more stable dollar and a healthy economy for the long term."

Foreign Aid

Senator Cruz supported cutting off foreign aid to Egypt following the 2013 coup d'état that resulted in the Muslim Brotherhood government of Mohamed Morsi. On July 31, 2013, Senator Cruz voted against a motion offered by Senator Bob Corker (R-Tenn.) to table (kill) an amendment introduced by Senator Rand Paul to prohibit the United States from sending foreign aid to Egypt until another "democratic" election occurs. In 2013, Cruz also called for cutting off all foreign aid to Iraq unless the Iraqi government agreed to prohibit Iran access to its airspace. Cruz has, however, voted to provide foreign aid to Ukraine.

Healthcare/Repealing ObamaCare

On February 2, 2015, Senator Cruz introduced S. 177, a bill to "repeal the Patient Protection and Affordable Care Act and the Health Care and Education Reconciliation Act of 2010 entirely," dubbed the "Obama-care Repeal Act." According to an official press release from the office of Senator Cruz, "The Obamacare Repeal Act fully repeals Obamacare effective 180 days after its enactment." Cruz's ObamaCare Repeal Act would also provide "Congress and the states the intervening six months to develop and vote on patient-oriented health care reform that will incrementally unravel Obama-care's





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structural damage to our health care system and economy."

Immigration

In an interview with Shark-Tank.com, posted on YouTube on August 9, 2015, Senator Cruz was again asked if he supported some kind of path to amnesty, to which Cruz replied, "There should be no pathway to citizenship for those who are here illegally. I don't support amnesty." Of President Obama's immigration policy Cruz also said, "It is a transformational policy, if amnesty goes through. It changes who we are as a country." In the Senate, Cruz has consistently opposed amnesty or any other pathway to citizenship proposals, vigorously fighting against the 2013 Gang of Eight bipartisan immigration bill.

International Terrorism and ISIS

On October 7, 2015, Senator Cruz said in an interview with Fox News, "You ask what should we be doing? We should stop engaging in the fiction in trying to find these moderate rebels and support them. We should stop the fiction of trying to bring together the Sunnis and the Shias to put down their arms and embrace like brothers. Instead, we should defend U.S. national security interests and do what works to defeat ISIS." Senator Cruz has previously stated on Fox News' *Hannity*, "The objective should be to destroy ISIS." Although hesitant to send U.S. ground troops, Cruz believes that a decision should ultimately be decided by the military. Cruz advocates that the United States should instead rely on the Kurdish fighters as the primary boots on the ground to defeat ISIS.

Privacy: PATRIOT Act and NSA Surveillance

On April 28, 2015, Senator Cruz said, "A clean reauthorization of the USA PATRIOT Act's bulk record collection program is not acceptable." He added, "It is absolutely critical for Congress to balance the privacy interests of law-abiding citizens against the public's interest in national security." Instead Cruz cosponsored the bipartisan USA FREEDOM Act of 2015. "The USA FREEDOM Act of 2015 strikes the right balance by ending the National Security Agency's unfettered data collection program and implementing other surveillance reforms, while at the same time preserving the government's ability to obtain information to track down terrorists when it has sufficient justification and support for doing so," Cruz said. Senator Cruz voted in favor of passage of the USA FREEDOM Act on June 2, 2015.

Same-sex "Marriage" and Religious Liberty

In 2005, as solicitor general of Texas, Ted Cruz successfully prevented a granite monument of the 10 Commandments from being removed from the Texas Capitol grounds in the U.S. Supreme Court case *Van Orden v. Perry*.

On April 23, 2015, Senator Cruz introduced the Protect Marriage from the Courts Act of 2015 (S. 1080), which would prohibit the federal courts from ruling on marriage cases. According to a press release on Ted Cruz's Senate website about his bill, "Pursuant to Congress' power under Article III of the Constitution to limit the jurisdiction of the lower federal courts and to make exceptions to the appellate jurisdiction of the Supreme Court ... this legislation restricts the jurisdiction of federal courts to determine the constitutionality of state laws defining marriage as the union of one man and one woman." As of October 28, 2015, S. 1080 has not been cosponsored in the Senate.





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Trans-Pacific Partnership

Cruz initially supported and voted to grant President Obama Trade Promotion Authority (TPA). However, on June 23, 2015, in an article for Breitbart News, Cruz announced he would switch his position on TPA unless he could be guaranteed that the Export-Import Bank would be allowed to expire and that both his and Senator Jeff Sessions' (R-Ala.) TPA amendments relative to immigration would pass. "Enough is enough. I cannot vote for TPA unless [Mitch] McConnell and [John] Boehner both commit publicly to allow the Ex-Im Bank to expire — and stay expired. And, Congress must also pass the Cruz-Sessions amendments to TPA to ensure that no trade agreement can try to back-door changes to our immigration laws. Otherwise, I will have no choice but vote no," Cruz explained. On June 24, 2015, Senator Cruz voted against TPA in the final Senate vote.

On June 12, 2015, Ted Cruz National Press Secretary Catherine Frazier told TPNN, "Senator Cruz has not taken a position either in favor or against TPP. He will wait until the agreement is finalized and he has a chance to study it carefully to ensure that the agreement will open more markets to American-made products, create jobs, and grow our economy." Frazier added, "Senator Cruz has dedicated his professional career to defending U.S. sovereignty and the U.S. Constitution. He will not support any trade agreement that would diminish or undermine either."

Carly Fiorina

Cara Carleton Fiorina was the first female senior vice president of AT&T, president of Lucent Technologies, and, most notably, CEO of Hewlett-Packard. Although never elected to public office, Fiorina was an advisor on business and economic affairs to Republican Senator John McCain's 2008 presidential campaign. On March 7, 2008, then-Republican National Committee Chairman Mike Duncan appointed Fiorina chairwoman of the RNC's "Victory" initiative. In 2010, Fiorina unsuccessfully ran for the U.S. Senate in California against incumbent Democratic Senator Barbara Boxer. Fiorina formally announced her candidacy for the Republican presidential nomination on May 4, 2015.

Abortion

During the 2010 California race for U.S. Senate, when asked whether she would vote to overturn *Roe v. Wade*, Fiorina responded that she would "if there were an opportunity." However, she promptly added, "It is not an issue that I'm running on." Instead she affirmed herself as a "strong believer in states' rights" and that she is "prepared to trust the voters' judgment" in California, who had already made their decision on the issue. Fiorina is beginning to take a much tougher stance on abortion.

China

On August 12, 2015, during an interview on *CBS This Morning*, Fiorina accused China of lacking innovation, claiming their achievements are the result of theft from the West. "I have been doing business in China for dec-ades," Fiorina said, "and I will tell you that yeah, the Chinese can take a test, but what they can't do is innovate. They are not terribly imaginative." Fiorina continued, "They're not entrepreneurial, they don't innovate, that is why they are stealing our intellectual property."

Regarding China's naval buildup and posturing in the South China Sea, Fiorina stated, "I would be conducting more flyovers on the South China Sea," explaining, "We cannot permit China to control a





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trade route through which passes \$5 trillion worth of goods and services every year."

Federal Reserve

During an interview on Fox News' Fox & Friends on August 24, 2015, Fiorina said, "I think the stock market has hit record highs over and over again because the Federal Reserve has ensured, through its easy money policy, that the stock market's the only place you can earn a return." That same day, Fiorina told FOXBusiness.com, "The Federal Reserve's easy money policy has contributed to a frothy stock market."

Foreign Aid

"I think it's vitally important that America remain engaged in the world, and foreign aid is part of that," Fiorina said in a brief interview with the *Washington Examiner* on February 4, 2015. According to the *Washington Examiner*, "Fiorina cited as a positive example President George W. Bush's Millennium Challenge, which set standards for countries to meet if they wish to receive U.S. aid." Fiorina elaborated that because other nations such as China "are spending vastly greater sums of money all over the world to spread their sphere of influence," the United States "cannot disengage."

Healthcare/Repealing ObamaCare

On September 30, 2013, during a panel discussion debate between Ralph Nader and Carly Fiorina on CNN's *Crossfire*, CNN moderator Stephanie Cutter asked Fiorina, "Do you agree with the mandate idea? That is a Republican idea, came out of the Heritage Foundation, one of our co-hosts, Newt Gingrich, was behind it. And the ban on preexisting conditions? Do you agree with those two provisions?" Fiorina replied, "I actually do agree with those two provisions." However, she quickly added, "And I think Obamacare remains an abomination," proceeding to explain "there are many more efficient ways we could have dealt with this other than Obamacare." Instead, she suggested that the federal government could have "subsidized high-risk pools."

Immigration

On August 31, 2015, Fiorina told NBC News, "I've been very clear I don't support deportation. I don't support amending the Constitution or challenging the 14th Amendment." Fiorina also told NBC News that she would be willing to pass a version of the DREAM Act to grant full citizenship to illegal immigrants who enter the United States as children. "Perhaps their children can earn citizenship because I don't think we should punish children for the sins of their fathers and mothers," Fiorina said.

Fiorina has previously expressed support for the DREAM Act. During the 2010 California U.S. Senate debate against incumbent Senator Barbara Boxer, Fiorina said, "I would support the DREAM Act because I do not believe that we can punish children who through no fault of their own are here trying to live the American dream." In 2013, while appearing on NBC's *Meet the Press*, Fiorina also endorsed the Gang of Eight bill. "I applaud and salute the Gang of Eight's proposal. Let's move forward and vote on that," Fiorina said.

International Terrorism and ISIS

On May 27, 2015, MSNBC's Andrea Mitchell asked Fiorina what she would do to stop ISIS. Fiorina





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assertively responded, "First, instead of having a Camp David conference to talk our Arab allies into a bad deal with Iran, I would have had a Camp David conference to talk with our Arab allies about how we can support them to fight ISIS." Fiorina elaborated that she would arm the Kurds, provide bombs and materials to King Abdullah of Jordan, share intelligence with Egypt, and assist Turkey to topple Bashar al-Assad. "There are a whole set of things we've been asked to do by our allies who know this is their fight, and we're not doing any of them," Fiorina said, "so I would hold a Summit and talk with them about that."

Privacy: PATRIOT Act and NSA Surveillance

Following the 9/11 terrorist attacks, then-CEO of Hewlett-Packard Fiorina immediately provided truckloads of HP servers, intended for commercial sales, to the NSA at the request of then-NSA Director General Michael Hayden. The servers Fiorina provided were utilized in the formation of the NSA's warrantless surveillance program "Stellar Wind," under the President's Surveillance Program (PSP). Of her provision of the servers, Fiorina said, "I felt it was my duty to help, and so we did."

On June 12, 2015, appearing on Fox News Special Report's *Center Seat*, Fiorina was pressed about her current views on NSA surveillance in light of her former service as chairman of the CIA's External Advisory Board under then-CIA director Hayden. "It's also true that when I served as that chairman I advised both the CIA and the NSA to be as transparent as possible about everything they were doing." Fiorina responded. According to CNN, Hayden said about Fiorina's assistance, "She contributed a great deal. It confirmed for me what I thought was a coming crisis. It helped me with my judgment."

Same-sex "Marriage" and Religious Liberty

On May 9, 2015, in an interview with conservative Iowa blog Caffeinated Thoughts, Carly Fiorina said, "I think the Supreme Court ruling will become the law of the land, and however much I may agree or disagree with it, I wouldn't support an amendment to reserve it." Fiorina further elaborated, "I think this is a nation that should be able to accept and government shouldn't discriminate in how it provides benefits and the people have a right to their religious freedoms."

Trans-Pacific Partnership

Carly Fiorina has repeatedly criticized President Obama for his lack of transparency on the TPP. On May 7, 2015, in an interview on *The Laura Ingraham Show*, Fiorina said about TPA and TPP, "I believe that free and fair trade advantages the U.S. but I am very uncomfortable with this deal." Fiorina explained that the TPP "is an extremely complicated deal, a multilateral deal with a lot of details that we don't know about." Fiorina added, "I think the devil's in the details." On May 10, 2015, Fiorina appeared on NBC's *Meet the Press*, where she brought up concerns about Communist China joining eventually the TPP. "I think it's important to know some of the fine print of this deal. For example, is China allowed to join this Pacific trading agreement later on in a couple years, yes or no?" Fiorina further asked, "If the truth is in these details that China gets to join later, then what exactly are we doing here?"

Mike Huckabee

Michael Huckabee is an ordained Southern Baptist minister, having served as the pastor of Immanuel





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Baptist Church in Pine Bluff, Arkansas, from 1980 to 1986 and Beech Street Baptist Church in Texarkana, Arkansas, from 1986 to 1992. From 1989 to 1991, Huckabee was the president of the Arkansas Baptist State Convention. In a 1993 special election, he was elected lieutenant governor of Arkansas, a position he held from 1993 to 1996. Huckabee then served as governor from 1996 to 2007. In 2007 and 2008, former Governor Huckabee ran unsuccessfully for the Republican presidential nomination. On May 5, 2015, he again formally announced his candidacy for the Republican presidential nomination.

Abortion

Solidly pro-life, Mike Huckabee opposes abortion in all circumstances without exception. On August 16, 2015, during an appearance on CNN's *State of the Union*, Huckabee said, "I don't think we discount the intrinsic worth of any human being, and I don't know where else to go with it than just to be consistent and say, if life matters, and that's a person, then every life matters."

China

Huckabee advocates equal retaliation in response to China's cyberattacks against the United States, stating on his campaign website, "The response and retaliation to this behavior is simple, America should hack the Chinese government. We should hack the cell phones of some prominent Communist party leaders, hack the bank accounts of intelligence officials, publicly humiliate Chinese families for political corruption, or wipe-out a few critical Chinese computer systems."

Huckabee's website further explains, "When you tolerate bad behavior and bullying, you get more of it." Adding, "As President, I will stand up to China, retaliate with strength, and never apologize for protecting Americans." On August 13, 2015, Huckabee took an economic nationalist position regarding China's devaluation of the yuan, telling the *Washington Post*, "I think we need to keep open the idea of tariffs on China."

Federal Reserve

On August 24, 2015, during an interview on Fox News' *Your World With Neil Cavuto*, Huckabee criticized the Fed's easy-money practices. "The Federal Reserve is partly to blame, just mainly because they've manipulated the economy with quantitative easing," he said. He went on to compare the Fed's QE to "giving your grandkids a big, big boost of sugar," explaining, "they've got a lot of energy for a while, but when that sugar runs out, they're going to crash, and we're running the economy on the sugar rush of infused capital, which is really not going to be sustainable, and so I think the Fed has some responsibility for that."

Foreign Aid

In an interview with *Time* magazine, posted on <u>Time.com</u> on April 9, 2007, regarding a question about the continuance of foreign aid to allies, Huckabee responded, "Our first priority has to be to our own citizens to their safety and security." He continued, "Most of the time foreign aid efforts represent a very small portion of expenditure, but it should be limited to purely humanitarian efforts."





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Healthcare/Repealing ObamaCare

On his campaign website's healthcare section, Mike Huckabee declares, "We must reject government dependency." He concludes, "As President, I will repeal ObamaCare and fight for real health care reform." Unfortunately his opposition to government dependency does not match his record as governor of Arkansas.

On March 10, 1997, Governor Huckabee signed a state-subsidized health-insurance program for uninsured children, known as "ARKids First," into law. In 2006, Governor Huckabee announced the creation of ARHealthNetworks to provide coverage to uninsured working adults whose small business employers could not afford basic medical benefits. According to the independent nonpartisan Arkansas Center for Health Improvement (ACHI), "ARHealthNetworks represents one of the first true partnerships between state and federal government, private businesses, and families to make affordable health care coverage available to uninsured workers."

Immigration

Huckabee has pledged to secure the U.S.-Mexico border within the first year of his term, deny funding to sanctuary cities, designate Mexican drug cartels as foreign terrorist organizations, and reverse President Obama's unconstitutional amnesty executive order. However, Huckabee's record and past statements do not support his newfound strong immigration stance.

As governor, Huckabee supported in-state tuition rates and scholarships for illegal immigrants attending college in Arkansas. In an interview with the *Washington Post* published on May 23, 2006, Governor Huckabee said, "I tend to think that the rational approach is to find a way to give people a pathway to citizenship." On June 21, 2013, in an interview with Fox News, Huckabee was asked whether he sided with Senator Rubio and the other seven senators that comprised the Gang of Eight bill or with opponents of the legislation such as Senator Cruz. Huckabee answered, "I'd say probably the Rubio, Corker, Hoeven [side]."

International Terrorism and ISIS

In an interview with WorldNetDaily (WND) posted on July 10, 2015, Huckabee was asked "if he saw the ISIS threat as big enough to commit to a large-scale deployment of U.S. forces in the Mideast." WND quoted Huckabee as replying, "I would include not just ISIS but Boko Haram, al-Qaida, Hamas, Hezbollah and the Iranians."

When asked if that meant he would send actual boots on the ground, Huckabee answered, "Whatever it takes. I don't think we take anything off the table." Huckabee said he would defeat ISIS by "having a military that can very quickly and overwhelmingly put an end to the terrorist activities." Huckabee also said that he would deploy "A-10 Warthogs [an anti-tank aircraft] over their every truck, every tank and every supply line."

Privacy: PATRIOT Act and NSA Surveillance

On May 5, 2015, Huckabee told the *Daily Signal*, "Obama's warrantless NSA spying program is more than just illegal, it's an unconstitutional, criminal assault on our freedoms as Americans. As president, I will repeal this program and protect the privacy and civil liberties of all Americans."





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Appearing on *Fox News Sunday* on May 24, 2015, Huckabee said, "Our Founders were very concerned about too much power being invested in anyone [and] in any branch." Huckabee further pointed out the ineffectiveness of the NSA's invasive surveillance measures. "I don't want to be made unsafe, but ... [with] 225 different terrorist plots over the past years since 9/11 ... so far not one of them has been tied directly to the NSA's collection of metadata," he told Fox News' Chris Wallace. Huckabee added, "So, if this is so effective how come it hasn't resulted in the foiled terrorist plots? Those have been foiled by old fashion good police work, [and] old fashion human intelligence."

Same-sex "Marriage" and Religious Liberty

On July 2, 2015, Huckabee told a room full of prospective voters in Iowa, "Religious liberty is the foundation of all our liberties." Huckabee promised those voters in Iowa that if elected president he would: 1) ensure the protection of the religious liberties of every individual, religious organization (church, synagogue, mosque), and business that subscribes to any particular religious belief (i.e., Hobby Lobby or Chick-fil-A); 2) instruct the attorney general to protect the religious liberties of such individuals, organizations, and businesses; and 3) instruct the secretary of defense to see that all servicemen in the military, including chaplains, would be "free to express his or her religious viewpoint, display the bible and pray."

Trans-Pacific Partnership

When asked about his views on the TPP, Mike Huckabee told the Huffington Post, "Nobody has seen this trade pact except for a few that go into the secret room. Most of the senators who are pushing it haven't even read it. And it's very likely to turn a lot of power over to some multinational body that is not answerable to the United States taxpayers." According to Breitbart News, Huckabee also previously called on congressional Republicans to "slam on the brakes and refuse to allow President Obama to fast-track a major international trade deal that's been crafted in secret and whose details remain cloaked in mystery."

John Kasich

Ohio Governor John Kasich has garnered nationwide publicity as an advocate for an Article V Convention to propose a balanced budget amendment (BBA) to the Constitution. Prior to serving as Ohio governor, Kasich was the host of Fox News' *Heartland With John Kasich* from 2001 to 2007. Kasich served in the Ohio state Senate from 1979 to 1982. He was elected to the U.S. House of Representatives in 1982, and served as a congressman from 1983 to 2001. Kasich formally announced his candidacy for the Republican presidential nomination on July 21, 2015.

Abortion

On July 20, 2011, Governor Kasich signed House Bill 78, a ban on abortion after 20 weeks gestation except in cases when the mother's life is at risk or when a doctor determines that the child will not survive outside the womb. In an official press release, Governor Kasich said, "Life is a gift from God and one way that we express our ongoing gratitude for it is by respecting it."





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China

On July 8, 2015, while speaking to an overflow crowd of over 100 people at a restaurant in Hilton Head, South Carolina, Governor Kasich said, "If the Chinese think they own the South China Seas, I think we ought to send a little aircraft group over there to send them a little message — you don't own all this." Kasich added, "One thing the Chinese understand is not talk, it's action."

Federal Reserve

Governor Kasich has not taken a public position on the Federal Reserve.

Foreign Aid

Despite having criticized waste in U.S. foreign aid programs, during his tenure in the House of Representatives, Kasich favorably voted for the majority of foreign-aid bills, including foreign operations appropriations bills, State Department authorization bills, and even for the provision of economic assistance to Communist Vietnam on August 3, 1999.

Healthcare/Repealing ObamaCare

Governor Kasich advocates repealing ObamaCare, *except* for the Medicaid expansion. An Episcopalian of the Anglican Church in North America, Kasich cites his faith in God as justification for his support of Medicaid expansion. On June 19, 2013, the *Columbus Dispatch* guoted Governor Kasich as saying:

I had a conversation with one of the members of the legislature the other day. I said, "I respect the fact that you believe in small government. I do, too. I also know that you're a person of faith.

"Now, when you die and get to the meeting with St. Peter, he's probably not going to ask you much about what you did about keeping government small. But he is going to ask you what you did for the poor. You better have a good answer."

Kasich raised this question regarding government assistance and not private charity.

Immigration

On August 7, 2015, Governor Kasich spoke to a group of Hispanic company executives supportive of immigration reform. Regarding illegal immigrants currently residing in the United States, Kasich told the audience, "For those that are here that have been law abiding, God bless them." Kasich continued, saying that illegals "are a critical part of our society from doctors to engineers to lawyers." One of his top priorities, he told the Hispanic executives, would be to "expand the [number of] guest workers."

On August 9, 2015, Governor Kasich told CNN regarding the "11 or 12 million who are here" illegally: "If they've been law-abiding over a period of time, they ought to be legalized, and they ought to be able to stay here." On August 12, 2015, in an interview with CNN's Dana Bash, Kasich reiterated, "I would prefer for them to be legalized once we find out who they are because they can — I think they contribute a lot to America."

International Terrorism and ISIS

On February 17, 2015, in a phone interview, Governor Kasich told the Washington Post that he would in





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fact deploy U.S. troops on the ground to defeat ISIS. "You will not solve this problem with only air power," Kasich said. "There needs to be a coalition of NATO, Arab states, and ultimately some *boots on the ground* to stop the advancement of that group." (Emphasis added.)

Governor Kasich reiterated his pledge to put boots on the ground in an interview on NBC's *Meet the Press* on July 25, 2015. "I've said all along we should have a coalition, we should be there, including boots on the ground, and we need to degrade and destroy ISIS," Kasich said. Of the role of U.S. forces, Governor Kasich elaborated, "I would have them in a role where they're going to be on the ground *fighting*. I mean you've got the air power, but you can't solve anything just with air power." (Emphasis added.)

Privacy: PATRIOT Act and NSA Surveillance

During an interview with ABC News' Jonathan Karl on *This Week*, Governor Kasich took a "middle ground" position when asked whether he sided with Senator Rand Paul or former Governor Jeb Bush on the PATRIOT Act. "I'm very suspicious of anything that's big, whether it's government, business; it doesn't matter. And so I think there's a middle ground," he said.

After noting the importance of both intelligence gathering and protecting civil liberties, Kasich concluded, "I do think they ought to continue the program. But all that data probably ought to be put in some sort of an organization, maybe some sort of quasi-government organization."

As for justifying the legality of wireless surveillance and metadata gathering, Kasich said, "And we ought to extend the power of the FISA court. That's the court that says if you're going to go and use this kind of surveillance, it has to be approved by somebody. And you know, when you talk about domestic surveillance, I think we've got to extend the power of that court."

Same-sex "Marriage" and Religious Liberty

Governor Kasich takes a softer tone in his opposition to same-sex marriage. During the Fox News/Facebook Republican debate on August 6, 2015, Governor Kasich was asked by moderator Megyn Kelly how he would explain his opposition to same-sex marriage to a gay son or lesbian daughter. Kasich replied, "Well, look I'm an old-fashioned person here and I happen to believe in traditional marriage. But I've also said that the court has ruled ... and I've said I would accept it." Kasich added, "And guess what? I just went to a wedding of a friend of mine who happens to be gay." Kasich told Kelly, "If one of my daughters happened to be that, of course I would love them and I would accept them."

On September 6, 2015, in an interview on ABC's *This Week*, George Stephanopoulos asked Kasich if he agreed with Mike Huckabee's position that he stands with Kim Davis, the Rowan County clerk in Kentucky who refused to issue a marriage license to a same-sex couple following the Supreme Court ruling in *Obergefell v. Hodges*. Kasich replied that he did not agree with Huckabee. "Now, I respect the fact that this lady doesn't agree, but she's also a government employee. *She's not running a church*," Kasich said about Davis. "I wouldn't force this on a church, but in terms of her responsibility I think *she has to comply....* I don't like the fact that she's sitting in a jail, that's just absurd as well. But I think she should follow the law." (Emphasis added.)





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Trans-Pacific Partnership

On October 8, 2015, in an interview on *CBS This Morning*, Governor John Kasich was asked if he supported the TPP trade agreement. "I think so," Governor Kasich replied. He explained, "I haven't seen all the details. The Senate is going to look at it. But look we want a strengthened group of people in Asia to interface against China and trade can help do that."

Rand Paul

Senator Rand Paul of Kentucky is a self-described constitutional conservative and the son of constitutionalist former Congressman Ron Paul. Like his father, Rand Paul is also a licensed physician. Senator Paul has a 98-percent lifetime rating from the American Conservative Union, 89 percent from the Heritage Foundation's "Heritage Action" scorecard, and a 94 percent from The New American's "Freedom Index," which rates congressmen according to the Constitution. Senator Paul formally announced his candidacy for the Republican presidential nomination on April 7, 2015.

Abortion

In 2013, Senator Paul introduced S. 583, entitled the "Life at Conception Act," which, according to a press release from his office, "would implement equal protection under the 14th Amendment for the right to life of each born and unborn human."

China

On China, Senator Paul departs from the traditional anticommunist position of conservatives in favor of a more pro-free market, libertarian approach, otherwise known as "capitalist peace theory." Paul's position toward the Communist Party-led dictatorship is that further engagement in the form of additional bilateral trade will result in an increase of economic freedom for the people living in China and lead to a reduction of tension between Washington and Beijing. This, Paul believes, will in turn foster internal democratic reforms in China irrespective of the Communist Party of China's ideology and strategic long-term objectives. In an essay published in *The National Interest* journal on January 16, 2014, Paul states:

Like many conservative middle-class families, our inclination was to resist anything to do with Red China. In that black and white world, you were either for us or against us. Trade with China was thought to be trade with the enemy. A funny thing happened, though, along the way. Many conservatives came to understand a larger truth. As trade began to blossom with China, many conservatives, myself included, came to admit that trade improves our economic well-being AND makes us less likely to fight. The success of trade with China made many conservatives rethink their view of the world.

Federal Reserve

Senator Paul voted against President Obama's nomination of Janet Yellen as chairman of the Board of Governors of the Federal Reserve System. Paul has twice introduced the Federal Reserve Transparency Act, commonly known as the "Audit the Fed" bill, in 2013 (S. 209) and 2015 (S. 264). In a press release





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announcing his reintroduction of his Audit the Fed bill, on January 26, 2015, Paul said, "A complete and thorough audit of the Fed will finally allow the American people to know exactly how their money is being spent by Washington." Paul continued, "The American people have a right to know what the Federal Reserve is doing with our nation's money supply."

Foreign Aid

During the Fox News/Facebook Republican debate on August 6, 2015, Senator Paul was asked about his position on foreign aid to Israel. "Each one of my budgets has taken a meat axe to foreign aid, because I think we ought to quit sending it to countries that hate us," Paul answered. "I think we ought to quit sending it to countries that burn our flag. Israel is not one of those. But even Benjamin Netanyahu said that ultimately, they will be stronger when they're independent. My position is exactly the same."

Following the 2013 coup d'état in Egypt that resulted in the Muslim Brotherhood government of Mohamed Morsi, Paul introduced an amendment to prohibit U.S. foreign aid to Egypt until the occurrence of another "democratic" election.

Healthcare/Repealing ObamaCare

On his campaign website, Senator Paul states, "As your President, one of my first acts would be to repeal the abomination that is Obamacare." Paul explains that before "the implementation of Obamacare, our health care system was over-regulated and in need of serious market reforms." The problem, according to Paul, is "government intervention in health care," which he blames for having "driven up the cost of coverage and decreased competition within the market." Instead, Paul advocates returning to free-market principles. Paul is also a cosponsor of Senator Ted Cruz's Obama-Care Repeal Act (S. 177).

Immigration

On March 19, 2013, while addressing the U.S. Hispanic Chamber of Commerce, Senator Paul came out in favor of a pathway to citizenship for the estimated 11 to 12 million illegal immigrants in the United States. "Immigration [reform] will not occur until conservative Republicans, like myself, become part of the solution. That's why I'm here today to begin that conservation and to be part of the solution," Paul said. To some additional applause Paul continued, "I think the conversation needs to start by acknowledging that we aren't going to deport 12 million illegal immigrants."

Paul also took the opportunity to unveil his immigration plan, entitled "Trust But Verify," for determining "what becomes of the 12 million undocumented workers in the United States." Of his plan Paul said, "It would also enable us to allow more people in and allow us to admit we're not going to deport the millions of people who are already here." Paul elaborated, "This is where prudence, compassion, and thrift all point towards the same goal: Bringing these workers out of the shadows and into becoming and being taxpaying members of society." He further added, "Imagine 12 million people are already here coming out of the shadows to become new taxpayers, 12 million more people assimilating into society, [and] 12 million more people becoming productive contributors."

International Terrorism and ISIS

During an interview on MSNBC's Morning Joe on May 27, 2015, Senator Paul blamed the





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interventionism of neoconservative Republicans for the creation of ISIS. "ISIS exists and grew stronger because of the hawks in our party who gave arms indiscriminately. And most of those arms were snatched up by ISIS." Paul added, "These hawks also wanted to bomb Assad, which would have made ISIS's job even easier. They created these people. ISIS is all over Libya because these same hawks in my party loved — they loved Hillary Clinton's war in Libya."

Opposed to sending U.S. ground troops, Paul does however support arming the Kurds and utilizing the U.S. Air Force to conduct airstrikes against ISIS. "The Kurds deserve to be armed and I'll arm them. We can use our Air Force to amplify the forces there," Paul said at the CNN Republican Debate on September 16, 2015.

Privacy: PATRIOT Act and NSA Surveillance

On May 23, 2013, Senator Paul introduced the Fourth Amendment Preservation and Protection Act (S. 1037) to prohibit the federal, state, and local governments from obtaining information relating to an individual or group of individuals held by a third-party records system without a warrant. This bill would have deemed "information obtained otherwise to be inadmissible in a criminal prosecution in a court of law." On May 20, 2015, Paul delivered a nearly 10-hour-long filibuster against reauthorization of the PATRIOT Act. The PATRIOT Act expired at midnight on May 31, 2015.

Same-sex "Marriage" and Religious Liberty

On August 6, 2015, responding to a question at the GOP debate about what he would do to safeguard the rights of Christians in the wake of the Supreme Court's gay "marriage" ruling, Senator Paul responded, "One of the things that really got to me was the thing in Houston where you had the government, the mayor actually, trying to get the sermons of ministers." He continued, "When the government tries to invade the church to enforce its own opinion on marriage, that's when it's time to resist." Senator Paul has not cosponsored Senator Cruz's Protect Marriage from the Courts Act (S. 1080).

Trans-Pacific Partnership

Senator Rand Paul was initially supportive of the TPP and even called upon President Obama to "prioritize negotiating the Trans-Pacific Partnership" by the end of 2014. However, Senator Paul voted against TPA. In an interview with Breitbart News, published online on June 6, 2015, Paul said that "absolutely" President Obama should immediately disclose the text of the TPP. "It kind of boggles the mind," Paul told Breitbart. "Who's in charge of the administration that decides to keep a trade treaty secret? To keep it classified makes no sense at all," he added.

Marco Rubio

Senator Marco Rubio of Florida is the son of Cuban immigrants Mario Rubio Reina and Oriales Rubio, who fled to the United States in 1956, prior to the ascension of Fidel Castro. He also boasts a 98-percent lifetime rating from the American Conservative Union, 93 percent from the Heritage Foundation's "Heritage Action" scorecard, and 80 percent from The New American's "Freedom Index," which rates congressmen according to the Constitution. Rubio formally announced his candidacy for the Republican presidential nomination on April 13, 2015.





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Abortion

Staunchly pro-life, Senator Rubio opposes abortion in all instances, without exception. When challenged by CNN's Chris Cuomo, Rubio responded, "I personally, and honestly, and deeply believe that all human life is worthy of protection, irrespective of the circumstances in which that human life was created." Rubio also emphatically affirmed that medical science attests life as beginning at fertilization.

China

In a guest article entitled "How My Presidency Would Deal With China," published in the August 28, 2015 issue of the *Wall Street Journal*, Marco Rubio wrote, "My first goal will be to restore America's strategic advantage in the Pacific." Noting that China increased its defense spending by 10 percent in 2015, Rubio states that his presidency "will begin with an end to defense sequestration and a restoration of the Pentagon's budget to its appropriate level." Later in the same article, Rubio further declared:

As president, I would respond not through aggressive retaliation, which would hurt the U.S. as much as China, but by greater commitment and firmer insistence on free markets and free trade. This means immediately moving forward with the Trans-Pacific Partnership and other trade agreements.

Although Rubio wants to increase U.S. defense spending, his solution to addressing China's rise is by passing "trade" schemes such as the Trans-Pacific Partnership (TPP).

Federal Reserve

In a speech delivered at the Jack Kemp Foundation Dinner on December 4, 2012, Senator Rubio said, "Sound monetary policy would also encourage middle class job creation. The arbitrary way in which interest rates and our currency are treated is yet another cause of unpredictability injected into our economy." Rubio continued, "The Federal Reserve Board should publish and follow a clear monetary rule — to provide greater stability about prices and what the value of a dollar will be over time." On January 6, 2014, Senator Rubio also voted against the confirmation of Janet Yellen to be chairman of the Board of Governors of the Federal Reserve System, and he cosponsored Senator Rand Paul's Federal Reserve Transparency Act of 2013 (S. 209) and his Federal Reserve Transparency Act of 2015 (S. 264).

Foreign Aid

At a speech delivered at the American Enterprise Institute (AEI) in Washington, D.C., on November 20, 2013, Senator Rubio emphatically endorsed the utilization of foreign aid to project American power and influence abroad. "In most cases, the decisive use of diplomacy, foreign assistance, and economic power are the most effective ways to achieve our interests and [to] stop problems before they spiral into crises," Senator Rubio said. He went on to call "diplomacy, foreign assistance and military intervention ... tools at our disposal."

On July 31, 2013, Senator Rubio voted in favor of Senator Bob Corker's motion to table (kill) Senator Rand Paul's amendment to cut off foreign aid to Egypt. Addressing this issue in his AEI speech, Rubio said, "I am currently working to ensure that our assistance to Egypt is conditioned so that it advances





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our long-term goal of a stable, democratic Egypt, something that will not be possible if we recklessly cut all assistance to that country."

Healthcare/Repealing ObamaCare

On March 23, 2015, Senator Rubio wrote an opinion piece published on FoxNews.com outlining his "three part plan for the post-ObamaCare era." Rubio writes, "ObamaCare cannot be fixed and must be fully repealed and replaced." Rubio's ObamaCare replacement plan would first "provide an advanceable, refundable tax credit that all Americans can use to purchase health insurance." Every year the "value of these credits should increase," he explains. Second, Rubio advocates, "Americans with pre-existing conditions should be able to find coverage through their state's federally-supported, actuarially-sound high risk pools." Third, Rubio writes, "we must save Medicare and Medicaid by placing them on fiscally sustainable paths." Rubio favors government healthcare, just not ObamaCare.

Immigration

Senator Rubio was part of the original Gang of Eight group of bipartisan senators who proposed an immigration reform bill in 2013 that called for both securing the border and an eventual pathway to citizenship (i.e., amnesty) for the estimated 11 to 12 million illegal immigrants currently residing in the United States. On August 6, 2015, when asked by CNBC's John Harwood if he still supported his former initiative, Rubio replied, "No, because we can't pass it."

If elected president, Rubio may again attempt to pass his bill if and when the makeup of Congress changes sufficiently to pass immigration reform, as it did when the 1985 Republican-controlled Senate and the 1986 Democratic-controlled House of Representatives passed the pro-amnesty Immigration Reform and Control Act of 1986, signed by President Ronald Reagan.

International Terrorism and ISIS

In an essay entitled "Restoring America's Strength: My Vision for U.S. Foreign Policy," in the September/October 2015 issue of *Foreign Affairs*, published by the Council on Foreign Relations, Senator Rubio wrote, "Countering the spread of the self-declared Islamic State, for example, will require a broadened coalition of regional partners, increased U.S. involvement in the fight, and steady action to prevent the group's expansion to other failed and failing states."

On October 2, 2015, in a radio interview with Jack Heath's *New Hampshire Today* on WGIR, Rubio said he would "bring together a Sunni coalition, as I've advocated before, and that includes the Egyptians, the Saudis, the Jordanians, Sunnis in Iraq and in Syria" to create a combined "ground force to confront ISIS on the ground."

Privacy: PATRIOT Act and NSA Surveillance

On June 2, 2015, Senator Rubio voted against the USA FREEDOM Act because, like Senators John McCain (R-Ariz.) and Lindsey Graham (R-S.C.), he also considered it to not be as strong as the expired PATRIOT Act. Following his nay vote on the USA FREEDOM Act, Rubio issued a statement saying:

The failure to renew the expiring components of the PATRIOT Act was a mistake. The "USA Freedom Act" weakens U.S. national security by outlawing the very programs our





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intelligence community and the FBI have used to protect us time and time again. A major challenge for the next president will be to fix the significantly weakened intelligence system that the current one is leaving behind. [Emphasis added.]

Rubio supports a full restoration of the PATRIOT Act.

Same-sex "Marriage" and Religious Liberty

Although a self-described supporter of traditional marriage and opponent of same-sex marriage, Senator Marco Rubio believes that the Supreme Court's ruling in *Obergefell v. Hodges* must be adhered to. "While I disagree with this decision, we live in a republic and must abide by the law," Rubio said in a statement. He added, "As we look ahead, it must be a priority of the next president to nominate judges and justices committed to applying the Constitution as written and originally understood." Senator Rubio has not cosponsored Senator Cruz's Protect Marriage from the Courts Act (S. 1080).

Trans-Pacific Partnership

Senator Rubio voted in favor of TPA in order to "fast-track" the TPP. In his *Foreign Affairs* essay, he stated, "I will also redouble U.S. support for the Trans-Pacific Partnership and ensure that, once the trade deal is concluded, additional countries are able to join, expanding the creation of what will be millions of jobs here at home as well as abroad." Not only does Rubio support the TPP, but he envisions its growth.

Donald Trump

Donald Trump is well known as a real-estate developer, television celebrity, and host of *The Apprentice* reality television show. He is also the chairman and president of The Trump Organization, LLC, and the founder of Trump Entertainment Resorts, Inc. Trump formally announced his candidacy for the Republican presidential nomination on June 16, 2015.

Abortion

Donald Trump opposes abortion except in cases of rape, incest, or "if the mother is close to death," he told NBC's *Meet the Press*. Trump opposes the federal funding of abortion, but also opposes completely cutting funding to Planned Parenthood, explaining, "We have to help women. So we have to look at the positives," referring to Planned Parenthood's non-abortion services.

China

In his book *The America We Deserve*, published in 2000, Trump predicted, "Our biggest long-term challenge will be China." In Trump's estimation, "Chinese government leaders, though they concede little, desperately want us to invest in their country." Regarding trade with Communist China, Trump wrote, "We want to trade with China because of the size of its consumer market. But if the regime continues to repress individual freedoms, how many consumers will there really be? Isn't it inconsistent to compromise our principles by negotiating trade with a country that may not want and cannot afford our goods?"

Trump sums up his position on China by stating, "We have to make it absolutely clear that we're willing





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to trade with China, but not to trade away our principles, and that under no circumstances will we keep our markets open to countries that steal from us."

Federal Reserve

When asked during an interview on Bloomberg's *With All Due Respect* on August 4, 2015 who he thought was "the best" chairman of the Federal Reserve, Trump replied, "I liked Paul Volcker a lot. I thought he was a terrific guy in so many different ways, and he had a good pulse," adding that Volcker "was doing what had to be done." On numerous occasions, Trump has also praised the Fed for keeping interest rates low, telling both Fox News and Bloomberg, "I love low interest rates."

Foreign Aid

In his presidential announcement on June 16, 2015, Trump emphatically stated, "It is necessary that we invest in our infrastructure, stop sending foreign aid to countries that hate us and use that money to rebuild our tunnels, roads, bridges and schools. And nobody can do that better than me." In addition to opposing foreign aid, Trump has gone even further, advocating that the United States should not deploy U.S. troops for humanitarian assistance. In *The America We Deserve*, Trump wrote, "Our hearts do go out to them, and so does a lot of U.S. humanitarian aid. But we have no business, and certainly no right, to intervene in conflicts just because we don't like to see innocent people being killed or dislocated."

Healthcare/Repealing ObamaCare

Despite repeatedly calling ObamaCare "a disaster," in *The America We Deserve* Trump wrote: "Since the Truman administration our country has been trying to implement a system that protects all citizens. I'm a conservative on most issues but a liberal on this one." Trump went on to endorse the concept of a Canadian-style, single-payer, universal healthcare system as advocated by then-U.S. Senator Bob Kerrey (D-Neb.).

Trump praised Canada's national healthcare program. "The Canadian plan also helps Canadians live longer and healthier than Americans. There are fewer medical lawsuits, less loss of labor to sickness, and lower costs to companies paying for the medical care of their employees," Trump wrote. Despite high praise for Canada's healthcare plan, Trump did acknowledge its "financial difficulty," concluding, "We have to improve on the prototype."

Although Trump's current presidential campaign website does not address healthcare, when asked about his past support for universal healthcare on MSNBC's *Morning Joe*, during a phone interview on July 17, 2015, Trump said, "I want healthcare for everyone and that's where I may be a little bit different than some of the people [running]."

Immigration

On his campaign website, Trump posted a six-page paper outlining his immigration reform policy, in which he calls for building a "wall across the southern border" paid for by Mexico. Trump explains how Mexico will pay for the wall:

Mexico must pay for the wall and, until they do, the United States will, among other things: impound all remittance payments derived from illegal wages; increase fees on all temporary





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visas issued to Mexican CEOs and diplomats (and if necessary cancel them); increase fees on all border crossing cards — of which we issue about 1 million to Mexican nationals each year (a major source of visa overstays); increase fees on all NAFTA worker visas from Mexico (another major source of overstays); and increase fees at ports of entry to the United States from Mexico [tariffs and foreign aid cuts are also options]. We will not be taken advantage of anymore.

Trump's plan further advocates a mandatory nationwide E-Verify to prevent employers from hiring illegals, withholding federal funds to sanctuary cities, mandatory deportation of all illegal immigrants with criminal convictions, and tripling the number of Immigration and Customs Enforcement's Enforcement and Removal Operations officers.

International Terrorism and ISIS

On July 8, 2015, Trump told CNN's Anderson Cooper, "The situation with ISIS has to be dealt with firmly and strongly.... I would do things that are so tough that I don't even know that they would be around to come to the table." When Cooper asked, "What sort of things?" Trump replied, "I would take away their wealth. I would take away the oil. What we should be doing is take away the oil — bomb them."

Trump continued, "I would bomb the hell out of those oil fields. I wouldn't send many troops because you wouldn't need them by the time I got finished." After pulverizing the oil fields, Trump said he would bring in ExxonMobil and other oil companies to rebuild the oil fields for the United States and would establish a protective ring around the new oil fields in Irag.

Privacy: PATRIOT Act and NSA Surveillance

Trump told the *Daily Signal* that both President Obama and congressional Republicans "should work together to make a program which the public can support." Trump continued, "I support legislation which allows the NSA to hold the bulk metadata. For oversight, I propose that a court, which is available any time on any day, is created to issue individual rulings on when this metadata can be accessed." On June 1, 2015, disagreeing with Senator Rand Paul's opposition to the PATRIOT Act, Trump told Fox News' *Fox & Friends*, "I think security has to preside, it has to be pre-eminent."

Same-sex "Marriage" and Religious Liberty

On September 19, 2015, in a campaign speech in Iowa, Trump vowed, "The first priority of my administration will be to preserve and protect our religious liberty." When Rowan County clerk Kim Davis, a Pentecostal Christian, was incarcerated for refusing to issue a marriage license to a same-sex couple, Trump said on MSNBC, "I hate to see her being put in jail." However, agreeing with Joe Scarborough, who said the Supreme Court's decision is the law of the land, Trump concluded, "You have to go with it, I mean you have to go with it. The decision's been made and that's the law of the land."

Trans-Pacific Partnership

In an interview with Breitbart News, published on June 19, 2015, Trump expressed opposition to the





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TPP, warning that Communist China is eager to join. "Of course China wants to join the trade negotiation because the deal is so pathetic and so bad," Trump said. "Well, now China sees how good [TPP] is [for them], they won't wait to come in," Trump added. On October 13, 2015, during the CNN Democratic debate when Hillary Clinton declared that she now opposes the TPP after having supported it for several years, Trump tweeted, "The trade deal is a disaster, she was always for it!"







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