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**The US Presidential Election and the American Press: Historical
Analysis**

**Dissertation Submitted in Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements for
Master's Degree in Literature and Civilization**

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Dedication

We are grateful for Allah to accomplish this paper after a long studying journey.

With great honour we would like to dedicate this work to our dearest parents who are the reason behind our success and to our lovely brothers and sisters who are always ready for support in every way they have provided it.

To all our teachers who we would never deny their seeds that made us reach our goals.

And to all our dear relatives, colleagues and friends.

Acknowledgement

The completion of our Master dissertation is the great reward that we achieve in our lives. First and foremost, great and infinite thanks and gratitude are given to Allah the Almighty, to whom without his mercy, help, and guidance this work would never be accomplished.

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Abstract

The current study determines the relationship between US presidential election and the American Press. The media have become the main source of the candidates' campaign activities. As well, New media have profoundly changed the way elections are contested, citizen participation and media coverage of campaigns. Many concerns are raised about media negative or positive contribution in US presidential elections. This study relies on two methods; historical and analytical methods that explore the formulated hypothesis. The primary objective of this research is to analyze the technical strategies of traditional and social media utilized by John Fitzgerald Kennedy, George Walker Bush, Barack Obama and Donald Trump to win the election. In addition, it analyses the candidates 's speeches, TV debates and tweets that contributed in persuading the voters in the electoral campaigns . Furthermore, it aims to shed light on the impact of media in the US presidential election and to clarify to what extent it helped candidates to win presidency. The findings reveal that the media had a positive role in US presidential election. Media platforms can be pivotal factor in fueling the desire of people to participate in voting. Free and fair elections play a key role in strengthening the pillar of democracy.

Keywords: Social Media, U.S Presidential Election, Electoral Campaign, American Press, Speeches .

List of Abbreviations and Acronyms

ABC	American Broadcasting Company
CBS	Columbia Broadcasting System
CNN	Cable News Network
NBC	National Broadcasting Company
US	United States
EMB	Election Management Body
B.U.S	Bank of United States

List of Figures

Figure 2.1. The Growth of Newspapers numbers (1775-1835).....	23
Figure 2.2. The Electoral Cycle.....	37
Figure 3.1. How "Fake News Charges Spread Around the Globe.....	53

List of Tables

Table 3.2. Polling Results Concerning the Debates.....**42**

Table of Contents

Dedications	I
Acknowledgement.....	II
Abstract.....	III
List of Acronyms and Abbreviation.....	IV
List of Figures	V
List of Tables	VI
Table of Contents.....	VII
General Introduction.....	1

Chapter One: Historical Background of US Presidential Election

Introduction.....	07
1.1. History of US Presidential Election.....	07
1.2. Presidents of The United States (1789-2020): reference background information of each president.....	08
1.2.1. The Critical Period (1788-1815).....	08
1.2.2. Era Of Good Feeling /Era Of Common Man (1815 -1840).....	09
1.2.3. Antebellum Period (1840-1866).....	09
1.2.4. Gilded Age (1877-1900).....	10
1.2.5. Roaring Twenties (1929-1945).....	12
1.2.6. The New Deal/Era Reform (1929-1945).....	12
1.2.7. The Cold War (1945-1968).....	12

1.2.8. Rapprochement (1968 -2000).....	13
1.2.9 The New World Order (1989 – Present).....	13
1.3. Memorable Years in US Presidential Election.....	14
1.3.1. The Presidency of John Kennedy (1961-1963).....	14
1.3.2. The Presidency of George Bush (2001-2009).....	15
1.3.3. The Presidency of Barack Obama (2009-2017)	16
1.3.4. Donald Trump (2017-2020)	16
1.4. US Presidential Election Process.....	17
1.4.1. The Qualification of Presidential Candidates.....	17
1.4.2. Electoral College Process.....	18
1.4.3. The Nominating Process in US Presidential Election	19
1.4.3.1. Historical Development of The Nomination Process.....	19
1.4.4. The Primary and Caucus System Today.....	20
1.5. US Presidential Election Statistics (refer to appendix A page in which results are shown in details).....	21
Conclusion.....	21

Chapter Two: Historical Overview About The American Press

Introduction.....	22
2.1 Colonial Period.....	22
2.1.1. Revolutionary Epoch (1770-1820).....	22

2.1.2. Party System and the Press (1820-1860).....	23
2.1.3. Mass Markets, Yellow Journalism and Muckrakers (1890-1920).....	24
2.1.3.1. Muckrakers.....	24
2.1.3.2. Yellow Journalism.....	24
2.1.4. Chains and Syndicates (1900-1960).....	25
2.1.5. Television and Internet (1970-Present).....	26
2.2. Elections and Media.....	26
2.2.1. Traditional Media.....	27
2.2.1.1. Television.....	27
2.2.1.2. Newspapers.....	28
2.2.1.3. The Radio.....	28
2.2.2. The New Media.....	29
2.2.2.1. The Internet.....	29
2.2.2.2. The Internet Websites.....	29
2.2.2.3. Social Media Networks.....	30
2.2.2.3.1. Facebook.....	30
2.2.2.3.2. Twitter.....	30
2.2.2.3.3. YouTube.....	31
2.3. Presidential Campaigns.....	31

2.3.1. What is an Electoral Campaign ?.....	31
2.3.2. Organizing Presidential Election Campaigns.....	32
2.4. The Impact of Media on Voters.....	33
2.4.1. Is The Media Able to Influence How We Vote?.....	33
2.5. Media Standards During Election.....	34
2.6. Electoral Cycle and Media	35
Conclusion.....	37

Chapter Three: Analysis of The Impact of Media in US Presidential Election

Case Study of John Fitzgerald Kennedy, George Walker Bush, Barack

Obama and Donald Trump Presidency

Introduction	38
3.1. Analysis of John F. Kennedy Speeches in his Presidential Election 1960.....	38
3.1.1. The Media and John F. Kennedy Campaign 1960.....	40
3.1.2. John F. Kennedy Campaigns' tactics.....	43
3.2. Analysis of George W. Bush Speeches in his Presidential Election	43
3.2.1. The First George W. Bush Presidential Debate.....	43
3.2.2. The Press in the Presidential Election 2000.....	45
3.2.3. TV Role in George W. Bush Victory.....	46
3.3. Analysis of Barack Obama Speeches in his Presidential Election	46
3.4. Analysis of Donald Trump's Announcement Speech.....	49

3.4.1. Twitter and Donald Trump Presidential Election 2016.....	52
3.4.2. Influence of Twitter on Donald Trump Presidential Election.....	54
Conclusion.....	54
General Conclusion.....	55
References (APA, 6th ed.).....	56
Appendices.....	62
Appendix A. (US Presidential Election Statistics).....	62
Appendix B. (Statement of Senator John F. Kennedy Announcing His Candidacy for the Presidency of the United States).....	71
Appendix C. (The First Kennedy-Nixon Presidential Debate)	72
Appendix D. (The First Gore-Bush Presidential Debate).....	110
Appendix E. (Barack Obama Speech at the Jefferson-Jackson Dinner).....	111
Appendix F. (The full text of Barack Obama's victory Speech).....	114
Appendix G. (Donald Trump 's Announcement Speech).....	118
ملخص	121

General Introduction

The United States established a system in which the American people have the authority and duty to choose their leader. The president and vice president of the United States are elected for four-year terms that begin at noon on Inauguration Day, which is January of the following year. The several states are in charge of the elections. The election is conducted by the United States Electoral College electors, who are elected according to the processes established by each state. The electors can vote for anybody, but with a few exceptions, they only vote for the candidates who have been nominated by Congress, and their votes are confirmed by Congress.

Every four years, the presidential elections receive special attention from the share of worldwide media via the publishing of countless articles and reports in all genres. These elections rank among the most significant in the world considering the importance occupied by the United States on the international level. During this election season, there are huge numbers of candidates. In the end, only one person will be called to exercise the supreme function. Moreover, its cost amounts to several billion dollars, as the candidates multiply the meetings, debates, and other advertising and door-to-door campaigns for convincing a very diverse electorate.

Elections are the most important aspect of democracy. People may express their thoughts, hopes and dreams, choose their leaders, and ultimately influence the fate of their country through voting. Elections are the people's source of power, but in order to wield it effectively, the public must first understand where candidates and parties stand on public policy matters, issues related to the state, future plans of candidates; all that occur through what we call electoral campaigns. Candidates employ several ways to reach out to voters, including using the media to spread their message because of its ability to mobilize the voters. Ancient means such as : newspapers, television, radio, and magazines and modern digital platforms for example: internet websites, facebook and twitter provide practically all of the information voters need to know about campaigns. Campaign coverage represents the paved path for the candidates to

show reasons behind their nomination ,their ideologies ,views, future plans and promises through delivering speeches and debates to surge the voters to support them.

George W.Bush, JohnFitzgerald Kennedy participate in TV Shows, programs and debates.Also Barack Obama and Donald Trump make use of digital platforms like: Facebook and twitter in their presidential election to manage their campaigns and interact with public, to let media shed light on them through responding to false comments or bad stories ,and to show good strategies and plans that serve their campaigns, probably media is an advantageous chance in their presidential elections.

1.Literature Review

Researchers and scholars have conducted several past studies related to our study to supply a review about the relationship between the American press and the Presidential Election in the USA, focusing on the use of media in electoral campaigns and how media contributed in several candidates ' victories in US presidential election. Politicians from all over world have turned to social media. It allows them to broadcast their message directly to the public for free, as well as mobilize supporters for political action.

In reality, many politicians and their staffs think that the media should primarily be used to promote and market campaigns, rather than to enlighten or educate voters. If there is one rule in politics, it is that uncontrolled news is a politician's greatest enemy. Two concepts guide the work of campaign strategists. First, they know that consumers rely largely on media to learn about candidates, therefore they emphasize media exposure above content. Second, television news displays "story" that can be delivered in one or two minutes and showcase individuals doing something visually interesting according to space and time limits. ("coverage of political",n.d)

Both the US presidential election and the UK's Brexit vote relied heavily on Twitter. Both Hillary Clinton and Donald Trump have claimed that these variables influenced the outcome of the 2016 presidential election. In a recent interview with CBS News' 60 Minutes,

Trump himself declared: “I think I wouldn’t be here if I didn’t have social media.”(Fujiwara, Müller& Schwarz,2020)

Few days before, the starting of 2016 election in the USA , CNN former and Washington bureau chief Frank Sesno was invited by Sciences Po Executive Education on 8 January 2016 to discuss the critical role of the media in American politics. When he was asked to describe the role of media in current presidential campaign ,he responds: "The current campaign's traditional and social media responsibilities have varied more strongly than we've ever seen before".(" what role ",2016)

Candidates are being held responsible by traditional media for their overstatements and errors, as well as their anger and finger pointing ,but social media increased and accepted their anger for example Donald Trump's unrestrained use of social media to attack his opponents is an excellent illustration of how social media has given him a free pass. His tweets are free media, and he has a large and receptive following. (" what role ",2016)

Based around the idea of this literature review ,our study concentrated mostly on the impact of media on US presidential elections and media shaping and the contributing to candidates in political campaigns.

2.Statement of the Problem

The American press facilitates public access to US presidential election race due the follow-up of nominees' activities and strategies in political campaigns. The media have become the main source of the candidates’ campaign activities. New media have profoundly changed the way elections are contested ,citizen participation and media coverage of campaigns. Many concerns are raised about media negative or positive contribution in US presidential elections.

3.Research Questions and Research Hypotheses

In order to achieve the objectives of the study ,we raised the following questions:

- 1- To what extent has the media affected the presidential election in USA?

- 2- How do candidates exploit media for their advantage in their political campaigns?
- 3- How has media contributed in the presidential election victories of John Fitzgerald Kennedy, George Walker Bush, Barack Obama and Donald Trump?

To answer the above raised questions we proposed the following hypotheses :

- 1- Traditional and digital media played critical role that would impact presidential election in USA.
- 2- Candidates made use of technical strategies ,debates and speeches that would help them to persuade large scale of voters in US presidential elections.
- 3- Media might be the core reason behind candidates victories or defeats in US presidential election.

4. Aims of the Study

The research aims at knowing the relationship between the US presidential election and the American press, it focuses on the case study of John Fitzgerald Kennedy, George Walker Bush, Barack Obama and Donald Trump speeches in election campaigns and the prominent aim is knowing the impact of media in US Presidential election.

5.Research Methodology

Since this research is conducted to provide historical analysis of US presidential election in relation to the press ,it adopts two methods historical and analytical methods. The historical method attempts to trace back the history of American presidential election and the history of the American press. The study is based on a profound analysis of speeches and debates of John Fitzgerald Kennedy, George Walker Bush, Barack Obama and Donald Trump that they delivered in their electoral campaigns.

We collected information from different sources such as : journal articles , electronic books, research papers and reliable websites to test the validity of our hypotheses.

6.Significance of the Study

Analyzing the speeches delivered by the presidents ,their language ,ideologies and strategies will supply a crystal clear understanding of their ways to persuade voters and the tight usage of media tools to their benefit in their political campaigns.

7.Structure of the Study

The current study consists of three chapters ,two theoretical chapters and one practical. The first chapter sheds light on the historical development of US presidential election ,it begins with an overview about the presidential election process ,then it depicts the presidents that served the USA in the period (1789-2020)and their major accomplishments. In addition, it explores the system of election in the USA and the nomination process historical development.

The second chapter talks about the concept of the American press starting with historical overview about the American press. It presents media tools between traditional and new digital ones; then it discusses the notion of political campaigns and its organization , the standards that characterize trust and successful media in addition to the influence of media on voting behavior and the functions of media during the electoral cycle .

The third chapter presents a practical analysis of speeches that were delivered by John Fitzgerald Kennedy, George Walker Bush, Barack Obama and Donald Trump in their political campaigns. This chapter passes through the analysis of John Fitzgerald Kennedy speech of candidacy announcement , the debate between John Fitzgerald Kennedy and Richard Nixon moving to talk about media coverage in 1960 presidential election .

Then, it discusses how George W.Bush the Republican candidate for president, Gov. George W. Bush of Texas, and the Democratic candidate, Vice President Al Gore managed their TV debate, showing the press coverage and the role of TV in 2000 presidential election .It moves to analyze Barack Obama speech and the role of the American press in his campaign in addition to Donald Trump 's Presidential announcement speech and one of his famous tweets on his twitter account .

Finally, the third chapter shaped the mastery of the candidates to send their messages, views ,strategies and promises and to what extent they succeed to convince a large number of voters through the analysis of their language patterns. It also explores the use of media and its contribution in presidents winning or defeat and the impact of media in the US presidential election.

CHAPTER ONE

Historical Background of US Presidential Election

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Introduction.....	07
1.1. History of US Presidential Election.....	07
1.2. Presidents of The United States (1789-2020): reference background information of each president.....	08
1.2.1. The Critical Period (1788-1815).....	08
1.2.2. Era Of Good Feeling /Era Of Common Man (1815 -1840).....	09
1.2.3. Antebellum Period (1840-1866).....	09
1.2.4. Gilded Age (1877-1900).....	10
1.2.5. Roaring Twenties (1929-1945).....	12
1.2.6. The New Deal/Era Reform (1929-1945).....	12
1.2.7. The Cold War (1945-1968).....	12
1.2.8. Rapprochement (1968 -2000).....	13
1.2.9.The New World Order (1989 – Present).....	13
1.3. Memorable Years in US Presidential Election.....	14
1.3.1. The Presidency of John Kennedy (1961-1963).....	14
1.3.2. The Presidency of George Bush (2001-2009).....	15
1.3.3. The Presidency of Barack Obama (2009-2017)	16
1.3.4. Donald Trump (2017-2020)	16
1.4. US Presidential Election Process.....	17

1.4.1. The Qualification of Presidential Candidates.....	17
1.4.2. Electoral College Process.....	18
1.4.3. The Nominating Process in US Presidential Election	19
1.4.3.1. Historical Development of The Nomination Process.....	19
1.4.4. The Primary and Caucus System Today.....	20
1.5. US Presidential Election Statistics (refer to appendix A page in which results are shown in details).....	21
Conclusion	21

Introduction

In American politics the presidential election is among the most important events. It passes through a long and complex process to determine who will serve as president and vice president in the next four years. This chapter provides an overview about American election history that had started since 1789. It also lists the names of all the American presidents from 1789 till now and states the main events and achievements during their presidency. The chapter also identifies the memorable years in the United States presidency, it explores the presidency of John F. Kennedy, George W. Bush, Barack Obama and Donald Trump. In addition, it contains the United States presidential election process which details the qualification of presidential candidacy, the electoral college process and the nominating process. And the last title brings data statistics about the United States presidential election from 1789 to 2020. Ultimately, the first chapter deals with principles of the United States presidential election.

1.1. History of US Presidential Election

Since United States ratified its constitution in 1787, America has democratic representatives. America holds the presidential election every four years in order to determine who serves as a president and a vice president for the next four years. The United States presidential elections are very long term process and complex too. The president is officially elected by the Electoral College while the Electoral College members are chosen by people. The electoral college had its roots to British history and it began during the colonial era in America (Bureau of International information programs, n.d)

Since 1852, there are two political parties Democrat and Republican. They dominated electoral politics since 1860. The presidential election process in the United States goes beyond four stages: the pre-nomination phase in which the primary election holds to choose delegates. The national convention takes place between January and June and in July, August, or September in which two major parties nominate candidates for president and vice president. The

general election campaign in which every candidates made campaign election, compete for voters. And the electoral college phase, in which president and vice president are elected. The presidential election holds in the first Tuesday after the first Monday in November. (Coleman ,Canter and Thomas, 2000)

In 1789 where George Washington had been elected as the first American president, only landowners over the age of 21, only 6% of the United States population can vote. But Now, all citizens over the age of 18 can vote even in federal states and local election. When the first American president George Washington had declined to run for the third term and after the president Franklin D. Roosevelt won the third term and the fourth the people thought that two terms in the office were enough for every president, so the 22 Amendment to the United States Constitution which limits any president to hold the office no more than twice. Since 1800 the president residence and official office was the white house in Washington. (Bureau of International information programs ,n .d) .

1.2. Presidents of the United States (1789-2020)

The United States Of America has a long history of list of presidents who have ruled it since 1789 till now. This list of presidents contains 46 presidents.

1.2.1. The Critical Period (1788-1815)

In American history the period from (1788-1815) is called the critical period (Sharp, 2011), in this era four presidents had ruled it. George Washington was the first American president from (1789 -1797). His vice president was John Adams. There are many events happened during his presidency such as French revolution (1789), whisky rebellion (1794) and declaration of independence from Britain (Nevins and Graff, 2021). The second American president was John Adams from (1797 -1801). He was federalist. His vice president was Thomas Jefferson. During his presidency many events occurred as: The American Revolution (1798),

Alien and Sedition Acts (1798) and Judiciary Acts of (1801) (Ellis, 2020). Thomas Jefferson was the third American president from 1801-1809). He was democrat-Republican. His was president Aaron Burr. There are many events during his presidency were Louisiana Purchase (1803), and Embargo act of (1807) (Ellis, 2021). The fourth American president was James Madison, his presidency from (1809-1817). He was democrat-Republican. His vice president was George Clinton. During his presidency many events happened such as: War of (1812), Hartford convention (1814) (Brant, 2021)

1.2.2. Era Of Good Feeling /Era Of Common Man (1815 -1840)

In American history the period between 1815-1840 called the era of good feeling or the era of common man (Encyclopedia, n.d.). There are also four presidents ruled America in this period. James Monroe was the fifth American president from (1817– 1825). He was democrat-Republican. His vice president was the president Daniel Tompkins. The sixth American president was John Quincy Adams, his presidency was from (1825-1829). He was democrat-Republican, his vice president was John C. Calhoun. During his presidency he supported many national measures such as Naval Academy, National University and the establishment of a system of national weights and measures. And Andrew Jackson was the seventh American president from (1829-1837). His vice president was John C. Calhoun later on Martin Van Buren. The Major events and accomplishments during his presidency are the second bank of United States and Tariffs of (1832 and 1833). And The eighth American president was Martin Van Buren from (1837-1841). He was democratic, his vice president was Richard Johnson. (Beard, 1886)

1.2.3. Antebellum Period (1840-1866)

In this era of American political history there are many presidents that ruled America. William Henry Harrison was the first president in this period at the same time the ninth president in America in 1841, he was Whig, his vice president was John Tyler. And the tenth American president was John Tyler from (1841-1845). He was anti-Jackson democrat, ran as

VP on Whig ticket; Vetoes Clay's bill for 3 B.U.S. and Canadian border at 45th parallel are among the main events during his presidency. James K. Polk was the eleventh American president from (1845- 1849). He was Democrat, his vice president was George Dallas. The most important events during his presidency were Texas became state (1845), Oregon boundary settled (1846), and Wilmot provision (1846). In addition, Zachary Taylor was the twelfth American president. His vice president was Millard Fillmore. The next American president from (1850- 1853) was Millard Fillmore. He was Whig; Compromise of (1850) and Clayton-Bulwer treaty (1850) were among the main events during his presidency. And the fourteen American president from (1853–1857) was Franklin Pierce. He was Democrat. His vice president was William King. The main events that happened during presidency such as Kansas-Nebraska Bill (1854) and Japan opened to world Trade (1853). James Buchanan was the fifteen American president from (1857–1861). He was Democrat, His vice president was John C. Breckenridge; Taney Dred scot v. Sanford (1857) and South Carolina secession (1860) were from the most important events in his presidency. The sixteen American president was Abraham Lincoln his presidency from (1861-1865). He was Republican. His vice president was Andrew Johnson. Among the most important events during his presidency were Civil war (1861 -1865) and Homestead Act (1862). The next American president from (1865 -1869) Andrew Johnson. He was Republican. The Major events during his presidency were 13th Amendment (1865) , 14th Amendment (1868) and Amnesty plan (1865). And the eighteen American president from (1869 – 1877) was Ulysses S. Grant, His vice president was Colfax Wilson. The Main events during his presidency were First Transcontinental Rail road (1869) and 15th Amendment and Panic of (1873). ("APUSH PRESIDENTIAL LISTENING" ,n. d).

1.2.4. Gilded Age (1877-1900)

In this historical period there are a long list of presidents had ruled America ,the first president in this era and the nineteen American president from (1877-1881) was Rutherford B.

Hayes. He was Republican, his vice president was William Wheeler. And James A. Garfield was the twentieth American president in 1881. He was Republican. His vice president was Chester A. Arthur. And The twenty one American President was Chester A. Arthur from (1881 - 1885) .And the twenty two American president was Grover Cleveland (1885- 1889). He was democrat .His vice president was Thomas Hendricks; Knights of labour (1886), Haymarket Riot (1886) and interstate common Act(1887) were the major events during his presidency. Also The twenty three American president from (1889 -1893) was Benjamin Harrison . He was Republican. His vice president was Levi Morton. There are many events during his presidency such as :Washington become states(1889) and Sherman Anti-Trust Act (1890). And Grover Cleveland was the twenty four American president from(1893 -1897) .His vice president was Adlai Stevenson ;Hawaiian incident(1893), American federation of Labour and Pullman strike (1894) they are among the main events during his presidency. And The twenty five American president from (1897- 1901) was William McKinley. He was Republican, His vice president Garet Hobart 1900 and Theodore Roosevelt: New imperialism, Spanish American war 1898-1899 are among the major events during his presidency. And The twenty six American president from (1901-1909) was Theodore Roosevelt. He was Republican. His vice president was Charles Fairbanks. The major events during his presidency are Panama Canal(1903-1914), "Big Stick " diplomacy and Portsmouth treaty (1905). And William h. Taft was The twenty seven American president from(1909–1913). He was Republican .His vice president was James Sherman. And The twenty eight American president from(1913 -1921) was Woodrow Wilson. He was democrat. His vice president was Thomas Marshall. Among the major events during his presidency are 17th 18th 19th Amendments, Underwood TARIFF (1913) and World war I (1914-1918). ("APUSH PRESIDENTIAL LISTING" ,n .d)

1.2.5. Roaring Twenties (1920-1929)

The Roaring twenties is a period in American history between (1920-1929)(Thomson,2015). There are three American presidents in this period. Warren G. Harding was The twenty ninth American president from (1921-1923). He was Republican. His vice president was Calvin Coolidge. And The thirty American president from (1923 -1929) was Calvin Coolidge He was Republican. His vice president was Charles Dawes. And Herbert Hoover was the thirty one American president from (1929-1933). He was Republican. His vice president was Charles Curtis. ("presidents Of The United States" ,n .d)

1.2.6. The New Deal / Era of Reform (1929-1945)

The period between (1929-1945) in American history called The New Deal or The Era of Reform (Kennedy ,2009). The presidents of this era were Franklin D. Roosevelt. He was The thirty two American president from (1933-1945). He was democrat. His vice president was John Garner, Henry Wallace and Harry Truman. And Harry Truman was The thirty three American president from (1945-1953). He was democrat .His vice president was Alban Barkley. (Troy ,Schlesinger and Israel ,2011).

1.2.7. The Cold War (1945-1968)

The Cold War is period in American history between (1945-1968)(Walker ,1995). The presidents of this period were Dwight D. Eisenhower. He was Thirty four American president from (1953 -1961). He was Republican .His vice president was Richard Nixon among the most important events during his presidency are the Second world war ,Korean War and Alaska and Normandy Invasion(Reeves, 2021). And John F. Kennedy was The twenty five American president from (1961-1963). He was democrat. His vice president was Lyndon B. Johnson. And Lyndon .B Johnson was The thirty six American president from (1963-1969) He was Democrat. His vice president was Herbert Humphrey. ("presidents Of The United States", n .d)

1.2.8. Rapprochement(1968 -2000)

The period from (1968-2000) in American history called Rapprochements (" APHSH Presidential Listing" ,n .d). The presidents of this era were Richard M. Nixon. He was The thirty seven American president from (1968-1974).He was Republican. His vice president was Spiro Agnew and Gerald Ford. Among the major events during his presidency are Watergate Scandal(1973-1974)(Biography of Richards Milhous Nixon ,n. d) And Gerald Ford was the thirty eight American president from(1974-1976).His vice president wasNelson Rockefeller. And, James . E Carter was The thirty nine American president from (1977-1981). He was democrat. His vice president was Walter Mondale. (Presidents of the United States , n. d).And Ronald Reagan was the forty American President from (1981-1989). He was Republican. His vice president was George Bush. Among the Major events during his presidency are Cold War and Increased terrorism in the Middle East. (Editors of Britannica, 2021).

1.2.9. The New World Order (1989 – Present)

The new world order period in American history started from 1989 till now (Millar ,1992). George Bush was among the president of this era .He was The forty one American President from (1989-1993). He was Republican. His vice president was Dan Quayle. And the Forty two. American President from (1993 -2001) was Bill Clinton. He was Democrat. His vice president was Al Gore. And George w. Bush was the Forty three American President from (2001-2009). And Barrack Obama was the forty four American president from(2009-2017) (Troy, Schlesinger and Israel ,2011). And the forty five American President from (2017 -2021) was Donald Trump(Duignan,2012).And the actual American president is Joseph R. Biden(Subramanian and Fritze , 2021)

1.3. Memorable Years in US Presidential Election

1.3.1.The Presidency of John Fitzgerald Kennedy

Kennedy was born on May 29, 1917 in Brookline, Massachusetts. The first time when he visited Washington, he did not think that he will be the 35th president of United States, He was a very young. He grew up often sick ,reading helped him to pass his long-time of illness .As he read about history he became an excellent reader .Also he used to read newspapers when he was a high school student. He studied in Princeton University then to Harvard college. His father became England's ambassador when Kennedy was in college.The second world war begun between many countries in the world while England slept. He wrote a book gathered his information in England and titled it as:why England slept?.His father encouraged him to publish it. John Kennedy joined Navy when the United States entered the war in 1941 . His experience during second world war affected him enormously. He decided to change and to be a politician.He became a Democratic congressman for Massachusetts after winning his first election in 1946. Then he became a senator in the United States .He got married with Jacqueline Bouvier in 1953 and he had got two children.("A picture book biography of John F. Kennedy ",n .d).

Even though he lost the presidential nomination in 1956 to be vice president, he wanted to be president of United States. He made big efforts:travelling around the country, meeting people, giving speeches about what he can do to people and to all the United states as a president. After the democratic party had chosen him as their candidate,John Kennedy was the first American president in the history of America who made Television debates with his opponent Richard Nixon. John Fitzgerald Kennedy became the 35th of the United States on January 20, 1960.He had made many good decisions ,social and economic programs and great achievements since his inauguration . He started the Peace corps in 1961, he wanted the United states man to reach the moon in order the United states to lead the World.As a leader he believed in fair between white and black to work to gather to stop segregation. While the president John F. Kennedy travelled to Dallas ,Texas in November 22nd,1960 he was assassinated. (Boukhalfa ,2015)

1.3.2. Presidency of George W Bush (2001-2009)

George W. Bush, in complete George Walker Bush, former governor of Texas and the son of former President George H.W, born on July 6, 1946, in New Haven Connecticut, who became the forty-third president of America from 2001 to 2009.

Bush has become President of America in 2001 is certainly considered one among the closest US presidential elections ever. Al Gore gained the popular vote by 48.4% . However Bush attained a plurality of votes from the electoral college by 47.9% . Ultimately, the final results hinged on election outcomes Supreme Court, which determined to halt the recount and claim Bush the winner.

Bush's first time period inside the White House confronted a crisis that could transform his presidency. On September 11, 2001. 19 terrorists affiliated with al-Qaeda hijacked four American industrial air planes Two of the planes had been intentionally crashed into the twin towers of the World Trade Centre in New York City, destroying both towers and collapsing or damaging many surrounding buildings, and a third was used to damage a part of the Pentagon constructing outside Washington, D.C.; the fourth plane crashed outside Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania, after passengers apparently tried to retake it wherein almost 3,000 people had been killed. Bush responded by declaring a global war on terrorism that began with the invasion of Afghanistan and overthrew the Taliban government, which is suspected to be Al-Qaeda where Osama bin Laden, leader, was staying. In 2003, the US went to conflict with Iraq. Though US forces quickly moved and killed Iraqi president Saddam Hussein, the war continued for years. Additionally, after the disaster of Hurricane Katrina devastated America's Gulf Coast area in August 2005, resulting huge material and human losses, the Bush administration was extensively blamed for its slow reaction to the disaster. In 2007 and 2008, the Federal Reserve and US Treasury Department made an intensive direct economic intervention because the US fell into a

sharp financial recession. In order to save ailing financial institutions. (Amanda Onion, Missy Sullivan and Matt Mullen, (2009) George W. Bush)

1.3.3. The Presidency of Barack Obama (2009-2017)

Barak Obama (born on August 4, 1961, Honolulu, Hawaii, U.S.) and raised in Hawaii from American mother and Kenyan father. On January 20, 2009, Barack Obama held the position of the 44th President of the United States as the first African American President in U.S. history. (UVA Miller Center, 2020).

Obama appeared as unlikely participant during the 2008 presidential campaign. He is graduated from Columbia University in New York City. He moved to Chicago, Illinois where he started working as community organizer. In 1988, he inscribed at Harvard law school. During the 1990-1991 academic year, he was president of the prestigious Harvard Law Review, the first African American elected to the position. Returning to Chicago, Obama worked in a civil rights law firm and as a lecturer at the University of Chicago. He became state senator in 1997. After practicing the service of a state legislator for eight years, Obama ran for the U.S. Senate and won the election in 2004 by the largest margin in the history of Senate elections in Illinois. Barack Obama was re-elected for a second term in 2012, a term marked by key events such as the killing of Osama Bin Laden. (UVA Miller Center, 2020).

During Obama's tenure United States of America has seen social demographic and technological changes such as: important shifts in government policy and public opinion, race relations would improve among black voters. Obama's election raised America's image abroad, especially in Europe. (Dimock, 2021)

1.3.4. The Presidency of Donald Trump (2017-2020)

The American president Donald John Trump was born on June 14th, 1946 in New York. He was a wealthy businessman who owned hotels, casinos and residential properties in New

York and around the world .Donald Trump owns nearly 500 companies .He got married three times.(Duignan,2021)

Trump election changed the United States Electoral system from political process to amusement process. Donald Trump political style during his campaign election was unique.Trump used means of social media such as face book , twitter, speeches and Television programs, in order to draw good picture for himself to convince the people to give him their vote.(Lynch,2017)

In 2011, on interview on TV Trump began questioning whether Obama was born in the United States. He wanted to attract attention. Before being president of United States of America Trump had no prior experience in government and elective office. He became the forty five united president in. The House of Representative of the United States impeached Donald Trump twice for abuse of power and obstructions of congress. (Editors of History ,2021)

1.4. US Presidential Election Process

The United States election process is one of great importance and significance to the American government.It is much more complex than it seems. On the surface, electing a president might seem like a simple task: Everyone votes for whoever they wish, and the candidate that receives the most votes wins the election. This, however, is not at all close to how it actually works. American Presidential elections involve many preliminary steps as it is explained in the following:

1.4.1. The Qualification of Presidential Candidates

To be president in the United States of America you need to have a certain qualification orrequirement as it is mentioned in Article II, Section 1 of the Constitution.

The president must be natural-born citizen of the United States including any child born in America. Also the president must be resident of the USA for14 years, and he must be at least

35 years old. This requirement remained the same since 1789. (Qualification of U.S. President, n.d)

1.4.2. Electoral College Process

Americans select the president and the vice president every four years by voting for a list of electors who are known as electoral college which is the group of presidential electors required by the Constitution to be formed for the sole purpose of electing the president and the vice president and this group has a historical origins and a system of working.

Electoral college is the process by which the president is officially elected every four years. That is resulted after the huge debates on the constitution conference in 1787 wherein, at one point, the delegates agreed for the choice with the aid of using Congress, others proposed for election through the corridor state which include citizens, governors of the states; electors selected through state legislatures, and a unique organization of Members of Congress. Eventually, the problem becomes referred to a “committee on postponed matters,” which arrived at a compromise :the electoral college system.

The electoral college includes 538 individuals as hooked up through the Constitution and modified through the twelfth and twenty-third Amendments. Number of Electors is the same to the entire Number of Senators and Representatives to which the State can be entitled with inside the Congress. (Kevin J. Coleman, Joseph E. Cantor and Thomas H. Neale, 2000)

Citizens elect their president indirectly by choosing electors who vote for the president. The latter has a specific process as it is clarified by the constitution: “After you cast your ballot for president, your vote goes to a state wide tally. In 48 states and Washington, D.C., the winner gets all the electoral votes for that state. Maine and Nebraska assign their electors using a proportional system.” So, to win the presidential election, the candidate needs the vote of more than half of all electors approximately 270 vote. In election night in November after voting, the

responsible committee announces the projected winner. But the actual Electoral College vote is in mid-December when the electors meet in their states. (U.S Electoral College for kids, para 03, n.d)

1.4.3. The Nominating Process in US Presidential Election

The nomination system in US Presidential election is the way in which political parties choose their nominee that suits the position of US president. It is based on five elements :self-announcement, caucus, convention, primary and petition. Self-announcement is the nominee's declaration of his or her aspiration to run without a major party agreement. Caucus is citizens meeting to choose their candidate .Convention is gathering of party delegates to select their candidate. Primary is candidate election to represent a political party it can be open (all voters can vote) or closed (voting is restricted to party members). Petition is candidate's gain of voters' signatures to appear on ballot in ordered way. (The electoral PROCESS Section, nd)

1.4.3.1.Historical Development of the Nomination Process

The Nomination process of US presidential election is complicated and lengthy one. It is different from electoral college system .Ever since 1970s,when the rules were reformed by political parties in order to select their nominee the system was changing. In the late of 1700, there were no political parties in time of constitution. Drafting and ratification after that the political parties developed under George Washington presidency. In 1796, US congress members gathered to agree about "king caucus" a system that lasted for 30 years and stripped down in 1824 then replaced by national nominating convention .In 19th century into 20th century . State party leaders appoint state 'delegates and confirm that they voted correctly at the convention. They dominate the national conventions, but this dominance created a problem within the parties. Those who propped reforms because they do not like to have bosses dictating nominees. These reforms paved the way to partisans within the state to select convention delegates in primary elections.(Wayne ,n.d)

Primary elections threatened party leaders dominance .So they were abolished on the grounds that they were expensive .Only few states keep holding presidential primaries by 1936. After the second world war, communication technology helped the democratizing pressures to reemerge. Candidates could use Television as means to show their charismatic popularity and potential electability as candidates: Dwight Eisenhower, John Kennedy, and Richard Nixon all entered several state primaries, with expensive cost and effort, to prove that they could win a general election; they were successful. Each of them afterwards received his party's nomination and was elected president. Wayne,n.d.)

Furthermore, the Vietnam War, which began in the mid-1960s and lasted into the 1970s, caused internal conflicts within the Democratic Party, putting pressure on the party to reform further. The Democratic nominating process in 1968 was the catalyst. The Democratic Party was split by an anti-war movement, which resulted in violent protests in Chicago's streets, that year's host city for the party's convention Despite the disorder surrounding the conference, the party chose Vice President Hubert Humphrey, who had chosen not to run in any Democratic primary and thus became a focus of anti-war gatherings.(Wayne ,n.d)

1.4.4. The Primary and Caucus System Today

Most of the states have been motivated to hold primary election due to the reforms made by democrats ,following the states' laws voters can go to polls and vote for party presidential candidate themselves or for the promised convention delegates to those candidates .Under the current system the states have the choice of holding multistep caucus process that enables the proponents who live in tiny geographic area vote for participants, who are vowed to support specific candidates ; in turn, those delegates constitute their district at county convention which select delegates to participate in the state convention and the state convention delegates select delegates to represent the state in the national convention. Despite the fact that this system

requires many months ,the candidates are essentially determined in the first round of voting.
(Wayne ,n.d)

1.5.US Presidential Election statistics (refer to appendix A page in which results are shown in details)

Conclusion

The first Chapter has dealt with an overview about The American election history. Also it talked about the presidents who served in the United States of America since 1789 till 2020. In addition, this chapter highlighted the presidential election process. In this contest, we begin with presidential qualification, the electoral college process and the nominating process. Finally, we outlined some memorable years in United States presidency.

CHAPTER TWO

Historical Overview About The American Press

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Introduction.....	22
2.1 Colonial Period.....	22
2.1.1. Revolutionary Epoch (1770-1820).....	22
2.1.2. Party System and the Press (1820-1860).....	23
2.1.3. Mass Markets, Yellow Journalism and Muckrakers (1890-1920).....	24
2.1.3.1. Muckrakers.....	24
2.1.3.2. Yellow Journalism.....	24
2.1.4. Chains and Syndicates (1900-1960).....	25
2.1.5. Television and Internet (1970-Present).....	26
2.2. Elections and Media.....	26
2.2.1. Traditional Media.....	27
2.2.1.1. Television.....	27
2.2.1.2. Newspapers.....	28
2.2.1.3. The Radio.....	28
2.2.2. The New Media.....	29
2.2.2.1. The Internet.....	29
2.2.2.2. The Internet Websites.....	29
2.2.2.3. Social Media Networks.....	30

2.2.2.3.1. Facebook.....	30
2.2.2.3.2. Twitter.....	30
2.2.2.3.3. YouTube.....	31
2.3. Presidential Campaigns.....	31
2.3.1. What is an Electoral Campaign ?.....	31
2.3.2. Organizing Presidential Election Campaigns.....	32
2.4. The Impact of Media on Voters.....	33
2.4.1. Is The Media Able to Influence How We Vote?.....	33
2.5. Media Standards During Election.....	34
2.6. Electoral Cycle and Media	35
Conclusion	37

Introduction

Before studying the role of the press and the presidential election, it is necessary to make an investigation about the history of the American press and its developments from 1770 till now. Additionally, this chapter indicates all old and new media means which its influence on the presidential election differs from one to another. Furthermore, media is used to introduce the presidential campaign and how it is organized. So this chapter explores the impact of the media on the voters decisions, and it brings the standards which media has to follow during election process. Finally, it provides the role of the media in electoral cycle.

2.1. Colonial Period

In the seventeenth century North America was building new nation and its people were cut off from the news on Europe because they could not take a risk of travelling across thousands miles of ocean only for the news of the other part of the world or for providing new reports from the New World that had been circulating in Europe for over a hundred years in the form of explorers' letters, maps, and travel accounts.

The settlers in north America started to build their own news system and it proceeded in different ways. It took a form of an institution which supported face to face communication through town meetings, church services, streets and harbor life.

The early news networks of the English colonies did not contain any type of print. But at some stage in the colonial era, the printed news became a critical part of each neighborhood and inter colonial news networks,

2.1.1. Revolutionary Epoch (1770-1820)

When important events happened, reports spread rapidly over the country with the aid of messengers in the service of national organization. Gradually the news became more regular than before, though they still imperfect. The congress published the report of the declaration of

independence in the Philadelphia Evening Post, July 6, 1776, by time the rest newspapers published this post.

The newspapers of the Revolution played an effective role towards the unification of sentiment, the awakening of a consciousness of a common purpose, interest, and destiny among the separate colonies. And determination to see the war through to achieve successful issue. After 1800, the Americans believed that their right to information contained in newspapers without paying which made newspapers a form of public property. As a result In 1800 there were between 150 and 200; by 1810 there were 366, and during the next two decades the increase was at least equally rapid. (History of the American Press, Growth, n.d., para.1)

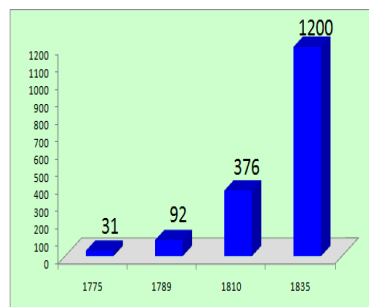


Figure 2.1. The Growth in Newspapers 1775-1835. Adapted from "File: Newspaper growth.png" by User: Stepshep. en. Wikipedia.

2.1.2. Party System and The Press (1820-1860)

The party press was considered as one of the first systems in the United States which some thought that it is founded at the end of the American Revolution in 1738, as some newspapers took a clearly partisan stance in the nascent country's developing political system. Others, considered that it began in 1789 with the founding of the Gazette of the United States, considered to be the first newspaper founded as an official organ of a political party. It is simply when news editors received patronage from political parties. The editor agrees on candidate and defends his / her principles which may go with his own principles. Then the party press members were in need to rescue themselves from the 1798 Sedition Act of Pres which made criticism of the federal government illegal. Several republican editors were prosecuted under that law. This act gave

Adams great power to define the writing activities which include any false, scandalous and malicious. But his successor and political opponent, Thomas Jefferson, let the renewable law expire. Jefferson believed that written criticism of the government did not necessarily lead to revolution and that the press could serve as a check on the abuse of power. Finally, with the penny press in 1830, the press party era came to be ended and Newspapers were able to success without partisan patronage. (Amy McKenn and David W. Bulla, 2014)

2.1.3. Mass Markets, Yellow Journalism and Muckrakers (1890–1920)

2.1.3.1. Muckrakers

The term muckrakers derived from the speech of Theodore Roosevelt that “the men with the muck rakes are often indispensable to the well-being of society; but only if they know when to stop raking the muck . . .” in which “raking the muck” refers to the practices of investigative journalists and activists who are beyond the corruption in government and big business to the surface. (khan Academy, the age of empire, Muckrakers, n.d., para.03)

It is the group of journalists and writers during the progressive era in 1890-1920 in which US knew an extreme social and political reform. Some of the well-known muckrakers was Lincoln Steffens, Ida Minerva Tarbell, Fremont Older and Westbrook Pegler. Their main aim was to unmask corruption in big business and government. Also to raise awareness of poverty and other social ills associated with industrialization. At the end, muckrakers did make a difference by their influence on legislation's decisions as protecting employees and consumers.

2.1.3.2. Yellow Journalism

At first, yellow journalism appeared in America in the 1890s to describe the procedures used in the competition between two New York City newspapers, the World and the Journal by Joseph Pulitzer and William Randolph Hearst to attract more circulation on their journals. Yellow journalism is the usage of lurid features and sensationalized news.

In 1883, Joseph Pulitzer controlled over the newspapers circulation in the country by using colorful, sensational reporting and crusades against political corruption and social injustice in his New York World. By 1895, William Randolph Hearst bought The Rival Journal. He planned to win the competition of New York City newspapers as he succeeded in making the San Francisco Examiner into a hugely successful mass-circulation paper. Yellow Journalism vanished early after the turn of the 20th century.

2.1.4 Chains and Syndicates (1900–1960)

It refers to the era when William Randolph Hearst and E. W. Scripps built a national chains to create syndicated services based on product differentiation while appealing to the needs of his readers.

Scripps first newspaper was the Cleveland Penny Press. His newspaper was a progressive. He always bought nighttime newspapers in mid-sized cities, with some forays into main metropolitan markets. He managed the marketing area in his newspapers so that it will minimize the impact of huge money and he was normally pro-labor. Edward W. Scripps is considered the founder of the modern newspaper chain From 1890 to 1921. He created the chain which turned into officially referred to as Scripps-McRae then modified to Scripps-Howard in 1921. The chain has become greater editorially conservative with inside the 1930s.

The Hearst owned two newspapers, the first is the San Francisco which is his father property and the second and the more famous the New York Journal. He was known by his focus on the major metropolitan news markets. He is perhaps best known for his feud with Joseph Pulitzer's New York World, and for the "Yellow Journalism". His chain contributed in developing and spreading photojournalism (Barnhurst and Nerone 142). From 1923 on, the Hearst chain newspapers featured Louella Parsons.

2.1.5. Television and Internet (1970– Present)

Television combined the best features of both radio and pictures and changed media forever. It helped politicians to speak to citizens and voters directly, allowing everyone to decode body language and tone to decide whether candidates or politicians are sincere. But the latter loses so of its views because of many reasons as it is clarified in the following :

" A 2015 report from the Brookings Institution shows that the number of newspapers per hundred million population fell from 1,200 (in 1945) to 400 in 2014." (2000–present,n.d., para.06).

It can be sum up that newspapers lost its circulation which led its subscriptions to fall, advertising and especially classified ad revenue dipped.

Today, America and the whole world dealing with new media trends. The invention of cable in the 1980s and the expansion of the Internet in the 2000s opened up the flour for new versions of media as internet allowed its consumers to be involved within every detail happening around the world. The availability of the internet and social media has moved some control of the message back into the presidents' and candidates' hands. It enables ppoliticians to connect with citizens even more than television.

2.2.Election and Media

Mass communication is the process of exchanging information through mass media to large segments of population.The mass media serve as mediums used for dissemination of information. These mediums are wide-ranging including print, digital media and the internet, social media and radio,and television.(Ellicott,2021)

The main political function of mass media contains news making interpretation,socialization, persuasion and agenda setting. Thus, the media gives the public all the information they need to

know about the political issues and more coverage to presidential election and it may influence public opinion and shape their attitudes.(Brno,2008)

There are many forms of media that affect the political environment, but the main two types are paid and free media. The paid media can make advertisements or campaign election depending on how much the candidates paid. The free media can be useful because paid media can be expensive.(Chandrappa, 2014)

2.2.1. Traditional Media

The Traditional media play a key role in the election. There are a different types as it is mentioned below

2.2.1.1. Television

The well-known medium of communication is television. It shows news and information about all the world immediately. Also it can affect the people attitudes and behaviors toward the ideas they want to draw. The television is considered among the most influential and powerful means of media from its innovation. Particularly television plays a key role in shaping good candidates image in American election.(Vile,2007)

Television which plays an influential role in the election of 1952 when Richard Nixon holds speech with his vice president and it was a turning point in the election, from just listening to the candidates voices into watching their images and listening at the same time. Also the election of 1960 is marked as a good evidence of the power and influence of television in campaign election outcomes when John Kennedy won the election only from his first presidential debates because of the image that the people draw about him from his first appearance. (Emery,1976)

2.2.1.2. Newspapers

Newspapers is another influencing means of media in the election. They were the first medium of political communication in America to large population. The history of American newspapers started in 18th century. The first published newspaper used to promote public support to several issues. The newspapers became a political force in the movements for the independence from Great Britain. They view newspaper as means that permit the political leaders to express their opinion and influence people. The first amendment to United States Constitution guaranteed the freedom of journalism after the independence.

The growth of press was a turning point from Jefferson's victory of election in 1800. It was the first peaceful changing of power between two parties. From that time, the newspapers were used to build a political support. The main transforming point in the history of media in politics was in Andrew Jackson's presidency, he was the king of the media at that time. After that time, newspapers became involved in campaign election. The market revolution that began in 1820 affected "The newspaper politics". From the nineteenth the "newspaper politics" remained the main coverage of political issues particularly election. (Plasly, n.d. , as cited in Armonk, N.Y. Sharpe, M.E 2003)

2.2.1.3 The Radio

The radio is another influencing means of media in election. The broadcasting of the first radio station in the United States started in 1920 with reporting the result of the election of that year. At that time, the broadcasting was developed rapidly, there are a hundreds of Stations were founded. In the beginning, the radio Stations were a private work but later there were networks used to entertainment and news programs. Thus, four networks were established are: NBC, CBS, ABS and MBS. It was transition in the history of political press. The radio was a public space where the presidents voices became familiar for the householders for the first time creating powerful sense and relation between the executive chief and people. The first American

president Franklin Roosevelt who exploited the recourse of news with his radio " fireside chats.". Also radio conversation developments seize this opportunity as result the radio talk was one of the factors that depicted the impact of the radio on voters preference. The radio plays a key role in the election outcomes but the rise of television decreased its influence. (Vile ,2007)

2.2.2 The New Media

2.2.2.1. The Internet

Internet is the most important means of media in the election process.It has changed the way how people get news and political events . It serves as a connecter between people and government. Internists can know any information about politics without waiting the television news in specific time in the day. The Howard Dean was the first politician to use the internet in his election. People use the internet because it is an immediate band accessible,it had advantages over television. (Brno,2008)

2.2.2.2.The Internet Websites

The internet websites play an important part of the presidential campaign since the mid 1990's. At the beginning, in 1990, the majority of websites used to help the political candidates to transmit the information for campaigning in order to win the presidency. Those websites include biographies, political ads and their speeches, and by 2000 the candidates added photos, images and graphics. The first candidate used the web in his campaign in 1992 was Clinton Gore. The websites are developed and become more interactive medium of communication in 1996. The first candidate who engaged in online discussion sessions with voters, was Lamar Alexander. In 2004, the election websites got more development and became more attractive. The first American presidential campaign by both George Bush and John Kerry involved video clips on their websites.In 2008,the election websites became more popular, when most of the candidates used the websites in their campaign election.(Gaziano and Liesen, 2008)

The internet influence on politics changed because of the rise of new several digital platforms. Now, the internet has a variety of tools that influence politics through social media platforms via mobile phones.

2.2.2.3. Social Media

Social media play a key role in dissemination of information and the latter have a different tools which is mentioned in the following

2.2.2.3.1. Facebook

One of the social media tools is Facebook. It allows people to make personal blogs, people can receive information. Also ordinary people can express their opinion in political issues, they can share their own information among people. With the extensive use of social media platforms, the American presidential candidates started using those platforms in their primary and electoral campaigns. Barrack Obama was the first American president who used Facebook in his campaign election in 2008. (Calderaro, 2018)

2.2.2.3.2. Twitter

Twitter is another social media platform that has a great effect on American election result since 2012. Through Twitter, people can post tweets, messages of up to 140 characters . because tweets are short messages and fast to send. It helps to make a rapid and dynamic reaction to current events. Twitter became a vital site, where people can express their views, opinions and sentiments on political candidates and parties. Twitter developed as a political platform in 2012 with the American president Barack Obama. According to the American study that has been made on Twitter users, who gathered over 36 million tweets about the 2012 presidential election candidates . (Wang, Can, Kazemzadeh, Barand and Narayanan, 2012). Twitter grew in importance with the political campaign in 2012 presidential election because of its ease access and free service. Also the

American president Donald Trump used twitter in his campaign election in 2016. This was another development of Twitter in election campaign.(Marx,2017)

2.2.2.3.3. YouTube

YouTube developed in 2005, offering the ability to share videos content online to any one freely. It became the third most well-known website in the world in just six years since its launching. In 2010, in every minute a new video content uploaded in YouTube. People view over two billion videos per day. YouTube influences people and day after day gain more popularity. Also YouTube had marked an impact on the election. The first YouTube election in The United States was in 2006 when Jim Webb uploaded his opponent in You Tube George Allen's "macaca " moment to YouTube.This act lead Allen to unlike victory.(Salmond,2012).But the main new role of YouTube in The United States democratic politics was the election of 2008,when the candidates and the public members made popular videos. Moreover, their announcement of their presidency on YouTube as Barack Obama and Hillary Clinton. Also the American president Donald Trump used YouTube channels in his campaign election in 2016. (Emruli, Zejner and Agai,2011)

2.3. Presidential Campaigns

2.3.1. What is an Electoral Campaign?

Electoral campaigns are the competitive attempts made by politicians and political groups to run up an election aiming at gaining public confidence. Candidates reach out to supporters through a range of methods, including campaign interactions and meetings, as well as mass media ads. (ACE Electoral Knowledge Network, 2012)

Campaigns in today's media era will cost a lot of money, posing questions about how much money is raised and spent, and whether the people who expend the most money win elections. Candidates work hard during the campaign to get their ideas out and to persuade people to vote for them or their campaign. There are many campaign topics that can influence the election's

freedom and justice. This include campaign's planning, the right to campaign peacefully, the independence of electoral officials during the campaign, participant protection, and media access. (ACE Electoral Knowledge Network, 2012)

2.3.2. Organizing Presidential Election Campaigns

Toward the start of each presidential campaign, a participant faces three significant assignments. The first one is to evolve an association that includes a campaign director's enrollment and other staff just as setting up a division of colleagues among them. since the arranging and execution of official political decision campaign today suggests such intricacy, every sphere has its own team and division leader . The entire group comprises a campaign director who is responsible of the organization setting up, campaign money management specialists, survey examiners, get out the vote experts, grassroots specialists, Media purchasers, TV makers and schedulers ..etc (Ilka Kreimendahl,2000)

Basically these people assess the net of political conditions encompassing their campaign taking target political and economic facts, and voters 'nature into consideration. Beyond the need to consider the availability of financial and political resources and knowing the best way of using them, they ought to set benefits, coordinate phone campaign, send mailings, interrogating people. The second task is collecting data about the qualities of the supposed adversary, these information are crucial since the campaign is in consistent change, continually acting and responding to events and challengers. Thirdly, it must be concluded how to introduce the participant: focusing on which capability that most engage the electors . This is a crucial decision because winning a campaign necessitates the activation of existing support among sympathetic voters who are persuaded by the candidate's image and qualifications . (Ilka Kreimendahl,2000)

2.4. The Impact of Media on Voters

The media may be argued to own an enormous impact on people's voting choices and decisions. On one hand, politicians and parties are represented by different types of media, particularly newspapers specially ways that affects what individuals imagine about the candidates, individuals are exposed to several opinions that can impact their beliefs and attitudes. Also how politicians attempt to show themselves to the media will have an effect on what voters think about them. On the other hand, one might say that the media merely confirms people's current preferences: people are more likely to read and trust publications that share their current point of view, people see unfairness in media that doesn't support their point of view whereas media that support and defend their views is seen as 'the truth' or 'common concept'. People on social media interact with and follow people and journalists who share their views, giving the misleading perception that the majority of people align with them (the so-called "echo chamber" theory). Moreover, newspapers and other media sources cannot get too far out of touch with public opinion, since this may have a negative impact on consumption. (Adapt,2020)

2.4.1.Is the Media Able to Influence How We Vote?

As a quick answer? Yes, really. As a long answer? There's a lot to talk about. The media plays a vital role in informing people as well as presenting and influencing views. These variables may have a significant impact on how electors vote. The media is an important source of knowledge for people. Many people in the United States keep up with the news during the day. It's simple to do now, thanks to the widespread availability of laptops, tablets, and other electronics. This endless stream of structured information has an effect on our worldviews and can limit our access to information. This would have an effect on our decisions.(Republican views ,2018)

The sources of media are very crucial to supply people with information about election ,first information itself may create opinion, people make decisions according to information

they have, people who like politics are more likely to evaluate information via an ideological perspective ie: people will neglect information that contradicts their established views and accept information that support their views .Furthermore, critics frequently go beyond presenting facts to support their own viewpoint. As a result, their viewpoints can affect the viewpoints of others. Media sheds light on those critics as a result their opinions may affect the decision of voters .These factors can have an influence on people 's political perspective ,whether or not a voter is satisfied with his decision or trust a specific politician or friend opinion, he can be easily impacted with information he is exposed to.(Republican views ,2018)

2.5. Media Standards During Election

The media plays an influential role in conducting the election process: it informs the voters with the information about the candidates to make their choices; also it provides the candidates with the platforms to contact with the public. For that the media has to follow the basic standards mentioned bellow during election process

- **Accuracy and verification:** this need checking, balance, authentic material and the suitable range of records to support the information to be released. The correct information is the main part of good Journalism. Even the words that are spelled by the candidates and the voters have to be recorded accurately. Also journalists need the confirmation of the sources that he uses before reporting it.
- **Safety of journalists:** the journalists have to work under organization or group work to avoid threats. which this can protect him/her from attacks that he/she may face during his/her work.Journalists have to be able to work in safety protection.
- **Protection of journalistic sources:** Journalists have to protect their sources of information when their sources cannot be named, but it is favored to cite their journalistic sources. One of the crucial rights to seek information is to permit the reporters to protect their information resources.(Grange, Baudu&Dioh, n. d)

- **Fairness:** the journalists need to deal with the subjects matters, the participants, in the programs and the news reporting in neutral way. The information also have to be reported in fair and transparent manner. And to create balanced story when political candidates made promise in election campaign speech, a professional reporter will look for the other candidates reaction. Professional reporter try to be Unbiased in their reporting and including news about the opposition parties.
- **Impartiality and independency:** Impartiality means balance or not taking on side so to achieve balance is to involve both sides. In election the news have to be reported in balanced and impartial manner provide the public to draw their own conclusions. The impartiality permit the listeners and viewers to access the equivalent set of ideas and opinions. Journalists need to provide the audience with unbiased information to obtain their trust. (Berg & Betcheva, 2014)
- **Right of rely and correction:** this basic permits to correct the published errors :in order to clarify the mistakes written by aggrieved party and to show the fact of the story, the publication is obliged publish the factual errors correction .

There are different standards for print media and broadcasters: in general the print media such as , magazines and newspapers is just required to differentiate between the opinions and facts in their news stories. And the broadcasters are required by legislation to respect the basics of impartiality in programming, this contains presenting the opposing opinions on issues to ensure that the audience receive balanced portrayal of event. This principles are related to coverage of the electoral process itself as well as the treatment of the parties and the candidates during this period. (United Nations Development Programs. (UNDP, 2014)

2.6. Electoral Cycle and Media

Electoral Cycle is defined by the Election Management Body (EMB), which is the State authority in charge of organizing elections. It includes all steps and processes that fall within the

scope of the EMB's functions, responsibilities, and powers and are required for an election or vote to take place. The cycle also suggests that the procedure is repeated election after election. (Driza Maurer,A, 2020)

These are the basic phases of the Electoral Cycle:

- 1) Legal structure. This involves the creation of law as well as its design and writing.
- 2) Collecting the information for electoral activity execution. This covers election personnel recruitment and training, as well as election strategy.
- 3) Voter education and training, regulations related to observers .
- 4) Voter registration, political party registration, and election observer registration; party and candidate nominations. Registration and resolution of issues/questions that may lead to a poll (popular vote).
- 5) Electoral campaigning, includes formal information to voters.
- 6) Voting activities, such as questioning, calculating, and summing results.
- 7) Announcement of election results, involving transfer and presentation of the results, handling of voting process, reporting, and audits.
- 8) Post-election responsibilities, such as material removal and/or archive.

The formal acceptance of the proposal (poll), control of the pattern for collecting proponents' signatures, confirmation and verification of signature accuracy, calculating, validation, and presentation of results are all procedures involved in the conduct of direct democracy voting. Finally, if the necessary number of valid signatures were successfully collected, the vote will be organized. All of these stages are included in the registration process (no. 4 above). The EMB then notifies voters, arranges the vote, and performs it, just as it does in elections. (Driza Maurer,A,2020)

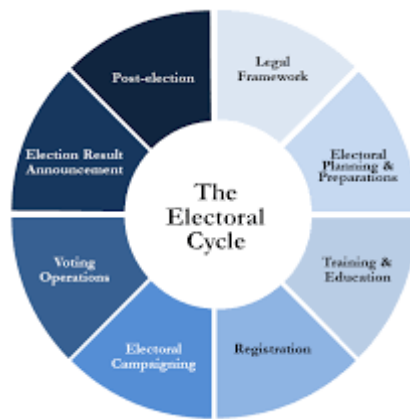


Figure2.2.The Electoral Cycle Adapted from “ who organize elections ?,” by Catt, H., Ellis, A., Maley, M., Wall, A., & Wolf, P. (2014). Electoral management design.(p.16). Stockholm, Sweden: International IDEA.

Conclusion

The second theoretical chapter mainly focused on the influence of media in the American presidential election. This chapter began with providing information about the historical development of the American press. In addition ,it highlights the influence of each means of media in the presidential election, and it continued with an investigation about the presidential campaign and its organization. Moreover ,this chapter mentioned the influence of the media on voters opinion then, it presented the media standards in election. Ultimately, the second chapter presented the role of media in electoral cycle.

CHAPTER THREE

Analysis of The Impact of Media in US Presidential Election Case Study of John Fitzgerald Kennedy, George Walker Bush, Barack Obama and Donald Trump Presidency

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Obama and Donald Trump Presidency

Introduction	38
3.1. Analysis of John F. Kennedy Speeches in his Presidential Election 1960.....	38
3.1.1. The Media and John F. Kennedy Campaign 1960.....	40
3.1.2. John F. Kennedy Campaigns' tactics.....	43
3.2. Analysis of George W. Bush Speeches in his Presidential Election	43
3.2.1. The First George W. Bush Presidential Debate.....	43
3.2.2. The Press in the Presidential Election 2000.....	45
3.2.3. TV Role in George W. Bush Victory.....	46
3.3. Analysis of Barack Obama Speeches in his Presidential Election	46
3.4. Analysis of Donald Trump's Announcement Speech.....	49
3.4.1. Twitter and Donald Trump Presidential Election 2016.....	52
3.4.2. Influence of Twitter on Donald Trump Presidential Election.....	54
Conclusion	54

Introduction

Political campaigns have increasingly used print media such as newspapers ,Mass media, and TV and radio as well as social media via platforms Facebook, Instagram, and Twitter to affect the public's impressions of candidates during the previous decade. While each means provides different ways for the public to express themselves, they are all based on the concept of social networking. Candidates have begun to mainstream the use of social media in political campaigning as a result of their significant success in employing social media during political campaigns and the surge in voter interest.

This chapter examines speeches of US presidents during their Presidential Campaigns. We have chosen four speeches and two debates that are included in the appendices. We depended, in our corpus analysis, on political discourse analysis taking into account linguistic content, and rhetorical analysis which is characterized by three basic elements (Logos, Ethos ,Pathos). In addition, we focused on depicting the mastery of each president to persuade the audience through their language patterns or body language gestures .

This analysis focuses on three angles. The first angle is to clarify how media shaped John Fitzgerald Kennedy, George Walker Bush, Barack Obama and Donald Trump presidents campaigns. The second angle is considered with how candidates make use of Mass media or social Media to their advantage and benefit. Third angle is related to what extent the above mentioned presidents succeed to hook voters good impression and satisfaction in their Campaigns. However, the core aim behind this analysis is to determine the impact of Media in US presidential Election, and to investigate if the media contributed to the victory of the candidates and how was that positive or negative.

3.1. Analysis of John F. Kennedy Speeches in his Presidential Election 1960

One of the most important skills of successful leadership is the public communication. It provides the leaders with the chance to show their speaking capacities. It is believed that

Kennedy was a successful leader; for this reason we opted to analyze his speeches in his candidacy announcement and opening statement in his first presidential debate. Kennedy announced his candidacy in January 2, 1960 in Washington. D.C. He started in simple way, his words demonstrate that he is self-confident and the one who believed in his capacities. He started by demonstrating the power of the presidency and he stated that "the presidency is the most powerful office in the free world " and he relates it with public destiny and life. According to him the president is responsible to guarantee the freedom and security to his country. As well he uses "How" in how to end, how to maintain, how to rebuild, how to achieve, how to give. He questioned but he was not seeking answers. He just wanted to insist on his issues and to attract the audience attention to listen to him . At the end, he mentioned all the occupations that he serve since years and his traveling to nearly to all states of the United States, which gives him big experience and clear image of the Americans.

In 1960 ,John F. Kennedy and Richard Nixon engaged in the first television debates Kennedy started the debate resolutely and looks like unwavering manner into the camera as he delivered an eloquent opening statement: "In the election of 1860, Abraham Lincoln said the question was whether this nation could exist half-slave or half- free .In the election of 1960 ,and with the world around us ,the question is whether the world will exist half-slave or half-free, whether it will move in the direction of freedom, in the direction of the road that we are taking , or whether it will move he direction of slavery " He discussed his work in the congress and his ambitions of an effective government and anti-communism. In his statement, he listed his goals for his country. He uses examples according to his understanding to the current issues in his country also he uses stories. In his speech Kennedy uses and repeated the pronoun " we " " to refer to the American society and as he is an American citizen he is responsible and concerned with its different issues, A likewise, the repetitive structures in successive clauses " the kind of the country we have here, the kind of the society we have, the kind of strength we build in the United states" is helpful to explain and insist the ideas that he wants to deliver in forceful and beneficial

manner. In order to make his speech more forceful and persuasive he used the figurative Language. He used several rhetorical devices as Juxtaposition "the questions whether the world will exist half-slave or half-free". Also Kennedy used another rhetorical strategy called anaphora in his repetition of "I'm not satisfied" before stating the issue he wanted to attract the audience attention to what he is going to say about improvements that the country required. Furthermore, to demonstrate his goals to the audience he uses metaphor to clarify his goals and aims as a president "get America moving again" his ideals, aims and hopes remain the main focus in his opening statements. (O'Brien, 2020).

3.1.1. The Media and John F. Kennedy Campaign Election 1960

John F. Kennedy had faced many obstacles in his campaign election in 1960. He was inexperienced, young and unknown senator of Massachusetts. In spite of all those issues, his appearance in Television debates in front of his opponent Richard Nixon was successful. When John F. Kennedy made Television debates with his opponent Nixon; he looks youthful and energetic. The main mass media medium of communication and news coverage and what led to successful presidential campaign election of John F. Kennedy was television. Thus the United States Presidential election of 1960 was considered as the first modern campaign (Frings, 2016). Television was considered the primary medium of political communication in 1960. Also Television had great impact in 1960 campaign election (Bruchke, Divine, 2016).

In 1960 presidential election Television reached 87 percent of the population. The Newspapers with 80 percent of the population was the second eminent medium in 1960 election, the radio with 42 percent and the magazines with 41 percent (Robinson, 1976).

In 1960, John F. Kennedy and Richard M. Nixon had a series of Television debates. The first presidential Television debates in United States history happened between Kennedy and Nixon, on September 26, 1960, produced by CBS out of Chicago, it was great debate nearly 40% of Americans watched the debate, while there are other Americans heard the debate on the

radio. John K. Kennedy was unknown Democratic senator from Massachusetts whereas Richard Nixon was well-known to the American voters. A Number of audience view it as unwise debate. Kennedy looked to the camera and directed his speech to the audience. His image on the camera was polite, appealing and attractive while Nixon tried to avoid looking at the camera and looked ill and discomfort. The Americans who heard the debate on the radio pronounced Nixon the winner but the Americans who watched the television debates saw him discomforted and sick, in front of Kennedy who looks youthful, comfort and sincere and he seemed the winner. In surveys of the television viewers found that television viewers concentrate on what they saw, from that, they can draw their own image and choice. Thus Kennedy's Television appearance was more attractive in front of his opponent Nixon (Hillier, 2015).

In order that the catholic votes to support the democratic candidates Kennedy advisers advise him to discuss the Catholic religion issue. He made a question and answer session in Houston television. The show was shown to many states. The people's reaction to that show were positive. As a result, Kennedy won the support of several states as Californian, Illinois and Texas (Emery, 1976).

The second television debate was produced by NBC out of Washington in October 7th. The third debate was in October 13th produced by ABC out of New York and Los Angeles. And the fourth debate was also produced by ABC, in October 21st in New York (White, 1964). There are many studies conducted by that the American researchers have made to collect data about election. (Brushke & divine, 2016).

According to the American National Election Survey the researchers had made a study about the 1960 election to test the role of the television and the radio in Kennedy and Nixon campaign election. They question on how Television affect the viewer's opinion about the candidates. And to what extent the radio also can affect the listeners. The findings show that Kennedy was more attractive from his appearance. At first, The findings show that Kennedy was

more attractive in the debates in comparison with his opponent Nixon . The viewers identified Kennedy as youthful and fit whereas Nixon was described as sick. The television viewers considered Kennedy the winner while the radio listeners considered Nixon the winner. The more general view is that Kennedy charisma and appearance on television worked to advantage him enormously.

Table 3.1. Polling Results Concerning the Debates

Group	Result		
Radio listeners	Kennedy20.3%, Nixon43.0% and Draw36.7%		
Measure	Result		
Party affiliation	Republican 43.8% Democrat 48.6%		
“Which man did a better job in the debate?”	Kennedy44.3%, Nixon23.2%, Equal29.0% Noopinion3.5%		
AENS: positive opinion change due to debates			
Radio exposure	Party	Kennedy	Nixon
“A good many”	Democrat	94.1%	20.6%
Republican		25.0%	85.7%
“Several”	Democrat	94.0%	20.6%
Republican		50.0%	60.0%
“Just one or two”	Democrat	91.7%	22.7%
Republican		68.8%	65.6%
“None”	Democrat	86.0%	44.0%
Republican		50.7%	37.5%
AENS: positive opinion changed due to debates among heavy radio consumers			
Measure		Kennedy	Nixon
The debates positively change your opinions about the candidate as a person		72.5%	47.8%
The debates positively change your opinion about the positions of the candidate		67.0%	43.1%

Note. Adapted from (Brushke and divine ,2016)

3.1.2. John F. Kennedy Campaign' Tactics

Kennedy had different campaign strategies. In 1960, in order to reach his goals and to convince the American population, Kennedy campaign style in 1960 was more modern while Nixon was more traditional. He focused on live Television debates rather than all 50 states traditional, he concentrated on making tours and holding speeches in all 50 states.(Frings,2016).

3.2. Analysis of George W. Bush Speeches in his Presidential Election

3.2.1.The First Gore-Bush Presidential Debate

Another corpus data that helped us to know more about the impact of media in US Presidential Election is the debate Campaign held on October 11th,2000 between the Republican candidate for president, Gov. George W. Bush of Texas, and the Democratic candidate, Vice President Al Gore in Boston .It took 90' to negotiate several topics and answer questions prepared by the moderator .

Both candidates entered the hall, they met at mid point and shook hands we noticed that George W.Bush walked faster than his opponent this reflects the energy he owns to run the presidential race but media emphasized, the nervousness. Bush subsequently alleged that Gore “deployed the ultra-firm handshake” trying to acquire a psychological advantage. The tone of the discussion was set by the initial primarily nonverbal interaction. Bush was confrontational but obedient; Gore seized command by issuing instructions. Bush profited not only from Gore's unpleasant body language, sighing, and pressing, but also from his own ability to portray confidence. As a president, Bush referred to himself as "the decider," but it wasn't until the first debate against Al Gore that a national audience saw his genuine. When Lehrer asked if he would use force to overthrow Yugoslav President Slobodan Milosevic, who had lost his reelection attempt but refused to stand down, Bush responded quickly and emphatically: "It is not in our

national interest to employ force." I would employ both pressure and diplomacy.”
(Rune.une.edu.au, n.d.)

In their first debate, Republican presidential candidate George W. Bush and Democrat Al Gore sparred over the issues, contrasting their visions for the future while picking apart each other's major policy ideas. The vice president was depicted by Bush as a man who would construct "a massive, expanding federal government."

Gore, who sighed loudly at Bush's comments and occasionally smiled and shook his head, painted his opponent as a potential budget buster with his \$1.3 trillion tax reduction with polls tied and tensions between their campaigns at an all-time high, Bush and Gore mainly eschewed personal attacks in Tuesday night's event.

However, in response to a question on character from debate moderator Jim Lehrer, Texas Governor stated he was unhappy in Al Gore's role in the 1996 campaign finance issues, specifically, his presence at a Buddhist temple event under investigation by the Justice Department.

In a twist on his oft-repeated commitment to enter in a new “responsibility era” in the country, Bush said, “I felt that there needed to be a stronger sense of accountability of what was going on in the White House.” “They've relocated the sign that says ‘The buck stops here’ from the Oval Office to the Lincoln Bedroom.” The criticism was rejected by Gore. Gore answered, "You may want to focus on scandals, but I want to focus on outcomes." Gore then used this as an opportunity to press Bush to support campaign finance reform. Gore stated, "The existing political finance system has not reflected credit on anyone in either party."

“I am not going to lay down my arms in the middle of a campaign for somebody who has no credibility on the issue,” Bush laughed at the suggestion, as if the vice president was referring to an earlier Gore challenge to him to stop spending uncontrolled “soft money” donors, saying,

“I am not going to lay down my arms in the middle of a campaign for somebody who has no credibility on the issue.”(Berman.Hill.Reynolds,&Moran ,n.d)

Vice President " Al Gore came out as less than the leader my leader I had hoped for" he pretended to be in charge of the discussion. He insisted on having the "final say" and typically got it, despite the fact that his opponent was meant to have the reply rights to every other question under the rules. All the moderator could do was sit there and accept Gore's demands. When George W. Bush did try to provide his side, Vice President Cheney would try to shift his attention by sighing loudly or shaking papers. (In first debate, Al Gore displayed poor behavior, 2005)

3.2.2. The Press in the Presidential Election 2000

According to a Gallup study conducted in 1999-2000, the only concerns that Americans care about are education, ethics/moral degradation, health care, and crime/violence (Norris, 2001). These concerns, together with Medicare, prescription drug coverage, and Social Security reform, were the focal points of Campaign 2000, with each candidate adjusting his or her speech.

The print media regarded Vice President Al Gore as "an experienced leader, an active and dedicated campaigner ". It depicted Bush as a "more pleasant normal person" than Gore, had low expectations for his success established by the media and hence the public, and was able to overcome those expectations. (Norris, 2001, p. 4).

According to a new survey issued today by the Committee of Concerned Journalists, the press coverage of the 2000 presidential contest has been notably negative, with Vice President Al Gore bearing the brunt of it. Gore's coverage was much more hostile, more focused on internal campaign politics, and had less to do with people than his Republican opponent in comparison, with George W. Bush who was twice as likely as Al Gore to receive favorable publicity. The

tone is optimistic. The governor's coverage was likewise more issue-oriented and probable. to be in intimate contact with citizens. (Pew Research Center, n.d).

3.2.3. TV Role in George W. Bush Victory

We notice that Television played a crucial role in depicting candidate image and body language especially candidate El Gore sighing to his opponent that sent a negative impression to the audience about him .also Tv impact in George W.Bush victory because George W.Bush attract the audience with a good image full of confidence ,fixed character, tight strategy to gain public trust to vote for him as a result media helped George W.Bush to held the position of president.

3.3. Analysis of Barack Obama Speeches in his Presidential Election

Barack Obama was the first African American to win The American Presidential Election against republication candidates. Many factors led to his success but the major one was his smart usage of social media which enables him to garner 5 million supporters on 15 different social networks ranging from Facebook to MySpace. Also his brilliant speeches which transmitted hope and faith to believe in America as a great country with a great future and gave him incredible ability to connect with Americans.

Obama seemed to find his voice when addressing the wider world by his speeches in which he was able to deliver. Speeches in an authentic and convincing way and concentrating only on the future America not on the past one to convince his audience that with him as the new president, the United States can change to a better and more justice country. Obama 's speeches are knownwith his multi-usage of rhetorical devices that help him to make his speech easier to listen and to understand. As anaphora seems to be Obama's favourite rhetorical device since he used it many times for instance in his speech atThe Democratic National Convention, 2004, he says:

"If there's a child on the Southside of Chicago who can't read, that matters to me, even if it's not my child. If there's a senior citizen somewhere who can't pay for their prescription and having to choose between medicine and the rent, that makes my life poorer, even if it's not my grandparent. If there's an Arab-American family being rounded up without benefit of an attorney or due process, that threatens my civil liberties.

To clear that every problem of each citizen in the land of America is a part of his responsibility and work. In addition, at the Jefferson-Jackson Dinner, 2007 when he spoke about his future hopes for future America saying that

"I don't want to see homeless veterans on the streets. I don't want to send another generation of American children to failing schools. I don't want that future for my daughters. I don't want that future for your sons. I do not want that future for America".

Furthermore, his usage of antithesis at The Democratic National Convention, 2004, he says: "here's not a black America and white America and Latino America and Asian America; there's the United States of America" to clarify the required unity to make a better America in a simple way and at the J-J dinner when he mentioned that

A party that offers not just a difference in policies, but a difference in leadership A party that doesn't just focus on how to win but why we should A party that doesn't just offer change as a slogan, but real, meaningful change that America can believe in.

this was to emphasize on his official slogan which was "Change We Can Believe In" seeking for a better and changed future. Furthermore, he always emphasizes that it is not only his victory but the victory of all the people who voted for him and who made this possible by his frequent usage of pronouns like "we", "our", "us" and finally "you" very often showing Americans that at the very beginning he is one of them before being their president.

Obama's speeches were not only characterized by linguistic features but also he made the core of his speech a collection of dry ideas and supporting these ideas with stories, he made the core of his speech a story and explained how it applied to the ideas he talked about. Obama's passion in his speeches can be clearly noticed from Americans and non-Americans through his body language, his voice tone, his pauses, his hand gestures, allowing the speeches of Obama arrive to every citizen in the United States of America in live forms so they can watch and listen and understand every detail which resulted that the vast majority of the American people are willing to select him as their president.

The American press changed the game, allowing incumbents and newcomers to speak directly to constituents on everything. Therefore, Obama was able to extend the sound of certain words to add more deep passion to his message as he is the first presidential candidate to use the medium. Barack Obama clear lead over Republican John McCain since the positive coverage of the race which Obama enjoyed, in the white house meeting. Nearly half of all stories about Obama were clearly positive in tone (47%), while less than one in-ten were clearly negative (8%).

Finally, it can be sum up that the American press contributed in shaping Barack Obama campaign from neutral prospect and just released the last decision at the hands of the citizens.

3.4. Analysis of Donald Trump 's Presidential Announcement Speech

On June 16th of 2015, Donald Trump announced his candidacy to presidential election. He delivered a speech on Tuesday at his Trump Tower office building in Manhattan. This speech is the first public expression of his principles and views, which would shape the remainder of his campaign. The lengthy ,argumentative announcement was one of the most fascinating speeches of the 2016 election season thus far .The speech takes the form of written texts compiled from a website. Donald Trump opens his speech by saying:

"Wow. Whoa. That is some group of people. Thousands. So nice, thank you very much. That's really nice. Thank you. It's great to be at Trump Tower. It's great to be in a wonderful city, New York. And it's an honor to have everybody here. This is beyond anybody's expectations. There's been no crowd like this. And, I can tell, some of the candidates, they went in. They didn't know the air-conditioner didn't work. They sweated like dog "

The president was astonished when he saw the crowd in his tower ,many people came to hear his speech, he expressed his joy as he repeated the word thank you several times in the beginning. He used an abusive utterance towards other candidates or politicians, he mocked them how they can beat Isis using a figurative expression metaphor: they sweated like dogs and this can make other politicians feel angry about him.

"I will be the greatest jobs president that God ever created. I tell you that." This excerpt shows the propaganda used through exaggeration . In this case, Trump utilized an unusual term to sway people's opinions. It is not known and can't be determined who the finest president in the world is, yet Trump claims to be the greatest president God has ever made. It may come off as amusing, but his goal in making this comment is to convince voters that he is the suitable one to held the position of president. He is expressing self confidence ,he believe that he is superior to his opponents in the presidential race .

In Donald Trump's Campaign Announcement Speech,we notice the use of declarative and interrogative phrases to persuade and arouse the audience passion to follow the candidate willingness to vote for him as illustrated below in Donald Trump presidential announcement speech on june 16th, 2015

"That's right. A lot of people up there can't get jobs. They can't get jobs, because there are no jobs, because China has our jobs and Mexico has our jobs. They all have jobs

I like them. And I hear their speeches. And they don't talk jobs and they don't talk China. When was the last time you heard China is killing us? They're devaluing their currency to a level that you wouldn't believe. It makes it impossible for our companies to compete, impossible. They're killing us."

"Our country is in serious trouble. We don't have victories any more .We used to... have victories ,but we don't have them. When was the last time anybody saw us beating ,let's say ,China in a trade deal ?They kill us. I beat China all the time All the time.

Donald trump tries to persuade the audience of his principles through an energizing message which is owning the spirit of competition. He wants to let American people believe that their country is in a problem and it needs someone who solves that trouble. As it is clarified below in Donald Trump presidential announcement speech on June 16th, 2015

"Thank you. It's true, and these are the best and the finest. When Mexico sends its people ,they're not sending their best. They're not sending you .They're not sending you. They're sending people that have lots of problems, and they're bringing those problems with us. They're bringing drugs. They're bringing crime . They're rapists. And some, I assume, are good people."

Donald Trump expresses his kindness by thanking the public by telling them they are the best .Also he uses hating expression towards Mexico considering Mexico a source of problems and crimes without ignoring the goodness of others .

"Then he'll call all sorts of political people, and I'll say, "Sorry, fellas. No interest,"

"Somebody said — thank you, darlin'."

The above two statements contain "colloquial word," which is a term used to communicate with individuals we know well. This type of participation is meant to demonstrate unity with the audience or public . Trump used various colloquial phrases in his speech at this time, such as "fellas," "folk," and "darlin." the last mentioned words were already recognizable to the audience. The first term, "fellas," is often used among friends but is rarely employed in

official situations. The phrase "folks" is a form of address used when speaking to a group of people informally, and it denotes a close relationship between the speaker and his interlocutors. Furthermore, the third noun "darlin" is a term used to show that a person is adored. Donald Trump used the above mentioned terms strategically to make the voters believe that he is close to them

In his Announcement candidacy speech, Donald Trump used storytelling when he shared the feeling of loving family with the audience expressing his pride of his son's view of his father's person. As illustrated in the following extract:

" And, I will tell you, I love my life. I have a wonderful family. They're saying, "Dad, you're going to do something that's going to be so tough"

Donald Trump is known of attacking his opponents or other politicians ,he considers his behavior of attacking others a point of strength in his campaigning rise ,it is advantageous because when the public see the person they remember what Donald Trump has said. As a result, it may be helpful for him to be elected by voters, as illustrated below:

" So, just to sum up, I would do various things very quickly. I would repeal and replace the big lie, Obamacare "

"I will immediately terminate President Obama's illegal executive order on immigration, immediately".

In this speech the candidate used frequent modals to emphasize his desire of reaching promises that he gave to the audience as the following:

"So we have to rebuild our infrastructure, our bridges, our roadways, our airports"

"I will bring it back bigger and better and stronger than ever before, and we will make

America great again "

Donald Trump style is characterized by the use of fragmented expressions, use of simple sentences, directness is clear in his speech. He is famous for using humor simply his language made of him a unique politician.

3.4.1. Twitter and Donald Trump Presidential Election 2016

Online–social–mobile communication technologies support the growth of online social media by providing individuals with a smart, informative, and quick platform to express themselves. In the presidential election, social media, particularly Twitter, plays a big role. Twitter became the most important source of major news on election day in 2016. Donald Trump uses Twitter frequently to interact with voters.

Through his Twitter account @realDonaldTrump, Trump employs his own rhetorical skills and methods to convince and influence his followers. In fact, unlike other candidates throughout the presidential race, Trump's language in his speeches and debates is comparable to that of a fourth-grader. Trump's vocabulary is the most direct and clear of any of the opponents. Trump is fond of repeating basic phrases or sentences. In his Twitter, the words are short and obvious. In order to create a truthful and open image, he frequently employs pronouns rather than nouns in his tweets, such as "we," "you," and "them." It cannot be argued that the frequent use of personal pronouns such as "your," "you," and "I" is a sort of equal conversation (Machin & Mayr, 2012).

Trump has always been the center of attention in the international media. He already had a good name, and by coming up with some interesting issues to grab media attention, he was able to save a lot of money on typical political activities and media publicity. As a consequence, Trump and the American media have developed a mutually beneficial relationship. His very provocative speeches earn good ratings on television networks and a high click rate on websites, ensuring that his election campaign receives a lot of media attention. And Trump, who frequently attacks and criticizes the media, notably on Twitter, doesn't seem to mind whether the

media is favorable or negative in their assessment of him as illustrated in the following tweets of Donald Trump in which he attacked The media. (Chang,2016)



Figure3.1. How Fake News Charges Spread Around the Globe. **Adapted from** "Fake News Charges Spread Around the Globe" by Galvin, G, 2017, U.S.News, Copyright 2021 U.S News &World Report L.P.

Donald Trump just started using the term "fake news" in his tweets at the end of last year, but it has quickly become one of his most popular social media terms. Since then, Trump has tweeted 73 times about "fake news," Typically branding reputable media sites like the New York Times, Washington Post, and CNN as "fake news." . In February, Trump stated that, "Any negative polls are false news, much like the CNN, ABC, and NBC polls in the election," referring to unfavorable responses to his visa ban.(Cristopher,2017)

The editor of the New York Times reacted to Donald Trump Tweet about fake news .He stated that he informed Trump that, "Although his use of the word "fake news" is inaccurate and destructive, I am more worried by his characterizing journalists as "enemies of the people." 'I warned that this provocative rhetoric is fueling an increase in threats against journalists and would result in violence,' "Later on July 29, 2018, Sulzberger responded to Trump's tweet. (Colby,2018).

3.4.2. Influence of Twitter on Donald Trump Presidential Election

Donald Trump benefited from twitter channel use to persuade public and to be in his side. His provocative tweets attacks towards media, his abusive and humorous, direct style makes him famous and attractive also his frequent tweets on his account let the audience curious to know about his news and let the media shed the light on him and this is the reason behind his victory. Donald Trump used the twitter as a weapon to hook public support and good impression despite his aggressive style.

Conclusion

In this analytical chapter, we have discussed features which are considered essential in providing notion about presidential race of the four candidates: John Fitzgerald Kennedy, George Walker Bush, Barack Obama and Donald Trump, showing their utilized strategies, views, tools of persuasion to run advantageous political campaigns through the analysis of their speeches and debates. The crucial aim was to shed light on the positive impact of Media in the US Presidential Election.

General conclusion

Presidential elections provide a chance for renewed interest in US politics every four years. Over the course of a year, the media frenzy progressively builds up around the primaries and caucuses, and finally the coverage of presidential campaigns race between nominees.

The American press played a significant role in the U.S presidential elections. It was utilized to deliver all communications that were required to be shared with the public. In fact, some media tools are significantly more critical and influential than others. Mass media such as TV and radio had an important role in showing the good charisma in Kennedy's character, also TV helped George W. Bush to manage a successful debate through his strict, tough persona and beats El Gore who was criticized of his glimpse to his opponent.

In addition, modern media such as: Facebook and Twitter contributed in supporting both Barack Obama and Donald Trump in running their electoral campaigns. Facebook and Twitter were interesting in knowing the public opinion and reactions because people could give favorable or negative opinions via comments and followings. Trump gained a notable interest by the media through his provocative attacks and tweets that created progressive curiosity among voters to follow and support him.

Another factor behind politicians' victories is the speeches they conduct through using meaningful and influential words to drive people attention and to convince a large scale of public to vote for them.

The study reveals that the hypotheses we have formulated confirmed that the media had a core impact in US presidential election. Politicians benefited from media in running their political campaigns. The study found out that the media contributed positively in US Presidential election.

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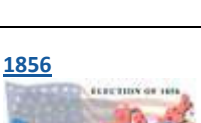
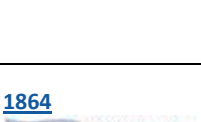
Appendices

Appendix A. Statistics of US Presidential Election Results (1789-2020)

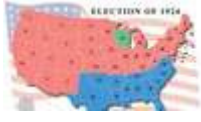
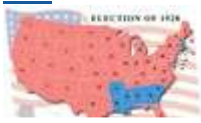
Year	Candidate	political party	electoral votes ¹	popular votes ²	popular percentage ³
1789 	George Washington 4	no formally organized parties	69 ⁵		
	John Adams		34		
	John Jay		9		
	R.H. Harrison		6		
	John Rutledge		6		
	John Hancock		4		
	George Clinton		3		
	Samuel Huntington		2		
	John Milton		2		
	James Armstrong		1		
	Benjamin Lincoln		1		
	Edward Telfair		1		
	not voted		44		
1792 	George Washington 4	Federalist	132		
	John Adams	Federalist	77		
	George Clinton	Democratic-Republican	50		
	Thomas Jefferson		4		
	Aaron Burr		1		
1796 	John Adams	Federalist	71		
	Thomas Jefferson	Democratic-Republican	68		
	Thomas Pinckney	Federalist	59		
	Aaron Burr	Antifederalist	30		
	Samuel Adams	Democratic-Republican	15		

	Oliver Ellsworth	Federalist	11		
	George Clinton	Democratic-Republican	7		
	John Jay	Independent-Federalist	5		
	James Iredell	Federalist	3		
	George Washington	Federalist	2		
	John Henry	Independent	2		
	S. Johnston	Independent-Federalist	2		
	Charles Cotesworth Pinckney	Independent-Federalist	1		
1800 	Thomas Jefferson	Democratic-Republican	736		
	Aaron Burr	Democratic-Republican	736		
	John Adams	Federalist	65		
	Charles Cotesworth Pinckney	Federalist	64		
	John Jay	Federalist	1		
1804 	Thomas Jefferson	Democratic-Republican	162		
	Charles Cotesworth Pinckney	Federalist	14		
1808 	James Madison	Democratic-Republican	122		
	Charles Cotesworth Pinckney	Federalist	47		
	George Clinton	Independent-Republican	6		
	not voted		1		
1812 	James Madison	Democratic-Republican	128		
	DeWitt Clinton	Fusion	89		
	not voted		1		
1816	James Monroe	Democratic-Republican	183		

	Rufus King	Federalist	34		
	not voted		4		
1820 	James Monroe	Democratic-Republican	231		
	John Quincy Adams	Independent-Republican	1		
	not voted		3		
1824 	John Quincy Adams	no distinct party designations	847	108,740	30.9
	Andrew Jackson		99	153,544	41.3
	Henry Clay		37	47,531	13.0
	William H. Crawford		41	40,856	11.2
1828 	Andrew Jackson	Democratic	178	647,286	56.0
	John Quincy Adams	National Republican	83	508,064	43.6
1832 	Andrew Jackson	Democratic	219	687,502	54.2
	Henry Clay	National Republican	49	530,189	37.4
	William Wirt	Anti-Masonic	7	100,715	7.8
	John Floyd	Nullifiers	11		
	not voted		2		
1836 	Martin Van Buren	Democratic	170	762,678	50.8
	William Henry Harrison	Whig	73	550,816	36.6
	Hugh L. White	Whig	26	146,107	9.7
	Daniel Webster	Whig	14	41,201	2.7
	W.P. Mangum	Anti-Jackson	11		
1840 	William Henry Harrison	Whig	234	1,275,016	52.9
	Martin Van Buren	Democratic	60	1,129,102	46.8
1844	James K. Polk	Democratic	170	1,337,243	49.5
	Henry Clay	Whig	105	1,299,062	48.1
	James	Liberty		62,103	2.3

	Gillespie Birney				
1848 	Zachary Taylor	Whig	163	1,360,099	47.3
	Lewis Cass	Democratic	127	1,220,544	42.5
	Martin Van Buren	Free Soil		291,501	10.1
1852 	Franklin Pierce	Democratic	254	1,601,274	50.8
	Winfield Scott	Whig	42	1,386,580	43.9
	John Parker Hale	Free Soil		155,210	4.9
1856 	James Buchanan	Democratic	174	1,838,169	45.3
	John C. Frémont	Republican	114	1,341,264	33.1
	Millard Fillmore	American (Know-Nothing)	8	873,053	21.5
1860 	Abraham Lincoln	Republican	180	1,866,452	39.9
	John C. Breckinridge	Southern Democratic	72	847,953	18.1
	Stephen A. Douglas	Democratic	12	1,380,202	29.5
	John Bell	Constitutional Union	39	590,901	12.6
1864 	Abraham Lincoln	Republican	212	2,213,665	55.0
	George B. McClellan	Democratic	21	1,805,237	45.0
	not voted		81		
1868 	Ulysses S. Grant	Republican	214	3,012,833	52.7
	Horatio Seymour	Democratic	80	2,703,249	47.3
	not voted		23		
1872 	Ulysses S. Grant	Republican	286	3,597,132	55.6
	Horace Greeley 8	Democratic/Liberal Republican		2,834,125	43.8
	Thomas A. Hendricks	Independent-Democratic	42		
	B. Gratz	Democratic	18		

	Brown				
	Charles J. Jenkins	Democratic	2		
	David Davis	Democratic	1		
	not voted		17		
1876 	Rutherford B. Hayes	Republican	185	4,036,298	48.0
	Samuel J. Tilden	Democratic	184	4,300,590	51.0
1880 	James A. Garfield	Republican	214	4,454,416	48.3
	Winfield Scott Hancock	Democratic	155	4,444,952	48.2
	James B. Weaver	Greenback		305,997	3.3
1884 	Grover Cleveland	Democratic	219	4,874,986	48.5
	James G. Blaine	Republican	182	4,851,981	48.3
1888 	Benjamin Harrison	Republican	233	5,439,853	47.8
	Grover Cleveland	Democratic	168	5,540,309	48.6
	Clinton B. Fisk	Prohibition		249,819	2.2
1892 	Grover Cleveland	Democratic	277	5,556,918	46.1
	Benjamin Harrison	Republican	145	5,176,108	43.0
	James B. Weaver	People's (Populist)	22	1,027,329	8.5
	John Bidwell	Prohibition		270,770	2.2
1896 	William McKinley	Republican	271	7,104,779	51.0
	William Jennings Bryan	Democratic 9	176	6,502,925	46.7
1900 	William McKinley	Republican	292	7,207,923	51.7
	William Jennings Bryan	Democratic 9	155	6,358,133	45.5
1904	Theodore	Republican	336	7,623,486	56.4

	Roosevelt				
	Alton B. Parker	Democratic	140	5,077,911	37.6
	Eugene V. Debs	Socialist		402,489	3.0
1908 	William Howard Taft	Republican	321	7,678,908	51.6
	William Jennings Bryan	Democratic	162	6,409,104	43.0
	Eugene V. Debs	Socialist		420,380	2.8
1912 	Woodrow Wilson	Democratic	435	6,293,454	41.8
	Theodore Roosevelt	Progressive (Bull Moose)	88	4,119,207	27.4
	William Howard Taft	Republican	8	3,483,922	23.2
	Eugene V. Debs	Socialist		900,369	6.0
1916 	Woodrow Wilson	Democratic	277	9,129,606	49.2
	Charles Evans Hughes	Republican	254	8,538,221	46.1
	Allan L. Benson	Socialist		589,924	3.2
1920 	Warren G. Harding	Republican	404	16,147,249	60.3
	James M. Cox	Democratic	127	9,140,864	34.1
	Eugene V. Debs	Socialist		897,704	3.4
1924 	Calvin Coolidge	Republican	382	15,725,016	54.1
	John W. Davis	Democratic	136	8,386,503	28.8
	Robert M. La Follette	Progressive	13	4,822,856	16.6
1928 	Herbert Hoover	Republican	444	21,392,190	58.0
	Alfred E. Smith	Democratic	87	15,016,443	40.7
1932	Franklin D. Roosevelt	Democratic	472	22,821,857	57.3
	Herbert	Republican	59	15,761,841	39.6

	Hoover				
	Norman Thomas	Socialist		884,781	2.2
1936 	Franklin D. Roosevelt	Democratic	523	27,476,673	60.2
	Alfred M. Landon	Republican	8	16,679,583	36.5
1940 	Franklin D. Roosevelt	Democratic	449	27,243,466	54.7
	Wendell L. Willkie	Republican	82	22,304,755	44.8
1944 	Franklin D. Roosevelt	Democratic	432	25,602,505	53.3
	Thomas E. Dewey	Republican	99	22,006,278	45.8
1948 	Harry S. Truman	Democratic	303	24,105,695	49.4
	Thomas E. Dewey	Republican	189	21,969,170	45.0
	Strom Thurmond	States' Rights Democratic (Dixiecrat)	39	1,169,021	2.4
	Henry A. Wallace	Progressive		1,156,103	2.4
1952 	Dwight D. Eisenhower	Republican	442	33,778,963	54.9
	Adlai E. Stevenson	Democratic	89	27,314,992	44.4
1956 	Dwight D. Eisenhower	Republican	457	35,581,003	57.4
	Adlai E. Stevenson	Democratic	73	25,738,765	42.0
	Walter Jones	not a candidate	1		
1960 	John F. Kennedy	Democratic	303	34,227,096	49.7
	Richard M. Nixon	Republican	219	34,107,646	49.5
	Harry F. Byrd	not a candidate	15		
1964 	Lyndon B. Johnson	Democratic	486	42,825,463	61.1
	Barry M. Goldwater	Republican	52	27,146,969	38.5
1968	Richard M.	Republican	301	31,710,470	43.4

	Nixon				
	Hubert H. Humphrey	Democratic	191	30,898,055	42.7
	George C. Wallace	American Independent	46	9,906,473	13.5
1972 	Richard M. Nixon	Republican	520	46,740,323	60.7
	George S. McGovern	Democratic	17	28,901,598	37.5
	John Hospers	Libertarian	1	3,673	<0.1
1976 	Jimmy Carter	Democratic	297	40,825,839	50.0
	Gerald R. Ford	Republican	240	39,147,770	48.0
	Ronald W. Reagan	not a candidate	1		
1980 	Ronald W. Reagan	Republican	489	43,642,639	50.4
	Jimmy Carter	Democratic	49	35,480,948	41.0
	John B. Anderson	Independent		5,719,437	6.6
1984 	Ronald W. Reagan	Republican	525	54,455,075	58.8
	Walter F. Mondale	Democratic	13	37,577,185	40.6
1988 	George H.W. Bush	Republican	426	48,886,097	53.4
	Michael S. Dukakis	Democratic	111	41,809,074	45.7
	Lloyd Bentsen	not a candidate	1		
1992 	Bill Clinton	Democratic	370	44,909,889	43.0
	George Bush	Republican	168	39,104,545	37.4
	Ross Perot	Independent		19,742,267	18.9
1996 	Bill Clinton	Democratic	379	47,402,357	49.2
	Bob Dole	Republican	159	39,198,755	40.7
	Ross Perot	Reform		8,085,402	8.4
2000 	George W. Bush	Republican	271	50,456,002	47.9
	Al Gore	Democratic	26610	50,999,897	48.4
	Ralph Nader	Green		2,882,955	2.7
2004	George W.	Republican	286	62,028,285	50.7

	Bush				
	John Kerry	Democratic	251	59,028,109	48.3
	John Edwards	not a candidate	1		
2008 	Barack Obama	Democratic	365	69,456,000	52.9
	John McCain	Republican	173	59,934,000	45.7
2012 	Barack Obama	Democratic	332	65,446,032	50.9
	Mitt Romney	Republican	206	60,589,084	47.1
2016 	Donald Trump	Republican	304	62,979,636	46.0
	Hillary Clinton	Democratic	227	65,844,610	48.1
	Colin Powell	not a candidate	3		
	Bernie Sanders	not a candidate	1		
	John Kasich	not a candidate	1		
	Ron Paul	not a candidate	1		
	Faith Spotted Eagle	not a candidate	1		
2020 	Joe Biden	Democratic	306	81,268,924	51.3
	Donald Trump	Republican	232	74,216,154	46.9

Appendix B. Statement of Senator John F. Kennedy Announcing His Candidacy for the
Presidency of the United States, January 2, 1960

U.S. Senate Caucus Room, Washington, D.C.

January 2, 1960

I am announcing today my candidacy for the Presidency of the United States.

The Presidency is the most powerful office in the Free World. Through its leadership can come a more vital life for our people. In it are centered the hopes of the globe around us for freedom and a more secure life. For it is in the Executive Branch that the most crucial decisions of this century must be made in the next four years--how to end or alter the burdensome arms race, where Soviet gains already threaten our very existence--how to maintain freedom and order in the newly emerging nations--how to rebuild the stature of American science and education--how to prevent the collapse of our farm economy and the decay of our cities--how to achieve, without further inflation or unemployment, expanded economic growth benefiting all Americans--and how to give direction to our traditional moral purpose, awakening every American to the dangers and opportunities that confront us.

These are among the real issues of 1960. And it is on the basis of these issues that the American people must make their fateful choice for their future.

In the past 40 months, I have toured every state in the Union and I have talked to Democrats in all walks of life. My candidacy is therefore based on the conviction that I can win both the nomination and the election.

I believe that any Democratic aspirant to this important nomination should be willing to submit to the voters his views, record and competence in a series of primary contests. I am therefore now announcing my intention of filing in the New Hampshire primary and I shall announce my plans with respect to the other primaries as their filing dates approach.

I believe that the Democratic Party has a historic function to perform in the winning of the 1960 election, comparable to its role in 1932. I intend to do my utmost to see that that victory is won.

For 18 years, I have been in the service of the United States, first as a naval officer in the Pacific during World War II and for the past 14 years as a member of the Congress. In the last 20 years, I have traveled in nearly every continent and country--from Leningrad to Saigon, from Bucharest to Lima. From all of this, I have developed an image of America as fulfilling a noble and historic role as the defender of freedom in a time of maximum peril--and of the American people as confident, courageous and persevering.

It is with this image that I begin this campaign.

Appendix C. The First Kennedy-Nixon Presidential Debate

September 26, 1960 Debate Transcript

September 26, 1960

HOWARD K. SMITH, MODERATOR: Good evening. The television and radio stations of the United States and their affiliated stations are proud to provide facilities for a discussion of issues in the current political campaign by the two major candidates for the presidency. The candidates need no introduction. The Republican candidate, Vice President Richard M. Nixon, and the Democratic candidate, Senator John F. Kennedy. According to rules set by the candidates themselves, each man shall make an opening statement of approximately eight minutes' duration and a closing statement of approximately three minutes' duration. In between the candidates will answer, or comment upon answers to questions put by a panel of correspondents. In this, the first discussion in a series of four uh – joint appearances, the subject-matter has been agreed, will be restricted to internal or domestic American matters. And now for the first opening statement by Senator John F. Kennedy.

SENATOR KENNEDY: Mr. Smith, Mr. Nixon. In the election of 1860, Abraham Lincoln said the question was whether this nation could exist half-slave or half-free. In the election of 1960, and with the world around us, the question is whether the world will exist half-slave or half-free, whether it will move in the direction of freedom, in the direction of the road that we are taking, or whether it will move in the direction of slavery. I think it will depend in great measure upon what we do here in the United States, on the kind of society that we build, on the kind of strength that we maintain. We discuss tonight domestic issues, but I would not want that to be any implication to be given that this does not involve directly our struggle with Mr. Khrushchev for survival. Mr. Khrushchev is in New York, and he maintains the Communist offensive throughout the world because of the productive power of the Soviet Union itself. The Chinese Communists have always had a large population. But they are important and dangerous now because they are mounting a major effort within their own country. The kind of country we have here, the kind of society we have, the kind of strength we build in the United States will be the defense of freedom. If we do well here, if we meet our obligations, if we're moving ahead, then I think freedom will be secure around the world. If we fail, then freedom fails. Therefore, I think the question before the American people is: Are we doing as much as we can do? Are we as strong as we should be? Are we as strong as we must be if we're going to maintain our independence, and if we're going to maintain and hold out the hand of friendship to those who look to us for assistance, to those who look to us for survival? I should make it very clear that I do not think we're doing enough, that I am not satisfied as an American with the progress that we're making. This is a great country, but I think it could be a greater country; and this is a powerful country, but I think it could be a more powerful country. I'm not satisfied to have fifty percent of our steel-mill capacity unused. I'm not satisfied when the United States had last year the lowest rate of economic growth of any major industrialized society in the world. Because economic growth means strength and vitality; it means we're able to sustain our defenses; it means we're able to meet our commitments abroad. I'm not satisfied when we have over nine billion dollars worth of food – some of it rotting – even though there is a hungry world, and even though four million Americans wait every month for a food package from the government, which averages five cents a day per individual. I saw cases in West Virginia, here in the United States, where children took home part of their school lunch in order to feed their families because I don't think we're meeting our obligations toward these Americans. I'm not satisfied when the Soviet Union is turning out twice as many scientists and engineers as we are. I'm not satisfied when many of our teachers are inadequately paid, or when our children go to school part-time shifts. I think we

should have an educational system second to none. I'm not satisfied when I see men like Jimmy Hoffa – in charge of the largest union in the United States – still free. I'm not satisfied when we are failing to develop the natural resources of the United States to the fullest. Here in the United States, which developed the Tennessee Valley and which built the Grand Coulee and the other dams in the Northwest United States at the present rate of hydropower production – and that is the hallmark of an industrialized society – the Soviet Union by 1975 will be producing more power than we are. These are all the things, I think, in this country that can make our society strong, or can mean that it stands still. I'm not satisfied until every American enjoys his full constitutional rights. If a Negro baby is born – and this is true also of Puerto Ricans and Mexicans in some of our cities – he has about one-half as much chance to get through high school as a white baby. He has one-third as much chance to get through college as a white student. He has about a third as much chance to be a professional man, about half as much chance to own a house. He has about uh – four times as much chance that he'll be out of work in his life as the white baby. I think we can do better. I don't want the talents of any American to go to waste. I know that there are those who want to turn everything over to the government. I don't at all. I want the individuals to meet their responsibilities. And I want the states to meet their responsibilities. But I think there is also a national responsibility. The argument has been used against every piece of social legislation in the last twenty-five years. The people of the United States individually could not have developed the Tennessee Valley; collectively they could have. A cotton farmer in Georgia or a peanut farmer or a dairy farmer in Wisconsin and Minnesota, he cannot protect himself against the forces of supply and demand in the market place; but working together in effective governmental programs he can do so. Seventeen million Americans, who live over sixty-five on an average Social Security check of about seventy-eight dollars a month, they're not able to sustain themselves individually, but they can sustain themselves through the social security system. I don't believe in big government, but I believe in effective governmental action. And I think that's the only way that the United States is going to maintain its freedom. It's the only way that we're going to move ahead. I think we can do a better job. I think we're going to have to do a better job if we are going to meet the responsibilities which time and events have placed upon us. We cannot turn the job over to anyone else. If the United States fails, then the whole cause of freedom fails. And I think it depends in great measure on what we do here in this country. The reason Franklin Roosevelt was a good neighbor in Latin America was because he was a good neighbor in the United States. Because they felt that the American society was moving again. I want us to recapture that image. I want people in Latin America and Africa and Asia to start to look to America; to see how we're doing things; to wonder what the resident of the United States is doing; and not to look at Khrushchev, or look at the Chinese Communists. That is the obligation upon our generation. In 1933, Franklin Roosevelt said in his inaugural that this generation of Americans has a rendezvous with destiny. I think our generation of Americans has the same rendezvous. The question now is: Can freedom be maintained under the most severe tack – attack it has ever known? I think it can be. And I think in the final analysis it depends upon what we do here. I think it's time America started moving again.

MR. SMITH: And now the opening statement by Vice President Richard M. Nixon.

MR. NIXON: Mr. Smith, Senator Kennedy. The things that Senator Kennedy has said many of us can agree with. There is no question but that we cannot discuss our internal affairs in the United States without recognizing that they have a tremendous bearing on our international position. There is no question but that this nation cannot stand still; because we are in a deadly competition, a competition not only with the men in the Kremlin, but the men in Peking. We're ahead in this competition, as Senator Kennedy, I think, has implied. But when you're in a race, the only way to stay ahead is to move ahead. And I subscribe completely to the spirit that Senator Kennedy has expressed tonight, the spirit that the United States should move ahead. Where, then, do we disagree? I think we disagree on the implication of his remarks tonight and

on the statements that he has made on many occasions during his campaign to the effect that the United States has been standing still. We heard tonight, for example, the statement made that our growth in national product last year was the lowest of any industrial nation in the world. Now last year, of course, was 1958. That happened to be a recession year. But when we look at the growth of G.N.P. this year, a year of recovery, we find that it's six and nine-tenths per cent and one of the highest in the world today. More about that later. Looking then to this problem of how the United States should move ahead and where the United States is moving, I think it is well that we take the advice of a very famous campaigner: Let's look at the record. Is the United States standing still? Is it true that this Administration, as Senator Kennedy has charged, has been an Administration of retreat, of defeat, of stagnation? Is it true that, as far as this country is concerned, in the field of electric power, in all of the fields that he has mentioned, we have not been moving ahead. Well, we have a comparison that we can make. We have the record of the Truman Administration of seven and a half years and the seven and a half years of the Eisenhower Administration. When we compare these two records in the areas that Senator Kennedy has – has discussed tonight, I think we find that America has been moving ahead. Let's take schools. We have built more schools in these last seven and a half years than we built in the previous seven and a half, for that matter in the previous twenty years. Let's take hydroelectric power. We have developed more hydroelectric power in these seven and a half years than was developed in any previous administration in history. Let us take hospitals. We find that more have been built in this Administration than in the previous Administration. The same is true of highways. Let's put it in terms that all of us can understand. We often hear gross national product discussed and in that respect may I say that when we compare the growth in this Administration with that of the previous Administration that then there was a total growth of eleven percent over seven years; in this Administration there has been a total growth of nineteen per cent over seven years. That shows that there's been more growth in this Administration than in its predecessor. But let's not put it there; let's put it in terms of the average family. What has happened to you? We find that your wages have gone up five times as much in the Eisenhower Administration as they did in the Truman Administration. What about the prices you pay? We find that the prices you pay went up five times as much in the Truman Administration as they did in the Eisenhower Administration. What's the net result of this? This means that the average family income went up fifteen per cent in the Eisenhower years as against two per cent in the Truman years. Now, this is not standing still. But, good as this record is, may I emphasize it isn't enough. A record is never something to stand on. It's something to build on. And in building on this record, I believe that we have the secret for progress, we know the way to progress. And I think, first of all, our own record proves that we know the way. Senator Kennedy has suggested that he believes he knows the way. I respect the sincerity which he makes that suggestion. But on the other hand, when we look at the various programs that he offers, they do not seem to be new. They seem to be simply retreads of the programs of the Truman Administration which preceded it. And I would suggest that during the course of the evening he might indicate those areas in which his programs are new, where they will mean more progress than we had then. What kind of programs are we for? We are for programs that will expand educational opportunities, that will give to all Americans their equal chance for education, for all of the things which are necessary and dear to the hearts of our people. We are for programs, in addition, which will see that our medical care for the aged are – is – are much – is much better handled than it is at the present time. Here again, may I indicate that Senator Kennedy and I are not in disagreement as to the aims. We both want to help the old people. We want to see that they do have adequate medical care. The question is the means. I think that the means that I advocate will reach that goal better than the means that he advocates. I could give better examples, but for – for whatever it is, whether it's in the field of housing, or health, or medical care, or schools, or the eh- development of electric power, we have programs which we believe will move America, move her forward and build on the wonderful record that we have made over these past seven and a half years. Now, when we look at these programs, might I suggest

that in evaluating them we often have a tendency to say that the test of a program is how much you're spending. I will concede that in all the areas to which I have referred Senator Kennedy would have the spe- federal government spend more than I would have it spend. I costed out the cost of the Democratic platform. It runs a minimum of thirteen and two-tenths billion dollars a year more than we are presently spending to a maximum of eighteen billion dollars a year more than we're presently spending. Now the Republican platform will cost more too. It will cost a minimum of four billion dollars a year more, a maximum of four and nine-tenths billion dollar a year more than we're presently spending. Now, does this mean that his program is better than ours? Not at all. Because it isn't a question of how much the federal government spends; it isn't a question of which government does the most. It is a question of which administration does the right thing. And in our case, I do believe that our programs will stimulate the creative energies of a hundred and eighty million free Americans. I believe the programs that Senator Kennedy advocates will have a tendency to stifle those creative energies, I believe in other words, that his program would lead to the stagnation of the motive power that we need in this country to get progress. The final point that I would like to make is this: Senator Kennedy has suggested in his speeches that we lack compassion for the poor, for the old, and for others that are unfortunate. Let us understand throughout this campaign that his motives and mine are sincere. I know what it means to be poor. I know what it means to see people who are unemployed. I know Senator Kennedy feels as deeply about these problems as I do, but our disagreement is not about the goals for America but only about the means to reach those goals.

MR. SMITH: Thank you, Mr. Nixon. That completes the opening statements, and now the candidates will answer questions or comment upon one another's answers to questions, put by correspondents of the networks. The correspondents: [introducing themselves: "I'm Sander Vanocur, NBC News;" "I'm Charles Warren, Mutual News;" "I'm Stuart Novins, CBS News;" "Bob Fleming, ABC News."]

The first question to Senator Kennedy from Mr. Fleming.

MR. FLEMING: Senator, the Vice President in his campaign has said that you were naive and at times immature. He has raised the question of leadership. On this issue, why do you think people should vote for you rather than the Vice President?

MR. KENNEDY: Well, the Vice President and I came to the Congress together 1946; we both served in the Labor Committee. I've been there now for fourteen years, the same period of time that he has, so that our experience in uh – government is comparable. Secondly, I think the question is uh – what are the programs that we advocate, what is the party record that we lead? I come out of the Democratic party, which in this century has produced Woodrow Wilson and Franklin Roosevelt and Harry Truman, and which supported and sustained these programs which I've discussed tonight. Mr. Nixon comes out of the Republican party. He was nominated by it. And it is a fact that through most of these last twenty-five years the Republican leadership has opposed federal aid for education, medical care for the aged, development of the Tennessee Valley, development of our natural resources. I think Mr. Nixon is an effective leader of his party. I hope he would grant me the same. The question before us is: which point of view and which party do we want to lead the United States?

MR. SMITH: Mr. Nixon, would you like to comment on that statement?

Mr. NIXON: I have no comment.

Mr. SMITH: The next question: Mr. Novins.

MR. NOVINS: Mr. Vice President, your campaign stresses the value of your eight year experience, and the question arises as to whether that experience was as an observer or as a

participant or as an initiator of policy-making. Would you tell us please specifically what major proposals you have made in the last eight years that have been adopted by the Administration?

MR. NIXON: It would be rather difficult to cover them in eight and- in two and a half minutes. I would suggest that these proposals could be mentioned. First, after each of my foreign trips I have made recommendations that have been adopted. For example, after my first trip abroad – abroad, I strongly recommended that we increase our exchange programs particularly as they related to exchange of persons of leaders in the labor field and in the information field. After my trip to South America, I made recommendations that a separate inter-American lending agency be set up which the South American nations would like much better than a lend- than to participate in the lending agencies which treated all the countries of the world the same. Uh – I have made other recommendations after each of the other trips; for example, after my trip abroad to Hungary I made some recommendations with regard to the Hungarian refugee situation which were adopted, not only by the President but some of them were enacted into law by the Congress. Within the Administration, as a chairman of the President's Committee on Price Stability and Economic Growth, I have had the opportunity to make recommendations which have been adopted within the Administration and which I think have been reasonably effective. I know Senator Kennedy suggested in his speech at Cleveland yesterday that that committee had not been particularly effective. I would only suggest that while we do not take the credit for it – I would not presume to – that since that committee has been formed the price line has been held very well within the United States.

MR. KENNEDY: Well, I would say in the latter that the – and that's what I found uh – somewhat unsatisfactory about the figures uh – Mr. Nixon, that you used in your previous speech, when you talked about the Truman Administration. You – Mr. Truman came to office in nineteen uh – forty-four and at the end of the war, and uh – difficulties that were facing the United States during that period of transition – 1946 when price controls were lifted – so it's rather difficult to use an overall figure taking those seven and a half years and comparing them to the last eight years. I prefer to take the overall percentage record of the last twenty years of the Democrats and the eight years of the Republicans to show an overall period of growth. In regard to uh – price stability uh – I'm not aware that that committee did produce recommendations that ever were certainly before the Congress from the point of view of legislation in regard to controlling prices. In regard to the exchange of students and labor unions, I am chairman of the subcommittee on Africa and I think that one of the most unfortunate phases of our policy towards that country was the very minute number of exchanges that we had. I think it's true of Latin America also. We did come forward with a program of students for the Congo of over three hundred which was more than the federal government had for all of Africa the previous year, so that I don't think that uh – we have moved at least in those two areas with sufficient vigor.

MR. SMITH: The next question to Senator Kennedy from Mr. Warren.

MR. WARREN: Uh – Senator Kennedy, during your brief speech a few minutes ago you mentioned farm surpluses.

MR. KENNEDY: That's correct.

MR. WARREN: I'd like to ask this: It's a fact, I think, that presidential candidates traditionally make promises to farmers. Lots of people, I think, don't understand why the government pays farmers for not producing certain crops or paying farmers if they overproduce for that matter. Now, let me ask, sir, why can't the farmer operate like the business man who operates a factory?

If an auto company overproduces a certain model car Uncle Sam doesn't step in and buy up the surplus. Why this constant courting of the farmer?

MR. KENNEDY: Well, because I think that if the federal government moved out of the program and withdrew its supports uh – then I think you would have complete uh – economic chaos. The farmer plants in the spring and harvests in the fall. There are hundreds of thousands of them. They really don't – they're not able to control their market very well. They bring their crops in or their livestock in, many of them about the same time. They have only a few purchasers that buy their milk or their hogs – a few large companies in many cases – and therefore the farmer is not in a position to bargain very effectively in the market place. I think the experience of the twenties has shown what a free market could do to agriculture. And if the agricultural economy collapses, then the economy of the rest of the United States sooner or later will collapse. The farmers are the number one market for the automobile industry of the United States. The automobile industry is the number one market for steel. So if the farmers' economy continues to decline as sharply as it has in recent years, then I think you would have a recession in the rest of the country. So I think the case for the government intervention is a good one. Secondly, my objection to present farm policy is that there are no effective controls to bring supply and demand into better balance. The dropping of the support price in order to limit production does not work, and we now have the highest uh – surpluses – nine billion dollars worth. We've had a uh – higher tax load from the Treasury for the farmer in the last few years with the lowest farm income in many years. I think that this farm policy has failed. In my judgment the only policy that will work will be for effective supply and demand to be in balance. And that can only be done through governmental action. I therefore suggest that in those basic commodities which are supported, that the federal government, after endorsement by the farmers in that commodity, attempt to bring supply and demand into balance – attempt effective production controls – so that we won't have that five or six per cent surplus which breaks the price fifteen or twenty per cent. I think Mr. Benson's program has failed. And I must say, after reading the Vice President's speech before the farmers, as he read mine, I don't believe that it's very much different from Mr. Benson's. I don't think it provides effective governmental controls. I think the support prices are tied to the average market price of the last three years, which was Mr. Benson's theory. I therefore do not believe that this is a sharp enough breach with the past to give us any hope of success for the future.

MR. SMITH: Mr. Nixon, comment?

MR. NIXON; I of course disagree with Senator Kennedy insofar as his suggestions as to what should be done uh – with re- on the farm program. He has made the suggestion that what we need is to move in the direction of more government controls, a suggestion that would also mean raising prices uh – that the consumers pay for products and im- and imposing upon the farmers uh – controls on acreage even far more than they have today. I think this is the wrong direction. I don't think this has worked in the past; I do not think it will work in the future. The program that I have advocated is one which departs from the present program that we have in this respect. It recognizes that the government has a responsibility to get the farmer out of the trouble he presently is in because the government got him into it. And that's the fundamental reason why we can't let the farmer go by himself at the present time. The farmer produced these surpluses because the government asked him to through legislation during the war. Now that we have these surpluses, it's our responsibility to indemnify the farmer during that period that we get rid of the farmer uh – the surpluses. Until we get the surpluses off the farmer's back, however, we should have a program such as I announced, which will see that farm income holds up. But I would propose holding that income up not through a type of program that Senator Kennedy has suggested that would raise prices, but one that would indemnify the farmer, pay the farmer in kind uh – from the products which are in surplus.

MR. SMITH: The next question to Vice President Nixon from Mr. Vanocur.

MR. VANOCUR: Uh – Mr. Vice President, since the question of executive leadership is a very important campaign issue, I'd like to follow Mr. Novins' question. Now, Republican campaign slogans – you'll see them on signs around the country as you did last week – say it's experience that counts – that's over a picture of yourself; sir uh – implying that you've had more governmental executive decision-making uh – experience than uh – your opponent. Now, in his news conference on August twenty-fourth, President Eisenhower was asked to give one example of a major idea of yours that he adopted. His reply was, and I'm quoting; "If you give me a week I might think of one. I don't remember." Now that was a month ago, sir, and the President hasn't brought it up since, and I'm wondering, sir, if you can clarify which version is correct – the one put out by Republican campaign leaders or the one put out by President Eisenhower?

MR. NIXON: Well, I would suggest, Mr. Vanocur, that uh – if you know the President, that was probably a facetious remark. Uh – I would also suggest that insofar as his statement is concerned, that I think it would be improper for the President of the United States to disclose uh – the instances in which members of his official family had made recommendations, as I have made them through the years to him, which he has accepted or rejected. The President has always maintained and very properly so that he is entitled to get what advice he wants from his cabinet and from his other advisers without disclosing that to anybody – including as a matter of fact the Congress. Now, I can only say this. Through the years I have sat in the National Security Council. I have been in the cabinet. I have met with the legislative leaders. I have met with the President when he made the great decisions with regard to Lebanon, Quemoy and Matsu, other matters. The President has asked for my advice. I have given it. Sometimes my advice has been taken. Sometimes it has not. I do not say that I have made the decisions. And I would say that no president should ever allow anybody else to make the major decisions, The president only makes the decisions. All that his advisers do is to give counsel when he asks for it. As far as what experience counts and whether that is experience that counts, that isn't for me to say. Uh – I can only say that my experience is there for the people to consider; Senator Kennedy's is there for the people to consider. As he pointed out, we came to the Congress in the same year. His experience has been different from mine. Mine has been in the executive branch. His has been in the legislative branch. I would say that the people now have the opportunity to evaluate his as against mine and I think both he and I are going to abide by whatever the people decide.

MR. SMITH: Senator Kennedy.

MR. KENNEDY: Well, I'll just say that the question is of experience and the question also is uh – what our judgment is of the future, and what our goals are for the United States, and what ability we have to implement those goals. Abraham Lincoln came to the presidency in 1860 after a rather little known uh – session in the House of Representatives and after being defeated for the Senate in fifty-eight and was a distinguished president. There's no certain road to the presidency. There are no guarantees that uh – if you take uh – one road or another that you will be a successful president. I have been in the Congress for fourteen years. I have voted in the last uh – eight years uh – and the Vice President was uh – presiding over the Senate and meeting his other responsibilities. I have met met uh – decisions over eight hundred times on matters which affect not only the domestic security of the United States, but as a member of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee. The question really is: which candidate and which party can meet the problems that the United States is going to face in the sixties?

MR. SMITH: The next question to Senator Kennedy from Mr. Novins.

MR. NOVINS: Senator Kennedy, in connection with these problems of the future that you speak of, and the program that you enunciated earlier in your direct talk, you call for expanding some of the welfare programs for schools, for teacher salaries, medical care, and so forth; but you also call for reducing the federal debt. And I'm wondering how you, if you're president in January, would go about paying the bill for all this. Does this mean that you?

MR. KENNEDY: I didn't indicate. I did not advocate reducing the federal debt because I don't believe that you're going to be able to reduce the federal debt very much in nineteen sixty-one, two, or three. I think you have heavy obligations which affect our security, which we're going to have to meet. And therefore I've never suggested we should uh – be able to retire the debt substantially, or even at all in nineteen sixty-one or two.

MR. NOVINS: Senator, I believe in – in one of your speeches –

MR. KENNEDY: No, never.

MR. NOVINS: – you suggested that reducing the interest rate would help toward –

MR. KENNEDY: No. No. Not reducing the interest –

MR. NOVINS: – a reduction of the Federal debt.

MR. KENNEDY: – reducing the interest rate. In my judgment, the hard money, tight money policy, fiscal policy of this Administration has contributed to the slow-down in our economy, which helped bring the recession of fifty-four; which made the recession of fifty-eight rather intense, and which has slowed, somewhat, our economic activity in 1960. What I have talked about, however, the kind of programs that I've talked about, in my judgment, are uh – fiscally sound. Medical care for the aged, I would put under social security. The Vice President and I disagree on this. The program – the Javits-Nixon or the Nixon-Javits program – would have cost, if fully used uh – six hundred million dollars by the government per year, and six hundred million dollars by the state. The program which I advocated, which failed by five votes in the United States Senate, would have put medical care for the aged in Social Security, and would have been paid for through the Social Security System and the Social Security tax. Secondly, I support federal aid to education and federal aid for teachers' salaries. I think that's a good investment. I think we're going to have to do it. And I think to heap the burden further on the property tax, which is already strained in many of our communities, will provide, will make sh-insure, in my opinion, that many of our children will not be adequately educated, and many of our teachers not adequately compensated. There is no greater return to an economy or to a society than an educational system second to none. On the question of the development of natural resources, I would pay as you go in the sense that they would be balanced and the power revenues would bring back sufficient money to finance the projects, in the same way as the Tennessee Valley. I believe in the balanced budget. And the only conditions under which I would unbalance the budget would be if there was a grave national emergency or a serious recession. Otherwise, with a steady rate of economic growth – and Mr. Nixon and Mr. Rockefeller, in their meeting, said a five per cent economic growth would bring by 1962 ten billion dollars extra in tax revenues. Whatever is brought in, I think that we can finance essential programs within a balanced budget, if business remains orderly.

MR. SMITH: Mr. Nixon, your comment?

MR. NIXON: Yes. I think what Mr. Novins was referring to was not one of Senator Kennedy's speeches, but the Democratic platform, which did mention cutting the national debt. I think, too,

that it should be pointed out that of course it is not possible, particularly under the proposals that Senator Kennedy has advocated, either to cut the national debt or to reduce taxes. As a matter of fact it will be necessary to raise taxes. As Senator Kennedy points out that as far as his one proposal is concerned – the one for medical care for the aged – that that would be financed out of Social Security. That, however, is raising taxes for those who pay Social Security. He points out that he would make pay-as-you-go be the basis for our natural resources development. Where our natural resources development – which I also support, incidentally, however – whenever you uh – uh – in – in – uh – appropriates money for one of these projects, you have to pay now and appropriate the money and the eh- while they eventually do pay out, it doesn't mean that you – the government doesn't have to put out the money this year. And so I would say that in all of these proposals Senator Kennedy has made, they will result in one of two things: either he has to raise taxes or he has to unbalance the budget. If he unbalances the budget, that means you have inflation, and that will be, of course, a very cruel blow to the very people – the older people – that we've been talking about. As far as aid for school construction is concerned, I favor that, as Senator Kennedy did, in January of this year, when he said he favored that rather than aid to s-teacher salaries. I favor that because I believe that's the best way to aid our schools without running any risk whatever of the federal government telling our teachers what to teach.

MR. SMITH: The next question to Vice President Nixon from Mr. Warren.

MR. WARREN: Mr. Vice President you mentioned schools and it was just yesterday I think you asked for a crash program to raise education standards, and this evening you talked about advances in education. Mr. Vice President, you said – it was back in 1957 – that salaries paid to school teachers were nothing short of a national disgrace. Higher salaries for teachers, you added, were important and if the situation wasn't corrected it could lead to a national disaster. And yet, you refused to vote in the Senate in order to break a tie vote when that single vote, if it had been yes, would have granted salary increases to teachers. I wonder if you could explain that, sir.

MR. NIXON: I'm awfully glad you ge- got that question because as you know I got into it at the last of my other question and wasn't able to complete the argument. Uh – I think that the reason that I voted against having the federal government uh – pay teachers' salaries was probably the very reason that concerned Senator Kennedy when in January of this year, in his kick-off press conference, he said that he favored aid for school construction, but at that time did not feel that there should be aid for teachers' salaries – at least that's the way I read his remarks. Now, why should there be any question about the federal government aiding s- teachers' salaries? Why did Senator Kennedy take that position then? Why do I take it now? We both took it then, and I take it now, for this reason: we want higher teachers' salaries. We need higher teachers' salaries. But we also want our education to be free of federal control. When the federal government gets the power to pay teachers, inevitably in my opinion, it will acquire the power to set standards and to tell the teachers what to teach. I think this would be bad for the country; I think it would be bad for the teaching profession. There is another point that should be made. I favor higher salaries for teachers. But, as Senator Kennedy said in January of this year in this same press conference, the way that you get higher salaries for teachers is to support school construction, which means that all of the local school districts in the various states then have money which is freed to raise the standards for teachers' salaries. I should also point out this; once you put the responsibility on the federal government for paying a portion of teachers' salaries, your local communities and your states are not going to meet the responsibility as much as they should. I believe, in other words, that we have seen the local communities and the state assuming more of that responsibility. Teachers' salaries very fortunately have gone up fifty percent in the last eight years as against only a thirty-four percent rise for other salaries. This is not enough; it should be more. But I do not believe that the way to get more salaries for teachers is to have the federal

government get in with a massive program. My objection here is not the cost in dollars. My objection here is the potential cost in controls and eventual freedom for the American people by giving the federal government power over education, and that is the greatest power a government can have.

MR. SMITH: Senator Kennedy's comment?

MR. KENNEDY: When uh – the Vice President quotes me in January, sixty, I do not believe the federal government should pay directly teachers' salaries, but that was not the issue before the Senate in February. The issue before the Senate was that the money would be given to the state. The state then could determine whether the money would be spent for school construction or teacher salaries. On that question the Vice President and I disagreed. I voted in favor of that proposal and supported it strongly, because I think that that provided assistance to our teachers for their salaries without any chance of federal control and it is on that vote that th- Mr. Nixon and I disagreed, and his tie vote uh – defeated his breaking the tie defeated the proposal. I don't want the federal government paying teachers' salaries directly. But if the money will go to the states and the states can then determine whether it shall go for school construction or for teachers' salaries, in my opinion you protect the local authority over the school board and the school committee. And therefore I think that was a sound proposal and that is why I supported it and I regret that it did not pass. Secondly, there have been statements made that uh – the Democratic platform would cost a good deal of money and that I am in favor of unbalancing the budget. That is wholly wrong, wholly in error, and it is a fact that in the last eight years the Democratic Congress has reduced the appropri- the requests for the appropriations by over ten billion dollars. That is not my view and I think it ought to be stated very clearly on the record. My view is that you can do these programs – and they should be carefully drawn – within a balanced budget if our economy is moving ahead.

MR. SMITH: The next question to Senator Kennedy from Mr. Vanocur.

MR. VANOCUR: Senator, you've been promising the voters that if you are elected president you'll try and push through Congress bills on medical aid to the aged, a comprehensive minimum hourly wage bill, federal aid to education. Now, in the August post-convention session of the Congress, when you at least held up the possibility you could one day be president and when you had overwhelming majorities, especially in the Senate, you could not get action on these bills. Now how do you feel that you'll be able to get them in January –

MR. KENNEDY: Well as you take the bills –

MR. VANOCUR: – if you weren't able to get them in August?

MR. KENNEDY: If I may take the bills, we did pass in the Senate a bill uh – to provide a dollar twenty-five cent minimum wage. It failed because the House did not pass it and the House failed by eleven votes. And I might say that two-thirds of the Republicans in the House voted against a dollar twenty-five cent minimum wage and a majority of the Democrats sustained it – nearly two-thirds of them voted for the dollar twenty-five. We were threatened by a veto if we passed a dollar and a quarter – it's extremely difficult with the great power that the president does to pass any bill when the president is opposed to it. All the president needs to sustain his veto of any bill is one-third plus one in either the House or the Senate. Secondly, we passed a federal aid to education bill in the Senate. It failed to come to the floor of the House of Representatives. It was killed in the Rules Committee. And it is a fact in the August session that the four members of the Rules Committee who were Republicans joining with two Democrats voted against sending the aid to education bill to the floor of the House. Four Democrats voted for it. Every Republican on

the Rules Committee voted against sending that bill to be considered by the members of the House of Representatives. Thirdly, on medical care for the aged, this is the same fight that's been going on for twenty-five years in Social Security. We wanted to tie it to Social Security. We offered an amendment to do so. Forty-four Democrats voted for it, one Republican voted for it. And we were informed at the time it came to a vote that if it was adopted the President of the United States would veto it. In my judgment, a vigorous Democratic president supported by a Democratic majority in the House and Senate can win the support for these programs. But if you send a Republican president and a Democratic majority and the threat of a veto hangs over the Congress, in my judgment you will continue what happened in the August session, which is a clash of parties and inaction.

MR. SMITH: Mr. Nixon, comment?

MR. NIXON: Well obviously my views are a little different. First of all, I don't see how it's possible for a one-third of a body, such as the Republicans have in the House and the Senate to stop two-thirds, if the two-thirds are adequately led. I would say, too, that when Senator Kennedy refers to the action of the House Rules Committee, there are eight Democrats on that committee and four Republicans. It would seem to me again that it is very difficult to blame the four Republicans for the eight Democrats' not getting a something through that particular committee. I would say further that to blame the President in his veto power for the inability of the Senator and his colleagues to get action in this special session uh – misses the mark. When the president exercises his veto power, he has to have the people up- behind him, not just a third of the Congress. Because let's consider it. If the majority of the members of the Congress felt that these particular proposals were good issues – the majority of those who were Democrats – why didn't they pass them and send to the President and get a veto and have an issue? The reason why these particular bills in these various fields that have been mentioned were not passed was not because the President was against them; it was because the people were against them. It was because they were too extreme. And I am convinced that the alternate proposals that I have, that the Republicans have in the field of health, in the field of education, in the field of welfare, because they are not extreme, because they will accomplish the end uh – without too great cost in dollars or in freedom, that they could get through the next Congress.

MR. SMITH: The next question to Vice President Nixon fa- from Mr. Fleming.

MR. FLEMING: Mr. Vice President, do I take it then you believe that you can work better with Democratic majorities in the House and Senate than Senator Kennedy could work with Democratic majorities in the House and Senate?

MR. NIXON; I would say this: that we, of course, expect to pick up some seats in both in the House and the Senate. Uh – We would hope to control the House, to get a majority in the House uh – in this election. We cannot, of course, control the Senate. I would say that a president will be able to lead – a president will be able to get his program through – to the effect that he has the support of the country, the support of the people. Sometimes we – we get the opinion that in getting programs through the House or the Senate it's purely a question of legislative finagling and all that sort of thing. It isn't really that. Whenever a majority of the people are for a program, the House and the Senate responds to it. And whether this House and Senate, in the next session is Democratic or Republican, if the country will have voted for the candidate for the presidency and for the proposals that he has made, I believe that you will find that the president, if it were a Republican, as it would be in my case, would be able to get his program through that Congress. Now, I also say that as far as Senator Kennedy's proposals are concerned, that, again, the question is not simply one of uh – a presidential veto stopping programs. You must always remember that a president can't stop anything unless he has the people behind him. And the

reason President Eisenhower's vetoes have been sustained – the reason the Congress does not send up bills to him which they think will be vetoed – is because the people and the Congress, the majority of them, know the country is behind the President.

MR. SMITH: Senator Kennedy.

MR. KENNEDY: Well, now let's look at these bills that the Vice President suggests were too extreme. One was a bill for a dollar twenty-five cents an hour for anyone who works in a store or company that has a million dollars a year business. I don't think that's extreme at all; and yet nearly two-thirds to three-fourths of the Republicans in the House of Representatives voted against that proposal. Secondly was the federal aid to education bill. It – it was a very uh – because of the defeat of teacher salaries, it was not a bill that uh – met in my opinion the need. The fact of the matter is it was a bill that was less than you recommended, Mr. Nixon, this morning in your proposal. It was not an extreme bill and yet we could not get one Republican to join, at least I think four of the eight Democrats voted to send it to the floor of the House – not one Republican – and they joined with those Democrats who were opposed to it. I don't say the Democrats are united in their support of the program. But I do say a majority are. And I say a majority of the Republicans are opposed to it. The third is medical care for the aged which is tied to Social Security, which is financed out of Social Security funds. It does not put a deficit on the Treasury. The proposal advanced by you and by Mr. Javits would have cost six hundred millions of dollars – Mr. Rockefeller rejected it in New York, said he didn't agree with the financing at all, said it ought to be on Social Security. So these are three programs which are quite moderate. I think it shows the difference between the two parties. One party is ready to move in these programs. The other party gives them lip service.

MR. SMITH: Mr. Warren's question for Senator Kennedy.

MR. WARREN: Senator Kennedy, on another subject, Communism is so often described as an ideology or a belief that exists somewhere other than in the United States. Let me ask you, sir: just how serious a threat to our national security are these Communist subversive activities in the United States today?

MR. KENNEDY: Well, I think they're serious. I think it's a matter that we should continue to uh – give uh – great care and attention to. We should support uh – the laws which the United States has passed in order to protect us from uh – those who would destroy us from within. We should sustain uh – the Department of Justice in its efforts and the F.B.I., and we should be continually alert. I think if the United States is maintaining a strong society here in the United States, I think that we can meet any internal threat. The major threat is external and will continue.

MR. SMITH: Mr. Nixon, comment?

MR. NIXON: I agree with Senator Kennedy's appraisal generally in this respect. The question of Communism within the United States has been one that has worried us in the past. It is one that will continue to be a problem for years to come. We have to remember that the cold war that Mr. Khrushchev is waging and his colleagues are waging, is waged all over the world and it's waged right here in the United States. That's why we have to continue to be alert. It is also essential in being alert that we be fair; fair because by being fair we uphold the very freedoms that the Communists would destroy. We uphold the standards of conduct which they would never follow. And, in this connection, I think that uh – we must look to the future having in mind the fact that we fight Communism at home not only by our laws to deal with Communists uh – the few who do become Communists and the few who do become tra- fellow travelers, but we also fight Communism at home by moving against those various injustices which exist in our society

which the Communists feed upon. And in that connection I again would say that while Senator Kennedy says we are for the status quo, I do believe that he uh – would agree that I am just as sincere in believing that my proposals for federal aid to education, my proposals for health care are just as sincerely held as his. The question again is not one of goals – we're for those goals – it's one of means.

MR. SMITH: Mr. Vanocur's question for Vice President Nixon.

MR. VANOCUR: Mr. Vice President uh – in one of your earlier statements you said we've moved ahead, we've built more schools, we've built more hospitals. Now, sir, isn't it true that the building of more schools is a local matter for financing? Uh – Were you claiming that the Eisenhower Administration was responsible for the building of these schools, or is it the local school districts that provide for it?

MR. NIXON: Not at all. As a matter of fact your question brings out a point that I am very glad to make. Too often in appraising whether we are moving ahead or not we think only of what the federal government is doing. Now that isn't the test of whether America moves. The test of whether America moves is whether the federal government, plus the state government, plus the local government, plus the biggest segment of all – individual enterprise – moves. We have for example a gross national product of approximately five hundred billion dollars. Roughly a hundred billion to a hundred and a quarter billion of that is the result of government activity. Four hundred billion, approximately, is a result of what individuals do. Now, the reason the Eisenhower Administration has moved, the reason that we've had the funds, for example, locally to build the schools, and the hospitals, and the highways, to make the progress that we have, is because this Administration has encouraged individual enterprise; and it has resulted in the greatest expansion of the private sector of the economy that has ever been witnessed in an eight-year period. And that is growth. That is the growth that we are looking for; it is the growth that this Administration has supported and that its policies have stimulated.

MR. SMITH: Senator Kennedy.

MR. KENNEDY: Well, I must say that the reason that the schools have been constructed is because the local school districts were willing to increase the property taxes to a tremendously high figure – in my opinion, almost to the point of diminishing returns in order to sustain these schools. Secondly, I think we have a rich uh – country. And I think we have a powerful country. I think what we have to do, however, is have the president and the leadership set before our country exactly what we must do in the next decade, if we're going to maintain our security in education, in economic growth, in development of natural resources. The Soviet Union is making great gains. It isn't enough to compare what might have been done eight years ago, or ten years ago, or fifteen years ago, or twenty years ago. I want to compare what we're doing with what our adversaries are doing, so that by the year 1970 the United States is ahead in education, in health, in building, in homes, in economic strength. I think that's the big assignment, the big task, the big function of the federal government.

MR. SMITH: Can I have the summation time please? We've completed our questions and our comments, and in just a moment, we'll have the summation time.

VOICE: This will allow three minutes and twenty seconds for the summation by each candidate.

MR. SMITH: Three minutes and twenty seconds for each candidate. Vice President Nixon, will you make the first summation?

MR. NIXON: Thank you, Mr. Smith. Senator Kennedy. First of all, I think it is well to put in perspective where we really do stand with regard to the Soviet Union in this whole matter of growth. The Soviet Union has been moving faster than we have. But the reason for that is obvious. They start from a much lower base. Although they have been moving faster in growth than we have, we find, for example, today that their total gross national product is only forty-four per cent of our total gross national product. That's the same percentage that it was twenty years ago. And as far as the absolute gap is concerned, we find that the United States is even further ahead than it was twenty years ago. Is this any reason for complacency? Not at all. Because these are determined men. They are fanatical men. And we have to get the very most of uh – out uh – out of our economy. I agree with Senator Kennedy completely on that score. Where we disagree is in the means that we would use to get the most out of our economy. I respectfully submit that Senator Kennedy too often would rely too much on the federal government, on what it would do to solve our problems, to stimulate growth. I believe that when we examine the Democratic platform, when we examine the proposals that he has discussed tonight, when we compare them with the proposals that I have made, that these proposals that he makes would not result in greater growth for this country than would be the case if we followed the programs that I have advocated. There are many of the points that he has made that I would like to comment upon. The one in the field of health is worth mentioning. Our health program – the one that Senator Javits and other Republican Senators, as well as I supported – is one that provides for all people over sixty-five who want health insurance, the opportunity to have it if they want it. It provides a choice of having either government insurance or private insurance. But it compels nobody to have insurance who does not want it. His program under Social Security, would require everybody who had Social Security to take government health insurance whether he wanted it or not. And it would not cover several million people who are not covered by Social Security at all. Here is one place where I think that our program does a better job than his. The other point that I would make is this: this downgrading of how much things cost I think many of our people will understand better when they look at what happened when – during the Truman Administration when the government was spending more than it took in – we found savings over a lifetime eaten up by inflation. We found the people who could least afford it – people on retired incomes uh – people on fixed incomes – we found them unable to meet their bills at the end of the month. It is essential that a man who's president of this country certainly stand for every program that will mean for growth. And I stand for programs that will mean growth and progress. But it is also essential that he not allow a dollar spent that could be better spent by the people themselves.

MR. SMITH: Senator Kennedy, your conclusion.

MR. KENNEDY: The point was made by Mr. Nixon that the Soviet production is only forty-four percent of ours. I must say that forty-four percent and that Soviet country is causing us a good deal of trouble tonight. I want to make sure that it stays in that relationship. I don't want to see the day when it's sixty percent of ours, and seventy and seventy-five and eighty and ninety percent of ours, with all the force and power that it could bring to bear in order to cause our destruction. Secondly, the Vice President mentioned medical care for the aged. Our program was an amendment to the Kerr bill. The Kerr bill provided assistance to all those who were not on Social Security. I think it's a very clear contrast. In 1935, when the Social Security Act was written, ninety-four out of ninety-five Republicans voted against it. Mr. Landon ran in 1936 to repeal it. In August of 1960, when we tried to get it again, but this time for medical care, we received the support of one Republican in the Senate on this occasion. Thirdly, I think the question before the American people is: as they look at this country and as they look at the world around them, the goals are the same for all Americans. The means are at question. The means are at issue. If you feel that everything that is being done now is satisfactory, that the relative power and prestige and strength of the United States is increasing in relation to that of the Communists; that we've b- gaining more security, that we are achieving everything as a nation that we should

achieve, that we are achieving a better life for our citizens and greater strength, then I agree. I think you should vote for Mr. Nixon. But if you feel that we have to move again in the sixties, that the function of the president is to set before the people the unfinished business of our society as Franklin Roosevelt did in the thirties, the agenda for our people – what we must do as a society to meet our needs in this country and protect our security and help the cause of freedom. As I said at the beginning, the question before us all, that faces all Republicans and all Democrats, is: can freedom in the next generation conquer, or are the Communists going to be successful? That's the great issue. And if we meet our responsibilities I think freedom will conquer. If we fail, if we fail to move ahead, if we fail to develop sufficient military and economic and social strength here in this country, then I think that uh – the tide could begin to run against us. And I don't want historians, ten years from now, to say, these were the years when the tide ran out for the United States. I want them to say these were the years when the tide came in; these were the years when the United States started to move again. That's the question before the American people, and only you can decide what you want, what you want this country to be, what you want to do with the future. I think we're ready to move. And it is to that great task, if we're successful, that we will address ourselves.

MR. SMITH: Thank you very much, gentlemen. This hour has gone by all too quickly. Thank you very much for permitting us to present the next president of the United States on this unique program. I've been asked by the candidates to thank the American networks and the affiliated stations for providing time and facilities for this joint appearance. Other debates in this series will be announced later and will be on different subjects. This is Howard K. Smith. Good night from Chicago

Appendix D. The First Gore-Bush Presidential Debate

October 3, 2000 Transcript

October 3, 2000

MODERATOR: Good evening from the Clark Athletic Center at the University of Massachusetts in Boston. I'm Jim Lehrer of the NewsHour on PBS, and I welcome you to the first of three 90-minute debates between the Democratic candidate for president, Vice President Al Gore and the Republican candidate, Governor George W. Bush of Texas. The debates are sponsored by the Commission on Presidential Debates and they will be conducted within formats and rules agreed to between the commission and the two campaigns. We'll have the candidates at podiums. No answer to a question can exceed two minutes. Rebuttal is limited to one minute. But as moderator I have the option to follow up and to extend any particular give and take another three-and-a-half minutes. Even then, no single answer can exceed two minutes. The candidates under their rules may not question each other directly. There will be no opening statements, but each candidate may have up to two minutes for a closing statement. The questions and the subjects were chosen by me alone. I have told no one from the two campaigns, or the Commission, or anyone else involved what they are. There is a small audience in the hall tonight. They are not here to participate, only to listen. I have asked, and they have agreed, to remain silent for the next 90 minutes. Except for right now, when they will applaud as we welcome the two candidates, Governor Bush and Vice President Gore.

(Applause)

MODERATOR: And now the first question as determined by a flip of a coin, it goes to Vice President Gore. Vice President Gore, you have questioned whether Governor Bush has the experience to be President of the United States. What exactly do you mean?

GORE: Well, Jim, first of all, I would like to thank the sponsors of this debate and the people of Boston for hosting the debate. I would like to thank Governor Bush for participating, and I would like to say I'm happy to be here with Tipper and our family. I have actually not questioned Governor Bush's experience. I have questioned his proposals. And here is why. I think this is a very important moment for our country. We have achieved extraordinary prosperity. And in this election, America has to make an important choice. Will we use our prosperity to enrich not just the few, but all of our families? I believe we have to make the right and responsible choices. If I'm entrusted with the presidency, here are the choices that I will make. I will balance the budget every year. I will pay down the national debt. I will put Medicare and Social Security in a lockbox and protect them. And I will cut taxes for middle-class families. I believe it's important to resist the temptation to squander our surplus. If we make the right choices, we can have a prosperity that endures and enriches all of our people. If I'm entrusted with the presidency, I will help parents and strengthen families because, you know, if we have prosperity that grows and grows, we still won't be successful unless we strengthen families by, for example, ensuring that children can always go to schools that are safe. By giving parents the tools to protect their children against cultural pollution. I will make sure that we invest in our country and our families. And I mean investing in education, health care, the environment, and middle-class tax cuts and retirement security. That is my agenda and that is why I think that it's not just a question of experience.

MODERATOR: Governor Bush, one minute rebuttal.

BUSH: Well, we do come from different places. I come from West Texas. The governor is the chief executive officer. We know how to set agendas. I think you'll find the difference reflected in our budgets. I want to take one-half of the surplus and dedicate it to Social Security. One-quarter of the surplus for important projects, and I want to send one-quarter of the surplus back to the people who pay the bills. I want everybody who pays taxes to have their tax rates cut. And that stands in contrast to my worthy opponent's plan, which will increase the size of government dramatically. His plan is three times larger than President Clinton's proposed plan eight years ago. It is a plan that will have 200 new programs — expanded programs and creates 20,000 new bureaucrats. It empowers Washington. Tonight you're going to hear that my passion and my vision is to empower Americans to be able to make decisions for themselves in their own lives.

MODERATOR: So I take it by your answer, then, Mr. Vice President, that in an interview recently with the "New York Times" when you said that you questioned whether or not Governor Bush has experience enough to be president, you were talking about strictly policy differences.

GORE: Yes, Jim. I said that his tax cut plan, for example, raises the question of whether it's the right choice for the country. And let me give you an example of what I mean. Under Governor Bush's tax cut proposal, he would spend more money on tax cuts for the wealthiest 1% than all of the new spending that he proposes for education, health care, prescription drugs and national defense all combined. Now, I think those are the wrong priorities. Now, under my proposal, for every dollar that I propose in spending for things like education and health care, I will put another dollar into middle class tax cuts. And for every dollar that I spend in those two categories, I'll put \$2 toward paying down the national debt. I think it's very important to keep the debt going down and completely eliminate it. And I also think it's very important to go to the next stage of welfare reform. Our country has cut the welfare rolls in half. I fought hard from my days in the Senate and as vice president to cut the welfare rolls and we've moved millions of people in America into good jobs. But it's now time for the next stage of welfare reform, and include fathers and not only mothers.

MODERATOR: We're going to get a lot of those.

BUSH: Let me just say that obviously tonight we're going to hear some phony numbers about what I think and what we ought to do. People need to know that over the next ten years it is going to be \$25 trillion of revenue that comes into our treasury and we anticipate spending \$21 trillion. And my plan say why don't we pass 1.3 trillion of that back to the people who pay the bills? Surely we can afford 5% of the \$25 trillion that are coming into the treasury to the hard working people that pay the bills. There is a difference of opinion. My opponent thinks the government — the surplus is the government's money. That's not what I think. I think it's the hard-working people of America's money and I want to share some of that money with you so you have more money to build and save and dream for your families. It's a difference of opinion. It's a difference between government making decisions for you and you getting more of your money to make decisions for yourself.

MODERATOR: Let me just follow up one quick question. When you hear Vice President Gore question your experience, do you read it the same way, that he's talking about policy differences only?

BUSH: Yes. I take him for his word. Look, I fully recognize I'm not of Washington. I'm from Texas. And he's got a lot of experience, but so do I. And I've been the chief executive officer of the second biggest state in the union. I have a proud record of working with both Republicans

and Democrats, which is what our nation needs. Somebody that can come to Washington and say let's forget all the finger pointing and get positive things done on Medicare, prescription drugs, Social Security, and so I take him for his word.

GORE: Jim, if I could just respond. I know that. The governor used the phrase phony numbers, but if you look at the plan and add the numbers up, these numbers are correct. He spends more money for tax cuts for the wealthiest 1% than all of his new spending proposals for health care, prescription drugs, education and national defense all combined. I agree that the surplus is the American people's money, it's your money. That's why I don't think we should give nearly half of it to the wealthiest 1%, because the other 99% have had an awful lot to do with building the surplus in our prosperity.

MODERATOR: Three-and-a-half minutes is up. New question.

BUSH: I hope it's about wealthy people.

MODERATOR: Governor Bush, you have a question. This is a companion question to the question I asked Vice President Gore. You have questioned whether Vice President Gore has demonstrated the leadership qualities necessary to be President of the United States. What do you mean by that?

BUSH: Actually what I've said, Jim. I've said that eight years ago they campaigned on prescription drugs for seniors. And four years ago they campaigned on getting prescription drugs for seniors. And now they're campaigning on getting prescription drugs for seniors. It seems like they can't get it done. Now, they may blame other folks, but it's time to get somebody in Washington who is going to work with both Republicans and Democrats to get some positive things done when it comes to our seniors. And so what I've said is that there's been some missed opportunities. They've had a chance. They've had a chance to form consensus. I've got a plan on Medicare, for example, that's a two-stage plan that says we'll have immediate help for seniors and what I call immediate Helping Hand, a \$48 billion program. But I also want to say to seniors, if you're happy with Medicare the way it is, fine, you can stay in the program. But we're going to give you additional choices like they give federal employees in the federal employee health plan. They have a variety of choices to choose, so should seniors. And my point has been, as opposed to politicizing an issue like Medicare, in other words, holding it up as an issue, hoping somebody bites it and try to clobber them over the head with it for political purposes, this year, in the year 2000, it's time to get it done once and for all. That's what I've been critical about the administration for. Same with Social Security. I think there was a good opportunity to bring Republicans and Democrats together to reform the Social Security system so seniors will never go without. Those on Social Security today will have their promise made, but also to give younger workers the option at their choice of being able to manage some of their own money in the private sector to make sure there's a Social Security system around tomorrow. There are a lot of young workers at our rallies we go to that when they hear I'll trust them at their option to be able to manage, under certain guidelines, some of their own money to get a better rate of return so that they'll have a retirement plan in the future, they begin to nod their heads and they want a different attitude in Washington.

MODERATOR: One minute rebuttal.

GORE: Well, Jim, under my plan all seniors will get prescription drugs under Medicare. The governor has described Medicare as a government HMO. It's not, and let me explain the difference. Under the Medicare prescription drug proposal I'm making, here is how it works, you go to your own doctor. Your doctor chooses your prescription. No HMO or insurance company

can take those choices away from you. Then you go to your own pharmacy. You fill the prescription and Medicare pays half the cost. If you're in a very poor family or if you have very high costs, Medicare will pay all the costs, a \$25 premium, and much better benefits than you can possibly find in the private sector. Now here is the contrast. 95% of all seniors would get no help whatsoever under my opponent's plan for the first four or five years. Now, one thing I don't understand, Jim, is why is it that the wealthiest 1% get their tax cuts the first year, but 95% of seniors have to wait four to five years before they get a single penny?

BUSH: I guess my answer to that is the man is running on Medi-scare. Trying to frighten people in the voting booth. It's just not the way I think and it's not my intentions and not my plan. I want all seniors to have prescription drugs in Medicare. We need to reform Medicare. There's been opportunity to do so but this administration has failed to do it. And so seniors will have not only a Medicare plan where the poor seniors will have prescription drugs paid for, but there will be a variety of options. The current system today has meant a lot for a lot of seniors, and I really appreciate the intentions of the current system as I mentioned. If you're happy with the system you can stay in it. But there are a lot of procedures that haven't kept up in Medicare with the current times. No prescription drug benefits, no drug therapy, no preventative medicines, no vision care. We need to have a modern system to help seniors, and the idea of supporting a federally controlled 132,000-page document bureaucracy as being a compassionate way for seniors, and the only compassionate source of care for seniors is not my vision. I believe we ought to give seniors more options. I believe we ought to make the system work better. I know this. I know it will require a different kind of leader to go to Washington to say to both Republicans and Democrats, let's come together. You've had your chance, Vice President, you've been there for eight years and nothing has been done. My point is, is that my plan not only trusts seniors with options, my plan sets aside \$3.4 trillion for Medicare over the next ten years. My plan also says it requires a new approach in Washington, D.C. It's going to require somebody who can work across the partisan divide.

GORE: If I could respond to that. Under my plan I will put Medicare in an iron clad lockbox and prevent the money from being used for anything other than Medicare. The governor has declined to endorse that idea even though the Republican as well as Democratic leaders in Congress have endorsed it. I would be interested to see if he would say this evening he'll put Medicare in a lockbox. I don't think he will because under his plan if you work out the numbers \$100 billion comes out of Medicare just for the wealthiest 1% in the tax cut. Now here is the difference. Some people who say the word reform actually mean cuts. Under the governor's plan, if you kept the same fee for service that you have now under Medicare, your premiums would go up by between 18% and 47%, and that is the study of the Congressional plan that he's modeled his proposal on by the Medicare actuaries. Let me give you one quick example. There is a man here tonight named George McKinney from Milwaukee. He's 70 years old, has high blood pressure, his wife has heart trouble. They have an income of \$25,000 a year. They can't pay for their prescription drugs and so they're some of the ones that go to Canada regularly in order to get their prescription drugs. Under my plan, half of their costs would be paid right away. Under Governor Bush's plan, they would get not one penny for four to five years and then they would be forced to go into an HMO or to an insurance company and ask them for coverage, but there would be no limit on the premiums or the deductibles or any of the terms and conditions.

BUSH: I cannot let this go by, the old-style Washington politics, of we're going to scare you in the voting booth. Under my plan the man gets immediate help with prescription drugs. It's called Immediate Helping Hand. Instead of squabbling and finger pointing, he gets immediate help. Let me say something.

MODERATOR: Your "[cross talk]

GORE: Can I make another point? They get \$25,000 a year income, that makes them ineligible.

BUSH: Look, this is a man who has great numbers. He talks about numbers. I'm beginning to think not only did he invent the Internet, but he invented the calculator. It's fuzzy math. It's a scaring — he's trying to scare people in the voting booth. Under my tax plan that he continues to criticize, I set one-third. The federal government should take no more than a third of anybody's check. But I also dropped the bottom rate from 15% to 10%. Because by far the vast majority of the help goes to people at the bottom end of the economic ladder. If you're a family of four in Massachusetts, making \$50,000, you get a 50% cut in the federal income taxes you pay. It's from \$4000 to about \$2000. Now, the difference in our plans is I want that \$2,000 to go to you, and the vice president would like to be spending the \$2,000 on your behalf.

MODERATOR: One quick thing, gentlemen. These are your rules. I'm doing my best. We're way over the three and a half minutes. I have no problems with it. Do you want to have a quick response? We're almost to five minutes on this.

GORE: It's just clear you can go to the website and look. If you make more than \$25,000 a year you don't get a penny of help under the Bush prescription drug proposal for at least four to five years, and then you're pushed into a Medicare — into an HMO or insurance company plan, and there's no limit on the premiums or the deductibles or any of the conditions. And the insurance companies say it won't work and they won't offer these plans.

MODERATOR: Let me ask you both this and we'll move on on the subject. As a practical matter, both of you want to bring prescription drugs to seniors, correct?

GORE: Correct.

BUSH: Correct.

GORE: The difference is I want to bring it to 100% and he wants to bring it to 5%.

BUSH: That's totally false for him to stand up here and say that. Let me make sure the seniors hear me loud and clear. They have had their chance to get something done. I'm going to work with Democrats and Republicans to reform the system. All seniors will be covered, all poor seniors will have their prescription drugs paid for, and in the meantime, we'll have a plan to help poor seniors and in the meantime it could be one year or two years.

GORE: Let me call your attention to the key word there. He said all poor seniors.

BUSH: Wait a minute. All seniors are covered under prescription drugs in my plan.

GORE: In the first year?

BUSH: If we can get it done in the first year, you bet. Yours is phased in in eight years.

GORE: It's a two-phase plan. For the first four years — it takes a year to pass it and for the first four years only the poor are covered. Middle class seniors like George McKinney and his wife are not covered for four to five years.

MODERATOR: I have an idea. If you have any more to say about this, you can say it in your closing statements and we'll move on, okay? New question. Vice President Gore. How would

you contrast your approach to preventing future oil price and supply problems like we have now to the approach of Governor Bush?

Gore: Excellent question. And here is the simple difference. My plan has not only a short-term component, but also a long-term component. And it focuses not only on increasing the supply, which I think we have to do, but also on working on the consumption side. Now, in the short-term we have to free ourselves from the domination of the big oil companies that have the ability to manipulate the price from OPEC when they want to raise the price. And in the long-term we have to give new incentives for the development of domestic resources like deep gas in the western Gulf, like stripper wells for oil, but also renewable sources of energy. And domestic sources that are cleaner and better. And I'm proposing a plan that will give tax credits and tax incentives for the rapid development of new kinds of cars and trucks and buses and factories and boilers and furnaces that don't have as much pollution, that don't burn as much energy, and that help us get out on the cutting edge of the new technologies that will create millions of new jobs. Because, when we sell these new products here, we'll then be able to sell them overseas. There is a ravenous demand for them overseas. Now, another big difference is Governor Bush is proposing to open up some of our most precious environmental treasures, like the Arctic National Wildlife Refuge for the big oil companies to go in and start producing oil there. I think that is the wrong choice. It would only give us a few months' worth of oil and the oil wouldn't start flowing for many years into the future. I don't think it's a fair price to pay to destroy precious parts of America's environment. We have to bet on the future and move beyond the current technologies to have a whole new generation of more efficient, cleaner, energy technology.

Bush: It's an issue I know a lot about. I was a small oil person for a while in west Texas. This is an administration that's had no plan. And all of a sudden the results of having no plan have caught up with America. First and foremost we have to fully fund LIHEAP which is a way to help low income folks, particularly here in the east to pay for high fuel bills. Secondly, we need an active exploration program in America. The only way to become less dependent on foreign sources of crude oil is to explore at home. You bet I want to open up a small part of Alaska. When that field is online it will produce one million barrels a day. Today we import one million barrels from Saddam Hussein. I would rather that a million come from our own hemisphere, our own country as opposed to Saddam Hussein. I want to build more pipelines to move natural gas throughout this hemisphere. I want to develop the coal resources in America. Have clean coal technologies. We've got abundant supplies of energy here in America and we'd better get after it, we better start exploring it or otherwise we'll be in deep trouble in the future because of our dependency upon foreign sources of crude.

Moderator: So if somebody is watching tonight and listening to what the two of you just said, is it fair to say, okay, the differences between Governor Bush and Vice President Gore are as follows. You're for doing something on the consumption end and you're for doing something on the production end?

Gore: Let me clarify. I'm for doing something both on the supply side and production side and on the consumption side. Let me say, that I found one thing in Governor Bush's answer that we certainly agree on, and that's the low income heating assistance program. I commend you for supporting that. I worked to get \$400 million just a couple of weeks ago. And to establish a permanent home heating oil reserve here in the northeast. Now, as for the proposals that I've worked for for renewables and conservation and efficiencies and new technologies. The fact is for the last few years in the Congress, we've faced a lot of opposition to them. They've only approved about 10% of the agenda I've helped to send up there. I think we need to get serious about this energy crisis, both in the Congress and in the White House, and if you entrust me with

the presidency, I will tackle this problem and focus on new technologies that will make us less dependent on big oil or foreign oil.

MODERATOR: How would you draw the difference?

BUSH: Well I would first say he should have been tackling it for the last seven years. Secondly the difference is we need to explore at home. And the vice president doesn't believe in exploration in Alaska. There's a lot of shut-in gas that we need to be moving out of Alaska by pipeline. There's an interesting issue up in the northwest as well. Do we remove dams that produce hydroelectric energy? I'm against removing dams in the northwest. I don't know where the vice president stands but that's a renewable energy source of energy. We need to keep that in line. I was in coal country in West Virginia yesterday. There is an abundant supply of coal in America. I know we can do a better job of clean coal technologies. I'm going to ask the Congress for \$2 billion to make sure we have the cleanest coal technologies in the world. My answer to you is in the short-term we need to get after it here in America. We need to explore our resources and we need to develop our reservoirs of domestic production. We also need to have a hemispheric energy policy where Canada, Mexico and the United States come together. I brought this up recently with Vincent Fox the newly elected president in Mexico, he's a man I know from Mexico. I talked to him about how best to expedite the exploration of natural gas in Mexico and transport it up to the United States so we become less dependent on foreign sources of crude oil. This is a major problem facing America. The administration did not deal with it. It's time for a new administration to deal with the energy problem.

Gore: If I may just briefly, Jim, note. I found a couple of other things we agree upon. We may not find that many this evening, so I wanted to emphasize. I strongly support new investments in clean coal technology. I made a proposal three months ago on this. And also domestic exploration yes, but not in the environmental treasures of our country. We don't have to do that. That's the wrong choice. I know the oil companies have been itching to do that, but it is not the right thing for the future.

BUSH: No. It's the right thing for the consumers. Less dependency upon foreign sources of crude is good for consumers. And we can do so in an environmentally friendly way.

GORE: Well can I have the last word on this?

MODERATOR: New question, new subject. Governor Bush. If elected president, would you try to overturn the FDA's approval last week of the abortion pill RU-486?

BUSH: I don't think a president can do that. I was disappointed in the ruling because I think abortions ought to be more rare in America, and I'm worried that that pill will create more abortions and cause more people to have abortions. This is a very important topic and it's a very sensitive topic, because a lot of good people disagree on the issue. I think what the next president ought to do is to promote a culture of life in America. Life of the elderly and life of those living all across the country. Life of the unborn. As a matter of fact, I think a noble goal for this country is that every child, born or unborn, need to be protected by law and welcomed to life. I know we need to change a lot of minds before we get there in America. What I do believe is that we can find good, common ground on issues of parental consent or parental notification. I know we need to ban partial birth abortions. This is a place where my opponent and I have strong disagreement. I believe banning partial birth abortions would be a positive step to reducing the number of abortions in America. This is an issue that will require a new attitude. We've been battling over abortion for a long period of time. Surely this nation can come together to promote the value of life. Surely we can fight off these laws that will encourage doctors to — to allow doctors to take

the lives of our seniors. Surely we can work together to create a cultural life so some of these youngsters who feel like they can take a neighbor's life with a gun will understand that that's not the way America is meant to be. Surely we can find common ground to reduce the number of abortions in America. As to the drug itself, I mentioned I was disappointed. I hope the FDA took its time to make sure that American women will be safe who use this drug.

MODERATOR: Vice President Gore?

GORE: Well, Jim, the FDA took 12 years, and I do support that decision. They determined it was medically safe for the women who use that drug. This is indeed a very important issue. First of all on the issue of partial birth or so-called late-term abortion, I would sign a law banning that procedure, provided that doctors have the ability to save a woman's life or to act if her health is severely at risk. That's not the main issue. The main issue is whether or not the Roe v. Wade decision is going to be overturned. I support a woman's right to choose. My opponent does not. It is important because the next president is going to appoint three and maybe even four justices of the Supreme Court. And Governor Bush has declared to the anti-choice groups that he will appoint justices in the mold of Scalia and Clarence Thomas, who are known for being the most vigorous opponents of a woman's right to choose. Here is the difference. He trusts the government to order a woman to do what it thinks she ought to do. I trust women to make the decisions that affect their lives, their destinies and their bodies. And I think a woman's right to choose ought to be protected and defended.

MODERATOR: Governor, we'll go to the Supreme Court question in a moment, but make sure I understand your position on RU-486. If you're elected president, not through appointments to the FDA, you won't support legislation to overturn this?

BUSH: I don't think a president can unilaterally overturn it. The FDA has made its decision.

MODERATOR: That means you wouldn't, through appointments, to the FDA and ask them to —

BUSH: I think once a decision has been made, it's been made unless it's proven to be unsafe to women.

GORE: Jim, the question you asked, if I heard you correctly, was would he support legislation to overturn it. And if I heard the statement day before yesterday, you said you would order — he said he would order his FDA appointee to review the decision. Now that sounds to me a little bit different. I just think that we ought to support the decision.

BUSH: I said I would make sure that women would be safe who used the drug.

MODERATOR: On the Supreme Court question. Should a voter assume — you're pro-life.

BUSH: I am pro-life.

MODERATOR: Should a voter assume that all judicial appointments you make to the supreme court or any other court, federal court, will also be pro-life?

BUSH: The voters should assume I have no litmus test on that issue or any other issue. Voters will know I'll put competent judges on the bench. People who will strictly interpret the Constitution and not use the bench to write social policy. That is going to be a big difference between my opponent and me. I believe that the judges ought not to take the place of the

legislative branch of government. That they're appointed for life and that they ought to look at the Constitution as sacred. They shouldn't misuse their bench. I don't believe in liberal activist judges. I believe in strict constructionists. Those are the kind of judges I will appoint. I've named four supreme court justices in the State of Texas and would ask the people to check out their qualifications, their deliberations. They're good, solid men and women who have made good, sound judgments on behalf of the people of Texas.

MODERATOR: What kind of appointments should they expect from you?

GORE: We both use similar language to reach an exactly opposite outcome. I don't favor a litmus test, but I know that there are ways to assess how a potential justice interprets the Constitution. And in my view, the Constitution ought to be interpreted as a document that grows with our country and our history. And I believe, for example, that there is a right of privacy in the Fourth Amendment. And when the phrase a strict constructionist is used and when the names of Scalia and Thomas are used as the benchmarks for who would be appointed, those are code words, and nobody should mistake this, for saying the governor would appoint people who would overturn *Roe v. Wade*. It's very clear to me. I would appoint people that have a philosophy that I think would have it quite likely they would uphold *Roe v. Wade*.

MODERATOR: Is the vice president right? Is that a code word for overturning *Roe v. Wade*?

BUSH: It sounds like the vice president's not right very many times tonight. I just told you the criteria on which I'll appoint judges. I have a record of appointing judges in the State of Texas. That's what a governor gets to do. A governor gets to name supreme court judges. He also reads all kinds of things into my tax plan and into my Medicare plan. I want the viewers out there to listen to what I have to say about it.

MODERATOR: Reverse the question. What code phrases should we read by what you said about what kind of people you would appoint?

GORE: It would be likely that they would uphold *Roe v. Wade*. I do believe it's wrong to use a litmus test. If you look at the history of a lower court judge's rulings, you can get a pretty good idea of how they'll interpret questions. A lot of questions are first impression, and these questions that have been seen many times come up in a new context and so — but, you know, this is a very important issue. Because a lot of young women in this country take this right for granted and it could be lost. It is on the ballot in this election, make no mistake about it.

BUSH: I'll tell you what kind of judges he'll put on. He'll put liberal activists justices who will use their bench to subvert the legislature, that's what he'll do.

GORE: That's not right.

MODERATOR: New subject, new question. Vice President Gore, if President Milosevic of Yugoslavia refuses to accept the election results and leave office, what action, if any, should the United States take to get him out of there?

GORE: Well, Milosevic has lost the election. His opponent, Kostunica, has won the election. It's overwhelming. Milosevic's government refuses to release the vote count. There's now a general strike going on. They're demonstrating. I think we should support the people of Serbia and Yugoslavia, as they call the Serbia plus Montenegro, and put pressure in every way possible to recognize the lawful outcome of the election. The people of Serbia have acted very bravely in kicking this guy out of office. Now he is trying to not release the votes and then go straight to a

so-called runoff election without even announcing the results of the first vote. Now, we've made it clear, along with our allies, that when Milosevic leaves, then Serbia will be able to have a more normal relationship with the rest of the world. That is a very strong incentive that we've given them to do the right thing. Bear in mind also, Milosevic has been indicted as a war criminal and he should be held accountable for his actions. Now, we have to take measured steps because the sentiment within Serbia is, for understandable reasons, against the United States because their nationalism — even if they don't like Milosevic, they still have some feelings lingering from the NATO action there. So we have to be intelligent in the way we go about it. But make no mistake about it, we should do everything we can to see that the will of the Serbian people expressed in this extraordinary election is done. And I hope that he'll be out of office very shortly.

MODERATOR: Governor Bush, one minute.

BUSH: Well, I'm pleased with the results of the election. As the vice president is. It's time for the man to go. It means that the United States must have a strong diplomatic hand with our friends in NATO. That's why it's important to make sure our alliances are as strong as they possibly can be to keep the pressure on Mr. Milosevic. But this will be an interesting moment for the Russians to step up and lead as well. Be a wonderful time for the Russians to step into the Balkans and convince Mr. Milosevic that it's in his best interest and his country's best interest to leave office. The Russians have a lot of sway in that part of the world. We would like to see the Russians use that sway to encourage democracy to take hold. It's an encouraging election. It's time for the man to leave.

MODERATOR: What if he doesn't leave? What if all the diplomatic efforts, all the pressure from all over the world and he still doesn't go? Is this the kind of thing, to be specific, that you as president would consider the use of U.S. military force to get him gone?

GORE: In this particular situation, no. Bear in mind that we have a lot of sanctions in force against Serbia right now. And the people of Serbia know that they can escape all those sanctions if this guy is turned out of power. Now, I understand what the governor has said about asking the Russians to be involved, and under some circumstances that might be a good idea. But being as they have not yet been willing to recognize Kostunica as the lawful winner of the election, I'm not sure it's right for us to invite the president of Russia to mediate this — this dispute there because we might not like the results that comes out of that. They currently favor going forward with a runoff election. I think that's the wrong thing. I think the governor's instinct is not necessarily bad because we have worked with the Russians in a constructive way in Kosovo, for example, to end the conflict there. But I think we need to be very careful in the present situation before we invite the Russians to play the lead role in mediating.

BUSH: Well obviously we wouldn't use the Russians if they didn't agree with our answer, Mr. Vice President.

GORE: They don't.

BUSH: Let me say this to you, I wouldn't use force. I wouldn't use force.

MODERATOR: You wouldn't use force?

BUSH: No.

MODERATOR: Why not?

BUSH: It's not in our national interest to use force in this case. I would use pressure and diplomacy. There is a difference with what the president did in Kosovo which I supported and this. It's up to the people in this region to take control of their country.

MODERATOR: New question. How would you go about as president deciding when it was in the national interest to use U.S. force, generally?

BUSH: Well, if it's in our vital national interests, and that means whether our territory is threatened or people could be harmed, whether or not the alliances are — our defense alliances are threatened, whether or not our friends in the Middle East are threatened. That would be a time to seriously consider the use of force. Secondly, whether or not the mission was clear. Whether or not it was a clear understanding as to what the mission would be. Thirdly, whether or not we were prepared and trained to win. Whether or not our forces were of high morale and high standing and well-equipped. And finally, whether or not there was an exit strategy. I would take the use of force very seriously. I would be guarded in my approach. I don't think we can be all things to all people in the world. I think we've got to be very careful when we commit our troops. The vice president and I have a disagreement about the use of troops. He believes in nation building. I would be very careful about using our troops as nation builders. I believe the role of the military is to fight and win war and therefore prevent war from happening in the first place. So I would take my responsibility seriously. And it starts with making sure we rebuild our military power. Morale in today's military is too low. We're having trouble meeting recruiting goals. We met the goals this year, but in the previous years we have not met recruiting goals. Some of our troops are not well-equipped. I believe we're overextended in too many places. And therefore I want to rebuild the military power. It starts with a billion dollar pay raise for the men and women who wear the uniform. A billion dollars more than the president recently signed into law. It's to make sure our troops are well-housed and well-equipped. Bonus plans to keep some of our high-skilled folks in the services and a commander in chief who clearly sets the mission. The mission is to fight and win war and therefore prevent war from happening in the first place.

MODERATOR: Vice President Gore, one minute.

GORE: Let me tell you what I do. First of all I want to make it clear, our military is the strongest, best-trained, best-equipped, best-led fighting force in the world and in the history of the world. Nobody should have any doubt about that, least of all our adversaries or potential adversaries. If you entrust me with the presidency, I will do whatever is necessary in order to make sure our forces stay the strongest in the world. In fact, in my ten-year budget proposal I've set aside more than twice as much for this purpose as Governor Bush has in his proposal. Now, I think we should be reluctant to get involved in someplace in a foreign country. But if our national security is at stake, if we have allies, if we've tried every other course, if we're sure military action will succeed, and if the costs are proportionate to the benefits, we should get involved. Now, just because we don't want to get involved everywhere doesn't mean we should back off anywhere it comes up. I disagree with the proposal that maybe only when oil supplies are at stake that our national security is at risk. I think that there are situations like in Bosnia or Kosovo where there's a genocide, where our national security is at stake there.

BUSH: I agree our military is the strongest in the world today, that's not the question. The question is will it be the strongest in the years to come? The warning signs are real. Everywhere I go on the campaign trail I see moms and dads whose son or daughter may wear the uniform and they tell me about how discouraged their son or daughter may be. A recent poll was taken among 1,000 enlisted personnel, as well as officers, over half of whom will leave the service when their time of enlistment is up. The captains are leaving the service. There is a problem. And it's going to require a new commander in chief to rebuild the military power. The other day I was honored

to be flanked by Colin Powell and General Norman Schwarzkopf recently stood by my side and agreed with me. They said even if we are the strongest if we don't do something if we don't have a clear vision of the military, if we don't stop extending our troops all around the world and nation building missions, then we're going to have a serious problem coming down the road, and I'm going to prevent that. I'm going to rebuild our military power. It's one of the major priorities of my administration.

MODERATOR: Vice President Gore, how should the voters go about deciding which one of you is better suited to make the kinds of decisions, whether it's Milosevic or whatever, in the military and foreign policy area?

GORE: Well, they should look at our proposals and look at us as people and make up their own minds. When I was a young man, I volunteered for the Army. I served my country in Vietnam. My father was a senator who strongly opposed the Vietnam War. I went to college in this great city, and most of my peers felt against the war as I did. But I went anyway because I knew if I didn't, somebody else in the small town of Carthage, Tennessee, would have to go in my place. I served for eight years in the House of Representatives and I served on the Intelligence Committee, specialized in looking at arms control. I served for eight years in the United States Senate and served on the Armed Services Committee. For the last eight years I've served on the National Security Council, and when the conflict came up in Bosnia, I saw a genocide in the heart of Europe with the most violent war on the continent of Europe since World War II. Look, that's where World War I started in the Balkans. My uncle was a victim of poisonous gas there. Millions of Americans saw the results of that conflict. We have to be willing to make good, sound judgments. Incidentally, I know the value of making sure our troops have the latest technology. The governor has proposed skipping the next generation of weapons. I think that's a big mistake, because I think we have to stay at the cutting edge.

MODERATOR: Governor, how would you advise the voters to make the decision on this issue?

BUSH: I think you've got to look at how one has handled responsibility in office. Whether or not it's — the same in domestic policy as well. Whether or not you have the capacity to convince people to follow? Whether or not one makes decisions based on sound principles or whether or not you rely upon polls and focus groups on how to decide what the course of action is. We have too much polling and focus groups going on in Washington today. We need decisions made on sound principles. I've been the governor of a big state. I think one of the hallmarks of my relationship in Austin, Texas, is that I've had the capacity to work with both Republicans and Democrats. I think that's an important part of leadership. I think what it means to build consensus. I've shown I know how to do so. Tonight in the audience there's one elected state senator who is a Democrat, a former state-wide officer who is a Democrat, a lot of Democrats who are here in the debate to — because they want to show their support that shows I know how to lead. And so the fundamental answer to your question, who can lead and who's shown the ability to get things done?

GORE: If I could say one thing.

MODERATOR: We are way over three-and-a-half minutes. Go ahead.

GORE: One of the key points in foreign policy and national security policy is the need to re-establish the old-fashioned principle that politics ought to stop at the water's edge. When I was in the United States Congress, I worked with former President Reagan to modernize our strategic weaponry and to pursue arms control in a responsible way. When I was in the United States Senate I worked with former President Bush, your father. I was one of only a few Democrats in

the Senate to support the Persian Gulf War. I think bipartisanship is a national asset. We have to find ways to reestablish it in foreign policy and national security policy.

MODERATOR: Do you have a problem with that?

BUSH: Yeah. Why haven't they done it in seven years?

MODERATOR: New subject. New question. Should the voters of this election, Vice President Gore, see this in the domestic area as a major choice between competing political philosophies?

GORE: Oh, absolutely. This is a very important moment in the history of our country. Look, we've got the biggest surpluses in all of American history. The key question that has to be answered in this election is will we use that prosperity wisely in a way that benefits all of our people and doesn't go just to the few. Almost half of all the tax cut benefits, as I said under Governor Bush's plan, go to the wealthiest 1%. I think we have to make the right and responsible choices. I think we have to invest in education, protecting the environment, health care, a prescription drug benefit that goes to all seniors, not just to the poor, under Medicare, not relying on HMOs and insurance companies. I think that we have to help parents and strengthen families by dealing with the kind of inappropriate entertainment material that families are just heart sick that their children are exposed to. I think we've got to have welfare reform taken to the next stage. I think that we have got to balance the budget every single year, pay down the national debt and, in fact, under my proposal the national debt will be completely eliminated by the year 2012. I think we need to put Medicare and Social Security in a lockbox. The governor will not put Medicare in a lockbox. I don't think it should be used as a piggy bank for other programs. I think it needs to be moved out of the budget and protected. I'll veto anything that takes money out of Social Security or Medicare for anything other than Social Security or Medicare. Now, the priorities are just very different. I'll give you a couple of examples. For every new dollar that I propose for spending on health care, Governor Bush spends \$3 for a tax cut for the wealthiest 1%. Now, for every dollar that I propose to spend on education, he spends \$5 on a tax cut for the wealthiest 1%. Those are very clear differences.

MODERATOR: Governor, one minute.

BUSH: The man is practicing fuzzy math again. There's differences. Under Vice President Gore's plan, he is going to grow the federal government in the largest increase since Lyndon Baines Johnson in 1965. We're talking about a massive government, folks. We're talking about adding to or increasing 200 programs, 20,000 new bureaucrats. Imagine how many IRS agents it is going to take to be able to figure out his targeted tax cut for the middle class that excludes 50 million Americans. There is a huge difference in this campaign. He says he's going to give you tax cuts. 50 million of you won't receive it. He said in his speech he wants to make sure the right people get tax relief. That's not the role of a president to decide right and wrong. Everybody who pays taxes ought to get tax relief. After my plan is in place, the wealthiest Americans will pay a higher percentage of taxes than they do today, the poorest of Americans, six million families, won't pay any tax at all. It's a huge difference. A difference between big exploding federal government that wants to think on your behalf and a plan that meets priorities and liberates working people to be able to make decisions on your own.

GORE: Let me just say, Jim, you haven't heard the governor deny these numbers. He's called them phony and fuzzy. The fact remains almost 30% of his proposed tax cut goes to — only to Americans that make more than \$1 million per year. More money goes to the — can I have a rebuttal here?

MODERATOR: I want to see if he buys that.

BUSH: Let me tell you what the facts are. The facts are after my plan, the wealthiest of Americans pay more taxes of the percentage of the whole than they do today. Secondly, if you're a family of four making \$50,000 in Massachusetts, you get a 50% tax cut. Let me give you one example. The Strunk family in Allentown, Pennsylvania, I campaigned with them the other day. They make \$51,000 combined income, they pay about \$3500 in taxes. Under my plan, they get \$1800 of tax relief. Under Vice President Gore's plan, they get \$145 of tax relief. Now you tell me who stands on the side of the fence. You ask the Strunks whose plan makes more sense. There is a difference of opinion. He would rather spend the family's \$1800 and I would rather the Strunks spend their own money.

MODERATOR: Do you see it that way Mr. Vice President?

GORE: No, I don't, and I'm not going to go to calling names on his facts. I'm just gonna tell you what the real facts are. The analysis that he's talking about leaves out more than half of the tax cuts that I have proposed. And if you just add the numbers up, he still hasn't denied it, he spends more money on a tax cut for the wealthiest 1% than all his new proposals for prescription drugs, healthcare, education, and national defense combined. Now those are the wrong priorities. \$665 billion over ten years for the wealthiest 1%. As I said, almost 30% of it goes to Americans that make more than \$1 million per year. Every middle class family is eligible for a tax cut under my proposal. Let me give you some specific examples. I believe college tuition up to \$10,000 per year ought to be tax deductible so middle-class families can choose to send their children to college. I believe all senior citizens should be able to choose their own doctors and get prescription drugs from their own pharmacists with Medicare paying half the bill. I believe parents ought to be able to make more choices need more public and charter school choice to send their kids always to a safe school. We need to make education the number one priority in our country and treat teachers like the professionals that they are. And that's why I have made it a number one priority in my budget, not a tax cut for the wealthy.

BUSH: Let me talk about tax cuts one more time. This is a man whose plan excludes 50 million Americans.

GORE: Not so.

BUSH: Take for example the marriage penalty. If you itemize your tax return, you get no marriage penalty relief. He picks and chooses. He decides who the right people are. It's a fundamental difference of opinion. I want my fellow Americans to hear one more time. We'll spend \$25 trillion — we'll collect \$25 trillion in revenue in the next 10 years and spend \$21 trillion. Surely we can send 5% back to you that pay the bills. There's a problem wait. I want to say something, Jim. This man has been disparaging my plan with all this Washington fuzzy math. I want you to hear a problem we've got here in the USA. If you're a single mother making \$22,000 a year and you have two children, under this tax code, for every additional dollar you make, you pay a higher marginal rate on that dollar than someone making more than \$200,000 a year, and that is not right. My plan drops the rate from 15% to 10% and increases the child credit from \$500 to \$1,000 to make the code more fair for everybody, not just a few, not just a handful. Everybody who pays taxes ought to get some relief.

MODERATOR: Having cleared that up, we're going to a new question. Education. Governor Bush. Both of you have promised dramatically to change — to change dramatically public education in this country. Of the public money spent on education, only 6% of that is federal

money. You want to change 100% of the public education with 6% of the money, is that possible?

BUSH: We can make a huge difference by saying if you receive federal money we expect you to show results. Let me give you a story about public education, if I might. It's about Kipp Academy in Houston, Texas. A charter school run by some people from Teach For America. Young folks saying I'm going to do something good for my country. I want to teach. A guy named Michael runs the school. It is a school full of so-called at-risk children. It's how we unfortunately label certain children. Basically it means they can't learn. It's a school of strong discipline and high standards. It's one of the best schools in Houston. Here are the key ingredients. High expectations, strong accountability. What Michael says, don't put all these rules on us, just let us teach and hold us accountable for every grade. That's what we do. And as a result, these mainly Hispanic youngsters are some of the best learners in Houston, Texas. That's my vision for public education all around America. Many of you viewers don't know, but Laura and I sent our girls to public school. They went to Austin High School. And many of the public schools are meeting the call. But, unfortunately, a lot of schools are trapping children in schools that just won't teach and won't change. Here is the role of the federal government. One is to change Head Start to a reading program. Two is to say if you want to access reading money, you can do so. The goal is for every single child to learn to Read. there must be K-2 diagnostic teaching tools, teacher training money, available. Three, we have to consolidate the federal programs to free districts to free the schools and encourage innovators like Michael. Let them reach out beyond the confines of the current structure to recruit teach-for-the-children type teachers. Four, we're going to say if you receive federal money, measure third, fourth, fifth, sixth, seventh and eighth grade. Show us if they are learning to read, write, add and subtract and if so there will be bonus plans. But if not, instead of continuing to subsidize failure, the money will go to — the federal money will go to the parents for public school or charter school or tutorial or Catholic school. What I care about is children. And so does Michael Feinberg. And you know what? It can happen in America with the right kind of leadership.

GORE: We agree on a couple of things on education. I strongly support new accountability, so does Governor Bush. I strongly support local control, so does Governor Bush. I'm in favor of testing as a way of measuring performance. Every school and every school district, have every state test the children. I've also proposed a voluntary national test in the fourth grade and eighth grade, and a form of testing the governor has not endorsed. I think that all new teachers ought to be tested in the subjects that they teach. We've got to recruit 100,000 new teachers. And I have budgeted for that. We've got to reduce the class size so that the student who walks in has more one-on-one time with the teacher. We ought to have universal pre-school and we ought to make college tuition tax deductible, up to \$10,000 a year. I would like to tell you a quick story. I got a letter today as I left Sarasota, Florida. I'm here with a group of 13 people from around the country who helped me prepare. We had a great time. Two days ago we ate lunch at a restaurant. The guy that served us lunch gave me a letter today. His name is Randy Ellis. He has a 15-year-old daughter named Caley, who is in Sarasota High School. Her science class was supposed to be for 24 students. She's the 36th student in that classroom. They sent me a picture of her in the classroom. They can't squeeze another desk in for her, so she has to stand during class. I want the federal government, consistent with local control and new accountability, to make improvement of our schools the number one priority so Caley will have a desk and can sit down in a classroom where she can learn.

MODERATOR: All right. So having heard the two of you, the voters have just heard the two of you, what is the difference? What is the choice between the two of you on education?

BUSH: The first is, the difference is there is no new accountability measures in Vice President Gore's plan. He says he's for voluntary testing. You can't have voluntary testing. You must have mandatory testing. You must say that if you receive money you must show us whether or not children are learning to read and write and add and subtract. That's the difference. You may claim you've got mandatory testing but you don't, Mr. Vice President. That's a huge difference. Testing is the cornerstone of reform. You know how I know? Because it's the cornerstone of reform in the State of Texas. Republicans and Democrats came together and said what can we do to make our public education the best in the country? We've done a long way working together to do so. The cornerstone is to have strong accountability in return for money and in return for flexibility. We're going to ask you to show us whether or not — we ask you to post the results on the Internet. We encourage parents to take a look at the comparative results of schools. We have a strong charter school movement that I signed the legislation to get started in the State of Texas. I believe if we find poor children trapped in schools that won't teach, we need to free the parents. We need to expand education savings accounts. Something that the vice president's running mate supports. There's big differences. He won't support freeing local districts from the strings of federal money.

Gore: First of all, I do have mandatory testing. I think the governor may not have heard what I said clearly. The voluntary national testing is in addition to the mandatory testing that we require of states. All schools, all school districts, students themselves, and required teacher testing, which goes a step farther than Governor Bush has been willing to go. Here are a couple of differences, though, Jim. Governor Bush is in favor of vouchers which take taxpayer money away from public schools and give them to private schools that are not accountable for how the money is used and don't have to take all applicants. Now, private schools play a great role in our society. All of our children have gone to both public schools and private schools. But I don't think private schools should have a right to take taxpayer money away from public schools at a time when Caley Ellis is standing in that classroom. Let me give you another example. I went to a school in Dade County, Florida where the facilities are so overcrowded the children have to eat lunch in shifts with the first shift for lunch starting at 9:30 in the morning. Look, this is a funding crisis all around the country. There are fewer parents of school-age children as a percentage of the voting population and there is the largest generation of students ever. We're in an information age when learning is more important than ever. 90% of our kids go to public schools. We have to make it the number one priority. Modernize our schools, reduce class size, recruit new teachers, give every child a chance to learn with one-on-one time in a quality — high-quality, safe school. If it's a failing school, shut it down and reopen it under a new principal with a turnaround team of specialists the way Governor Jim Hunt does in North Carolina. Here is another difference. The governor, if it's a failing school, would leave the children in that failing school for three years and then give a little bit of money to the parents, a down payment on a down payment for private school tuition, and pretend that that would be enough for them to go out and go to a private school. It's an illusion.

MODERATOR: Wait a minute, Governor.

BUSH: Okay. First of all, most of good governance is at the state level. See, here is the mentality. I'm going to make the state do this and make the state do that. All I'm saying is if you spend money, show us results and test every year, which you do not do, Mr. Vice President. You don't test every year. You can say you do to the cameras but you don't, unless you've changed your plan here on the stage.

GORE: I didn't say that.

BUSH: You need to test every year. That's how you determine if children are progressing to excellence. Secondly, one of the things that we have to be careful about in politics is throwing money at a system that has not yet been reformed. More money is needed and I spend more money, but step one is to make sure we reform the system to have the system in place that leaves no child behind. Stop this business about asking gosh, how old are you? If you're 10 we'll put you here, 12 you put here. Start asking the question, what do you know? If you don't know what you're supposed to know, we'll make sure you do early before it's too late.

MODERATOR: New question. We've been talking about a lot of specific issues. It's often said that in the final analysis about 90% of being the President of the United States is dealing with the unexpected, not with issues that came up in the campaign. Vice President Gore, can you point to a decision, an action you have taken, that illustrates your ability to handle the unexpected, the crisis under fire?

GORE: When the action in Kosovo was dragging on and we were searching for a solution to the problem, our country had defeated the adversary on the battlefield without a single American life being lost in combat. But the dictator Milosevic was hanging on. I invited the former prime minister of Russia to my house and took a risk in asking him to get personally involved, along with the head of Finland, to go to Belgrade and to take a set of proposals from the United States that would constitute basically a surrender by Serbia. But it was a calculated risk that paid off. Now, I could probably give you some other examples of decisions over the last 24 years. I have been in public service for 24 years, Jim. And throughout all that time the people I have fought for have been the middle-class families, and I have been willing to stand up to powerful interests like the big insurance companies, the drug companies, the HMOs, the oil companies. They have good people and they play constructive roles sometimes, but sometimes they get too much power. I cast my lot with the people even when it means that you have to stand up to some powerful interests who are trying to turn the — the policies and the laws to their advantage. You can see it in this campaign. The big drug companies support Governor Bush's prescription drug proposal. They oppose mine because they don't want to get Medicare involved because they're afraid that Medicare will negotiate lower prices for seniors who currently pay the highest prices of all.

MODERATOR: Governor Bush?

BUSH: I've been standing up to big Hollywood, big trial lawyers. Was â€“ what was the question? It was about emergencies, wasn't it?

MODERATOR: It was about — okay.

BUSH: You know, as governor, one of the things you have to deal with is catastrophe. I can remember the fires that swept Parker County, Texas. I remember the floods that swept our state. I remember going down to Del Rio, Texas. I have to pay the administration a compliment. James Lee Witt of FEMA has done a really good job of working with governors during times of crisis. But that's the time when you're tested not only — it's the time to test your mettle, a time to test your heart when you see people whose lives have been turned upside down. It broke my heart to go to the flood scene in Del Rio where a fellow and his family got completely uprooted. The only thing I knew to do was to get aid as quickly as possible with state and federal help, and to put my arms around the man and his family and cry with them. That's what governors do. They are often on the front line of catastrophic situations.

MODERATOR: New question. There can be all kinds of crises, Governor. A questions for you. There could be a crisis, for instance, in the financial area, the stock market could take a tumble,

there could be a failure of a major financial institution. What is your general attitude toward government intervention in such events?

BUSH: Well, it depends, obviously. But what I would do first and foremost, is I would get in touch with the Federal Reserve Chairman, Alan Greenspan, to find out all the facts and all the circumstances. I would have my Secretary of the Treasury be in touch with the financial centers not only here, but at home. I would make sure that key members of Congress were called in to discuss the gravity of the situation. And I would come up with a game plan to deal with it. That's what governors end up doing. We end up being problem solvers. We come up with practical, common sense solutions for problems that we're confronted with. In this case, in the case of a financial crisis, I would gather all the facts before I made the decision as to what the government ought or ought not to do.

MODERATOR: Vice President Gore?

GORE: First I want to compliment the governor on his response to those fires and floods in Texas. I accompanied James Lee Witt down to Texas when those fires broke out. And FEMA has been a major flagship project of our reinventing government efforts. And I agree, it works extremely well now. On the international financial crises that come up, my friend, Bob Rubin, the former Secretary of Treasury is here, he's a close advisor to me and great friend in all respects. I have had a chance to work with him and Alan Greenspan and others on the crisis following the collapse of the Mexican peso. When the Asian financial crisis raised the risk of world-wide recession that could affect our economy, And now, of course, the euro's value has been dropping, but seems to be under control. But it started for me in the last eight years when I had the honor of casting the tie-breaking vote to end the old economic plan here at home and put into place a new economic plan that has helped us to make some progress, 22 million new jobs, the greatest prosperity ever. But it's not good enough. My attitude is you ain't seen nothing yet. We need to do more and better.

MODERATOR: So, Governor, would you agree there is no basic difference here on intervening — on federal government intervening in what might be seen by others to be a private financial crisis?

BUSH: No, there's no difference on that. There is a difference, though, as to what the economy has meant. I think the economy has meant more for the Gore and Clinton folks than the Gore and Clinton folks have meant for the economy. I think most of the economic growth that has taken place is a result of ingenuity and hard work and entrepreneurship and that's the role of government to encourage that. In terms of in response to the question, no.

GORE: Can I comment on that?

MODERATOR: You may.

GORE: You know, I think the American people deserve credit for the great economy that we have. It's their ingenuity, I agree with that. But you know, they were working pretty hard eight years ago. And now they had ingenuity eight years ago. The difference is we've got a new policy. And instead of concentrating on tax cuts mostly for the wealthy, we want — I want tax cuts for the middle-class families and I want to continue the prosperity and make sure that it enriches not just a few but all of our families. We have gone from the biggest deficits to the biggest surpluses. We have gone from a triple-dip recession during the previous 12 years to a tripling of the stock market. Instead of a high unemployment, we have the lowest African-American and Latin American unemployment rates in history and 22 million new jobs. It's not

good enough. Too many people have been left behind. We have got to do much more. The key is job training, education, investments in health care and education, environment, retirement security. And incidentally, we have got to preserve Social Security. I'm totally opposed to diverting one out of every six dollars out of the Social Security trust fund, as the Governor has proposed, into the stock market. I want new incentives for savings and investment for the young couples who are working hard so they can save and invest on their own on top of Social Security, not at the expense of Social Security, as the governor proposes.

BUSH: Two points. One, a lot of folks are still waiting for that 1992 middle-class tax cut. I remember the vice president saying, "Just give us a chance to get up there, we're going to make sure you get tax cuts." It didn't happen. Now he's having to say that again. They've had their chance to deliver a tax cut to you. Secondly, the surest way to bust this economy is to increase the role and size of the federal budget. The Senate Budget Committee did a study of the vice president's expenditures. It's been projected that they could conceivably bust the budget by \$900 billion. That means he'll either have to raise your taxes by \$900 billion or go into the Social Security surplus for \$900 billion. This is a plan that is going to increase the bureaucracy by 20,000 people. His targeted tax cut is so detailed, so much fine print that it is going to require numerous IRS agents. We need somebody to simplify the code, to be fair, to continue prosperity by sharing some of the surplus with the people who pay the bills, particularly those at the bottom end of the economic ladder.

GORE: If I could respond, Jim. What he's quoting is not the Senate Budget Committee, it is a partisan press release by the Republicans on the Senate Budget Committee that's not worth the government — the taxpayer-paid paper that it's printed on. Now, as for 20,000 new bureaucrats, as you call them, you know, the size of the federal government will go down in a Gore administration. In the reinventing government program you just look at the numbers. It is 300,000 people smaller today than it was eight years ago. Now, the fact is you're going to have a hard time convincing folks that we were a whole lot better off eight years ago than we are today. But that's not the question. The question is, will we be better off four years from now than we are today? And as for the surest way to threaten our prosperity, having a \$1.9 trillion tax cut, almost half of which goes to the wealthy, and a \$1 trillion Social Security privatization proposal is the surest way to put our budget into deficit — raise interest rates and put our prosperity at risk.

BUSH: I can't let the man continue with fuzzy math. It is 1.3 trillion Mr. Vice President. It will go to everybody who pays taxes. I'm not going to be the kind of president that says you get tax relief and you don't. I'm not going to be a picker and chooser. What is fair is everybody who pays taxes ought to get relief.

MODERATOR: I thought we cleared this up a while ago. New question on Social Security. Both of you have Social Security reform plans, so we could spend the rest of the evening and two or three other evenings talking about them in detail. We won't do that. But —

GORE: Suits me.

MODERATOR: Many experts, including Federal Reserve Chairman Greenspan, Vice President Gore, say that it will be impossible for either of you, essentially, to keep the system viable on its own during the coming baby boomer retirement onslaught without either reducing benefits or increasing taxes. You disagree?

GORE: I do disagree. Because if we can keep our prosperity going, if we can continue balancing the budget and paying down the debt, then the strong economy keeps generating surpluses. Here

is my plan. I will keep Social Security in a lockbox and that pays down the national debt. And the interest savings I would put right back into Social Security. That extends the life of Social Security for 55 years. Now, I think that it's very important to understand that cutting benefits under Social Security means that people like Winifred Skinner from Des Moines, Iowa, who is here, would really have a much harder time. Because there are millions of seniors who are living almost hand to mouth. And you talk about cutting benefits. I don't go along with it. I am opposed to it. I'm also opposed to a plan that diverts 1 out of every \$6 away from the Social Security Trust Fund. Social Security is a trust fund that pays the checks this year with the money that is paid into Social Security this year. The governor wants to divert 1 out of every \$6 off into the stock market, which means that he would drain a trillion dollars out of the Social Security Trust Fund in this generation over the next ten years, and Social Security under that approach would go bankrupt within this generation. His leading advisor on this plan actually said that would be okay, because then the Social Security Trust Fund could start borrowing. It would borrow up to \$3 trillion. Now, Social Security has never done that. And I don't think it should do that. I think it should stay in a lockbox, and I'll tell you this. I will veto anything that takes money out of Social Security for privatization or anything else other than Social Security.

BUSH: I thought it was interesting that on the two minutes he spent about a million-and-a-half on my plan, which means he doesn't want you to know what he's doing is loading up IOUs for future generations. He puts no real assets into the Social Security system. The revenues exceed the expenses in Social Security until the year 2015 which means all retirees are going to get the promises made. For those of you who he wants to scare into the voting booth to vote for him, hear me loud and clear. A promise made will be a promise kept. You bet we want to allow younger workers to take some of their own money. That's the difference of opinion. The vice president thinks it's the government's money. The payroll taxes are your money. You ought to put it in prudent, safe investments so that \$1 trillion over the next ten years grows to be \$3 trillion. The money stays within the Social Security system. It's a part of the Social Security system. He claims it will be out of Social Security. It's your money, it's a part of your retirement benefit. It's a fundamental difference between what we believe. I want you to have your own asset that you can call your own. That you can pass on from one generation to the next. I want to get a better rate of return for your own money than the paltry 2% that the current Social Security Trust gets today. Mr. Greenspan I thought missed an opportunity to say there's a third way, and that is to get a better rate of return on the Social Security monies coming into the trust. There is \$2.3 trillion of surplus that we can use to make sure that younger workers have a Social Security plan in the future. If we're smart and if we trust workers and if we understand the power of the compounding rate of interest.

GORE: Here is the difference. I give a new incentive for younger workers to save their own money and invest their own money, but not at the expense of Social Security, on top of Social Security. My plan is Social Security plus. The governor's plan is Social Security minus. Your future benefits would be cut by the amount that's diverted into the stock market. If you make bad investments, that's too bad. But even before then the problem hits because the money contributed to Social Security this year is an entitlement. That's how it works. And the money is used to pay the benefits for seniors this year. If you cut the amount going in 1 out of every \$6, then you have to cut the value of each check by 1 out of every \$6 unless you come up with the money from somewhere else. I would like to know from the governor — I know we're not supposed to ask each other questions — but I'd be interested in knowing, does that trillion dollars come from the trust fund, or does it come from the rest of the budget?

BUSH: No. There's enough money to pay seniors today in the current affairs of Social Security. The trillion comes from the surplus. Surplus is money — more money than needed. Let me tell you what your plan is. It's not Social Security plus, it's Social Security plus huge debt. That is

what it is. You leave future generations with tremendous IOUs. It's time to have a leader that doesn't put off tomorrow what we should do today. It's time to have somebody to step up and say look, let's let younger workers take some of their own money and under certain guidelines invest it in the private markets. The safest of federal investments yields 4%. That's twice the amount of rate of return than the current Social Security Trust. It's a fundamental difference of opinion here, folks. Younger worker after younger worker hears my call that says I trust you. And you know what, the issue is changing. Seniors now understand that the promise made will be a promise kept, but younger workers now understand we better have a government that trusts them and that's exactly what I'm going to do.

Gore: Could I respond to that, Jim? This is a big issue. Could we do another round on it?

Moderator: We're almost out of time.

Gore: Just briefly. When FDR established Social Security, they didn't call them IOUs, they called it the full faith and credit of the United States. If you don't have trust in that, I do. If you take it out of the surplus in the trust fund, that means the trust fund goes bankrupt in this generation within 20 years.

Bush: This is a government that thinks a 2% rate of return on your money is satisfactory. It's not. This is a government that says younger workers can't possibly have their own assets. We need to think differently about the issue. We need to make sure our seniors get the promise made. If we don't trust younger workers to manage some of their own money with the Social Security surplus, to grow from \$1 trillion to \$3 trillion, it will be impossible to bridge the gap without it. What Mr. Gore's plan will do causing huge payroll taxes or major benefit reductions.

Moderator: New question. Are there issues of character that distinguish you from Vice President Gore?

Bush: The man loves his wife and I appreciate that a lot. And I love mine. The man loves his family a lot, and I appreciate that, because I love my family. I think the thing that discouraged me about the vice president was uttering those famous words, "No controlling legal authority." I felt like there needed to be a better sense of responsibility of what was going on in the White House. I believe that — I believe they've moved that sign, "The buck stops here" from the Oval Office desk to "The buck stops here" on the Lincoln bedroom. It's not good for the country and it's not right. We need to have a new look about how we conduct ourselves in office. There's a huge trust. I see it all the time when people come up to me and say, I don't want you to let me down again. And we can do better than the past administration has done. It's time for a fresh start. It's time for a new look. It's time for a fresh start after a season of cynicism. And so I don't know the man well, but I've been disappointed about how he and his administration have conducted the fundraising affairs. You know, going to a Buddhist temple and then claiming it wasn't a fundraiser isn't my view of responsibility.

Moderator: Vice President Gore?

Gore: I think we ought to attack our country's problems, not attack each other. I want to spend my time making this country even better than it is, not trying to make you out to be a bad person. You may want to focus on scandal. I want to focus on results. As I said a couple of months ago, I stand here as my own man and I want you to see me for who I really am. Tipper and I have been married for 30 years. We became grandparents a year-and-a-half ago. We've got four children. I have devoted 24 years of my life to public service and I've said this before and I'll say it again, if you entrust me with the presidency, I may not be the most exciting politician, but I will work

hard for you every day. I will fight for middle-class families and working men and women and I will never let you down.

MODERATOR: So, Governor, what are you saying when you mention the fundraising scandals or the fundraising charges that involve Vice President Gore? What are you saying that the voters should take from that that's relevant to this election?

BUSH: They ought to factor in it when they go to the voting booth.

MODERATOR: In what way?

BUSH: I think people need to be held responsible for the actions they take in life. I think that — well, I think that's part of the need for a cultural change. We need to say we each need to be responsible for what we do. People in the highest office of the land must be responsible for decisions they make in life. And that's the way I've conducted myself as Governor of Texas and that's the way I'll conduct myself as President of the United States, should I be fortunate enough to earn your vote.

MODERATOR: Are you saying all this is irrelevant, Vice President Gore?

GORE: No. I think the American people should take into account who we are as individuals, what our experience is, what our positions are on the issues and proposals are. I'm asking you to see me for who I really am. I'm offering you my own vision, my own experience, my own proposals. And incidentally, one of them is this. This current campaign financing system has not reflected credit on anybody in either party. And that's one of the reasons I've said before, and I'll pledge here tonight, if I'm president, the very first bill that Joe Lieberman and I will send to the United States Congress is the McCain-Feingold campaign finance reform bill. And the reason it's that important is that all of the other issues, whether prescription drugs for all seniors that are opposed by the drug companies or the patient's bill of rights to take the decisions away from the HMOs and give them to the doctors and nurses, opposed by the HMOs and insurance companies, all these other proposals are going to be a lot easier to get passed for the American people if we limit the influence of special interest money and give democracy back to the American people. And I wish Governor Bush would join me this evening in endorsing the McCain-Feingold Campaign Finance Reform Bill.

BUSH: You know, this man has no credibility on the issue. As a matter of fact, I read in the "New York Times" where he said he co-sponsored the McCain-Feingold Campaign Fundraising Bill. But he wasn't in the Senate with Senator Feingold. And so, look, I'm going to — what you need to know about me is I will uphold the law, I'm going to have an attorney general that enforces the law. The time for campaign funding reform is after the election. This man has outspent me and the special interests are outspending me. And I am not going to lay down my arms in the middle of the campaign for somebody who has got no credibility on the issue.

MODERATOR: Senator McCain — hold on one second. Senator McCain said in August, "It doesn't matter which one of you is President of the United States in January, there is going to be blood on the floor of the United States Senate," and he'll tie up the Senate until campaign finance reform is passed that includes a ban on soft money. First of all, would you support that effort by him, or would you sign a bill that is finally passed that included —

BUSH: I would support an effort to ban corporate soft money and labor union soft money so long as there was dues check-off. I've campaigned on this since the primaries. I believe there needs to be instant disclosure on the Internet as to who has given to who. I think we need to fully

enforce the law. I think we need to have an attorney general that says if a law is broken, we'll enforce it. Be strict and firm about it.

Gore: Look, Governor Bush, you have attacked my character and credibility and I am not going to respond in kind. I think we ought to focus on the problems and not attack each other. One of the serious problems, hear me well, is that our system of government is being undermined by too much influence coming from special interest money. We have to get a handle on it. And like John McCain, I have learned from experience, and it's not a new position for me. 24 years ago I supported full public financing of all federal elections. And anybody who thinks I'm just saying it, it will be the first bill I send to the Congress. I want you to know I care passionately about this and I will fight until it becomes law.

Bush: I want people to hear what he just said. He is for full public financing of Congressional elections. I'm absolutely, adamantly opposed to that. I don't want the government financing congressional elections.

Moderator: On that wonderful note of disagreement, we have to stop here and we want to go now to your closing statements. Governor Bush is first. You have two minutes.

Bush: Thank you, Jim. Thank the University of Massachusetts and Mr. Vice President, thank you. It has been a good, lively exchange. There is a huge difference of opinion. Mine is I want to empower people in their own lives. I also want to go to Washington to get some positive things done. It is going to require a new spirit. A spirit of cooperation. It will require the ability of a Republican president to reach out across the partisan divide and to say to Democrats, let's come together to do what is right for America. It's been my record as Governor of Texas, it will be how I conduct myself if I'm fortunate enough to earn your vote as President of the United States. I want to finally get something done on Medicare. I want to make sure prescription drugs are available for all seniors. And I want seniors to have additional choices when it comes to choosing their health care plans. I want to finally get something done on Social Security. I want to make sure the seniors have the promise made will be a promise kept, but I want younger workers to be able to manage some of their own money, some of their own payroll taxes in the private sector under certain guidelines to get a better rate of return on your own money. I want to rebuild our military to keep the peace. I want to have a strong hand when it comes to the United States in world affairs. I don't want to try to put our troops in all places at all times. I don't want to be the world's policeman, I want to be the world's peacemaker by having a military of high morale and a military that is well-equipped. I want anti-ballistic missile systems to protect ourselves and our allies from a rogue nation that may try to hold us hostage or blackmail our allies and friends. I want to make sure the education system fulfills its hope and promise. I've had a strong record of working with Democrats and Republicans in Texas to make sure no child is left behind. I understand the limited role of the federal government, but it could be a constructive role when it comes to reform, by insisting that there be a strong accountability systems. My intentions are to earn your vote and earn your confidence. I'm asking for your vote. I want you to be on my team. And for those of you working, thanks from the bottom of my heart. For those of you making up your mind, I would be honored to have your support.

Moderator: Vice President Gore, two minutes.

Gore: I want to thank everybody who watched and listened tonight because this is indeed a crucial time in American history. We're at a fork in the road. We have this incredible prosperity, but a lot of people have been left behind. And we have a very important decision to make. Will we use the prosperity to enrich all of our families and not just a few? One important way of looking at this is to ask who are you going to fight for? Throughout my career in public service, I

have fought for the working men and women of this country, middle-class families. Why? Because you are the ones who have the hardest time paying taxes, the hardest time making ends meet. You are the ones who are making car payments and mortgage payments and doing right by your kids. And a lot of times there are powerful forces that are against you. Make no mistake about it, they do have undue influence in Washington, D.C. and it makes a difference if you have a president who will fight for you. I know one thing about the position of president, it's the only position in our Constitution that is filled by an individual who is given the responsibility to fight not just for one state or one district or the well-connected or wealthy, but to fight for all of the people, including especially those who most need somebody who will stand up and take on whatever powerful forces might stand in the way. There is a woman named Winifred Skinner here tonight from Iowa. I mentioned her earlier. She's 79 years old. She has Social Security. I'm not going to cut her benefits or support any proposal that would. She gets a small pension, but in order to pay for her prescription drug benefits, she has to go out seven days a week several hours a day picking up cans. She came all the way from Iowa in a Winnebago with her poodle in order attend here tonight. I want to tell her, I'll fight for a prescription drug benefit for all seniors and fight for the people of this country for a prosperity that benefits all.

MODERATOR: We will continue this dialogue next week on October 11th at Wake Forest University in Winston-Salem, North Carolina. The format then will be more informal, more conversational with the two candidates seated at a table with me. The third will be October 17th at Washington University in St. Louis, and that will follow a town-hall type format. Also on the day after tomorrow, October 5, there is a 90-minute debate between the democratic nominee for vice president, Senator Joe Lieberman and the republican candidate for vice president former Secretary of Defense Dick Cheney. It will be held at Centre College in Danville, Kentucky. The moderator will be Bernard Shaw of CNN. Thank you, Governor Bush, Vice President Gore. See you next week. For now from Boston, I'm Jim Lehrer. Thank you, and good night.

(APPLAUSE)

Appendix E. Barack Obama's Speech at the Jefferson-Jackson Dinner

delivered 10 November 2007, Veterans Memorial Auditorium, Des Moines, Iowa

Thank you so much. To -- To the great Governor of Iowa and Lieutenant Governor of Iowa; to my dear -- dear friend Tom Harkin for the outstanding work that he does; to the congressional delegation of Iowa that is doing outstanding work; and to Nancy Pelosi, Madam Speaker, thank you all for the wonderful welcome and the wonderful hospitality.

I love you back. [to audience]

A little less than one year from today, you will go into the voting booth and you will select the President of the United States of America. Now, here's the good news -- the name George W. Bush will not be on the ballot. The name of [my cousin Dick Cheney](#) will not be on the ballot. We've been trying to hide that for a long time. Everybody has a black sheep in the family. The era of Scooter Libby justice, and Brownie incompetence, and Karl Rove politics will finally be over.

But the question you're going to have to ask yourself when you caucus in January and you vote in November is, "What's next for America?" We are in a defining moment in our history. Our nation is at war. The planet is in peril. The dream that so many generations fought for feels as if it's slowly slipping away. We are working harder for less. We've never paid more for health care or for college. It's harder to save and it's harder to retire. And most of all we've lost faith that our leaders can or will do anything about it.

We were promised compassionate conservatism and all we got was [Katrina](#) and wiretaps. We were promised a uniter, and we got a President who could not even lead the half of the country that voted for him. We were promised a more ethical and more efficient government, and instead we have a town called Washington that is more corrupt and more wasteful than it was before. And the only mission that was ever accomplished is to use fear and falsehood to take this country to a war that should have never been authorized and should have never been waged.

It is because of these failures that America is listening, intently, to what we say here today -- not just Democrats, but Republicans and Independents who've lost trust in their government, but want to believe again. And it is because of these failures that we not only have a moment of great challenge, but also a moment of great opportunity. We have a chance to bring the country together in a new majority -- to finally tackle problems that George Bush made far worse, but that had festered long before George Bush ever took office -- problems that we've talked about year after year after year after year.

And that is why the same old Washington textbook campaigns just won't do in this election. That's why not answering questions 'cause we are afraid our answers won't be popular just won't do. That's why telling the American people what we think they want to hear instead of telling the American people what they need to hear just won't do. Triangulating and poll-driven positions because we're worried about what Mitt or Rudy might say about us just won't do. If we are really serious about winning this election Democrats, we can't live in fear of losing it.

This party -- the party of Jefferson and Jackson, of Roosevelt and Kennedy -- has always made the biggest difference in the lives of the American people when we led, not by polls, but by principle; not by calculation, but by conviction; when we summoned the entire nation to a

common purpose -- a higher purpose. And I run for the Presidency of the United States of America because that's the party America needs us to be right now.

A party that offers not just a difference in policies, but a difference in leadership.

A party that doesn't just focus on how to win but why we should.

A party that doesn't just offer change as a slogan, but real, meaningful change -- change that America can believe in.

That's why I'm in this race. That's why I am running for the Presidency of the United States of America -- to offer change that we can believe in.

I am in this race to tell the corporate lobbyists that their days of setting the agenda in Washington are over. I have done more than any other candidate in this race to take on lobbyists -- and won. They have not funded my campaign, they will not get a job in my White House, and they will not drown out the voices of the American people when I am President.

I'm in this race to take those tax breaks away from companies that are moving jobs overseas and put them in the pockets of hard working Americans who deserve it. And I won't raise the minimum wage every ten years -- I will raise it to keep pace so that workers don't fall behind.

That is why I am in it. To protect the American worker. To fight for the American worker.

I'm in this race because I want to stop talking about the outrage of 47 million Americans without health care and start actually doing something about it. I expanded health care in Illinois by bringing Democrats and Republicans together. By taking on the insurance industry. And that is how I will make certain that every single American in this country has health care they can count on and I won't do it twenty years from now, I won't do it ten years from now, I will do it by the end of my first term as President of the United States of America.

I run for president to make sure that every American child has the best education that we have to offer -- from the day they are born to the day they graduate from college. And I won't just talk about how great teachers are -- as President I will reward them for their greatness -- by raising salaries and giving them more support. That's why I'm in this race.

I am running for President because I am sick and tired of democrats thinking that the only way to look tough on national security is by talking, and acting, and voting like George Bush Republicans.

When I am this party's nominee, my opponent will not be able to say that I voted for the war in Iraq; or that I gave George Bush the benefit of the doubt on Iran; or that I supported Bush-Cheney policies of not talking to leaders that we don't like. And he will not be able to say that I wavered on something as fundamental as whether or not it is ok for America to torture -- because it is never ok. That's why I am in it.

As President, I will end the war in Iraq. We will have our troops home in sixteen months. I will close Guantanamo. I will restore habeas corpus. I will finish the fight against Al Qaeda. And I will lead the world to combat the common threats of the 21st century -- nuclear weapons and terrorism; climate change and poverty; genocide and disease. And I will send once more a message to those yearning faces beyond our shores that says, "You matter to us. Your future is our future. And our moment is now."

America, our moment is now. Our moment is now. I don't want to spend the next year or the next four years re-fighting the same fights that we had in the 1990s. I don't want to pit Red America against Blue America, I want to be the President of the United States of America.

And if those Republicans come at me with the same fear-mongering and swift-boating that they usually do, then I will take them head on. Because I believe the American people are tired of fear and tired of distractions and tired of diversions. We can make this election not about fear, but about the future. And that won't just be a Democratic victory; that will be an American victory. And that is a victory America needs right now.

I am not in this race to fulfill some long-held ambitions or because I believe it's somehow owed to me. I never expected to be here, I always knew this journey was improbable. I've never been on a journey that wasn't. I am running in this race because of what Dr. King called "the fierce urgency of now." Because I believe that there's such a thing as being too late. And that hour is almost upon us.

I don't want to wake up four years from now and find out that millions of Americans still lack health care because we couldn't take on the insurance industry.

I don't want to see that the oceans have risen a few more inches. The planet has reached a point of no return because we couldn't find a way to stop buying oil from dictators.

I don't want to see more American lives put at risk because no one had the judgment or the courage to stand up against a misguided war before we sent our troops into fight.

I don't want to see homeless veterans on the streets. I don't want to send another generation of American children to failing schools. I don't want that future for my daughters. I don't want that future for your sons. I do not want that future for America.

I'm in this race for the same reason that I fought for jobs for the jobless and hope for the hopeless on the streets of Chicago; for the same reason I fought for justice and equality as a civil rights lawyer; for the same reason that I fought for Illinois families for over a decade.

Because I will never forget that the only reason that I'm standing here today is because somebody, somewhere stood up for me when it was risky. Stood up when it was hard. Stood up when it wasn't popular. And because that somebody stood up, a few more stood up. And then a few thousand stood up. And then a few million stood up. And standing up, with courage and clear purpose, they somehow managed to change the world.

That's why I'm running, Iowa -- to give our children and grandchildren the same chances somebody gave me.

That's why I'm running, Democrats -- to keep the American Dream alive for those who still hunger for opportunity, who still thirst for equality.

That's why I'm asking you to stand with me, that's why I'm asking you to caucus for me, that's why I am asking you to stop settling for what the cynics say we have to accept.

In this election -- in this moment -- let us reach for what we know is possible. A nation healed. A world repaired. An America that believes again.

Thank you very much everybody.

Appendix F. Barack Obama's victory Speech

Obama:

Hello, Chicago.

If there is anyone out there who still doubts that America is a place where all things are possible, who still wonders if the dream of our founders is alive in our time, who still questions the power of our democracy, tonight is your answer.

It's the answer told by lines that stretched around schools and churches in numbers this nation has never seen, by people who waited three hours and four hours, many for the first time in their lives, because they believed that this time must be different, that their voices could be that difference.

It's the answer spoken by young and old, rich and poor, Democrat and Republican, black, white, Hispanic, Asian, Native American, gay, straight, disabled and not disabled. Americans who sent a message to the world that we have never been just a collection of individuals or a collection of red states and blue states.

We are, and always will be, the United States of America.

It's the answer that led those who've been told for so long by so many to be cynical and fearful and doubtful about what we can achieve to put their hands on the arc of history and bend it once more toward the hope of a better day. 🇺🇸 [Watch Obama's speech in its entirety »](#)

It's been a long time coming, but tonight, because of what we did on this date in this election at this defining moment change has come to America.

A little bit earlier this evening, I received an extraordinarily gracious call from Sen. McCain.

Sen. McCain fought long and hard in this campaign. And he's fought even longer and harder for the country that he loves. He has endured sacrifices for America that most of us cannot begin to imagine. We are better off for the service rendered by this brave and selfless leader.

I congratulate him; I congratulate Gov. Palin for all that they've achieved. And I look forward to working with them to renew this nation's promise in the months ahead.

I want to thank my partner in this journey, a man who campaigned from his heart, and spoke for the men and women he grew up with on the streets of Scranton and rode with on the train home to Delaware, the vice president-elect of the United States, Joe Biden.

And I would not be standing here tonight without the unyielding support of my best friend for the last 16 years the rock of our family, the love of my life, the nation's next first lady Michelle Obama.

Sasha and Malia I love you both more than you can imagine. And you have earned the new puppy that's coming with us to the new White House.

And while she's no longer with us, I know my grandmother's watching, along with the family that made me who I am. I miss them tonight. I know that my debt to them is beyond measure.

To my sister Maya, my sister Alma, all my other brothers and sisters, thank you so much for all the support that you've given me. I am grateful to them.

And to my campaign manager, David Plouffe, the unsung hero of this campaign, who built the best -- the best political campaign, I think, in the history of the United States of America.

To my chief strategist David Axelrod who's been a partner with me every step of the way.

To the best campaign team ever assembled in the history of politics you made this happen, and I am forever grateful for what you've sacrificed to get it done.

But above all, I will never forget who this victory truly belongs to. It belongs to you. It belongs to you.

I was never the likeliest candidate for this office. We didn't start with much money or many endorsements. Our campaign was not hatched in the halls of Washington. It began in the backyards of Des Moines and the living rooms of Concord and the front porches of Charleston. It was built by working men and women who dug into what little savings they had to give \$5 and \$10 and \$20 to the cause.

It grew strength from the young people who rejected the myth of their generation's apathy who left their homes and their families for jobs that offered little pay and less sleep.

It drew strength from the not-so-young people who braved the bitter cold and scorching heat to knock on doors of perfect strangers, and from the millions of Americans who volunteered and organized and proved that more than two centuries later a government of the people, by the people, and for the people has not perished from the Earth.

This is your victory.

And I know you didn't do this just to win an election. And I know you didn't do it for me.

You did it because you understand the enormity of the task that lies ahead. For even as we celebrate tonight, we know the challenges that tomorrow will bring are the greatest of our lifetime -- two wars, a planet in peril, the worst financial crisis in a century.

Even as we stand here tonight, we know there are brave Americans waking up in the deserts of Iraq and the mountains of Afghanistan to risk their lives for us.

There are mothers and fathers who will lie awake after the children fall asleep and wonder how they'll make the mortgage or pay their doctors' bills or save enough for their child's college education.

There's new energy to harness, new jobs to be created, new schools to build, and threats to meet, alliances to repair.

The road ahead will be long. Our climb will be steep. We may not get there in one year or even in one term. But, America, I have never been more hopeful than I am tonight that we will get there.

I promise you, we as a people will get there.

There will be setbacks and false starts. There are many who won't agree with every decision or policy I make as president. And we know the government can't solve every problem.

But I will always be honest with you about the challenges we face. I will listen to you, especially when we disagree. And, above all, I will ask you to join in the work of remaking this nation, the only way it's been done in America for 221 years -- block by block, brick by brick, calloused hand by calloused hand.

What began 21 months ago in the depths of winter cannot end on this autumn night.

This victory alone is not the change we seek. It is only the chance for us to make that change. And that cannot happen if we go back to the way things were.

It can't happen without you, without a new spirit of service, a new spirit of sacrifice.

So let us summon a new spirit of patriotism, of responsibility, where each of us resolves to pitch in and work harder and look after not only ourselves but each other.

Let us remember that, if this financial crisis taught us anything, it's that we cannot have a thriving Wall Street while Main Street suffers.

In this country, we rise or fall as one nation, as one people. Let's resist the temptation to fall back on the same partisanship and pettiness and immaturity that has poisoned our politics for so long.

Let's remember that it was a man from this state who first carried the banner of the Republican Party to the White House, a party founded on the values of self-reliance and individual liberty and national unity.

Those are values that we all share. And while the Democratic Party has won a great victory tonight, we do so with a measure of humility and determination to heal the divides that have held back our progress.

As Lincoln said to a nation far more divided than ours, we are not enemies but friends. Though passion may have strained, it must not break our bonds of affection.

And to those Americans whose support I have yet to earn, I may not have won your vote tonight, but I hear your voices. I need your help. And I will be your president, too.

And to all those watching tonight from beyond our shores, from parliaments and palaces, to those who are huddled around radios in the forgotten corners of the world, our stories are singular, but our destiny is shared, and a new dawn of American leadership is at hand.

To those -- to those who would tear the world down: We will defeat you. To those who seek peace and security: We support you. And to all those who have wondered if America's beacon still burns as bright: Tonight we proved once more that the true strength of our nation comes not from the might of our arms or the scale of our wealth, but from the enduring power of our ideals: democracy, liberty, opportunity and unyielding hope.

That's the true genius of America: that America can change. Our union can be perfected. What we've already achieved gives us hope for what we can and must achieve tomorrow.

This election had many firsts and many stories that will be told for generations. But one that's on my mind tonight's about a woman who cast her ballot in Atlanta. She's a lot like the millions of others who stood in line to make their voice heard in this election except for one thing: Ann Nixon Cooper is 106 years old.

She was born just a generation past slavery; a time when there were no cars on the road or planes in the sky; when someone like her couldn't vote for two reasons -- because she was a woman and because of the color of her skin.

And tonight, I think about all that she's seen throughout her century in America -- the heartache and the hope; the struggle and the progress; the times we were told that we can't, and the people who pressed on with that American creed: Yes we can.

At a time when women's voices were silenced and their hopes dismissed, she lived to see them stand up and speak out and reach for the ballot. Yes we can.

When there was despair in the dust bowl and depression across the land, she saw a nation conquer fear itself with a New Deal, new jobs, a new sense of common purpose. Yes we can.

When the bombs fell on our harbor and tyranny threatened the world, she was there to witness a generation rise to greatness and a democracy was saved. Yes we can.

She was there for the buses in Montgomery, the hoses in Birmingham, a bridge in Selma, and a preacher from Atlanta who told a people that "We Shall Overcome." Yes we can.

A man touched down on the moon, a wall came down in Berlin, a world was connected by our own science and imagination.

And this year, in this election, she touched her finger to a screen, and cast her vote, because after 106 years in America, through the best of times and the darkest of hours, she knows how America can change.

Yes we can.

America, we have come so far. We have seen so much. But there is so much more to do. So tonight, let us ask ourselves -- if our children should live to see the next century; if my daughters should be so lucky to live as long as Ann Nixon Cooper, what change will they see? What progress will we have made?

This is our chance to answer that call. This is our moment.

This is our time, to put our people back to work and open doors of opportunity for our kids; to restore prosperity and promote the cause of peace; to reclaim the American dream and reaffirm that fundamental truth, that, out of many, we are one; that while we breathe, we hope. And where we are met with cynicism and doubts and those who tell us that we can't, we will respond with that timeless creed that sums up the spirit of a people: Yes, we can.

Thank you. God bless you. And may God bless the United States of America

Appendix G. Donald Trump 's Presidential

Wow. Whoa. That is some group of people. Thousands.

So I said to myself, you know, nobody's ever going to know unless I run, because I'm really proud of my success. I really am.

I've employed— I've employed tens of thousands of people over my lifetime. That means medical. That means education. That means everything.

So a large accounting firm and my accountants have been working for months, because it's big and complex, and they've put together a statement, a financial statement, just a summary. But everything will be filed eventually with the government, and we don't [use] extensions or anything. We'll be filing it right on time. We don't need anything.

And it was even reported incorrectly yesterday, because they said, "He had assets of \$9 billion." So I said, "No, that's the wrong number. That's the wrong number. Not assets."

So they put together this. And before I say it, I have to say this. I made it the old-fashioned way. It's real estate. You know, it's real estate.

It's labor, and it's unions good and some bad and lots of people that aren't in unions, and it's all over the place and building all over the world.

And I have assets— big accounting firm, one of the most highly respected— 9 billion 240 million dollars.

And I have liabilities of about \$500 million. That's long-term debt, very low interest rates.

In fact, one of the big banks came to me and said, "Donald, you don't have enough borrowings. Could we loan you \$4 billion"? I said, "I don't need it. I don't want it. And I've been there. I don't want it."

But in two seconds, they give me whatever I wanted. So I have a total net worth, and now with the increase, it'll be well-over \$10 billion. But here, a total net worth of—net worth, not assets, not— a net worth, after all debt, after all expenses, the greatest assets— Trump Tower, 1290 Avenue of the Americas, Bank of America building in San Francisco, 40 Wall Street, sometimes referred to as the Trump building right opposite the New York— many other places all over the world.

So the total is \$8,737,540,00.

Now I'm not doing that...

I'm not doing that to brag, because you know what? I don't have to brag. I don't have to, believe it or not.

I'm doing that to say that that's the kind of thinking our country needs. We need that thinking. We have the opposite thinking.

We have losers. We have losers. We have people that don't have it. We have people that are morally corrupt. We have people that are selling this country down the drain.

So I put together this statement, and the only reason I'm telling you about it today is because we really do have to get going, because if we have another three or four years— you know, we're at \$8 trillion now. We're soon going to be at \$20 trillion.

According to the economists— who I'm not big believers in, but, nevertheless, this is what they're saying— that \$24 trillion— we're very close— that's the point of no return. \$24 trillion. We will be there soon. That's when we become Greece. That's when we become a country that's unsalvageable. And we're gonna be there very soon. We're gonna be there very soon.

So, just to sum up, I would do various things very quickly. I would repeal and replace the big lie, Obamacare.

I would build a great wall, and nobody builds walls better than me, believe me, and I'll build them very inexpensively, I will build a great, great wall on our southern border. And I will have Mexico pay for that wall.

Mark my words.

Nobody would be tougher on ISIS than Donald Trump. Nobody.

I will find — within our military, I will find the General Patton or I will find General MacArthur, I will find the right guy. I will find the guy that's going to take that military and make it really work. Nobody, nobody will be pushing us around.

I will stop Iran from getting nuclear weapons. And we won't be using a man like Secretary Kerry that has absolutely no concept of negotiation, who's making a horrible and laughable deal, who's just being tapped along as they make weapons right now, and then goes into a bicycle race at 72 years old, and falls and breaks his leg. I won't be doing that. And I promise I will never be in a bicycle race. That I can tell you.

I will immediately terminate President Obama's illegal executive order on immigration, immediately.

Fully support and back up the Second Amendment.

Now, it's very interesting. Today I heard it. Through stupidity, in a very, very hard core prison, interestingly named Clinton, two vicious murderers, two vicious people escaped, and nobody knows where they are. And a woman was on television this morning, and she said, "You know, Mr. Trump," and she was telling other people, and I actually called her, and she said, "You know, Mr. Trump, I always was against guns. I didn't want guns. And now since this happened"— it's up in the prison area— "my husband and I are finally in agreement, because he wanted the guns. We now have a gun on every table. We're ready to start shooting."

I said, "Very interesting."

So protect the Second Amendment.

End— end Common Core. Common Core should— it is a disaster. Bush is totally in favor of Common Core. I don't see how he can possibly get the nomination. He's weak on immigration. He's in favor of Common Core. How the hell can you vote for this guy? You just can't do it. We have to end education has to be local.

Rebuild the country's infrastructure.

Nobody can do that like me. Believe me. It will be done on time, on budget, way below cost, way below what anyone ever thought.

I look at the roads being built all over the country, and I say I can build those things for one-third. What they do is unbelievable, how bad.

You know, we're building on Pennsylvania Avenue, the Old Post Office, we're converting it into one of the world's great hotels. It's gonna be the best hotel in Washington, D.C. We got it from the General Services Administration in Washington. The Obama administration. We got it. It was the most highly sought after— or one of them, but I think the most highly sought after project in the history of General Services. We got it. People were shocked, Trump got it.

Well, I got it for two reasons. Number one, we're really good. Number two, we had a really good plan. And I'll add in the third, we had a great financial statement. Because the General Services, who are terrific people, by the way, and talented people, they wanted to do a great job. And they wanted to make sure it got built.

So we have to rebuild our infrastructure, our bridges, our roadways, our airports. You come into La Guardia Airport, it's like we're in a third world country. You look at the patches and the 40-year-old floor. They throw down asphalt, and they throw.

You look at these airports, we are like a third world country. And I come in from China and I come in from Qatar and I come in from different places, and they have the most incredible airports in the world. You come to back to this country and you have

LAX, disaster. You have all of these disastrous airports. We have to rebuild our infrastructure.

Save Medicare, Medicaid and Social Security without cuts. Have to do it.

Get rid of the fraud. Get rid of the waste and abuse, but save it. People have been paying it for years. And now many of these candidates want to cut it. You save it by making the United States, by making us rich again, by taking back all of the money that's being lost.

Renegotiate our foreign trade deals.

Reduce our \$18 trillion in debt, because, believe me, we're in a bubble. We have artificially low interest rates. We have a stock market that, frankly, has been good to me, but I still hate to see what's happening. We have a stock market that is so bloated.

Be careful of a bubble because what you've seen in the past might be small potatoes compared to what happens. So be very, very careful.

And strengthen our military and take care of our vets. So, so important.

Sadly, the American dream is dead.

But if I get elected president I will bring it back bigger and better and stronger than ever before, and we will make America great again.

Thank you. Thank you very much.

Announcement Speech

الملخص

تحدد الدراسة الحالية العلاقة بين الانتخابات الرئاسية الأمريكية والصحافة الأمريكية. أصبحت وسائل الإعلام هي المصدر الرئيسي لأنشطة حملة المرشحين. كما غيّرت وسائل الإعلام الجديدة بشكل عميق طريقة خوض الانتخابات ومشاركة المواطنين فيها والتغطية الإعلامية للحملات ، حيث أثّرت مخاوف كثيرة بشأن مساهمة وسائل الإعلام السلبية أو الإيجابية في الانتخابات الرئاسية الأمريكية ، وتعتمد هذه الدراسة على منهجين ؛ المنهج التاريخي والتحليلي الدان يستكشفان الفرضية المبنية . الهدف الأساسي من هذا البحث هو تحليل الاستراتيجيات التقنية لوسائل الإعلام التقليدية والاجتماعية التي استخدمها جون فيتزجيرالد كينيدي ، جورج ووكر بوش ، باراك أوباما ودونالد ترامب للفوز بالرئاسة ، بالإضافة إلى تحليل خطابات المرشحين والمناقشات التلفزيونية. والتغريدات التي ساهمت في إقناع الناخبين في الحملات الانتخابية. علاوة على ذلك ، يهدف إلى تسليط الضوء على تأثير وسائل الإعلام في الانتخابات الرئاسية الأمريكية وتوضيح إلى أي مدى ساعدت المرشحين على الفوز بالرئاسة. تكشف النتائج أن وسائل الإعلام كان لها دور إيجابي في الانتخابات الرئاسية الأمريكية. يمكن أن تكون المنصات الإعلامية عاملاً محورياً في تأجيج رغبة الناس في المشاركة في التصويت. تلعب الانتخابات الحرة والنزيهة دوراً رئيسياً في تعزيز ركيزة الديمقراطية.

كلمات مفتاحية : وسائل التواصل الاجتماعي ، الانتخابات الرئاسية الأمريكية ، الحملة الانتخابية ، الصحافة الأمريكية ، الخطابات.