Presidential Candidates’ Health Care Reform Proposals 2008

Health care is consistently ranked as the top domestic concern of the majority of Americans. CodeBlueNow! is tracking the candidates’ proposals as they are developed.

As a nonpartisan, nonprofit organization, we do not and will not endorse any candidate. We wish, instead, to lay out what the candidates are proposing in a simple grid for easy comparisons. Additional detail can be found on the candidates’ websites.

Ranking Categories

The categories we selected for review include:

- **Universal Coverage/Access**: Does the candidates support this? If so, how?
- **Shared Responsibility**: Who is responsible? Shared or Personal?
- **Tax Credits/Refunds**: What changes does the candidate propose in taxes?
- **Health Care Marketplace**: How would the candidate propose changing the health care marketplace?
- **Delivery System**: What changes does the candidate propose that impacts the Delivery System—the way health care services are provided?
- **Cost Containment**: How does the candidate propose to control costs?
- **Quality**: How does the candidate propose to improve quality?
- **Mandatory**: Does the candidate think health coverage in mandatory? For everyone? Select groups?

These are broad brush issues reflecting the key elements most candidates talk about in one way or another. We may add categories as more proposals are fleshed out. Suggested items may be in several categories. For example, information technology will show up under Delivery System, as well as Quality and Cost Containment.

Methodology

Information on the Candidates’ proposals were developed in two stages:

**Stage One.** Review of Candidate websites and the website of the Association of Health Care Journalists, a nonpartisan, nonprofit association of over 600 health care reporters and editors (http://www.healthjournalism.org/secondarypage-details.php?id=97)

**Stage Two.** The summary pages were sent to the Candidates’ Campaign manager and/or designated health care policy staff person. The information was sent the week of 9/24/07 asking them to respond by 10/8 in anticipation of some Iowa Survey findings we would be releasing 10/9/07. The candidates were called 10/8/07 if we had not heard from them. Five candidates responded on Monday.

We did not use news stories on the candidates’ proposals as a source of information. We relied completely on their web sites and their staffs’ responses.

This information will be posted on the CodeBlueNow! Website and updated as we receive or the candidates additional information.

One of CodeBlueNow!’s goals in doing this, is to identify areas of consensus and common ground among candidates.
Sources


http://www.healthjournalism.org/secondarypage-details.php?id=97

http://www.barackobama.com
http://www.dennis4president.com
http://www.fred08.com
http://www.gohunter08.com
http://www.gravel2008.us
http://www.hillaryclinton.com
http://www.johnedwards.com
http://www.johnmccain.com
http://www.joinrudy2008.com
http://www.mikehuckabee.com
http://www.mittromney.com
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Democratic Candidates</th>
<th>Universal Coverage/Access*</th>
</tr>
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| **Hillary Clinton**    | • Provide quality, affordable health care to all Americans.  
                          • Responsibility shared by government, individuals, providers, employers, and insurers.  
                          • Strengthen Medicaid and SCHIP to serve all low-income individuals. |
| **John Edwards**       | • Responsibility shared by government, employers, and individuals.  
                          • Expand Medicaid and SCHIP to serve all adults under the poverty line and all children and parents under 250 percent of the poverty line (About $50,000 for a family of four). |
| **Mike Gravel**        | • Replace employer-based healthcare systems with a universal Healthcare Security System (HSS).  
                          • Medicare and Medicaid would be permitted to expire over time. |
| **Dennis Kucinich**    | • Replace current employer/employee funded for-profit health insurance system with a universal, single-payer, not-for-profit health care plan that is publicly funded.  
| **Barack Obama**       | • National Public Health Plan – a new public insurance program, available to Americans who neither qualify for Medicaid or SCHIP nor have access to insurance through their employers, as well as to small businesses that want to offer insurance to their employees.  
                          • National Health Insurance Exchange – through the Exchange, any American can enroll in the new national public plan or an approved private insurance plan – which must offer benefits comparable to the federal employees’ health benefits and must charge fair and stable premiums.  
                          • Employer Mandate – will require employers to contribute toward the health coverage for their employees or toward the cost of the public plan  
                          • Children Covered – will mandate all children have health care coverage  
                          • Expand eligibility for the Medicaid and SCHIP programs  
                          • Partnerships among federal and state governments, employers, providers, and individuals.  
                          • Flexibility for State Plans – will not replace what states are doing; states can continue to experiment. |
| Republican Candidates  | Universal Coverage/Access |
| **Rudy Giuliani**      | • Health care insurance belongs in the free-market. |
| **Mike Huckabee**      | • Make affordable, personal health insurance accessible to all Americans through a consumer-based system that’s 10 percent portable.  
                          • Provide individuals and families the tax deductions we currently give to businesses, and expand health savings accounts to all consumers.  
                          • Expand funding and coverage for combat veterans’ care, including access to private sector facilities for veterans who need it.  
                          • End economic disadvantage of employer-based system by creating a consumer-based system that cuts costs by preventing chronic diseases through nutrition, exercise, and ending smoking, and by earlier diagnosis and better management of disease. |
| **Duncan Hunter**      | • Health care is the consumer’s responsibility, but reforms need to be implemented that empower the consumer to be able to make sound and personalized decisions within the health care marketplace. |
| **John McCain**        | • Expand benefits and funding for veteran health care.  
                          • Tax credits available to everyone.  
                          • Reforms throughout the health care system lead to universal access. |
| **Ron Paul**           | • Health care insurance and coverage is the consumer’s responsibility. |
| **Mitt Romney**        | • Health care insurance and coverage is the consumer’s responsibility. |
| **Fred Thompson**      | • Health care insurance and coverage is the consumer’s responsibility. |

*Universal Coverage/Access means everyone is covered regardless of how it is paid for.*
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<thead>
<tr>
<th>Democratic Candidates</th>
<th>Tax Credit and/or Refunds</th>
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| **Hillary Clinton**   | • Ensure premium affordability through refundable tax credits.  
                       | • Limit premium payments to a percentage of income.  
                       | • Provide refundable tax credit to small businesses that provide quality coverage for employees.  
                       | • Redirect savings from high-income tax cuts for tax breaks to ensure affordable health care coverage.  
                       | • Make the employer tax exclusion fairer.  
                       | • Create a Retiree Health Legacy Initiative that provides a tax credit for qualifying private and public retiree health plans to offset a significant portion of catastrophic expenditures. |
| **John Edwards**      | • Create a new tax credit to subsidize insurance purchased to make premiums affordable for all families.  
                       | • Provide refundable tax credit on a sliding scale to middle class families and families without income tax liability. |
| **Mike Gravel**       | • Provide annual healthcare certificate that covers basic medical services. |
| **Dennis Kucinich**   | • Estimated 75% reduction in out-of-pocket spending by insured consumers through elimination of premiums, co-pays, and deductibles.  
                       | • Tax credits and/or refunds not applicable. |
| **Barack Obama**      | • Individual subsidies for those who do not qualify for Medicaid or SCHIP.  
                       | • Federal reinsurance to reimburse employer health plans for a portion of their catastrophic costs. |

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| **Rudy Giuliani**     | • Offer tax benefits for those without employer coverage to make insurance more affordable.  
                       | • Offer Health Insurance Credit to low-income individuals that can be coupled with other revenue sources such as Medicaid and employer contributions. |
| **Mike Huckabee**     | • Provide tax credits instead of deductions for low income families.  
                       | • Make health insurance tax deductible for individuals and families as it now is for businesses. |
| **Duncan Hunter**     | • Families and individuals able to deduct their health care insurance premiums/major expenditures. |
| **John McCain**       | • Reform the tax code to eliminate the bias towards employer-sponsored health insurance.  
                       | • Provide all individuals with a refundable $2,500 tax credit ($5,000 for families) as incentive to buy health insurance.  
                       | • Require any state receiving Medicaid to develop a financial “risk adjustment” bonus to high-cost and low-income families to supplement tax credits and Medicaid funds.  
                       | • Provide retired veterans tax breaks to help pay health insurance premiums. |
| **Ron Paul**          |   |
| **Mitt Romney**       | • Make out-of-pocket expenses tax deductible.  
<pre><code>                   | • Allow persons who purchase health insurance on their own to deduct their premium payments. |
</code></pre>
<p>| <strong>Fred Thompson</strong>     |   |</p>
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<tr>
<th>Democratic Candidates</th>
<th>Health Care Marketplace</th>
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| Hillary Clinton        | • A choice of health plan options: Federal Employee Health Benefit Program (FEHBP) includes numerous, high-quality health insurance options.  
  • A choice of a public plan options: In addition to private insurance choices, there will be a choice of a public plan option modeled on traditional Medicare program but would cover the same benefits as guaranteed in private plan options.  
  • Eliminate insurance discrimination by guaranteeing issue, automatic renewal, strong rating protections, and minimum stop-loss ratios.  
  • Individuals have the option to keep their existing coverage if they are satisfied with it. |
| John Edwards           | • Regional Health Care Markets, non-profit purchasing pools that offer a choice of competing insurance plans.  
  • Offer choice between private insurers and a public insurance plan modeled after Medicare.  
  • Eliminate insurance discrimination by guaranteeing issue, automatic renewal, strong rating protections, and minimum stop-loss ratios.  
  • Individuals have the option to keep their existing coverage if they are satisfied with it. |
| Mike Gravel            | • Each American will be provided with an annual healthcare certificate covering basic medical services.  
  • Those with higher expected healthcare costs, mainly the poor, receive higher value certificates.  
  • Participants use their certificate, each year, to purchase a basic health service plan, from a limited number of private health insurance providers or a government “Medicare type” service plan.  
  • Participants can change their health plans annually.  
  • Health plans will compete on administrative costs and efficiencies, and will offer lifestyle incentives.  
  • No one will be excluded from coverage. |
| Dennis Kucinich        | • Elimination of private, for-profit health insurers. |
| Barack Obama           | • No denial of coverage from any insurance plan because of illness or pre-existing conditions.  
  • New national public health insurance plan available to individuals who neither qualify for Medicaid or SCHIP, nor have access to employer-provided insurance, as well as to small businesses.  
  • New National Health Insurance Exchange will act as a watchdog and help reform the private insurance market by creating rules and standards for participating plans.  
  • Increase transparency by requiring health insurance plans to disclose the percentage of premiums that actually goes to patient care.  
  • Increase Competition in the Insurance and Drug Markets – Allow drug re-importation; repeal the ban that prevents the government from negotiating reduced prices with drug companies; promote increased use of generic drugs.  
  • Strengthen antitrust laws to prevent overcharging of physicians for malpractice insurance; promote new models for addressing physician errors to improve patient safety, reducing need for malpractice suits.  

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<th>Republican Candidates</th>
<th>Health Care Marketplace</th>
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| **Rudy Giuliani**     | • Improve and expand Health Savings Accounts.  
                        • Require availability of low-cost insurance options.  
                        • Allow citizens to purchase coverage through interstate markets if their own state prevents affordable health care coverage. |
| **Mike Huckabee**     | • Allow free-market forces to drive down prices and increase options and quality of care through a consumer-based system, where individuals and families choose coverage for themselves. |
| **Duncan Hunter**     | • Allow consumers to buy health care insurance across state line.  
                        • Require health care providers to make their fee-for-service pricing widely available to empower consumers.  
                        • Empower consumers to purchase health insurance across state lines. |
| **John McCain**       | • Allow individuals to get insurance through any organization or association that they choose: employers, individual purchases, churches, professional association, and so forth.  
                        • Promote competition throughout the health care system.  
                        • Give states the flexibility to alternative forms of access; risk-adjusted payments per episode covered under Medicaid; use of private insurance in Medicaid; alternative insurance policies and insurance providers; and, different licensing schemes for medical providers.  
                        • Build genuine national markets by permitting providers to practice nationwide.  
                        • Foster the development of routes for safe, cheaper generic versions of drugs and biologic pharmaceuticals.  
                        • Liability reforms to eliminate frivolous lawsuits and limit excessive punitive damages. |
| **Ron Paul**          | • Create incentives for states to reform their health insurance markets.  
                        • Expand and deregulate the private health insurance market.  
                        • Expand Health Savings Accounts. |
| **Mitt Romney**       | • Realign programs and create a system around individual consumers and patients by providing more information and more opportunities to choose affordable health care options.  
                        • Increase competition and consumer choice while streamlining regulations through free-market solutions. |
| **Fred Thompson**     | • Realign programs and create a system around individual consumers and patients by providing more information and more opportunities to choose affordable health care options.  
                        • Increase competition and consumer choice while streamlining regulations through free-market solutions. |
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<th>Democratic Candidates</th>
<th>Delivery System</th>
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| **Hillary Clinton**   | • Ensure that all providers and plans use privacy-protected information technology.  
|                       | • Improve care of the chronically ill.  
|                       | • Prioritize prevention to reduce disease. |
| **John Edwards**      | • Invest in preventive care and health.  
|                       | • Help doctors deliver the best care.  
|                       | • Empower patients through transparency.  
|                       | • Reduce health disparities.  
|                       | • Improve productivity with information technology.  
|                       | • Protect patients against dangerous medicines. |
| **Mike Gravel**       | • Basic service plans permit free choice of doctors and hospitals and cover catastrophic illness, dental care, eye care, drugs, home healthcare, and nursing home care. |
| **Dennis Kucinich**   | • Free choice of medical providers, including doctors and facilities, for all emergency, in-patient, and outpatient care, including vision, dental, and mental health coverage, rehabilitation, and long-term and extended care services.  
|                       | • Complete portability of coverage, regardless of changes in employment or geographic location. |
| **Barack Obama**      | • Require providers to utilize proven disease management programs.  
|                       | • Improve coordination and integration of care of those with chronic conditions by implementing programs and encouraging team care.  
|                       | • Require hospitals and providers to collect and publicly report measures of health care costs and quality, including data on preventable medical errors, nurse staffing ratios, hospital-acquired infections, and disparities in care.  
|                       | • Require providers to report preventable medical errors; support hospital and physician practice improvement to prevent future occurrences.  
|                       | • Change payment of providers to move away from paying for volume of care and towards rewarding providers for achieving performance thresholds on outcome measures.  
|                       | • Establish an independent institute to guide reviews and research on comparative effectiveness to provide accurate and objective information.  
|                       | • Tackle the root causes of health disparities by addressing differences in access to health coverage, promoting prevention and public health, supporting quality measurement and reporting, implementing patient navigation programs, and diversifying the health workforce.  
|                       | • Invest $50 billion over five years to move the U.S. health care system to broad adoption of standards-based electronic health information systems.  
|                       | • Promote prevention and strengthen public health by prioritizing programs and activities that strengthen prevention and public health. |
| **Bill Richardson**   | • Promote coordinated care and disease management.  
|                       | • Promote health literacy.  
<p>|                       | • Invest in medical information technology. |</p>
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<th>Republican Candidates</th>
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<tr>
<td><strong>Rudy Giuliani</strong></td>
<td>• Reform the medical liability legal system.</td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>Mike Huckabee</strong></td>
<td>• Promote prevention rather than intervention, provide earlier diagnosis and better management of disease, preserve personal doctor-patient relationships, and create electronic record keeping.</td>
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| **Duncan Hunter**     | • Reinvigorate the use of family doctors through innovative direct consumer payment schemes.  
|                       | • Establish a pilot project at 8 designated hospitals to implement advanced protocols to reduce hospital stays, save money and increase positive outcomes. |
| **John McCain**       | • Support measures to allow veterans in remote areas of America to receive care at facilities beyond VA Hospitals.  
|                       | • Give higher pay to VA doctors in order to recruit and retain high quality physicians and dentists.  
|                       | • Provide veterans with treatment for tobacco related illnesses and substance abuse problems as well as mental health care and radiation exposure. |
| **Ron Paul**          | • Implement medical liability reform. |
| **Mitt Romney**       | • Promote cost-effective prevention and chronic care management. |
| **Fred Thompson**     | • Reinvigorate the use of family doctors through innovative direct consumer payment schemes.  
<p>|                       | • Establish a pilot project at 8 designated hospitals to implement advanced protocols to reduce hospital stays, save money and increase positive outcomes. |</p>
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<th>Democratic Candidates</th>
<th>Cost Containment</th>
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| **Hillary Clinton**    | • Prioritize prevention to reduce the incidence of diseases that impose huge human and financial burdens.  
                                • Phase-out excessive Medicare overpayments to HMOs and other managed care plans ($10 billion in net savings).  
                                • Dedicate portions of savings achieved from reduced need for uncompensated care payments ($7 billion in net savings): Reinvest in public hospitals, community health centers, and surge capacity to ensure health system capacity during natural disasters, epidemics, or when national security is threatened.  
                                • Apply purchasing leverage to reduce prescription drug costs (at least $4 billion in savings).  
                                • Modernize health care delivery system to promote value and quality (at least $35 billion in savings): Includes information technology, prevention, chronic care coordination, and comparative effectiveness research. |
| **John Edwards**       | • Invest in preventive care and health.  
                                • Adopt electronic medical records (as much as $160 billion a year in savings).  
                                • Create a new era in chronic care including a medical “home” to coordinate specialists.  
                                • Study and publicize cost effective treatments.  
                                • Reform the health insurance and prescription drug industry.                                                                                     |
| **Mike Gravel**        | • Total annual health certificate budget fixed as a share of GDP.  
                                • Fund HSS through a national retail sales tax calculated upon the medical histories in the databank so that the nation cannot go broke due to healthcare expenditures. |
| **Dennis Kucinich**    | • Elimination of for-profit insurance companies’ profits, dividends, stock options, bonuses, marketing, advertising and other administrative costs ($300 billion).  
                                • Negotiate lower prescription drug prices: 30% reduction in costs ($87 billion).  
                                • Negotiate lower prices for durable medical equipment ($9 billion).  
                                • Negotiate lower prices for non-durable medical supplies ($13 billion)  
                                • Efficiencies through single-payer information technology and coordination of care.  
                                • Preventive and ongoing care for currently uninsured to reduce cost of treatment in higher-cost settings (e.g. emergency rooms) for non-emergency care and treatment. |
| **Barack Obama**       | • Invest $50 billion over five years towards adoption of electronic medical records and other health information technology.  
                                • Promote insurer competition through the National Health Insurance Exchange and by regulating the portion of health plan premiums that must be paid out in benefits.  
                                • Improve prevention and management of chronic conditions.  
                                • Provide reinsurance for catastrophic coverage, which will reduce insurance premiums for small businesses.  
                                • Initiate policies to promote generic drugs, allow drug re-importation, and repeal the ban on direct price negotiation between Medicare and drug companies.  
                                • Pay Medicare Advantage plans the same as regular (traditional) Medicare.  
                                • Make health insurance universal, which will reduce spending on uncompensated care.  
                                • Promote and strengthen public health and prevention.                                                                                     |

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<thead>
<tr>
<th>Republican Candidates</th>
<th>Cost Containment</th>
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| Rudy Giuliani         | • Reduce costs by streamlining the FDA process.  
                        | • Invest in health information technology. |
| Mike Huckabee         | • Reform medical liability.  
                        | • Adopt electronic record keeping.  
                        | • Make health insurance more portable from one job to another.  
                        | • Expand health savings accounts to everyone, not just to those with high deductibles.  
                        | • Make health insurance tax deductible for individuals and families as it now is for businesses.  
                        | • Increase prevention, earlier diagnosis, and improve management to reduce the costs of treating chronic diseases, which currently account for 80 percent of healthcare spending. |
| Duncan Hunter         | • Allow consumers to buy health insurance across state lines to drive down cost.  
                        | • Empower consumers by requiring health care providers to make their fee-for-service pricing widely available. |
| John McCain           | • Promote open health care markets to encourage competition throughout the health care system.  
                        | • Foster the development of routes for safe, cheaper generic versions of drugs and biologic pharmaceuticals.  
                        | • Eliminate frivolous lawsuits and excessive damage awards.  
                        | • Reform the payment systems in Medicare to compensate providers for diagnosis, prevention, and care coordination, improving the quality of care while lowering costs. |
| Ron Paul              |                  |
| Mitt Romney           | • Expand and deregulate the private health insurance market to decrease costs.  
<pre><code>                    | • Reform tax code to make private health insurance more affordable. |
</code></pre>
<p>| Fred Thompson         | • Promote prevention. |</p>
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<thead>
<tr>
<th>Democratic Candidates</th>
<th>Quality</th>
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</table>
| **Hillary Clinton**   | • Ensure that all providers and plans use privacy-protected information technology.  
                        • Fund and distribute independent research to compare effectiveness of treatments.  
                        • Eliminate health disparities.  
                        • Empower physicians to improve quality through physician-driven certification programs.  
                        • Empower patients with information on provider performance.  
                        • Incentivize quality through increased federal payments for health care providers. |
| **John Edwards**      | • Promote evidence-based medicine.  
                        • Prevent medical errors. |
| **Mike Gravel**       |         |
| **Dennis Kucinich**   |         |
| **Barack Obama**      | • Promote prevention and strengthen public health by prioritizing programs and activities that strengthen prevention and public health.  
                        • Require providers utilize proven disease management programs.  
                        • Improve coordination and integration of care of those with chronic conditions by implementing programs and encouraging team care.  
                        • Require hospitals and providers to collect and publicly report measures of health care costs and quality, including data on preventable medical errors, nurse staffing ratios, hospital-acquired infections, and disparities in care.  
                        • Require providers to report preventable medical errors, and support hospital and physician practice improvement to prevent future occurrences.  
                        • Change payment of providers to move away from paying for volume of care and towards rewarding providers for achieving performance thresholds on outcome measures.  
                        • Establish an independent institute to guide reviews and research on comparative effectiveness to provide accurate and objective information.  
                        • Tackle causes of health disparities by addressing differences in access to health coverage, promoting prevention and public health, supporting quality measurement and reporting, implementing patient navigation programs, and diversifying the health workforce.  
                        • Invest $50 billion over five years to move U.S. health care system to broad adoption of standards-based electronic health information systems.  
                        • Strengthen antitrust laws to prevent overcharging of physicians for malpractice insurance; promote new models for addressing physician errors to improve patient safety, reducing need for malpractice suits. |
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<th>Quality</th>
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| **Rudy Giuliani**     | • Increase quality of care by increasing competition.  
                        • Create visibility of price, provider qualifications, and risk-adjusted procedure outcomes to expand competition, motivate quality improvement, and reduce cost.  
                        • Invest in health information technology to reduce medical errors, improve efficiency, and detect health threats. |
| **Mike Huckabee**     | • Creating a consumer-based, free-market system will create more competition between providers and more options for consumers, increasing the quality of care. |
| **Duncan Hunter**     | • Establish a pilot project at 8 designated hospitals to implement advanced health care delivery protocols that will reduce hospital stays, save money and increase positive outcomes.  
                        • Encourage the use of family doctors who, through knowledge of their clients, are better able to practice proactive medicine versus expensive defensive medicine. |
| **John McCain**       | • Facilitate the development of national standards for measuring and recording treatments and outcomes.  
                        • Dedicate federal research on the basis of sound science resulting in greater focus on care and cure of chronic disease.  
                        • Promote rapid deployment of 21st century information systems.  
                        • Reform the payment systems in Medicare to compensate providers for diagnosis, prevention, and care coordination, improving the quality of care while lowering costs. |
| **Ron Paul**          | • Enhance the use of information technology.  
                        • Establish cost and quality transparency. |
| **Mitt Romney**       | • Enhance the use of information technology.  
                        • Establish cost and quality transparency. |
| **Fred Thompson**     | • Modernize delivery and administration of care by encouraging the widespread use of clinical best practices, medical information technology, and other innovations.  
                        • Promote and speed medical research and life-sciences innovation. |
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<tr>
<th>Democratic Candidates</th>
<th>Health Insurance/Coverage Mandated</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Hillary Clinton</strong></td>
<td>• Individuals must have health insurance coverage.</td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>John Edwards</strong></td>
<td>• All Americans will be required to have health insurance by 2012.</td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>Mike Gravel</strong></td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>Dennis Kucinich</strong></td>
<td>• All Americans will automatically be enrolled in new public program</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
| **Barack Obama**              | • Employer Mandate – Require employers to contribute towards the health coverage for their employees or towards the cost of the public plan.  
• Children Covered – Mandate all children have health care coverage. |
| Republican Candidates         | Health Insurance/Coverage Mandated                                                                       |
| **Rudy Giuliani**             |                                                                                                          |
| **Mike Huckabee**             |                                                                                                          |
| **Duncan Hunter**             | • Consumers must be in charge of their health care.                                                    |
|                               | • Government mandates are expensive and limit consumers’ freedom to make decisions.                   |
| **John McCain**               |                                                                                                          |
| **Ron Paul**                  |                                                                                                          |
| **Mitt Romney**               |                                                                                                          |
| **Fred Thompson**             |                                                                                                          |