

**IN THE UNITED STATES DISTRICT COURT
FOR THE DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA**

UNIVERSAL MUSLIM ASSOCIATION
OF AMERICA; JOHN DOE and JANE
DOE,

Plaintiffs,

v.

DONALD J. TRUMP, in his official capacity
as President of the United States; U.S.
DEPARTMENT OF HOMELAND
SECURITY; U.S. CUSTOMS AND
BORDER PROTECTION; U.S.
DEPARTMENT OF STATE; U.S.
DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE; JOHN
KELLY, in his official capacity as Secretary
of the Department of Homeland Security;
KEVIN K. MCALEENAN, in his official
capacity as Acting Commissioner of U.S.
Customs and Border Protection; REX W.
TILLERSON, in his official capacity as
Secretary of State; and JEFFERSON
BEAUREGARD SESSIONS III, in his
official capacity as Attorney General of the
United States;

Defendants.

Civil Case No.: _____

**DECLARATION OF DAVID J. WEINER IN SUPPORT OF
PLAINTIFFS' COMPLAINT FOR DECLARATORY AND INJUNCTIVE RELIEF AND
MOTION FOR TEMPORARY RESTRAINING ORDER AND PRELIMINARY
INJUNCTION**

I, David J. Weiner, hereby declare as follows:

1. I am over the age of eighteen and competent to testify.
2. I am an attorney at Arnold & Porter Kaye Scholer LLP. This Declaration is submitted in support of Plaintiffs' Complaint for Declaratory and Injunctive Relief and Motion for Temporary Restraining Order and Preliminary Injunction, filed concurrently herewith.

3. Attached hereto as **Exhibit 1** is a true and correct copy of a printout of a news article from the New York Times dated March 15, 2017 titled “2 Federal Judges Rule Against Trump’s Latest Travel Ban.” Link: <https://www.nytimes.com/2017/03/15/us/politics/trump-travel-ban.html>.

4. Attached hereto as **Exhibit 2** is a true and correct copy of a printout of a news article from the Washington Post dated February 22, 2017 titled “A new travel ban with ‘mostly minor technical differences’? That probably won’t cut it, analysts say.” Link: <http://wapo.st/2mmmECm>.

5. Attached hereto as **Exhibit 3** is a true and correct copy of a news article from Politico dated November 18, 2015, titled “Trump: ‘Absolutely no choice’ but to close mosques.” Link: <http://www.politico.com/story/2015/11/trump-close-mosques-216008>.

6. Attached hereto as **Exhibit 4** is a true and correct copy of a printout of a press release published by the presidential campaign website of Donald J. Trump dated December 7, 2015, titled “Donald J. Trump Statement on Preventing Muslim Immigration.” Link: <https://www.donaldjtrump.com/press-releases/donald-j.-trump-statement-on-preventing-muslim-immigration>.

7. Attached hereto as **Exhibit 5** is a true and correct copy of a printout of a Twitter post posted by Donald J. Trump on his personal Twitter account at 2:32 PM on December 7, 2015. Link: <https://twitter.com/realdonaldtrump/status/673993417429524480>.

8. Attached hereto as **Exhibit 6** is a true and correct copy of a printout of an article from Politifact dated January 28, 2016, titled “Christie says neighbors of San Bernardino shooters knew more than they did.” Link: <http://www.politifact.com/truth-o-meter/statements/2016/jan/28/chris-christie/christie-says-neighbors-san-bernardino-shooters-kn/>.

9. Attached hereto as **Exhibit 7** is a true and correct copy of a printout of the transcript of the January 14, 2016 Republican Debate in North Charleston, South Carolina. Link: <http://www.presidency.ucsb.edu/ws/index.php?pid=111395>.

10. Attached hereto as **Exhibit 8** is a true and correct copy of a printout of the transcript of an interview by Anderson Cooper with Donald J. Trump that aired on March 9, 2016 on Anderson Cooper 360 Degrees and published by CNN. Link: <http://www.cnn.com/TRANSCRIPTS/1603/09/acd.01.html>.

11. Attached hereto as **Exhibit 9** is a true and correct copy of a printout of a news article from Reuters dated June 14, 2016, titled "After Florida shooting, Trump hardens stance on Muslims." Link: <http://www.reuters.com/article/us-usa-election-clinton-idUSKCN0YZ1GE>.

12. Attached hereto as **Exhibit 10** is a true and correct copy of a printout of a news article from Politico dated June 13, 2016, titled "Transcript: Donald Trump's national security speech," containing the transcript of then-candidate Mr. Trump's June 13 speech on national security and terrorism in the wake of the Orlando massacre. Link: <http://www.politico.com/story/2016/06/transcript-donald-trump-national-security-speech-224273>.

13. Attached hereto as **Exhibit 11** is a true and correct copy of a printout of the transcript of an interview by Chuck Todd with Donald J. Trump that aired on July 24, 2016 on Meet the Press and was published by NBC News. Link: <http://nbcnews.to/29TqPnp>.

14. Attached hereto as **Exhibit 12** is a true and correct copy of a printout of a news article from Slate dated January 29, 2017, titled "Rudy Giuliani Admits Trump Asked How to Implement a Muslim Ban Legally." Link: <http://thehill.com/homenews/administration/316726-giuliani-trump-asked-me-how-to-do-a-muslim-ban-legally>.

15. Attached hereto as **Exhibit 13** is a true and correct copy of a printout of a news article from ABC News dated November 18, 2016, titled “Donald Trump National Security Adviser Mike Flynn Has Called Islam ‘a Cancer.’” Link: <http://abcnews.go.com/Politics/donald-trump-national-security-adviser-mike-flynn-called/story?id=43575658>.

16. Attached hereto as **Exhibit 14** is a true and correct copy of a printout of a news article from CNN Politics dated November 22, 2016 titled “Michael Flynn in August: Islamism a ‘vicious cancer’ in body of all Muslims that ‘has to be excised.’” Link: <http://www.cnn.com/2016/11/22/politics/kfile-michael-flynn-august-speech/>.

17. Attached hereto as **Exhibit 15** is a true and correct copy of a printout of a news article from USA Today dated January 31, 2017, titled “Steve Bannon’s own words show sharp break on security issues.” Link: <http://www.usatoday.com/story/news/2017/01/31/bannon-odds-islam-china-decades-us-foreign-policy-doctrine/97292068/>.

18. Attached hereto as **Exhibit 16** is a true and correct copy of a printout of a news article from the Guardian dated February 3, 2017, titled “Steve Bannon’s Islamophobic film script just one example of anti-Muslim views.” Link: <https://www.theguardian.com/us-news/2017/feb/03/steve-bannon-islamophobia-film-script-muslims-islam>.

19. Attached hereto as **Exhibit 17** is a true and correct copy of a printout of a news article from USA Today dated February 9, 2017, titled “Bannon, Flynn and Sessions: How Trump’s top advisers view Muslims, in their own word.” Link: <http://www.usatoday.com/story/news/2017/02/09/how-some-trump-advisors-see-islam-their-own-words/97662862/>.

20. Attached hereto as **Exhibit 18** is a true and correct copy of a printout of a news article from CBS News dated January 27, 2017 titled “Brody File Exclusive: President Trump Says Persecuted Christians Will Be Given Priority as Refugees.” Link: <http://bit.ly/2kCqG8M>.

21. Attached hereto as **Exhibit 19** is a true and correct copy of a printout of a news article from the New York Times dated January 31, 2017, titled "More People Were Affected by Travel Ban Than Trump Originally Said." Link:

<https://www.nytimes.com/2017/01/31/us/politics/trump-ban-immigrants-refugees.html>.

22. Attached hereto as **Exhibit 20** is a true and correct copy of a printout of a one page Department of State letter from the Deputy Assistant Visa Secretary for Visa Services dated January 27, 2017. Link: <https://www.documentcloud.org/documents/3440712-DOS-letter.html>.

23. Attached hereto as **Exhibit 21** is a true and correct copy of a printout of a press release dated January 29, 2017 titled "Statement by Senators McCain & Graham on Executive Order on Immigration." Link: <http://bit.ly/2nkx3SW>.

24. Attached hereto as **Exhibit 22** is a true and correct copy of a printout of a Twitter post posted by Donald J. Trump on his personal Twitter account at 3:35 PM on February 9, 2017. Link: <https://twitter.com/realdonaldtrump/status/829836231802515457>.

25. Attached hereto as **Exhibit 23** is a true and correct copy of a printout of a news article from CNN dated January 30, 2017 titled "Inside the Confusion of the Trump Executive Order and Travel Ban." Link: <http://cnn.it/2kGdcZy>.

26. Attached hereto as **Exhibit 24** is a true and correct copy of a printout of a Department of Homeland Security Intelligence document published by the Associated Press on February 24, 2017. Link: <https://www.documentcloud.org/documents/3474730-DHS-intelligence-document-on-President-Donald.html>.

27. Attached hereto as **Exhibit 25** is a true and correct copy of a printout of a news article from the New York Times dated January 31, 2017, titled "State Dept. Dissent Cable on Trump's Ban Draws 1,000 Signatures." Link: <https://nyti.ms/2jS5A6o>.

28. Attached hereto as **Exhibit 26** is a true and correct copy of a printout of a State Department Dissent cable titled “Dissent Channel: Alternatives to Closing Doors in Order to Secure Our Borders.” Link: <https://assets.documentcloud.org/documents/3438487/Dissent-Memo.pdf>.

29. Attached hereto as **Exhibit 27** is a true and correct copy of a printout of the Joint Declaration of Madeleine K. Albright, Avril D. Haines, Michael V. Hayden, John F. Kerry, John E. McLaughlin, Lisa O. Monaco, Michael J. Morell, Janet A. Napolitano, Leon E. Panetta, and Susan E. Rice in *Washington v. Trump*, No. 17-35105, ECF 28-2. Link: <http://cdn.ca9.uscourts.gov/datastore/general/2017/02/06/17-35105%20opposition%20exhibit.pdf>.

30. Attached hereto as **Exhibit 28** is a true and correct copy of a printout of a letter dated January 30, 2017 from former national security officials to Secretary of Homeland Security John F. Kelly, then-Acting Attorney General Sally Yates, and then-Acting Secretary of State Thomas Shannon. Link: <https://lofgren.house.gov/uploadedfiles/finalrefugeeletter01302017.pdf>.

31. Attached hereto as **Exhibit 29** is a true and correct copy of a printout of a news article from the New York Times dated January 28, 2017, titled “Immigration Ban Is Unlikely to Reduce Terrorist Threat, Experts Say.” Link: <https://www.nytimes.com/2017/01/28/us/politics/a-sweeping-order-unlikely-to-reduce-terrorist-threat.html>.

32. Attached hereto as **Exhibit 30** is a true and correct copy of a printout of a research report dated January 26, 2017 titled “Muslim-American Involvement with Violent Extremism.” Link: https://sites.duke.edu/tcths/files/2017/01/FINAL_Kurzman_Muslim-American_Involvement_in_Violent_Extremism_2016.pdf.

33. Attached hereto as **Exhibit 31** is a true and correct copy of a printout of an opinion piece from CNN dated January 30, 2017 titled “Trump’s travel ban wouldn’t have

stopped these deadly terrorists.” Link: <http://www.cnn.com/2017/01/30/opinions/travel-ban-wouldnt-have-stopped-these-deadly-terrorists-bergen-sterman/>.

34. Attached hereto as **Exhibit 32** is a true and correct copy of a printout of a publication from New America titled “Terrorism in America After 9/11, Part II: Who are the Terrorists?” Link: <https://www.newamerica.org/in-depth/terrorism-in-america/who-are-terrorists/>.

35. Attached hereto as **Exhibit 33** is a true and correct copy of a printout of a news article from the New York Times dated March 11, 2017 titled “Trump’s Revised Travel Ban Is Denounced by 134 Foreign Policy Experts.” Link: <https://www.nytimes.com/2017/03/11/us/politics/trump-travel-ban-denounced-foreign-policy-experts.html>.

36. Attached hereto as **Exhibit 34** is a true and correct copy of a printout of chapter 5 in a research report from the U.S. Department of State dated March 13, 2017 titled “Country Reports on Terrorism 2015.” Link: <https://tinyurl.com/jap2fpf>.

37. Attached hereto as **Exhibit 35** is a true and correct copy of a printout of a letter from Senators Sessions and Cruz to President Obama dated June 14, 2016. Link: https://web.archive.org/web/20161109030307/http://www.sessions.senate.gov/public/_cache/file/s/f9d1d9f4-6ee8-42ff-a5f2-29a2518fe2f7/06.14.16-sens.-sessions-cruz-to-president-obama-on-terrorism-immigration.pdf.

38. Attached hereto as **Exhibit 36** is a true and correct copy of a printout of a publication from the Cato Institute dated January 25, 2017 titled “Little National Security Benefit to Trump’s Executive Order on Immigration.” Link: <https://www.cato.org/blog/little-national-security-benefit-trumps-executive-order-immigration>.

39. Attached hereto as **Exhibit 37** is a true and correct copy of a printout of a news article from the Oregonian dated March 7, 2017 titled "Trump Used Failed Portland Car Bomb Plot as Justification for New Travel Ban." Link: <http://bit.ly/2nt4aRV>.

40. Attached hereto as **Exhibit 38** is a true and correct copy of a printout of a research report from the Pew Research Center dated October 7, 2009 titled "Mapping the Global Muslim Population." Link: <http://www.pewforum.org/2009/10/07/mapping-the-global-muslim-population/#footnotes>.

41. Attached hereto as **Exhibit 39** is a true and correct copy of a printout of an archived entry from the BBC dated August 19, 2008 titled "Sunni and Shi'a." Link: http://www.bbc.co.uk/religion/religions/islam/subdivisions/sunnishia_1.shtml.

42. Attached hereto as **Exhibit 40** is a true and correct copy of a printout of an analysis by the Washington Post dated November 21, 2016 titled "Shiites are participating in the world's largest pilgrimage today. Here's how they view the world." Link: <http://wapo.st/2g8oR4W>.

43. Attached hereto as **Exhibit 41** is a true and correct copy of a printout of a news article by the Independent dated January 17, 2017 titled "Yemen civil war: 10,000 civilians killed and 40,000 injured in conflict, UN reveals." Link: <http://www.independent.co.uk/news/world/middle-east/yemen-civil-war-civilian-death-toll-10000-killed-40000-injured-conflict-un-reveals-a7530836.html>.

44. Attached hereto as **Exhibit 42** is a true and correct copy of a printout of a news article from The Guardian dated January 16, 2017 titled "Yemen death toll has reached 10,000, UN says." Link: <https://www.theguardian.com/world/2017/jan/16/yemen-war-death-toll-has-reached-10000-un-says>.

45. Attached hereto as **Exhibit 43** is a true and correct copy of a printout of the country profiles of Iran, Libya, Somalia, Sudan, Syria, and Yemen from a CIA publication titled the "CIA World Factbook." Link: <https://www.cia.gov/library/publications/the-world-factbook>.

46. Attached hereto as **Exhibit 44** is a true and correct copy of a printout of a news article from Newsweek dated January 31, 2017 titled "Where Do Terrorists Come From? Not the Nations Named in Trump Ban." Link: <http://www.newsweek.com/where-do-terrorists-come-not-seven-countries-named-550581>.

47. Attached hereto as **Exhibit 45** is a true and correct copy of a printout of a research report from the Pew Research Center dated January 30, 2017 titled "Key Facts About Refugees to the U.S." Link: <http://www.pewresearch.org/fact-tank/2017/01/30/key-facts-about-refugees-to-the-u-s/>.

48. Attached hereto as **Exhibit 46** is a true and correct copy of a printout of a news article from the New York Times dated March 6, 2017 titled "Don't Be Fooled, Trump's New Muslim Ban Is Still Illegal." Link: https://www.nytimes.com/2017/03/06/opinion/dont-be-fooled-trumps-new-muslim-ban-is-still-illegal.html?_r=0.

49. Attached hereto as **Exhibit 47** is a true and correct copy of a printout of a blog article dated March 10, 2017 titled "The Travel Ban Executive Order as Separation-of-Powers Test Case." Link: <https://www.justsecurity.org/38675/travel-ban-executive-order-separation-of-powers-test-case/>.

50. Attached hereto as **Exhibit 48** is a true and correct copy of a printout of a blog article from LawNewz dated March 6, 2017 titled "President Trump Signs New Travel Ban Executive Order." Link: <http://lawnewz.com/high-profile/breaking-president-trump-signs-new-executive-order-on-immigration-ends-indefinite-ban-on-syrian-refugees/>.

51. Attached hereto as **Exhibit 49** is a true and correct copy of a printout of a news article from the Washington Post dated February 24, 2017 titled “DHS Report Casts Doubt on Need for Trump Travel Ban.” Link: <http://wapo.st/2lOkpKW>.

52. Attached hereto as **Exhibit 50** is a true and correct copy of a printout of a news article from the St. Louis Post-Dispatch dated February 4, 2017 titled “Trump lashes Out at Federal Judge Over Ruling on Travel Ban.” Link: http://www.stltoday.com/news/national/govt-and-politics/trump-lashes-out-at-federal-judge-over-ruling-on-travel/article_40fcf6cf-8dd3-5ff1-a561-d0897195aec0.html.

53. Attached hereto as **Exhibit 51** is a true and correct copy of a printout of a news article from NBC News dated March 6, 2017 titled “Donald Trump Expected to Sign New Immigration Order: A Timeline.” Link: <http://www.nbcnews.com/news/us-news/donald-trump-expected-sign-new-immigration-order-timeline-n729186>.

54. Attached hereto as **Exhibit 52** is a true and correct copy of a printout of a news article from CNN dated March 1, 2017 titled “Trump Delays New Travel Ban After Well-Reviewed Speech.” Link: <http://www.cnn.com/2017/02/28/politics/trump-travel-ban-visa-holders/>.

55. Attached hereto as **Exhibit 53** is a true and correct copy of a printout of Executive Order Protecting The Nation From Foreign Terrorist Entry Into the United States dated March 6, 2017. Link: <https://www.whitehouse.gov/the-press-office/2017/03/06/executive-order-protecting-nation-foreign-terrorist-entry-united-states>.

56. Attached hereto as **Exhibit 54** is a true and correct copy of a printout of a blog article from the Cato Institute dated January 26, 2017 titled “Guide to Trump’s Executive Order to Limit Migration for ‘National Security’ Reasons.” Link: <https://www.cato.org/blog/guide-trumps-executive-order-limit-migration-national-security-reasons>.

57. Attached hereto as **Exhibit 55** is a true and correct copy of a printout of a research report from Politifact dated January 29, 2017 titled “No terrorist attacks post 9/11 by people from countries in Trump’s travel bans?” Link: <http://www.politifact.com/truth-o-meter/statements/2017/jan/29/erold-nadler/have-there-been-terrorist-attacks-post-911-countri/>.

58. Attached hereto as **Exhibit 56** is a true and correct copy of a printout of a news article from ABC News dated January 29, 2017 titled “Trump Spars With Sens. McCain and Graham After They Criticize Travel Ban.” Link: <http://abcnews.go.com/Politics/handful-gop-senators-representatives-criticize-trump-travel-ban/story?id=45121595>.

59. Attached hereto as **Exhibit 57** is a true and correct copy of a printout of a news article from the Washington Post dated January 29, 2017 titled “Trump’s Travel Ban Is a Gift to Iran’s Rulers.” Link: <http://wapo.st/2kDw1NR>.

60. Attached hereto as **Exhibit 58** is a true and correct copy of a printout of a news article from Al Jazeera dated January 16, 2017 titled “Death toll in Yemen conflict passes 10,000.” Link: <http://www.aljazeera.com/news/2017/01/death-toll-yemen-conflict-passes-10000-170117040849576.html>.

61. Attached hereto as **Exhibit 59** is a true and correct copy of a printout of a news article from BBC News dated December 8, 2015 titled “Trump’s ‘Muslim Lockdown’: What Is the Center for Security Policy?” Link: <http://bbc.in/1U0yVr4>.

62. Attached hereto as **Exhibit 60** is a true and correct copy of a printout of a research report from the Bridge Initiative dated December 7, 2015 titled “Trump Calls for Ban on Muslims, Cites Deeply Flawed Poll.” Link: <http://bridge.georgetown.edu/new-poll-on-american-muslims-is-grounded-in-bias-riddled-with-flaws/>.

63. Attached hereto as **Exhibit 61** is a true and correct copy of a printout of an article from Politifact dated December 9, 2015 titled "Trump cites shaky survey in call to ban Muslims from entering US." Link: <http://www.politifact.com/truth-o-meter/statements/2015/dec/09/donald-trump/trump-cites-shaky-survey-call-ban-muslims-entering/>.

64. Attached hereto as **Exhibit 62** is a true and correct copy of a printout of a news article from The Washington Times dated June 9, 2009 titled "Gaffney: America's first Muslim president?" Link: <http://www.washingtontimes.com/news/2009/jun/9/americas-first-muslim-president/>.

65. Attached hereto as **Exhibit 63** is a true and correct copy of a printout of a news article from CBS News dated July 17, 2016 titled "The Republican Ticket: Trump and Pence." Link: <http://www.cbsnews.com/news/60-minutes-trump-pence-republican-ticket/>.

66. Attached hereto as **Exhibit 64** is a true and correct copy of a printout of the transcript of the October 9, 2016 Republican Debate at Washington University in St. Louis, Missouri. Link: <http://www.presidency.ucsb.edu/ws/index.php?pid=119038>.

67. Attached hereto as **Exhibit 65** is a true and correct copy of a printout of a news article from Talking Points Memo dated January 27, 2017 titled "Trump Signs Executive Order Laying Out 'Extreme Vetting.'" Link: <http://talkingpointsmemo.com/livewire/trump-signs-vetting-executive-order>.

68. Attached hereto as **Exhibit 66** is a true and correct copy of a printout of a Twitter post posted by Donald J. Trump on his personal Twitter account at 5:31 AM on January 30, 2017. Link: <https://twitter.com/realDonaldTrump/status/826060143825666051>.

69. Attached hereto as **Exhibit 67** is a true and correct copy of a printout of a Twitter post posted by Donald J. Trump on his personal Twitter account at 4:50 AM on February 1, 2017. Link: <https://twitter.com/realDonaldTrump/status/826774668245946368>.

70. Attached hereto as **Exhibit 68** is a true and correct copy of a printout of a Twitter post posted by Donald J. Trump on his personal Twitter account at 7:03 AM on January 29, 2017. Link: <https://twitter.com/realDonaldTrump/status/825721153142521858>.

71. Attached hereto as **Exhibit 69** is a true and correct copy of a printout of a research report from the Pew Research Center dated October 6, 2016 titled "U.S. admits record number of Muslim refugees in 2016." Link: <http://www.pewresearch.org/fact-tank/2016/10/05/u-s-admits-record-number-of-muslim-refugees-in-2016/>.

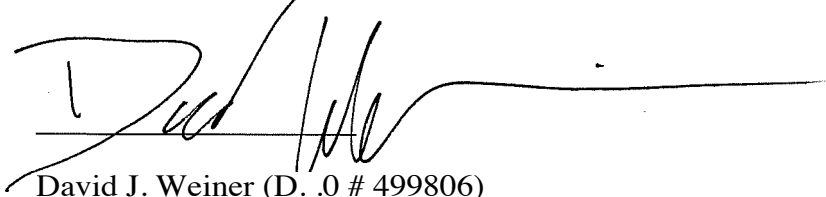
72. Attached hereto as **Exhibit 70** is a true and correct copy of a news article from Politico dated February 21, 2017 titled "Trump: 'White House creates confusion about future of Trump's travel ban.'" Link: <http://www.politico.com/story/2017/02/trump-travel-ban-confusion-235241>.

73. Attached hereto as **Exhibit 71** is a true and correct copy of a printout of a news article from USA Today dated February 24, 2017 titled "DHS memo contradicts threats cited by Trump's travel ban." Link: <http://www.usatoday.com/story/news/2017/02/24/dhs-memo-contradict-travel-ban-trump/98374184/>.

74. Attached hereto as **Exhibit 72** is a true and correct copy of a printout of a news article from the Washington Post dated March 16, 2017 titled "Federal judge in Hawaii freezes President Trump's new entry ban." Link: <http://wapo.st/2nlGRMY>.

I declare under penalty of perjury under the laws of the United States of America that the foregoing is true and correct.

Executed this 2nd day of March, 2017.

A handwritten signature in black ink, appearing to read 'David J. Weiner', is written over a horizontal line.

David J. Weiner (D. # 499806)
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EXHIBIT 1

2 Federal Judges Rule Against Trump's Latest Travel Ban

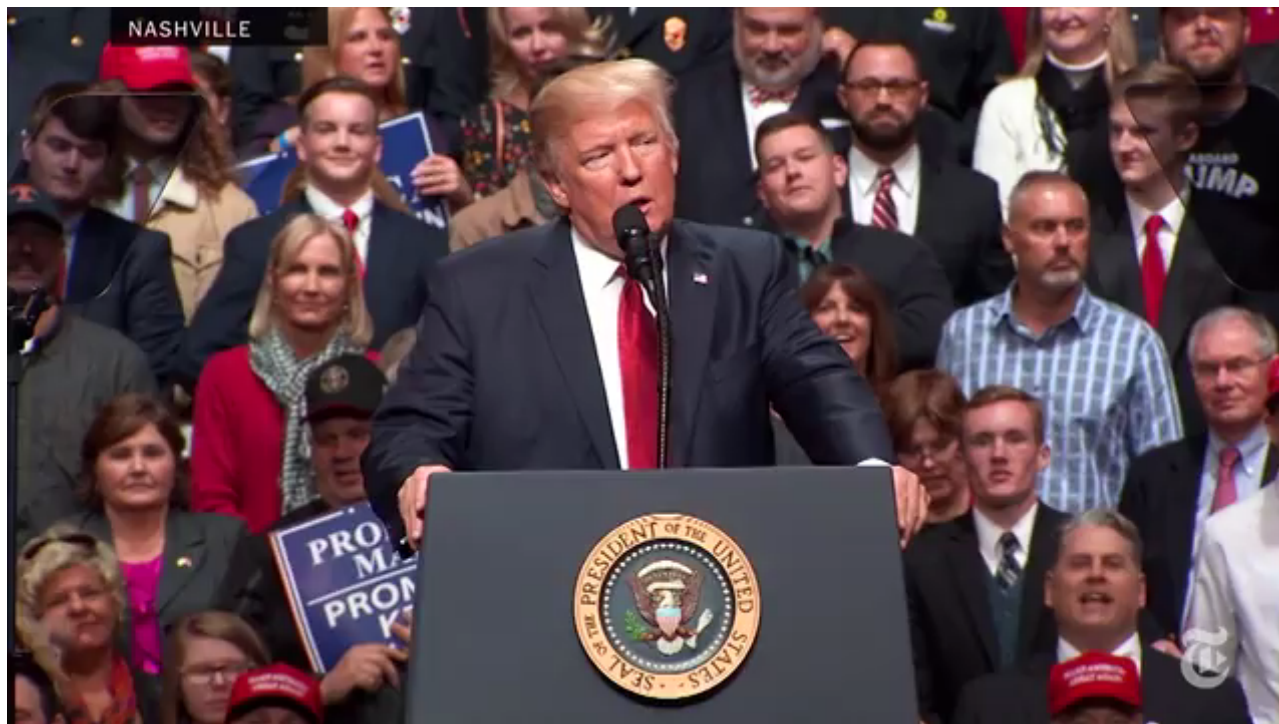
 [nytimes.com/2017/03/15/us/politics/trump-travel-ban.html](https://www.nytimes.com/2017/03/15/us/politics/trump-travel-ban.html)

By ALEXANDER BURNS

3/15/2017

00:00

00:57



Trump: 'The Danger Is Clear. The Law Is Clear'

Hours after a federal judge blocked his revised travel ban, President Trump slammed the ruling at a rally in Nashville.

By THE NEW YORK TIMES on March 15, 2017. Photo by Stephen Crowley/The New York Times. [Watch in Times Video »](#)

- [embed](#)

A federal judge in Hawaii issued [a nationwide order](#) Wednesday evening blocking President Trump's ban on travel from parts of the Muslim world, dealing a stinging blow to the White House and signaling that Mr. Trump will have to account in court for his heated rhetoric about Islam.

A second federal judge in Maryland ruled against Mr. Trump overnight, with a separate order forbidding the core provision of the travel ban from going into effect.

The rulings were a second major setback for Mr. Trump in his pursuit of a policy that he has trumpeted as critical for national security. His first attempt to sharply limit travel from a handful of predominantly Muslim countries ended in a courtroom fiasco last month, when a federal court in Seattle [halted it](#).

Mr. Trump issued [a new and narrower travel ban](#), affecting six countries, on March 6, trying to satisfy the courts by removing some of the most contentious elements of the original version.



Attorney General Doug Chin of Hawaii, who filed the lawsuit, in Honolulu on Wednesday. Hugh Gentry/Reuters

But in a pointed decision that repeatedly invoked Mr. Trump's public comments, Judge Derrick K. Watson, of Federal District Court in Honolulu, wrote that a "reasonable, objective observer" would view even the new order as "issued with a purpose to disfavor a particular religion, in spite of its stated, religiously neutral purpose."

In Maryland, Judge Theodore D. Chuang echoed that conclusion hours later, ruling in a case brought by nonprofit groups that work with refugees and immigrants, that the likely purpose of the executive order was "the effectuation of the proposed Muslim ban" that Mr. Trump pledged to enact as a presidential candidate.

Mr. Trump lashed out at Judge Watson during a campaign-style rally in Nashville late on Wednesday. Raising his voice to a hoarse shout, Mr. Trump accused the judge of ruling "for political reasons" and criticized the United States Court of Appeals for the Ninth Circuit, which upheld the earlier decision against his administration and will hear any appeal to the Hawaii ruling.

"This ruling makes us look weak, which by the way we no longer are, believe me," Mr. Trump said, to mounting cheers from a loyal crowd.

Mr. Trump even said he might reissue the initial version of the order, rather than the one blocked on Wednesday, which he described as "a watered-down version of the first one."



Hakim Ouansafi, the chairman of the Muslim Association of Hawaii, in Honolulu on Wednesday. Kent Nishimura for The New York Times

After he signed the revised ban, Democratic attorneys general and nonprofit groups that work with immigrants and refugees raced back into court, claiming that Mr. Trump's updated decree was still a thinly veiled version of the ban on Muslim migration that he proposed last year.

Judge Watson, who was appointed by President Barack Obama, ruled that the State of Hawaii and an individual plaintiff, Ismail Elshikh, the imam of the Muslim Association of Hawaii, had reasonable grounds to challenge the order as religious discrimination. And he concluded that allowing the travel restrictions to go into effect at midnight, as scheduled, could have caused them irreparable harm.

Judge Watson flatly rejected the government's argument that a court would have to investigate Mr. Trump's "veiled psyche" to deduce religious animus. He quoted extensively from the remarks by Mr. Trump that were cited in the lawsuit brought by Hawaii's attorney general, Doug Chin.

"For instance, there is nothing 'veiled' about this press release," Judge Watson wrote, quoting a Trump campaign document titled "[Donald J. Trump](#) is calling for a total and complete shutdown of Muslims entering the United States."

Judge Watson singled out Mr. Elshikh, an American citizen whose Syrian mother-in-law had been pursuing a visa to enter the United States, as having an especially strong claim that the travel regulations would harm him on the basis of his religion.

Who Would Be Barred by Trump's Latest Immigration Ban

[The president's second attempt at a ban was blocked by federal courts on Wednesday.](#)

"This is a great day for democracy, religious and human rights," Mr. Elshikh, who was out of the country, said in a message relayed through Hakim Ouansafi, the chairman of the Muslim Association of Hawaii. "I am very pleased that

the processing of my mother-in-law's paperwork will not stop now but more importantly that this Muslim ban will not separate families and loved ones just because they happen to be from the six countries."

Mr. Elshikh, who is Egyptian and previously worked in Michigan, was recruited to the Hawaii mosque more than a decade ago, Mr. Ouansafi said. And when the association began recruiting someone to serve as a plaintiff, the imam, who became a citizen last year, agreed to do so without reservation, Mr. Ouansafi said.

After he became the face of the lawsuit, he received several threats from the mainland, Mr. Ouansafi said. "If we lived in any other state, I would not have asked him to come forward," he said.

In the Maryland case, Judge Chuang, who was also appointed by Mr. Obama, declined to block the entire executive order from going into effect, but ruled that the most important section — banning travel from half a dozen countries — could not be enforced. His decision cited Mr. Trump's public comments to conclude that there were "strong indications that the national security purpose is not the primary purpose for the travel ban," and that Mr. Trump may have intended to violate the constitutional prohibition on religious preferences.

In addition to the Hawaii and Maryland suits, a federal judge in Washington State heard arguments Wednesday in cases challenging the constitutionality of Mr. Trump's order, including one brought by a coalition of Democratic attorneys general, and another by nonprofit groups.

Document: Ruling on Trump's Second Travel Ban

Administration lawyers have argued that the president was merely exercising his national security powers. In the scramble to defend the executive order, a single lawyer in the United States solicitor general's office, Jeffrey Wall, argued first to a Maryland court and then, by phone, to Judge Watson in Honolulu that no element of the order, as written, could be construed as a religious test for travelers.

Mr. Wall said the order was based on concerns raised by the Obama administration in its move toward stricter screening of travelers from the six countries affected.

"What the order does is a step beyond what the previous administration did, but it's on the same basis," Mr. Wall said in the Maryland hearing.

After Mr. Trump's speech in Nashville, the Justice Department released a more muted statement disputing the Hawaii decision, calling it "flawed both in reasoning and scope." Sarah Isgur Flores, a spokeswoman for the department, said it would continue to defend the legality of the presidential order.

Refugee organizations and civil rights groups greeted the Hawaii ruling with expressions of triumph and relief. Marielena Hincapié, executive director of the National Immigration Law Center, one of the groups that sued Mr. Trump in Maryland, hailed Judge Watson's ruling as "a strong and unequivocal rejection of the politics of hate."

At the same time, advocates for refugees and immigrants acknowledged that significant uncertainty would hang over some of their more practical decisions, as a longer legal process plays out around Mr. Trump's order.

BARRED	New immigrants
EXEMPTED	Green card holders
ALLOWED	Diplomats
BARRED	All refugees
ALLOWED	Dual nationals
ALLOWED	Iraqi nationals



“It’s a preliminary decision, but it recognizes that there continue to be problems with the constitutionality of this revised order, particularly with discriminatory intent toward Muslims,” said Betsy Fisher, policy director at the International Refugee Assistance Project at the Urban Justice Center.

The original ban, [released on Jan. 27](#), unleashed scenes of chaos at American airports and spurred mass protests. Issued abruptly on a Friday afternoon, it temporarily barred travel from seven majority-Muslim nations, making no explicit distinction between citizens of those countries who already had green cards or visas and those who did not. It also suggested that Christian refugees from those countries would be given preference in the future.

After the federal court in Seattle issued a broad injunction against the policy, Mr. Trump removed major provisions and [reissued the order](#). The new version exempted key groups, like green card and visa holders, and dropped the section that would have given Christians special treatment.

Mr. Trump also removed Iraq from the list of countries covered by the ban after the Pentagon expressed worry that it would damage the United States’ relationship with the Iraqi government in the fight against the Islamic State.

Graphic

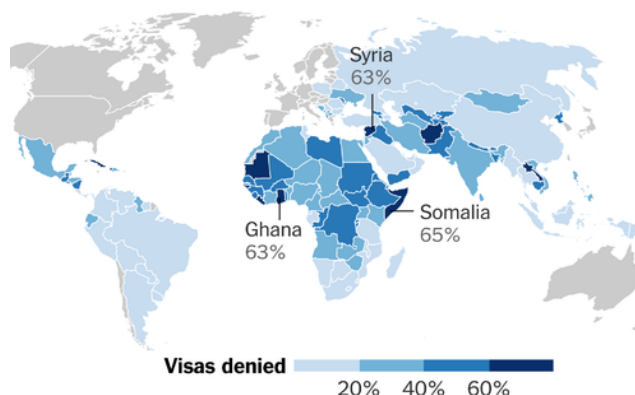
Getting a Visa to Visit the U.S. Is a Long and Extensive Process for Most

[A look at the process for getting a visa to visit the United States.](#)

[OPEN Graphic](#)

Yet those concessions did not placate critics of the ban, who said it would still function as an unconstitutional religious test, albeit one affecting fewer people — an argument Judge Watson concurred with in his ruling.

The lawsuits have also claimed that the order disrupts the operations of companies, charities, public universities and hospitals that have deep relationships overseas. In the Hawaii case, nearly five dozen technology companies, including Airbnb, Dropbox, Lyft and TripAdvisor, joined in a brief objecting to the travel ban.



The second, now-halted [executive order](#) preserved major components of the original. It would have ended, with few exceptions, the granting of new visas and green cards to people from six majority-Muslim countries — Iran, Libya, Somalia, Sudan, Syria and Yemen — for at least 90 days. It would have also stopped all refugees from entering for 120 days and limited refugee admissions to 50,000 people in the current fiscal year.

Mr. Obama had set in motion plans to admit more than twice that number.

Mr. Trump has said the pause is needed to re-evaluate screening procedures for immigrants from the six countries. “Each of these countries is a state sponsor of terrorism, has been significantly compromised by terrorist organizations, or contains active conflict zones,” he wrote in the order.

The two court orders were not a final ruling on the constitutionality of Mr. Trump’s ban, and the administration has expressed confidence that courts will ultimately affirm Mr. Trump’s power to issue the restrictions.

Trump’s New Government By BRENT McDONALD, TAIGE JENSEN and EMMA COTT 00:55
A Family Reunites After Travel Ban

A Family Reunites After Travel Ban

This moment seemed impossible to Mohammed Alqallos just six weeks ago.

By BRENT McDONALD, TAIGE JENSEN and EMMA COTT on March 16, 2017. . [Watch in Times Video »](#)

- [embed](#)

But the legal debate is likely to be a protracted and unusually personal fight for the administration, touching Mr. Trump and a number of his key aides directly and raising the prospect that their public comments and private communications will be scrutinized.

The lawsuits against the ban have extensively cited Mr. Trump's comments during the presidential campaign. Attorney General Bob Ferguson of Washington, who successfully challenged Mr. Trump's first order, has indicated that in an extended legal fight, he could seek depositions from administration officials and request documents that would expose the full process by which Trump aides crafted the ban.

As a candidate, Mr. Trump first proposed to bar all Muslims from entering the United States, and then offered an alternative plan to ban travel from a number of Muslim countries, which he described as a politically acceptable way of achieving the same goal.

The lawsuits also cited Rudolph W. Giuliani, the former New York City mayor who advises Mr. Trump. Mr. Giuliani said he had been asked to help craft a Muslim ban that would pass legal muster.

And they highlighted comments by [Stephen Miller](#), an adviser to the president, who cast the changes to Mr. Trump's first travel ban as mere technical adjustments aimed at ushering the same policy past the review of a court.

EXHIBIT 2

National Security

A new travel ban with ‘mostly minor technical differences’? That probably won’t cut it, analysts say.

By **Matt Zapotosky** February 22

Senior policy adviser Stephen Miller said President Trump’s revised travel ban will have “mostly minor technical differences” from the iteration frozen by the courts, and Americans would see “the same basic policy outcome for the country.”

That is not what the Justice Department has promised. And legal analysts say it might not go far enough to allay the judiciary’s concerns.

A senior White House official said Wednesday that Trump will issue a revised executive order on immigration next week, as the administration is working to make sure the implementation goes smoothly. Trump had said previously that the order would come this week. Neither the president nor his top advisers have detailed exactly what the new order will entail. Miller’s comments on Fox News, while vague, seem to suggest the changes might not be substantive. And that could hurt the administration’s bid to lift the court-imposed suspension on the ban, analysts said.

“If you’re trying to moot out litigation, which is to say, ‘Look, this litigation is no longer necessary,’ it is very bad to say our intent here is to engage in the prohibited outcome,” said Leon Fresco, who worked in the office of immigration litigation in President Barack Obama’s Justice Department.

Trump’s original travel ban temporarily barred from entering the United States refugees and citizens of seven Muslim-majority countries: Iraq, Iran, Sudan, Somalia, Syria, Yemen and Libya. When it was first implemented, State Department officials unilaterally revoked tens of thousands of visas, and the order seemed to affect even legal permanent residents, though the White House counsel soon clarified that it should not.

A federal district judge in Washington state suspended the ban Feb. 3, and a three-judge panel with the U.S. Court of Appeals for the 9th Circuit later upheld that freeze. While the Justice Department could have appealed to the full appeals

court — or even to the Supreme Court — it asked the 9th Circuit judges last week to hold off because a new executive order was in the works.

“Rather than continuing this litigation, the President intends in the near future to rescind the Order and replace it with a new, substantially revised Executive Order to eliminate what the panel erroneously thought were constitutional concerns,” Justice Department lawyers wrote.

Officials still plan a new order, but White House press secretary Sean Spicer said Tuesday that they would not rescind the old one. And speaking to Fox News’s Martha MacCallum, Miller seemed to play down how substantial even the revisions would be — which would seem to put him at odds with the Justice Department.

“Well, one of the big differences that you’re going to see in the executive order is that it’s going to be responsive to the judicial ruling, which didn’t exist previously. And so these are mostly minor technical differences,” he said.

“Fundamentally, you’re still going to have the same basic policy outcome for the country, but you’re going to be responsive to a lot of very technical issues that were brought up by the court and those will be addressed. But in terms of protecting the country, those basic policies are still going to be in effect.”

Legal analysts have said previously that there are obvious ways in which the order could be cleaned up to help it pass legal muster — though anything that maintains outright bans might face a tough court battle.

Trump could craft an order that clearly exempts green-card holders — who have the best case to sue over the order — and he could also potentially exempt any current visa holders. But the 9th Circuit panel said that would not address claims “by citizens who have an interest in specific noncitizens’ ability to travel to the United States.”

And no matter what it does, the Trump administration must contend with the president’s own call on the campaign trail for a “total and complete shutdown of Muslims entering the United States” and campaign surrogate Rudolph W. Giuliani’s claim that Trump said “Muslim ban” and asked him to form a commission to determine “the right way to do it legally.”

A federal judge in Virginia referenced those comments in ordering the ban frozen with respect to Virginia residents and institutions, calling it “unrebutted evidence” that Trump’s directive might violate the First Amendment. That is important because if judges found even the new order was designed to discriminate against Muslims — and not to protect national security — they might similarly strike it down. The president does possess broad power to set immigration policy, and even his original executive order might ultimately pass legal muster, analysts have said. So far, courts have just weighed temporary injunctions on the ban, not directly and finally deciding whether Trump exceeded his authority.

“To the extent that the new executive order just makes technical changes, then we don’t see it solving any of the legal problems,” said Lee Gelernt, deputy director of the American Civil Liberties Union’s national Immigrants’ Rights Project, who is involved in a legal challenge to the ban in New York.

At the White House press briefing Wednesday, Spicer said he was confident the administration would ultimately prevail in court, but in the revised order officials had been “very clear about understanding what the court said, and trying to tailor that specifically.”

He also said he was not concerned that Trump’s prior remarks about targeting Muslims would hinder the administration’s case.

“The president was very clear in his executive order that these were countries that we didn’t have the proper vetting for when it came to ensuring the safety of Americans,” Spicer said. “That’s what the executive order said. ... It was crafted in a way that was very clear about the countries and was not focused on anything else but the vetting requirements.”

Revisions, analysts said, could ultimately help Trump prevail — particularly if he applied a ban only to the issuance of new visas, and if he issued robust procedures for those whose visas were revoked to challenge that action. His and Giuliani’s comments would be an obstacle, but they would not necessarily block him forever from using his powers on immigration.

“Are you permanently prohibited from ever doing something like this because you at one time said something that was inappropriate?” Fresco said. “The courts will have to decide what they believe here.”

Philip Rucker and John Wagner contributed to this report.

Matt Zapotosky covers the Justice Department for the Washington Post's National Security team.

 Follow @mattzap

EXHIBIT 3

POLITICO

Trump remarked that things are "happening a lot faster than anybody understands."

Trump: 'Absolutely no choice' but to close mosques

By NICK GASS | 11/18/15 06:45 AM EST

The United States will have "absolutely no choice" but to close down some mosques where "some bad things are happening," Donald Trump said in a recent interview, explaining his rationale for doing so.

"Nobody wants to say this and nobody wants to shut down religious institutions or anything, but you know, you understand it. A lot of people understand it. We're going to have no choice," the Republican presidential said in an interview from Trump Tower on Fox News' "Hannity" on Tuesday night.

Those remarks go further than Trump did on Monday, when he said he would "strongly consider" closing mosques as part of a response to last Friday's terrorist attacks in Paris that killed more than 130 and injured hundreds more.

Asked to explain his shifting position by Sean Hannity, Trump remarked that things are "happening a lot faster than anybody understands."

"There's absolutely no choice. Some really bad things are happening and they're happening fast," he said, taking a dig at President Barack Obama's response to the attacks. "Certainly a lot faster than our president understands because he doesn't understand anything. He doesn't get it. Refuses to even call it by its correct name," which Trump termed "radical Islam."

In terms of the refugee situation, Trump said he had "a feeling that a lot of bad things will happen out of this."

2016

Bobby Jindal drops out of White House race

By ALEX ISENSTADT

"But yet we take everybody. We don't know where they come from, we don't know what their crime record is. It could be wonderful. It could be a disaster," he speculated, again pledging that if he wins the presidency, "they're going out."

"We can't take a chance. You know, if you take thousands of people, and again I hear it's going to be many more than what you're talking about right now. But if you take thousands of people, Sean, all you need is a couple. You know, you don't need 25, you don't need 100," he said. "Look at the damage done in Paris with just a few people."

Trump repeatedly reiterated his desire to "blast the hell out of" ISIL targets and "bomb the hell out of" the terrorist group's oil resources.

"Now they're just starting to do that, but they're two years late," Trump said. "Interestingly after Paris, all of a sudden they start bombing sites that they knew about for a year and a half. But they started bombing them after the tragic events of Paris. So, so many things are wrong. We need leadership in the world now. You know, it's really a worldwide leadership, but boy, do we need leadership in our country."

EXHIBIT 4



NEWS

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- DECEMBER 07, 2015 -

DONALD J. TRUMP STATEMENT ON PREVENTING MUSLIM IMMIGRATION

(New York, NY) December 7th, 2015, -- Donald J. Trump is calling for a total and complete shutdown of Muslims entering the United States until our country's representatives can figure out what is going on. According to Pew Research, among others, there is great hatred towards Americans by large segments of the Muslim population. Most recently, a poll from the [Center for Security Policy](#) released data showing "25% of those polled agreed that violence against Americans here in the United States is justified as a part of the global jihad" and 51% of those polled, "agreed that Muslims in America should have the choice of being governed according to Shariah." Shariah authorizes such atrocities as murder against non-believers who won't convert, beheadings and more unthinkable acts that pose great harm to Americans, especially women.

Mr. Trump stated, "Without looking at the various polling data, it is obvious to anybody the hatred is beyond comprehension. Where this hatred comes from and why we will have to determine. Until we are able to determine and understand this problem and the dangerous threat it poses, our country cannot be the victims of horrendous attacks by people that believe only in Jihad, and have no sense of reason or respect for human life. If I win the election for President, we are going to Make America Great Again." - *Donald J. Trump*

Next Release: [Donald J. Trump Announces State Directors in Massachusetts and Mississippi](#)

Previous Release: [Donald J. Trump Announces Statewide Leadership Team in Oklahoma](#)

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JUNE 2016

MAY 2016

APRIL 2016

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JANUARY 2016

DECEMBER 2015

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JUNE 2015

MAY 2015

EXHIBIT 5



Donald J. Trump 
@realDonaldTrump

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Statement on Preventing Muslim Immigration:
donaldjtrump.com/press-releases ...

- DECEMBER 07, 2015 -

**DONALD J. TRUMP
STATEMENT ON
PREVENTING MUSLIM
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EXHIBIT 6

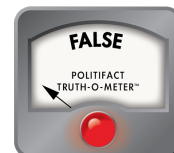
Christie says neighbors of San Bernardino shooters knew more than they did

PF politifact.com/truth-o-meter/statements/2016/jan/28/chris-christie/christie-says-neighbors-san-bernardino-shooters-kn/

Neighbors of the San Bernardino shooters "knew that they were talking about trying to take our country and attack it."

— [Chris Christie](#) on Thursday, January 28th, 2016 in the Republican debate in Des Moines, Iowa

By [Jon Greenberg](#) on Thursday, January 28th, 2016 at 11:07 p.m.



Autoplay: [On](#) | [Off](#)

N.J. Gov. Chris Christie attacked Democratic frontrunner Hillary Clinton during the Iowa Republican presidential debate.



The threat to the United States from Islamic terrorists was a lead-off topic in the Republican debate in Iowa, and the December shootings in San Bernardino, Calif., was a prime example of how real that threat can be. Fox News moderator Megyn Kelly asked New Jersey Gov. Chris Christie about the reluctance of the shooters' neighbors to report suspicious activity by Syed Rizwan Farook and his wife Tashfeen Malik. They didn't want to be seen as using ethnic profiling.

Christie said what the neighbors saw had nothing to do with profiling.

"These folks had weapons, they knew that they were talking about trying to take our country and attack it," Christie said. "That's not profiling, that's law enforcement."

Kelly interjected, "They didn't know they were going to attack the country."

"They knew they were talking about attacking people," Christie shot back.

We looked for any reports of the neighbors saying they had an inkling of any plans for an attack. We didn't find any. We did find second-hand reports that weren't well sourced, and these were repeated primarily on right-leaning news websites.

This excerpt from the conservative website [Daily Caller](#) was typical:

"A neighbor of Farook's mother in Redland — said that another neighbor told him "they had I guess been receiving packages — quite a few packages within a short amount of time, and they were actually doing a lot of work out in the garage."

"She was kind of suspicious and wanted to report it," Elswick explained, "but she said she didn't want to profile."

There were many articles of this sort. All of them sourced back to a local ABC news affiliate broadcast and all of them had pretty much the same details.

None of these accounts supports Christie's assertion.

First, they talk about what the neighbors of Farook's mother saw, not the neighbors of Farook and Malik themselves. The mother lived in Redlands, not San Bernardino. We should also note that this account comes from a neighbor saying what he learned from another neighbor, not what he saw himself.

Second, no one was reported as saying that they thought an attack was being planned.

Soon after the shooting, the Wall Street Journal reported that neighbors and friends described the couple as "quiet, religious people who didn't attract attention or suspicion."

Our ruling

Christie said that neighbors of the San Bernardino shooters knew that they were talking about attacking the country. The most that was reported is that a neighbor of a neighbor of one of the shooter's mother said there was suspicious activity. There was no mention that a neighbor of the shooters themselves was suspicious, much less that a neighbor thought an attack was being planned.

Christie jumbled the details in the news. We rate this statement False.

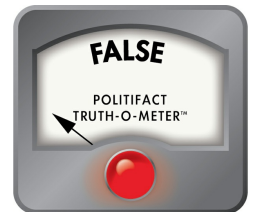
Share The Facts

Chris Christie

New Jersey Governor

Neighbors of the San Bernardino shooters "knew that they were talking about trying to take our country and attack it."

in a Republican debate in Iowa – Thursday, January 28, 2016



POLITIFACT

EXHIBIT 7

The American Presidency Project

John T. Woolley & Gerhard Peters • Santa Barbara, California

• Presidential Candidates Debates

Republican Candidates Debate in North Charleston, South Carolina

January 14, 2016

PARTICIPANTS:

Former Governor Jeb Bush (FL);
Ben Carson;
Governor Chris Christie (NJ);
Senator Ted Cruz (TX);
Governor John Kasich (OH);
Senator Marco Rubio (FL);
Donald Trump;

MODERATORS:

Maria Bartiromo (Fox Business Network); and
Neil Cavuto (Fox Business Network)

CAVUTO: It is 9:00 p.m. here at the North Charleston Coliseum and Performing Arts Center in South Carolina. Welcome to the sixth Republican presidential of the 2016 campaign, here on the Fox Business Network. I'm Neil Cavuto, alongside my friend and co-moderator Maria Bartiromo.

BARTIROMO: Tonight we are working with Facebook to ask the candidates the questions voters want answered. And according to Facebook, the U.S. election has dominated the global conversation, with 131 million people talking about the 2016 race. That makes it the number one issue talked about on Facebook last year worldwide.

CAVUTO: Now, the seven candidates on the stage tonight were selected based on their standing in six national polls, as well as polls in the early-voting states of Iowa and New Hampshire, those standings determining the position on the stage of the candidates tonight. And here they are.

Businessman Donald Trump. *[applause]*

Texas senator Ted Cruz. *[applause]*

Florida senator Marco Rubio. *[applause]*

Neurosurgeon Ben Carson. *[applause]*

New Jersey governor Chris Christie. *[applause]*

Former Florida governor Jeb Bush.

And Ohio governor John Kasich. *[applause]*

BARTIROMO: Tonight's rules are simple: up to 90 seconds for each answer, one minute for each follow-up response. And if a candidate goes over the allotted time, you'll hear this. *[bell rings]* So let's get started. Candidates, jobs and growth — two of the biggest issues facing the country right now. In his State of the Union address earlier this week, the president said, quote, "we have the strongest, most durable economy in the world."

And according to our Facebook research, jobs is one of the biggest issues resonating across the country, including here in South Carolina. The president is touting 14 million new jobs and an unemployment rate cut in half.

The president said that anyone who claims America's economy is in decline is peddling fiction. Senator Cruz, what do you see that he doesn't?

CRUZ: Well, Maria, thank you for that question, and let me say thank you to the state of South Carolina for welcoming us.

Let me start — I want to get to the substance of the question on jobs, but I want to start with something. Today, many of us picked up our newspapers, and we were horrified to see the sight of 10 American sailors on their knees, with their hands on their heads.

In that State of the Union, President Obama didn't so much as mention the 10 sailors that had been captured by Iran. President Obama's preparing to send \$100 billion or more to the Ayatollah Khamenei. And I'll tell you, it was heartbreaking.

But the good news is the next commander-in-chief is standing on this stage. *[applause]* And I give you my word, if I am elected president, no service man or service woman will be forced to be on their knees, and any nation that captures our fighting men will feel the full force and fury of the United States of America. *[applause]*

Now, on to your substantive question. The president tried to paint a rosy picture of jobs. And you know, he's right. If you're a Washington lobbyist, if you make your money in and around Washington, things are doing great. The millionaires and billionaires are

doing great under Obama. But we have the lowest percentage of Americans working today of any year since 1977. Median wages have stagnated. And the Obama-Clinton economy has left behind the working men and women of this country.

The reason all of us are here is we believe we should be fighting for the working men and women of this country, and not Washington, D.C.

BARTIROMO: Thank you, sir. *[applause]*

CAVUTO: Governor Kasich, we are not even two weeks into this stock trading year, but *[inaudible]* investors already lost \$1.6 trillion in market value. That makes it the worst start to a new year ever. Many worry that things will get even worse, and that banks and financial stocks are particularly vulnerable.

Now, if this escalates, like it did back when Barack Obama first assumed the presidency, what actions would you take if this same thing happens all over again just as, in this example, you are taking over the presidency?

KASICH: Look, it takes three things basically to grow jobs. And I've done it when I was in Washington when we had a balanced budget; had four years of balanced budgets; paid down a half-trillion of debt. And our economy was growing like crazy. It's the same thing that I did in Ohio. It's a simple formula: common sense regulations, which is why I think we should freeze all federal regulations for one year, except for health and safety. It requires tax cuts, because that sends a message to the job creators that things are headed the right way. And if you tax cuts — if you cut taxes for corporations, and you cut taxes for individuals, you're going to make things move, particularly the corporate tax, which is the highest, of course, in the — in the world.

But in addition to that, we have to have fiscal discipline. We have to show that we can march to a balanced budget. And when you do that, when you're in a position of managing regulations; when you reduce taxes; and when you have fiscal discipline, you see the job creators begin to get very comfortable with the fact that they can invest.

Right now, you don't have the — you have taxes that are too high. You have regulations — I mean, come on, they're affecting everybody here, particularly our small businesses. They are — they're in a position where they're smothering people. And I mean, are you kidding me? We're nowhere close to a balanced budget or fiscal discipline.

Those three things put together are going to give confidence to job creators and you will begin to see wages rise. You will begin to see jobs created in a robust economy. And how do I know it? Because I've done it. I did it as the chairman of the Budget Committee, working with Senator Domenici. And I've done it in the state of Ohio as the chief executive.

Our wages are growing faster than the national average. We're running surpluses. And we can take that message and that formula to Washington to lift every single American to a better life. *[applause]*

BARTIROMO: We know that recent global events have many people worried — Iran detaining American sailors, forcing them to apologize; North Korea and its nuclear ambitions; an aggressive China; and a Middle East that continues to deteriorate, not to mention ISIS is getting stronger.

Governor Christie, sometimes it seems the world is on fire. Where and when should a president use military action to restore order?

CHRISTIE: Well, Maria, I'm glad to have heard from you in the summary of that question about what's going on in the world. Because Tuesday night, I watched story time with Barack Obama. And I've got to tell you, it sounded like everything in the world was going amazing, you know? *[applause]*

The fact is, there's a number of things that the next president is going to have to do to clean up this mess. The first thing is we have to strengthen our alliances around the world. And the best way to do that is to start talking to our allies again and having them be able to count on our word.

Lots of people will say lots of different things about me in this campaign and others, but the one thing they've never said about me is that I'm misunderstood. And so when we talk to our allies and we give them our word, in a Christie administration, they know we're going to keep it.

Next, we have to talk to our adversaries, and we have to make sure they understand the limits of our patience. And this president, given what Ted said right at the beginning, he's absolutely right. It's a — it's absolutely disgraceful that Secretary Kerry and others said in their response to what's going on in Iran that this was a good thing; it showed how the relationship was getting better.

The president doesn't understand — and by the way, neither does Secretary Clinton — and here's my warning to everybody out in the audience tonight. If you're worried about the world being on fire, you're worried about how we're going to use our military, you're worried about strengthening our military and you're worried most of all about keeping your homes and your families safe and secure, you cannot give Hillary Clinton a third term of Barack Obama's leadership.

I will not do that. If I'm the nominee, she won't get within 10 miles of the White House. *[applause]*

BARTIROMO: Just to be clear Governor, where and when would you use military action?

CHRISTIE: Military action, Maria, would be used when it was absolutely necessary to protect American lives and protect American interests around the world. We are not the world's policeman, but we need to stand up and be ready.

And the problem, Maria, is that the military is not ready, either. We need to rebuild our military, and this president has let it diminish to a point where tinpot dictators like the mullahs in Iran are taking our Navy ships. It is disgraceful, and in a Christie administration, they would know much, much better than to do that. *[applause]*

CAVUTO: Governor Bush, the president just told the nation two nights ago that America is back and that the idea that our enemies are getting stronger or that this country is getting weaker, well, it's just rhetoric and hot air. Now other Democrats go even further, sir, saying Republicans even suggesting such comments actually embolden our enemies. I guess they would include you. What do you say?

BUSH: Well first of all, the idea that somehow we're better off today than the day that Barack Obama was inaugurated president of the United States is totally an alternative universe. The simple fact is that the world has been torn asunder.

Think about it. With grandiose language, the president talks about red lines and nothing to follow it up; talks about ISIS being the JV team, they form a caliphate the size of Indiana with 35 (thousand) to 40,000 battle-tested terrorists. He's missing the whole point, that America's leadership in the world is required for peace and stability.

In the crowd today is Major General James Livingston, who's the co-chairman of my campaign here in South Carolina, a Medal of Honor recipient. *[applause]*

I've learned from him that what we need to achieve is peace through strength, which means we need to rebuild the military. In this administration, every weapon system has been gutted, in this administration, the force levels are going down to a level where we can't even project force. Our friends no longer think we have their back and our enemies no longer fear us, and we're in a much difficult — we're in a much different position than we should be.

And for the life of me, I have no understanding why the president thinks that everything is going well. Terrorism is on the run, China, Russia is advancing their agenda at warp speed, and we pull back.

As president of the United States, I will be a commander in chief that will have the back of the military. We will rebuild the military to make sure that it is a solid force, not to be the world's policeman, but to make sure that in a peaceful world, people know that the United States is there to take care of our own national interests and take care of our allies. *[applause]*

CAVUTO: So I take it from that you do not agree with the president.

BUSH: No. And worse — worse yet, to be honest with you, Hillary Clinton would be a national security disaster.

Think about it. She wants to continue down the path of Iran, Benghazi, the Russian reset, Dodd-Frank, all the things that have — that have gone wrong in this country, she would be a national security mess. And that is wrong.

And you know what? Here's the problem. If she gets elected, she's under investigation with the FBI right now. If she gets elected, her first 100 days, instead of setting an agenda, she might be going back and forth between the White House and the courthouse. We need to stop that. *[laughter and applause]*

CAVUTO: Senator Rubio, the president says that ISIS doesn't threaten our national existence like a Germany or a Japan back in World War II, that the terror group is nothing more than twisted souls plotting attacks in their garages.

But House Homeland Security Committee recently said that over 1,000 ongoing investigations of homegrown extremism in 50 states. So how do you define the threat? Germany then or dangerous nut cases now?

RUBIO: Yeah, I would go, first of all, one step further in this description of Hillary Clinton. She wouldn't just be a disaster, Hillary Clinton is disqualified from being commander in chief of the United States. *[applause]*

Someone who cannot handle intelligence information appropriately cannot be commander in chief and someone who lies to the families of those four victims in Benghazi can never be president of the United States. Ever. *[applause]*

On the issue of Barack Obama, Barack Obama does not believe that America is a great global power. Barack Obama believes that America is a arrogant global power that needs to be cut down to size. And that's how you get a foreign policy where we cut deals with our enemies like Iran and we betray our allies like Israel and we gut our military and we go around the world like he has done on 10 separate occasions and apologized for America.

He doesn't understand the threat in ISIS. He consistently underestimates it but I do not. There is a war against ISIS, not just against ISIS but against radical jihadists terrorists, and it is a war that they win or we win.

When I'm president of the United States, we are going to win this war on ISIS. The most powerful intelligence agency in the world is going to tell us where we are, the most powerful military in the world is going to destroy them. And if we capture any of them alive, they are getting a one-way ticket to Guantanamo Bay, Cuba, and we are going to find out everything they know. *[applause]*

CAVUTO: Thank you, Senator.

BARTIROMO: Dr. Carson, the president says he does not want to treat ISIS as a foreign army, but ISIS is neither a country nor a government. How do you attack a network that does not respect national borders?

CARSON: Well, I'm very happy to get a question this early on. I was going to ask you to wake me up when that time came. *[laughter]*

You know, I find it really quite fascinating some of the president's proclamations. The fact of the matter is he doesn't realize that we now live in the 21st century, and that war is very different than it used to be before. Not armies massively marching on each other and air forces, but now we have dirty bombs and we have cyber attacks and we have people who will be attacking our electrical grid. And, you know, we have a whole variety of things that they can do and they can do these things simultaneously. And we have enemies who are obtaining nuclear weapons that they can explode in our exoatmosphere and destroy our electric grid.

I mean, just think about a scenario like that. They explode the bomb, we have an electromagnetic pulse. They hit us with a cyberattack simultaneously and dirty bombs. Can you imagine the chaos that would ensue at that point? He needs to recognize that those kinds of things are in fact an existential threat to us.

But here's the real key. We have the world's best military, even though he's done everything he can to diminish it. And the fact of the matter is if we give them a mission and we don't tie their hands behind their back, they can get it accomplished. *[applause]*

CAVUTO: Mr. Trump, at the State of the Union, the president pointed to a guest who was a Syrian refugee you might recall whose wife and daughter and other family members were killed in an air attack. Now he fled that country seeking asylum here, ultimately ended up in Detroit where he's now trying to start a new life.

The president says that that doctor is the real face of these refugees and not the one that you and some of your colleagues on this stage are painting; that you prefer the face of fear and terror and that you would refuse to let in anyone into this country seeking legitimate asylum. How do you answer that?

TRUMP: It's not fear and terror, it's reality. You just have to look today at Indonesia, bombings all over. *[applause]*

You look at California, you look, frankly, at Paris where there's a — the strictest no-gun policy of any city anywhere in the world, and you see what happens: 130 people dead with many to follow. They're very, very badly wounded. They will — some will follow. And you look around, and you see what's happening, and this is not the case when he introduced the doctor — very nice, everything perfect but that is not representative of what you have in that line of migration.

That could be the great Trojan Horse. It could be people that are going to do great, great destruction. When I look at the migration, I looked at the line, I said it actually on your show recently, where are the women? It looked like very few women. Very few children. Strong, powerful men, young and people are looking at that and they're saying what's going on?

You look at the kind of damage that two people that two people that got married, they were radicalized — they got married, they killed 15 people in actually 15 — going to be probably 16 but you look at that and you take a look — a good strong look and that's what we have. We are nineteen trillion dollars — our country's a mess and we can't let all these people come into our country and break our borders. We can't do it. *[applause]*

BARTIROMO: Senator Cruz, the New York Times is reporting that you failed to properly disclose a million dollars in loans from Goldman Sachs and CitiBank. During your senate race, your campaign said, "it was inadvertent." A million dollars is inadvertent?

CRUZ: Well Maria, thank you for passing on that hit piece in the front page of the New York Times. You know the nice thing about the mainstream media, they don't hide their views. The New York Times a few weeks back had a columnist who wrote a column saying, "Anybody But Cruz." Had that actually — that same columnist wrote a column comparing me to an evil demonic spirit from the movie, "It Follows" that jumps apparently from body to body possessing people.

So you know the New York Times and I don't have exactly have the warmest of relationships. Now in terms of their really stunning hit piece, what they mentioned is when I was running for senate — unlike Hillary Clinton, I don't have masses of money in the bank, hundreds of millions of dollars. When I was running for senate just about every lobbyist, just about all of the establishment opposed me in the senate race in Texas and my opponent in that race was worth over 200 million dollars. He put a 25 million dollar check up from his own pocket to fund that campaign and my wife Heidi and I, we ended up investing everything we owned.

We took a loan against our assets to invest it in that campaign to defend ourselves against those attacks. And the entire New York times attack — is that I disclosed that loan on one filing with the United States Senate, that was a public filing. But it was not on a second filing with FDIC and yes, I made a paperwork error disclosing it on one piece of paper instead of the other. But if that's the best the New York Times has got, they better go back to the well.

BARTIROMO: Thank you.

[commercial break]

CAVUTO: All right. Welcome back to the Republican presidential , right here in North Charleston, South Carolina. Let's get right back to the questions. And I'll start with you, Senator Cruz.

Now you are, of course, a strict constitutionalist — no one would doubt that. And as you know, the U.S. Constitution says only natural-born citizens are eligible for the office of president of the United States. Stop me if you've heard this before. Now, you were born... *[laughter]*... you were born in Canada to an American mother. So you were and are considered an American citizen. But that fellow next to you, Donald Trump — and others — have said that being born in Canada means you are not natural-born, and that has raised questions about your eligibility.

Do you want to try to close this topic once and for all tonight?

CRUZ: Well, Neil, I'm glad we're focusing on the important topics of the evening. *[laughter and applause]*

You know, back in September, my friend Donald said that he had had his lawyers look at this from every which way, and there was no issue there. There was nothing to this birther issue. *[laughter]*

Now, since September, the Constitution hasn't changed. *[laughter]*

But the poll numbers have. *[applause]*

And I recognize — I recognize that Donald is dismayed that his poll numbers are falling in Iowa. But the facts and the law here are really quite clear. Under longstanding U.S. law, the child of a U.S. citizen born abroad is a natural-born citizen.

If a soldier has a child abroad, that child is a natural-born citizen. That's why John McCain, even though he was born in Panama, was eligible to run for president.

If an American missionary has a child abroad, that child is a natural-born citizen. That's why George Romney, Mitt's dad, was eligible to run for president, even though he was born in Mexico.

At the end of the day, the legal issue is quite straightforward, but I would note that the birther theories that Donald has been relying on — some of the more extreme ones insist that you must not only be born on U.S. soil, but have two parents born on U.S. soil.

Under that theory, not only would I be disqualified, Marco Rubio would be disqualified, Bobby Jindal would be disqualified and, interestingly enough, Donald J. Trump would be disqualified. *[applause]*

UNKNOWN: Not me.

CRUZ: Because — because Donald's mother was born in Scotland. She was naturalized. Now, Donald...

TRUMP: But I was born here.

CRUZ: ... on the issue — on the issue of citizenship, Donald...

TRUMP: *[inaudible]*. Big difference.

CRUZ: ... on the issue of citizenship, Donald, I'm not going to use your mother's birth against you.

TRUMP: OK, good. Because it wouldn't work.

CRUZ: You're an American, as is everybody else on this stage, and I would suggest we focus on who's best prepared to be commander-in-chief, because that's the most important question facing the country. *[applause]*

CAVUTO: Mr. Trump...*[crosstalk]*...that you raised it because of his rising poll numbers.

TRUMP: ... first of all, let me just tell you something — and you know, because you just saw the numbers yourself — NBC Wall Street Journal just came out with a poll — headline: Trump way up, Cruz going down. I mean, so don't — so you can't — you can't... *[booing]*...they don't like the Wall Street Journal. They don't like NBC, but I like the poll. *[laughter]*

And frankly, it just came out, and in Iowa now, as you know, Ted, in the last three polls, I'm beating you. So — you know, you shouldn't misrepresent how well you're doing with the polls. *[applause]*

You don't have to say that. In fact, I was all for you until you started doing that, because that's a misrepresentation, number one.

Number two, this isn't me saying it. I don't care. I think I'm going to win fair and square *[inaudible]* to win this way. Thank you.

Lawrence Tribe and *[inaudible]* from Harvard — of Harvard, said that there is a serious question as to whether or not Ted can do this. OK? There are other attorneys that feel, and very, very fine constitutional attorneys, that feel that because he was not born on the land, he cannot run for office.

Here's the problem. We're running. We're running. He does great. I win. I choose him as my vice presidential candidate, and the Democrats sue because we can't take him along for the ride. I don't like that. OK? *[laughter]*

The fact is — and if for some reason he beats the rest of the field, he beats the rest of the field *[inaudible]*. See, they don't like that. They don't like that. *[audience booing]*

No, they don't like he beats the rest of the field, because they want me. *[laughter]*

But — if for some reason, Neil, he beats the rest of the field, I already know the Democrats are going to be bringing a suit. You have a big lawsuit over your head while you're running. And if you become the nominee, who the hell knows if you can even serve in office? So you should go out, get a declaratory judgment, let the courts decide. And you shouldn't have mentioned the polls because I would have been much...*[crosstalk]*

CAVUTO: Why are you saying this now — right now? Why are you raising this issue now?

TRUMP: Because now he's going a little bit better. No, I didn't care *[inaudible]*. It's true. No, it's true. Hey look, he never had a chance. Now, he's doing better. He's got probably a four or five percent chance. *[laughter]*

[crosstalk]

CRUZ: Neil... *[crosstalk]*

TRUMP: The fact is, there is a big overhang. There's a big question mark on your head. And you can't do that to the party. You really can't. You can't do that to the party. You have to have certainty. Even if it was a one percent chance, and it's far greater than one percent because *[inaudible]*.

I mean, you have great constitutional lawyers that say you can't run. If there was a — and you know I'm not bringing a suit. I promise. But the Democrats are going to bring a lawsuit, and you have to have certainty. You can't have a question. I can agree with you or not, but you can't have a question over your head.

CAVUTO: Senator, do you want to respond?

CRUZ: Well, listen, I've spent my entire life defending the Constitution before the U.S. Supreme Court. And I'll tell you, I'm not going to be taking legal advice from Donald Trump.

TRUMP: You don't have to. Take it from Lawrence Tribe. *[applause]* *[crosstalk]*

Take it from your professors...*[crosstalk]*

CRUZ: The chances of any litigation proceeding and succeeding on this are zero. And Mr. Trump is very focused...

TRUMP: He's wrong. He's wrong.

CRUZ: ... on Larry Tribe. Let me tell you who Larry Tribe is. He's a left-wing judicial activist, Harvard Law professor who was Al Gore's lawyer in Bush versus Gore. He's a major Hillary Clinton supporter. And there's a reason why Hillary's supporters are echoing Donald's attacks on me, because Hillary...

TRUMP: He is not the only one.

CRUZ: ... wants to face Donald Trump in the general election.

TRUMP: There are many lawyers.

CRUZ: And I'll tell you what, Donald, you — you very kindly just a moment ago offered me the V.P. slot. *[laughter]*

I'll tell you what. If this all works out, I'm happy to consider naming you as V.P. So if you happen to be right, you could get the top job at the end of the day.

TRUMP: No — no...*[laughter]*... I think if it doesn't... *[applause]* I like that. I like it. I'd consider it. But I think I'll go back to building buildings if it doesn't work out.

CRUZ: Actually, I'd love to get you to build a wall.

[crosstalk]

TRUMP: I have a feeling it's going to work out, actually.

[crosstalk]

RUBIO: Let me *[inaudible]*. I was invoked in that question, so let me just say — in that answer — let me say, the real question here, I hate to interrupt this episode of Court TV. *[laughter]*

But the real — but I think we have to get back to what this election has to be about. OK? Listen, we — this is the greatest country in the history of mankind. But in 2008, we elected a president that didn't want to fix America. He wants to change America. We elected a president that doesn't believe in the Constitution. He undermines it. We elected a president that is weakening America on the global stage. We elected a president that doesn't believe in the free enterprise system.

This election has to be about reversing all of that damage. That's why I'm running for office because when I become president of the United States, on my first day in office we are going to repeal every single one of his unconstitutional executive orders. When I'm president of the United States we are getting rid of Obamacare and we are rebuilding our military. And when I'm president, we're not just going to have a president that gives a State of the Union and says America is the greatest country in the world. When I'm president, we're going to have a president that acts like it.

BARTIROMO: Thank you, senator.

Mr. Trump, South Carolina Governor Nikki Haley in her response to the State of the Union address...*[applause]*...appeared to choose sides within the party, saying Republicans should resist, quote, "the siren call of the angriest voices". She confirmed, she was referring to you among others. Was she out of line? And, how would a President Trump unite the party?

TRUMP: Okay. First of all, Nikki this afternoon said I'm a friend of hers. Actually a close friend. And wherever you are sitting Nikki, I'm a friend. We're friends. That's good. *[laughter]* But she did say there was anger. And I could say, oh, I'm not angry. I'm very angry because our country is being run horribly and I will gladly accept the mantle of anger. Our military is a disaster. *[applause]*

Our healthcare is a horror show. Obamacare, we're going to repeal it and replace it. We have no borders. Our vets are being treated horribly. Illegal immigration is beyond belief. Our country is being run by incompetent people. And yes, I am angry. *[applause]* And I won't be angry when we fix it, but until we fix it, I'm very, very angry. And I say that to Nikki. So when Nikki said that, I wasn't offended. She said the truth.

One of your colleagues interviewed me. And said, well, she said you were angry and I said to myself, huh, she's right. I'm not fighting that. I didn't find it offensive at all. I'm angry because our country is a mess. *[applause]*

CAVUTO: Marco Rubio. I'm sorry, it's the time constraints. You and Governor Christie have been exchanging some fairly nasty words of late, and I will allow the governor to respond as well.

The governor went so far to say, you won't be able to slime your way to the White House. He's referring to a series of ads done by a PAC, speaking on your behalf, that say quote, "One high tax, Common Core, liberal, energy-loving, Obamacare, Medicaid-expanding president is enough. You think you went too far on that and do you want to apologize to the governor?"

RUBIO: You know, as I said already twice in this, we have a very serious problem in this country. [applause] We have a president of the United States that is undermining this country's security and expanding the role of...

CAVUTO: That is not my question.

RUBIO: Well, I am going to answer your question, Neil. He is — this president is undermining the constitutional basis of this government. This president is undermining our military. He is undermining our standing in the world. I like Chris Christie, but we can not afford to have a president of the United States that supports Common Core. [applause]

We can not afford to have a president of the United States that supports gun control. This president, this president is more interested in funding — less interested in funding the military, than he is in funding planned — he's more interested in funding Planned Parenthood than he is in funding the military.

Chris Christie wrote a check to Planned Parenthood. All I'm saying is our next president has to be someone that undoes the damage Barack Obama has done to this country. It can not be someone that agrees with his agenda.

Because the damage he has done to America is extraordinary. Let me tell you, if we don't get this election right, there may be no turning back for America. We're on the verge of being the first generation of Americans that leave our children worse off than ourselves.

So I just truly, with all my heart belief, I like everybody on the stage. No one is a socialist. No one here is under FBI investigation. So we have a good group of people.

CAVUTO: Is he a liberal?

RUBIO: Our next president...

CAVUTO: Is he a liberal?

RUBIO: Unfortunately, Governor Christie has endorsed many of the ideas that Barack Obama supports, whether it is Common Core or gun control or the appointment of Sonia Sotomayor or the donation he made to Planned Parenthood. Our next president, and our Republican nominee can not be someone who supports those positions.

CAVUTO: Governor? [applause]

CHRISTIE: I stood on the stage and watched Marco in rather indignantly, look at Governor Bush and say, someone told you that because we're running for the same office, that criticizing me will get you to that office.

It appears that the same someone who has been whispering in old Marco's ear too. [laughter]

So the indignation that you carry on, some of the stuff, you have to also own then. So let's set the facts straight. First of all, I didn't support Sonia Sotomayor. Secondly, I never wrote a check to Planned Parenthood.

Third, if you look at my record as governor of New Jersey, I have vetoed a 50-caliber rifle ban. I have vetoed a reduction this clip size. I vetoed a statewide I.D. system for gun owners and I pardoned, six out-of-state folks who came through our state and were arrested for owning a gun legally in another state so they never have to face charges.

And on Common Core, Common Core has been eliminated in New Jersey. So listen, this is the difference between being a governor and a senator. See when you're a senator, what you get to do is just talk and talk and talk. And you talk so much that nobody can ever keep up with what you're saying is accurate or not.

When you're a governor, you're held accountable for everything you do. And the people of New Jersey, I've seen it. [applause]

CHRISTIE: And the last piece is this. I like Marco too, and two years ago, he called me a conservative reformer that New Jersey needed. That was before he was running against me. Now that he is, he's changed his tune.

I'm never going to change my tune. I like Marco Rubio. He's a good guy, a smart guy, and he would be a heck of a lot better president than Hillary Rodham Clinton would ever be. [applause]

BUSH: Neil, my name was mentioned here. Neil, my name was mentioned as well.

Here's the deal, Chris is totally right. He's been a good governor, and he's a heck of a lot better than his predecessor that would have bankrupted New Jersey.

Everybody on this stage is better than Hillary Clinton. And I think the focus ought to be on making sure that we leave this nomination process, as wild and woolly as it's going to be — this is not being bad.

These attack ads are going to be part of life. Everybody just needs to get used to it. Everybody's record's going to be scrutinized, and at the end of the day we need to unite behind the winner so we can defeat Hillary Clinton, because she is a disaster. *[applause]*

Our country rise up again, but we need to have a compelling conservative agenda that we present to the American people in a way that doesn't disparage people, that unites us around our common purpose.

And so everybody needs to discount some of the things you're going to hear in these ads, and discount the — the back-and-forth here, because every person here is better than Hillary Clinton.

CARSON: Neil, I was mentioned too.

CAVUTO: You were?

CARSON: Yeah, he said everybody. *[laughter]*

And — and I just want to take this opportunity to say, you know, in the 2012 election, you know, we — and when I say we, Republicans — tore themselves apart.

You know, we have to stop this because, you know, if we manage to damage ourselves, and we lose the next election, and a progressive gets in there and they get two or three Supreme Court picks, this nation is over as we know it. And we got to look at the big picture here.

BARTIROMO: Governor Kasich...*[applause]*... Governor Kasich, Hillary Clinton is getting some serious competition from Senator Bernie Sanders. He's now at 41 percent in the latest CBS/New York Times poll. Vice President Biden sang his praises, saying Bernie is speaking to a yearning that is deep and real, and he has credibility on it.

So what does it say about our country that a candidate who is a self-avowed socialist and who doesn't think a 90 percent tax rate is too high could be the Democratic nominee?

KASICH: Well, if that's the case, we're going to win every state, if Bernie Sanders is the nominee. That's not even an issue. But look... *[applause]*...and I know Bernie, and I can promise you he's not going to be president of the United States. So here's this — the situation, I think, Maria.

And this is what we have to — I — I've got to tell you, when wages don't rise — and they haven't for a lot of families for a number of years — it's very, very difficult for them.

Part of the reason why it hasn't risen because sometimes we're not giving people the skills they need. Sometimes it's because the Federal Reserve kept interest rates so low that the wealthy were able to invest in — in strong assets like the stock market when everybody else was left behind.

People are upset about it. I'll tell you what else they're upset about: you're 50 or 51 years old, and some kid walks in and tells you you're out of work, and you don't know where to go and where to turn. Do we have answer for that? We do. There are ways to retrain the 50 and 51-year-olds, because they've got great value.

I'll tell you what else people are concerned about. Their kids come out of college, they have high debt and they can't get a good job. We got to do a lot about the high cost of high — higher education, but we've got to make sure we're training people for jobs that exist, that are good jobs that can pay. *[applause]*

Let me tell you that, in this country — in this country, people are concerned about their economic future. They're very concerned about it. And they wonder whether somebody is getting something to — keeping them from getting it.

That's not the America that I've ever known. My father used to say, "Johnny, we never — we don't hate the rich. We just want to be the rich." And we just got to make sure that every American has the tools, in K-through-12 and in vocational education, in higher education.

And we got to fight like crazy so people can think the American dream still exists, because it does, with rising wages, with full employment and with everybody in America — and I mean everybody in America — having an opportunity to realize the American dream of having a better life than their mother and their father.

I'm president — look, I've done it once. I've done it once in Washington, with great jobs and lower taxes. The economy was really booming.

And now in Ohio, with the same formula, wages higher than the — than the national average. A growth of 385,000 jobs.

[bell rings]

It's not that hard. Just know where you want to go, stick to your guts. Get it done, because our — our children and grandchildren are counting on us to get it done. And, folks, we will. You count on it.

BARTIROMO: Dr. Carson, one of the other candidates on this stage has brought Bill Clinton's past indiscretions. Is that a legitimate topic in this election? And what do you think of the notion that Hillary Clinton is an enabler of sexual misconduct?

CARSON: Well, there's not question that we should be able to look at past president whether they're married to somebody who's running for president or not in terms of their past behavior and what it means. But you know, here's the real issue, is this America anymore? Do we still have standards? Do we still have values and principles?

You know, you look at what's going on, you see all the divisiveness and the hatred that goes on in our society. You know, we have a war on virtual everything — race wars, gender wars, income wars, religious wars, age wars. Every war you can imagine, we have people at each other's throat and our strength is actually in our unity.

You know, you go to the internet, you start reading an article and you go to the comments section — you cannot go five comments down before people are calling each all manner of names. Where did that spirit come from in America? It did not come from our Judeo-Christian roots, I can tell you that. And wherever it came from we need to start once again recognizing that there is such a thing as right and wrong. And let's not let the secular progressives drive that out of us.

The majority of people in America actually have values and principles and they believe in the very things that made America great. They've been beaten into submission. It's time for us to stand up for what we believe in. *[applause]*

CAVUTO: Well, we are not done. Coming up, one of the top things people are talking about on Facebook, guns. And you can join us live us on this stage in the conversation during this commercial break right from home. You can go to Facebook.com/*[inaudible]*. We will be streaming live and talking about how we think the is going so far.

We're back in a moment in Charleston, South Carolina.

[commercial break]

BARTIROMO: Welcome back to the Republican presidential debates, right here in North Charleston. Let's get right back to the questions.

Governor Bush, gun rights, one of the top issues seen on Facebook with close to 3 million people talking about it in the past month. Right here in Charleston, Dylann Roof, who has been accused of killing nine people in a nearby church, reportedly had not passed his background check when he got his gun. What is the harm in tightening standards for not only who buys guns, but those who sell them?

BUSH: First of all, I'd like to recognize Governor Haley for her incredible leadership in the aftermath of the — *[applause]* — the Emanuel AME church killings. And I also want to recognize the people in that church that showed the grace of God and the grace of forgiveness and the mercy that they showed. *[applause]* I don't know if any of us could have done what they did, one after another, within 48 hours of that tragedy taking place. Look, here's the deal, in this particular case, the FBI made a mistake. The law itself requires a background check, but that didn't fulfill their part of the bargain within the time that they were supposed to do.

We don't need to add new rules, we need to make sure the FBI does its job. Because that person should not have gotten a gun, should not — would not have passed a background check. The first impulse of Barack Obama and Hillary Clinton is to take rights away from law-abiding citizens.

That's what they do, whether it's the San Bernardino attack or if it's these tragedies that take place, I think we need to focus on what the bigger issue is. It isn't law-abiding gun owners.

Look, I have an A plus rating in the NRA and we also have a reduction in gun violence because in Florida, if you commit a crime with a gun, you're going away. You're going away for a long, long while.

And that's what we should focus on is the violence in our communities. Target the efforts for people that are committing crimes with guns, and if you do that, and get it right, you're going to be much better off than creating a political argument where there's a big divide.

The other issue is mental health. That's a serious issue that we could work on. Republicans and Democrats alike believe this. *[applause]* The president's first impulse is do this by executive order, power he doesn't have. Why not go to Congress and in a bipartisan way, begin to deal with the process of mental health issues so that people that are spiraling out of control because of mental health challenges don't have access to guns. *[applause]*

BARTIROMO: Thank you, sir.

Mr. Trump, are there any circumstances that you think we should be limiting gun sales of any kind in America?

TRUMP: No. I am a 2nd amendment person. If we had guns in California on the other side where the bullets went in the different direction, you wouldn't have 14 or 15 people dead right now.

If even in Paris, if they had guns on the other side, going in the opposite direction, you wouldn't have 130 people plus dead. So the answer is no and what Jeb said is absolutely correct.

We have a huge mental health problem in this country. We're closing hospitals, we're closing wards, we're closing so many because the states want to save money. We have to get back into looking at what's causing it. The guns don't pull the trigger. It's the people that pull the trigger and we have to find out what is going on. *[applause]*

We have to protect our 2nd amendment and you cannot do this and certainly what Barack Obama was doing with the executive order. He doesn't want to get people together, the old-fashioned way, where you get Congress. You get the Congress, you get the Senate, you get together, you do legislation. He just writes out an executive order. Not supposed to happen that way. *[applause]*

TRUMP: You get the Congress. You get the Senate. You get together. You do legislation. He just writes out an order, executive order. It's not supposed to happen that way. *[applause]*

BARTIROMO: Thank you, sir. *[applause]*

CAVUTO: Senator Rubio, you said that President Obama wants to take people's guns away. Yet under his presidency, gun sales have more than doubled. That doesn't sound like a White House unfriendly to gun owners.

RUBIO: That sounds like people are afraid the president's going to take their guns away. *[applause]*

Look, the Second Amendment is not an option. It is not a suggestion. It is a constitutional right of every American to be able to protect themselves and their families. I am convinced that if this president could confiscate every gun in America, he would. I am convinced that this president, if he could get rid of the Second Amendment, he would. I am convinced because I see how he works with his attorney general, not to defend the Second Amendment, but to figure out ways to undermine it.

I have seen him appoint people to our courts not to defend the Second Amendment, but to figure out ways to undermine it.

Here's my second problem. None of these instances that the president points to as the reason why he's doing these things would have been preventive. You know why? Because criminals don't buy their guns from a gun show. They don't buy their guns from a collector. And they don't buy their guns from a gun store. They get — they steal them. They get them on the black market.

And let me tell you, ISIS and terrorists do not get their guns from a gun show. These...*[laughter and applause]*... his answer — you name it. If there's an act of violence in America, his immediate answer before he even knows the facts is gun control. Here's a fact. We are in a war against ISIS. They are trying to attack us here in America. They attacked us in Philadelphia last week. They attacked us in San Bernardino two weeks ago. And the last line standing between them and our families might be us and a gun.

When I'm president of the United States, we are defending the Second Amendment, not undermining it the way Barack Obama does. *[applause]*

CAVUTO: But what fact can you point to, Senator — what fact can you point to that the president would take away everyone's gun? You don't think that's *[inaudible]*?

RUBIO: About every two weeks, he holds a press conference talking about how he can't wait to restrict people's access to guns. He has never defended...*[crosstalk]*...I'll give you a fact. Well, let me tell you this. Do you remember when he ran for president of the United States, and he was a candidate, and he went and said, "These Americans with traditional values, they are bitter people, and they cling to their guns and to their religion." That tells you right away where he was headed on all of this.

This president every chance he has ever gotten has tried to undermine the Second Amendment. *[applause]*

He doesn't meet — here's the difference. When he meets with the attorney general in the White House, it's not "how can we protect the Second Amendment rights of Americans." It's "give me options on how I can make it harder for law-abiding people to buy guns." That will never happen when I am president of the United States. *[applause]*

CAVUTO: Governor Christie, you, too, have criticized the president's recent executive action on gun control, saying it's unconstitutional, another step to bypass Congress. But hasn't your own position on guns evolved, sir? The New Jersey Star-Ledger reports that you signed several laws to regulate the possession of firearms, and that you argued back in August 2013, and I quote, "These common sense measures will strengthen New Jersey's already tough gun laws."

So isn't that kind of what the president wants to do now?

CHRISTIE: No, absolutely not. The president wants to do things without working with his Congress, without working with the legislature, and without getting the consent of the American people. And the fact is that that's not a democracy. That's a dictatorship. And we need to very, very concerned about that.

See, here's the thing. I don't think the founders put the Second Amendment as number two by accident. I don't think they dropped all the amendments into a hat and picked them out of a hat. I think they made the Second Amendment the second amendment because they thought it was just that important.

The fact is in New Jersey, what we have done is to make it easier now to get a conceal and carry permit. We have made it easier to do that, not harder. And the way we've done it properly through regulatory action, not by signing unconstitutional executive orders. This guy is a petulant child. That's what he is. I mean, you know...*[applause]*... the fact is, Neil, let's think about — let's think about — and I want to maybe — I hope the president is watching tonight, because here's what I'd like to tell him.

Mr. President, we're not against you. We're against your policies. When you became president, you had a Democratic Congress and a filibuster-proof Democratic Senate. You had only 21 Republican governors in this country. And now after seven years of your policies, we have the biggest majority we've had since the 1920s in the House; a Republican majority in the Senate; and 31 out of 50 Republican governors.

The American people have rejected your agenda and now you're trying to go around it. That's not right. It's not constitutional. And we are going to kick your rear end out of the White House come this fall. *[applause]*

BARTIROMO: So what is the answer, Senator Cruz, to stop mass shootings and violent crime, up in 30 cities across the country?

CRUZ: The answer is simple. You prosecute criminals. You target the bad guys. You know, a minute ago, Neil asked: What has President Obama do — done to illustrate that he wants to go after guns?

Well, he appointed Eric Holder as attorney general. Eric Holder said he viewed his mission as brainwashing the American people against guns. He appointed Sonia Sotomayor to the Supreme Court, someone who has been a radical against the Second Amendment right to keep and bear arms.

He launched Fast and Furious, illegally selling guns to Mexican drug lords that were then used to shoot law enforcement officials. And I'll tell you what Hillary Clinton has said: Hillary Clinton says she agrees with the dissenters — the Supreme Court dissenters in the Heller case.

There were four dissenters, and they said that they believe the Second Amendment protects no individual right to keep and bear arms whatsoever, which means, if their view prevailed and the next president's going to get one, two, three, maybe four Supreme Court justices, the court will rule that not a single person in this room has any right under the Second Amendment and the government could confiscate your guns.

And I'll note that California senator — Democratic Senator Dianne Feinstein said, if she could say to Mr. America and Mrs. America, "give me your guns, I'm rounding them up," she would.

And let me make a final point on this. Listen, in any Republican primary, everyone is going to say they support the Second Amendment. Unless you are clinically insane...[laughter]...that's what you say in a primary. But the voters are savvier than that. They recognize that people's actions don't always match their words. I've got a proven record fighting to defend the Second Amendment.

There's a reason Gun Owners of America has endorsed me in this race. There's a reason the NRA gave me their Carter Knight Freedom Fund award...[bell rings]...and there's a reason, when Barack Obama and Chuck Schumer came after our right to keep and bear arms, that I led the opposition, along with millions of Americans — we defeated that gun control legislation.

And I would note the other individuals on this stage were nowhere to be found in that fight.

BARTIROMO: Senator...[applause]... let me follow up and switch gears. Senator Cruz, you suggested Mr. Trump, quote, "embodies New York values." Could you explain what you mean by that?

CRUZ: You know, I think most people know exactly what New York values are. [laughter]

BARTIROMO: I am from New York. I don't.

CRUZ: What — what — you're from New York? So you might not. [laughter]

But I promise you, in the state of South Carolina, they do. [applause]

And listen, there are many, many wonderful, wonderful working men and women in the state of New York. But everyone understands that the values in New York City are socially liberal or pro-abortion or pro- gay-marriage, focus around money and the media.

And — and I would note indeed, the reason I said that is I was asked — my friend Donald has taken to it as advance playing Bruce Springsteen's "Born in the USA", and I was asked what I thought of that.

And I said, "well, if he wanted to play a song, maybe he could play, 'New York, New York?'" And — and — you know, the concept of New York values is not that complicated to figure out.

Not too many years ago, Donald did a long interview with Tim Russert. And in that interview, he explained his views on a whole host of issues that were very, very different from the views he's describing now.

And his explanation — he said, "look, I'm from New York, that's what we believe in New York. Those aren't Iowa values, but this is what we believe in New York." And so that was his explanation.

And — and I guess I can — can frame it another way. Not a lot of conservatives come out of Manhattan. I'm just saying. [laughter]

BARTIROMO: Are you sure about that?

CAVUTO: Maria...

TRUMP: So conservatives actually do come out of Manhattan, including William F. Buckley and others, just so you understand. [applause]

And just so — if I could, because he insulted a lot of people. I've had more calls on that statement that Ted made — New York is a great place. It's got great people, it's got loving people, wonderful people.

When the World Trade Center came down, I saw something that no place on Earth could have handled more beautifully, more humanely than New York. You had two one hundred...[applause] ...you had two 110-story buildings come crashing down. I saw them come down. Thousands of people killed, and the cleanup started the next day, and it was the most horrific cleanup, probably in the history of doing this, and in construction. I was down there, and I've never seen anything like it.

And the people in New York fought and fought and fought, and we saw more death, and even the smell of death — nobody understood it. And it was with us for months, the smell, the air.

And we rebuilt downtown Manhattan, and everybody in the world watched and everybody in the world loved New York and loved New Yorkers. And I have to tell you, that was a very insulting statement that Ted made. [applause]

CAVUTO: Governor Bush, for the third time in as many months, the Iranians have provoked us, detaining us, as we've been discussing, with these 10 Navy sailors Tehran had said strayed into their waters. The sailors were released, but only after shown on video apologizing for the incident. This occurring only weeks after Iran fired multiple rockets within 1,500 yards of a U.S. aircraft carrier and then continued to test medium range missiles.

Now you've claimed that such actions indicate Tehran has little to fear from a President Obama. I wonder, sir, what would change if they continued doing this sort of thing under a President Jeb Bush?

BUSH: Well, first of all, under President Jeb Bush, we would restore the strength of the military. Last week, Secretary Carter announced that the Navy's going to be cut again. It's now half the size of what it was prior to Operation Desert Storm.

The deployments are too high for the military personnel. We don't have procurement being done for refreshing the equipment. The B-52 is still operational as the long range bomber; it was inaugurated in the age of Harry Truman. The planes are older than the pilots. We're gutting our military, and so the Iranians and the Chinese and the Russians and many other countries look at the United States not as serious as we once were.

We have to eliminate the sequester, rebuild our military in a way that makes it clear that we're back in the game.

Secondly, as it relates to Iran, we need to confront their ambitions across the board. We should reimpose sanctions, they've already violated sanctions after this agreement was signed by testing medium-range missiles.

Thirdly, we need to move our embassy from Tel Aviv to Jerusalem to send a serious signal that we're back in the game with Israel... [applause]...and sign an agreement that makes sure that the world knows that they will have technological superiority.

We need to get back in the game as it relates to our Arab nations. The rest of the world is moving away from us towards other alliances because we are weak. This president and John Kerry and Hillary Clinton all have made it harder for the next president to act, but he must act to confront the ambitions of Iran. We can get back in the game to restore order and security for our own country. [applause]

CAVUTO: Thank you, Governor. Governor Kasich, while everyone has been focusing on Iran's provocations, I'm wondering what you make of what Saudi Arabia has been doing and its recent moves in the region, including its execution of a well-known Shi'ite cleric and its move to dramatically increase oil production, some say in an effort to drive down oil prices and force a lot of U.S. oil producers out of business.

Sure enough, oil prices have tumbled. One brokerage house is predicting a third or more of American oil producers and those heavily invested in fracking will go bankrupt, and soon Saudi Arabia and OPEC will be back in the driver's seat. U.S. energy player Harold Hamrie similarly told me with friends like these, who needs enemies? Do you agree?

KASICH: Well, let me — let me first of all talk a little bit about my experience. I served on the Defense Committee for 18 years, and by the way, one of the members of that committee was Senator Strom Thurmond from South Carolina. Let em also tell you... [applause]...that after the 9/11 attacks, Secretary Rumsfeld invited me to the Pentagon with a meeting of the former secretaries of Defense. And in that meeting, I suggested we had a problem with technology, and that I wanted to take people from Silicon Valley into the Pentagon to solve our most significant problems. So I not only had the opportunity to go through the Cold War struggles in Central America, and even after 9/11 to be involved.

With Saudi Arabia and oil production, first of all, it's so critical for us to be energy independent, and we're getting there because of fracking and we ought to explore because, see, energy independence gives us leverage and flexibility, and secondly, if you want to bring jobs back to the United States of America in industry, low prices make the difference.

We're seeing it in my state and we'll see it in this country. And that's why we must make sure we continue to frack.

In terms of Saudi Arabia, look, my biggest problem with them is they're funding radical clerics through their madrassas. That is a bad deal and an evil situation, and presidents have looked the other way. And I was going to tell you, whether I'm president or not, we better make it clear to the Saudis that we're going to support you, we're in relation with you just like we were in the first Gulf War, but you've got to knock off the funding and teaching of radical clerics who are the very people who try to destroy us and will turn around and destroy them. [applause]

So look, in foreign policy — in foreign policy, it's strength, but you've got to be cool. You've got to have a clear vision of where you want to go. And I'm going to tell you, that it — I'm going to suggest to you here tonight, that you can't do on the job training.

I've seen so much of it — a Soviet Union, the coming down of a wall, the issues that we saw around the world in Central America, the potential spread of communism, and 9/11 and Gulf War. You see what the Saudi's — deliver them a strong message but at the end of the day we have to keep our cool because most of the time they're going right with us. And they must be part of our coalition to destroy ISIS and I believe we can get that done.

Thank you.

CAVUTO: Thank you John.

BARTIROMO: There's much more ahead including the fight against ISIS. More from Charleston, South Carolina when we come right back.

BARTIROMO: We welcome back to the Republican Presidential , right back to the questions.

Candidates, the man who made fighting ISIS the cornerstone of his campaign, South Carolina Senator, Lindsey Graham is out the race but he joins us tonight in the audience. [applause]

He says, "the air-strike now in their 16th month have been ineffective." Dr. Carson ...

CARSON: Wait a minute, who in their 16th month?

BARTIROMO: The air-strikes.

CARSON: OK.

BARTIROMO: Now in their 16th month are ineffective. Dr. Carson, do you think Senator Graham is right in wanting to send 20,000 troops — ground troops to Iraq and Syria to take out ISIS?

CARSON: Well, there's no question that ISIS is a very serious problem, and I don't believe that this administration recognizes how serious it is.

I think we need to do a lot more than we're doing. Recognize that the caliphate is what gives them the legitimacy to go out on a jihadist mission, so we need to take that away from them.

The way to take that away from them is to talk to our military officials and ask them, "what do you need in order to accomplish this goal?"

Our decision is, then, do we give them what we need. I say, yes, not only do we give them what they need, but we don't tie their hands behind their backs so that they can go ahead and get the job done.

In addition to that...[applause]...in addition to that, we go ahead and we take the oil from them, their source of revenue. You know, some of these — these engagement rules that the administration has — "we're not going to bomb a tanker that's coming out of there because there might be a person in it" — give me a break.

Just tell them that, you put people in there, we're going to bomb them. So don't put people in there if you don't want them bombed. You know, that's so simple. [applause]

And then we need to shut down — we need to shut down their mechanisms of funding and attack their command-and-control centers. Why should we let their people be sitting there smoking their cigars, sitting in their comfortable chairs in Raqqa?

We know to go ahead and shut off the supply routes, and send in our special ops at 2:00 a.m. and attack them everywhere they go. They should be running all the time, then they won't have time to plan attacks against us. [applause]

BARTIROMO: Thank you, sir. Senator Graham has also said that the U.S. will find Arab support for its coalition if it removes Syrian President Bashar al-Assad. And I quote, "The now king of Saudi Arabia told us, 'you can have our army, you just got to deal with Assad.'"

"The emir of Qatar said, 'I'll pay for the operation, but they are not going to fight ISIS and let Damascus fall into the hands of the Iranians. Assad has to go.'"

Governor Christie, how important is it to remove Assad from power and how would you do it?

CHRISTIE: Maria, you look at what this president and his secretary of state, Secretary of State Clinton, has done to get us in this spot. You think about it — this is the president who said, along with his secretary of state — drew a red line in Syria, said, if Assad uses chemical weapons against his people, that we're going to attack.

He used chemical weapons, he's killed, now, over a quarter of a million of his own people, and this president has done nothing. In fact, he's done worse than nothing.

This president — and, by the way, Secretary Clinton, who called Assad a reformer — she called Assad a reformer. Now, the fact is, what this president has done is invited Russia to play an even bigger role, bring in Vladimir Putin to negotiate getting those chemical weapons back from Assad, yet what do we have today?

We have the Russians and the Iranians working together, not to fight ISIS, but to prop up Assad. The fact of the matter is we're not going to have peace — we are not going to have peace in Syria. We're not going to be able to rebuild it unless we put a no-fly zone there, make it safe for those folks so we don't have to be talking about Syrian refugees anymore.

The Syrians should stay in Syria. They shouldn't be going to Europe. And here's the last piece...[applause]...you're not going to have peace in Syria with Assad in charge. You're simply not. And so Senator Graham is right about this.

And if we want to try to rebuild the coalition, as Governor Kasich was saying before, then what we better do is to get to the Arab countries that believe that ISIS is a threat, not only to them, but to us and to world peace, and bring them together.

And believe me, Assad is not worth it. And if you're going to leave this to Hillary Clinton, the person who gave us this foreign policy, the architect of it, and you're going to give her another four years, that's why I'm speaking out as strongly as I am about that.

Hillary Clinton cannot be president. It will lead to even greater war in this world. And remember this, after Hillary Clinton and Barack Obama have had nearly 8 years, we have fewer democracies in the world than we had when they started.

That makes the world less peaceful, less safe. In my administration, we will help to make sure we bring people together in the Middle East, and we will fight ISIS and defeat them.

BARTIROMO: Thank you, sir. *[applause]*

Mr. Trump — Mr. Trump, your comments about banning Muslims from entering the country created a firestorm. According to Facebook, it was the most-talked-about moment online of your entire campaign, with more than 10 million people talking about the issue.

Is there anything you've heard that makes you want to rethink this position?

TRUMP: No. *[laughter]* No. *[applause]*

Look, we have to stop with political correctness. We have to get down to creating a country that's not going to have the kind of problems that we've had with people flying planes into the World Trade Centers, with the — with the shootings in California, with all the problems all over the world.

I just left Indonesia — bomb, bomb, bomb, bomb.

We have to find out what's going on. I said temporarily. I didn't say permanently. I said temporarily. And I have many great Muslim friends. And some of them, I will say, not all, have called me and said, "Donald, thank you very much; you're exposing an unbelievable problem and we have to get to the bottom of it."

And unlike President Obama, where he refuses even to use the term of what's going on, he can't use the term for whatever reason. And if you can't use the term, you're never going to solve the problem. My Muslim friends, some, said, "thank you very much; we'll get to the bottom of it."

But we have a serious problem. And we can't be the stupid country any more. We're laughed at all over the world. *[applause]*

BUSH: Donald, Donald — can I — I hope you reconsider this, because this policy is a policy that makes it impossible to build the coalition necessary to take out ISIS. The Kurds are our strongest allies. They're Muslim. You're not going to even allow them to come to our country?

The other Arab countries have a role to play in this. We cannot be the world's policeman. We can't do this unilaterally. We have to do this in unison with the Arab world. And sending that signal makes it impossible for us to be serious about taking out ISIS and restoring democracy in Syria. *[applause]*

So I hope you'll reconsider. I hope you'll reconsider. The better way of dealing with this — the better way of dealing with this is recognizing that there are people in, you know, the — Islamic terrorists inside, embedded in refugee populations.

What we ought to do is tighten up our efforts to deal with the entry visa program so that a citizen from Europe, it's harder if they've been traveling to Syria or traveling to these other places where there is Islamic terrorism, make it harder — make the screening take place.

We don't have to have refugees come to our country, but all Muslims, seriously? What kind of signal does that send to the rest of the world that the United States is a serious player in creating peace and security?

CAVUTO: But you said — you said that he made those comments and they represented him being unhinged after he made them.

BUSH: Yeah, they are unhinged.

CAVUTO: Well — well, after he made them...*[applause]*...his poll numbers went up eight points in South Carolina. Now — now, wait...

TRUMP: Eleven points, to be exact.

CAVUTO: Are you — are you saying — are you saying that all those people who agree with Mr. Trump are unhinged?

BUSH: No, not at all, absolutely not. I can see why people are angry and scared, because this president has created a condition where our national security has weakened dramatically. I totally get that. But we're running for the presidency of the United States here. This isn't — this isn't, you know, a different kind of job. You have to lead. You cannot make rash statements and expect the rest of the world to respond as though, well, it's just politics.

Every time we send signals like this, we send a signal of weakness, not strength. And so it was *[inaudible]* his statement, which is why I'm asking him to consider changing his views. *[applause]*

TRUMP: I want security for this country. OK? *[applause]*

I want security. I'm tired of seeing what's going on, between the border where the people flow over; people come in; they live; they shoot. I want security for this country. We have a serious problem with, as you know, with radical Islam. We have a tremendous

problem. It's not only a problem here. It's a problem all over the world.

I want to find out why those two young people — those two horrible young people in California when they shot the 14 people, killed them — people they knew, people that held the wedding reception for them. I want to find out — many people saw pipe bombs and all sorts of things all over their apartment. Why weren't they vigilant? Why didn't they call? Why didn't they call the police?

And by the way, the police are the most mistreated people in this country. I will tell you that. *[applause]*

The most mistreated people. In fact, we need to — wait a minute — we need vigilance. We have to find out — many people knew about what was going on. Why didn't they turn those two people in so that you wouldn't have had all the death?

There's something going on and it's bad. And I'm saying we have to get to the bottom of it. That's all I'm saying. We need security.

BARTIROMO: We — we want to hear from all of you on this. According to Pew Research, the U.S. admits more than 100,000 Muslim immigrants every single year on a permanent lifetime basis. I want to ask the rest of you to comment on this. Do you agree that we should pause Muslim immigration until we get a better handle on our homeland security situation, as Mr. Trump has said?

Beginning with you, Governor Kasich.

KASICH: I — I've been for pausing on admitting the Syrian refugees. And the reasons why I've done is I don't believe we have a good process of being able to vet them. But you know, we don't want to put everybody in the same category.

And I'll go back to something that had been mentioned just a few minutes ago. If we're going to have a coalition, we're going to have to have a coalition not just of people in the western part of the world, our European allies, but we need the Saudis, we need the Egyptians, we need the Jordanians, we need the Gulf states. We need Jordan.

We need all of them to be part of exactly what the first George Bush put together in the first Gulf War.

[bell rings]

It was a coalition made up of Arabs and Americans and westerners and we're going to need it again. And if we try to put everybody in the same — call everybody the same thing, we can't do it. And that's just not acceptable.

But I think a pause on Syrian refugees has been exactly right for all the governors that have called for it, and also, of course, for me as the governor of Ohio.

BARTIROMO: Thank you, sir, we want to hear from the rest of you,

Governor Christie, your take.

CHRISTIE: Now Maria, listen. I said right from the beginning that we should take no Syrian refugees of any kind. And the reason I said that is because the FBI director told the American people, told Congress, that he could not guarantee he could vet them and it would be safe. That's the end of the conversation.

I can tell you, after spending seven years as a former federal prosecutor, right after 9/11, dealing with this issue. Here's the way you need to deal with it. You can't just ban all Muslims. You have to ban radical Islamic jihadists. You have to ban the people who are trying to hurt us.

The only way to figure that out is to go back to getting the intelligence community the funding and the tools that it needs to be able to keep America safe.

[bell rings]

And this summer, we didn't do that. We took it away from the NSA, it was a bad decision by the president. Bad by those in the Senate who voted for it and if I'm president, we'll make our intelligence community strong, and won't have to keep everybody out, we're just going to keep the bad folk out and make sure they don't harm us.

BARTIROMO: Senator Rubio, where do you stand?

RUBIO: Well, first of all, let's understand why we are even having this and why Donald tapped in to some of that anger that's out there about this whole issue. Because this president has consistently underestimated the threat of ISIS.

If you listen to the State of the Union the other night, he described them as a bunch of guys with long beards on the back of a pickup truck. They are much more than that. This is a group of people that enslaves women and sells them, sells them as brides.

This is a group of people that burns people in cages, that is conducting genocide against Christians and Yazidis and others in the region. This is not some small scale group.

They are radicalizing people in the United States, they are conducting attacks around the world. So you know what needs to happen, it's a very simple equation, and it's going to happen when I'm president. If we do not know who you are, and we do not know why you are coming when I am president, you are not getting into the United States of America. *[applause]*

BARTIROMO: Senator Cruz, where do you stand? Senator Cruz?

CRUZ: You know I understand why Donald made the comments he did and I understand why Americans are feeling frustrated and scared and angry when we have a president who refuses to acknowledge the threat we face and even worse, who acts as an apologist for radical Islamic terrorism.

I think what we need is a commander in chief who is focused like a laser on keeping this country safe and on defeating radical Islamic terrorism. What should we do? First, we should pass the Expatriate Terrorist Act, legislation I've introduced that says if an American goes and joins ISIS and wages jihad against America, that you forfeit your citizenship and you can not come in on a passport. [applause]

And secondly, we should pass the legislation that I've introduced...[bell rings]...that suspends all refugees from nations that ISIS or Al Qaida controls significant territory. Just last week, we see saw two Iraqi refugees vetted using the same process the president says will work, that were arrested for being alleged ISIS terrorists.

If I'm elected president, we will not let in refugees from countries controlled by ISIS or Al Qaida. When it comes to ISIS, we will not weaken them, we will not degrade them, we will utterly and completely destroy ISIS [applause].

BARTIROMO: Dr. Carson, where do you stand? Do you agree with Mr. Trump?

CARSON: Well, first of all, recognize it is a substantial problem. But like all of our problems, there isn't a single one that can't be solved with common sense if you remove the ego and the politics. And clearly, what we need to do is get a group of experts together, including people from other countries, some of our friends from Israel, who have had experience screening these people and come up with new guidelines for immigration, and for visas, for people who are coming into this country.

That is the thing that obviously makes sense, we can do that. And as far as the Syrians are concerned, Al-Hasakah province, perfect place. They have infrastructure. All we need to do is protect them, they will be in their own country.

And that is what they told me when I was in Jordan in November. Let's listen to them and let's not listen to our politicians.

BARTIROMO: So, to be clear, the both of you do not agree with Mr. Trump?

BUSH: So, are we going to ban Muslims from India, from Indonesia, from countries that are strong allies — that we need to build better relationships with? Of course not. What we need to do is destroy ISIS.

I laid out a plan at the Citadel to do just that and it starts with creating a "No Fly Zone" and "Safe Zones" to make sure refugees are there. We need to lead a force, a Sunni led force inside of Syria. We need to embed with — with the Iraqi military. We need to arm the Kurds the directly. We need to re-establish the relationships with the Sunnis.

We need the lawyers off the back of the war fighters. That's how you solve the problem. You don't solve it by big talk where you're banning all Muslims and making it harder for us to build the kind of coalition for us to be successful.

BARTIROMO: Thank you governor.

CAVUTO: Mr. Trump, sometimes maybe in the heat of the campaign, you say things and you have to dial them back. Last week, the New York Times editorial board quoted as saying that you would oppose, "up to 45 percent tariff on Chinese goods."

TRUMP: That's wrong. They were wrong. It's the New York Times, they are always wrong.

CAVUTO: Well...

TRUMP: They were wrong.

CAVUTO: You never said because they provided that...

TRUMP: No, I said, "I would use — " they were asking me what to do about North Korea. China, they don't like to tell us but they have total control — just about, of North Korea. They can solve the problem of North Korea if they wanted to but they taunt us.

They say, "well, we don't really have control." Without China, North Korea doesn't even eat. China is ripping us on trade. They're devaluing their currency and they're killing our companies. Thousands of thousands — you look at the number of companies and the number in terms of manufacturing of plans that we've lost — 50,000 because of China.

[crosstalk]

CAVUTO: So they've never said to put a tariff on their...

TRUMP: We've lost anywhere between four and seven million jobs because of China. What I said then was, "we have very unfair trade with China. We're going to have a trade deficit of 505 billion dollars this year with China." A lot of that is because they devalue their currency.

What I said to the New York Times, is that, "we have great power, economic power over China and if we wanted to use that and the amount — where the 45 percent comes in, that would be the amount they saw their devaluations that we should get." That we should get.

What I'm saying is this, I'm saying that we do it but if they don't start treating us fairly and stop devaluing and let their currency rise so that our companies can compete and we don't lose all of these millions of jobs that we're losing, I would certainly start taxing goods

CAVUTO: I'm sorry, you lost me.

TRUMP: It's not that complicated actually.

CAVUTO: Then I apologize. Then I want to understand, if you don't want a 45 percent tariff, say that wasn't the figure, would you be open — are you open to slapping a higher tariff on Chinese goods of any sort to go back at them?

TRUMP: OK, just so you understand — I know so much about trading about with China. Carl Icahn today as you know endorsed. Many businessmen want to endorse me.

CAVUTO: I know...

TRUMP: Carl said, "no, no — " but he's somebody — these are the kind of people that we should use to negotiate and not the China people that we have who are political hacks who don't know what they're doing and we have problems like this. If these are the kinds of people — we should use our best and our finest.

Now, on that tariff — here's what I'm saying, China — they send their goods and we don't tax it — they do whatever they want to do. They do whatever what they do, OK. When we do business with China, they tax us. You don't know it, they tax us.

I have many friends that deal with China. They can't — when they order the product and when they finally get the product it is taxed. If you looking at what happened with Boeing and if you look at what happened with so many companies that deal — so we don't have an equal playing field. I'm saying, absolutely, we don't have to continue to lose 505 billion dollars as a trade deficit for the privilege of dealing with China.

I'm a free trader. I believe in it but we have to be smart and we have to use smart people to negotiate. I have the largest bank in the world as a tenant of mine. I sell tens' of millions of *[inaudible]*.

I love China. I love the Chinese people but they laugh themselves, they can't believe how stupid the American leadership is.

CAVUTO: So you're open to a tariff?

TRUMP: I'm totally open to a tariff. If they don't treat us fairly, hey, their whole trade is tarified. You can't deal in China without tariffs. They do it to us, we don't it. It's not fair trade.

KASICH: Neil, Neil — can I say one thing about this. I'm a free trader. I support NAFTA. I believe in the PTT because it's important those countries in Asia are interfacing against China. And we do need China — Donald's right about North Korea.

I mean the fact is, is that they need to put the pressure on and frankly we need to intercepts ships coming out of North Korea so they don't proliferate all these dangerous materials. But what he's touching — talking about, I think has got merit. And I'll allow putting that tariff or whatever he's saying here...

TRUMP: I'm happy to have him tonight...*[laughter]*

KASICH: For too long — no, for too long, what happens is somebody dumps their product in our country and take our people's jobs, and then we go to an international court and it takes them like a year or two to figure out whether they were cheating us. And guess what? The worker's out of a job.

So when they — be found against that country that's selling products in here lower than the cost of what it takes to produce them, then what do we tell the worker? Oh, well, you know, it just didn't work out for you.

I think we should be for free trade but I think fair trade. And when countries violate trade agreements or dump product in this country, we need — we need to stand up against those countries that do that without making them into an enemy.

And I want to just suggest to you. How do I know this? Because so many people in my family worked in steel mills, and they didn't work with a white collar, they worked in a blue collar. And the fact is those jobs are critical, they're hard working members of the middle class and they need to be paid attention to because they're Americans and they carry the load. So let's demand open trade but fair trade in this country. That's what I think we need to do. *[applause]*

CAVUTO: All right.

RUBIO: But on this point, if I may add something on this point. We are all frustrated with what China is doing. I think we need to be very careful with tariffs, and here's why.

China doesn't pay the tariff, the buyer pays the tariff. If you send a tie or a shirt made in China into the United States and an American goes to buy it at the store and there's a tariff on it, it gets passed on in the price to price to the consumer.

So I think the better approach, the best thing we can do to protect ourselves against China economically is to make our economy stronger, which means reversing course from all the damage Barack Obama is doing to this economy.

It begins with tax reform. Let's not have the most expensive business tax rate in the world. Let's allow companies to immediately expense. *[applause]*

It continues with regulatory reform. Regulations in this country are out of control, especially the Employment Prevention Agency, the EPA, and all of the rules they continue to impose on our economy and hurting us.

How about Obamacare, a certified job killer? It needs to be repealed and replaced. And we need to bring our debt under control, make our economy stronger. That is the way to deal with China at the end of the day.

TRUMP: Neil, the problem...

BARTIROMO: We're getting...

TRUMP: ... with what Marco is saying is that it takes too long, they're sucking us dry and it takes too long. It would just — you absolutely have to get involved with China, they are taking so much of what we have in terms of jobs in terms of money. We just can't do it any longer.

CAVUTO: He is right. If you put a tariff on a good, it's Americans who pay.

BUSH: Absolutely.

TRUMP: You looking at me?

BUSH: Yeah.

BARTIROMO: Prices go higher for...

TRUMP: Can I tell you what? It will never happen because they'll let their currency go up. They're never going to let it happen.

Japan, the same thing. They are devaluing — it's so impossible for — you look at Caterpillar Tractor and what's happening with Caterpillar and Kamatsu. Kamatsu is a tractor company in Japan. Friends of mine are ordering Kamatsu tractors now because they've de-valued the yen to such an extent that you can't buy a Caterpillar tractor. And we're letting them get away with it and we can't let them get away with it.

And that's why we have to use Carl and we have to use our great businesspeople and not political hacks to negotiate with these guys. *[applause]*

BUSH: Here's — apart from the — apart from the higher prices on consumers and people are living paycheck to paycheck, apart from that, there will be retaliation.

BARTIROMO: Yeah.

BUSH: So they soybean sales from Iowa, entire soybean production goes — the equivalent of it goes to China. Or how about Boeing right here within a mile? Do you think that the Chinese, if they had a 45 percent tariff imposed on all their imports wouldn't retaliate and start buying Airbus? Of course, they would. This would be devastating for the economy. We need someone with a steady hand being president of the United States.

BARTIROMO: Real quick, Senator — go ahead, Senator Cruz. *[applause]*

And then we have to get to tax reform.

TRUMP: And we don't need a weak person being president of the United State, OK? Because that's what we'd get if it were Jeb — I tell you what, we don't need that.

AUDIENCE: Boo.

TRUMP: We don't need that. That's essentially what we have now, and we don't need that. And that's why we're in the trouble that we're in now. And by the way, Jeb you mentioned Boeing, take a look. They order planes, they make Boeing build their plant in China. They don't want them made here. They want those planes made in China.

BUSH: They're a mile away from here.

TRUMP: That's not the way the game is supposed to be played.

BARTIROMO: Thank you, Governor Bush. Thank you, Mr. Trump. Very briefly.

BUSH: My name was mentioned. My name was mentioned here. The simple fact is that the plane that's being build here is being sold to China. You can — if you — you flew in with your 767, didn't you? Right there, right next to the plant.

TRUMP: No, the new planes. I'm not talking about now, I'm talking about in the future they're building massive plants in China because China does not want Boeing building their planes here, they want them built in China, because China happens to be smart the way they do it, not the way we do it.

BARTIROMO: Thank you, Mr. Trump.

BUSH: When you head back to airport tonight, go check and see what the...

BARTIROMO: Thank you, Mr. Trmup. Thank you, Governor.

TRUMP: I'll check for you.

BUSH: Check it out. *[laughter]*

BARTIROMO: Senator briefly.

CRUZ: Thanks for coming back to me, Maria. Both Donald and Jeb have good points, and there is a middle ground. Donald is right that China is running over President Obama like he is a child, President Obama is not protecting American workers and we are getting hammered.

You know, I sat down with the senior leadership of John Deere. They discussed how — how hard it is to sell tractors in China, because all the regulatory barriers. They're protectionist.

But Jeb is also right that, if we just impose a tariff, they'll put reciprocal tariffs, which will hurt Iowa farmers and South Carolina producers and 20 percent of the American jobs that depend on exports.

So the way you do it is you pass a tax plan like the tax plan I've introduced: a simple flat tax, 10 percent for individuals, and a 16 percent business flat tax, you abolish the IRS...*[applause]*...and here's the critical point, Maria — the business flat tax enables us to abolish the corporate income tax, the death tax, the Obamacare taxes, the payroll taxes, and they're border-adjustable, so every export pays no taxes whatsoever.

It's tax-free — a huge advantage for our farmers and ranchers and manufacturers — and every import pays the 16 percent business flat tax. It's like a tariff, but here's the difference: if we impose a tariff, China responds.

The business flat tax, they already impose their taxes on us, so there's no reciprocal...*[bell rings]*...tariffs that come against us. It puts us on a level, even playing field, which brings jobs here at home...

UNKNOWN: Maria...

CRUZ: ... and as president, I'm going to fight for the working men and women.

[crosstalk]

BARTIROMO: We've got to get to tax reform, gentlemen. We've got to get to tax reform, and we've got to get to the...

UNKNOWN: Yeah, but I want to talk about taxes.

BARTIROMO: ... we've got to get to the national debt as well. Coming up next, the growing national debt, the war on crime, tax reform. More from North Charleston, South Carolina, when we come right back.

[commercial break]

BARTIROMO: Welcome back to the Republican presidential here in North Charleston. Right back to the questions. *[applause]*

Governor Christie, we have spoken much about cutting spending, given the \$19 trillion debt. But according to one report, America needs \$3.6 trillion in infrastructure spending by 2020.

Here in South Carolina, 11 percent of bridges are considered structurally deficient, costing drivers a billion dollars a year in auto repairs. What is your plan to fix the ailing roads and bridges without breaking the bank?

CHRISTIE: Well, I'm glad you asked that, Maria. Here's — here's our plan. We've all been talking about tax reforms tonight, and paying for infrastructure is caught right up in tax reform.

If you reform the corporate tax system in this country, which, as was mentioned before, is the highest rate in the world — and we double tax, as you know.

And what that's led to over \$2 trillion of American companies' monies that are being kept offshore, because they don't want to pay the second tax. And who can blame them? They pay tax once overseas. They don't want to pay 35 percent tax on the way back.

So beside reforming that tax code, bringing it down to 25 percent and eliminating those special-interest loopholes that the lobbyists and the lawyers and the accountants have given — bring that rate down to 25 percent, but also, a one-time repatriation of that money.

Bring the money — the \$2 trillion — back to the United States. We'll tax it, that one time, at 8.75 percent, because 35 percent of zero is zero, but 8.75 percent of \$2 trillion is a lot of money. And I would then dedicate that money to rebuilding infrastructure here in this country.

It would not necessitate us raising any taxes. It would bring the money back into the United States to help build jobs by American companies and get our economy moving again, and growing as a higher rate, and it would rebuild those roads and bridges and tunnels that you were talking about. And — and — and the last piece of this, Maria, is this. You know, the fact is that this president has penalized corporations in America. He's penalized — and doesn't understand. In fact, what that hurts is hurt hardworking taxpayers.

You've seen middle-class wages go backwards \$3,700 during the Obama administration. That's wrong for hardworking taxpayers in this country. We'd rebuild infrastructure that would also create jobs in this country, and we'd work with the states to do it the right way, to do it more efficiently and more effectively.

And remember this — I'm credible on this for this reason: Americans for Tax Reform says that I've vetoed more tax increases than any governor in American history. We don't need to raise taxes to get this done.

We need to make the government run smarter and better, and reform this corporate tax system, bring that money back to the United States to build jobs and rebuild our infrastructure, and we need to use it also to protect our grid from terrorists.

All of those things are important, and all those things would happen in a Christie administration.

BARTIROMO: Thank you, sir. Dr. Carson...[*applause*]...it is true U.S. companies have \$2 trillion in cash sitting overseas right now. That could be used for investment and jobs in America.

Also, several companies right now are pursuing mergers to move their corporate headquarters abroad, and take advantage of much lower taxes. What will you do to stop the flow of companies building cash away from America, and those leaving America altogether?

CARSON: Well, I would suggest a fair tax system, and that's what we have proposed. A flat tax for everybody — no exemptions, no deductions, no shelters, because some people have a better capability of taking advantage of those than others.

You know, and then the other thing we have to do is stop spending so much money. You know, I — my — my mother taught me this. You know, she only had a third-grade education, but — you know, she knew how to stretch a dollar.

I mean, she would drive a car until it wouldn't make a sound, and then gather up all her coins and buy a new car. In fact, if my mother were secretary of treasury, we would not be in a deficit situation. But...[*laughter*]... you know, the — the — the fact of the matter is — you know, if we fix the taxation system, make it absolutely fair, and get rid of the incredible regulations — because every regulation is a tax, it's a — on goods and services. And it's the most regressive tax there is.

You know, when you go into the store and buy a box of laundry detergent, and the price has up — you know, 50 cents because of regulations, a poor person notices that. A rich person does not. Middle class may notice it when they get to the cash register.

And everything is costing more money, and we are killing our — our — our people like this. And Bernie Sanders and Hillary Clinton will say it's those evil rich people.

It's not the evil rich people. It's the evil government that is — that is putting all these regulations on us so that we can't survive. [*applause*]

BARTIROMO: Thank you, sir.

Senator Rubio...

TRUMP: Maria — Maria, what you were talking about just now is called corporate inversion. It's one of the biggest problems our country has. Right now, corporations, by the thousands, are thinking of leaving our country with the jobs — leave them behind.

They're leaving because of taxes, but they are also leaving because they can't get their money back and everybody agrees, Democrats and Republicans, that is should come back in. But they can't get along. They can't even make a deal.

Here is the case, they both agree, they can't make a deal. We have to do something. Corporate inversion is one of the biggest problems we have. So many companies are going to leave our country.

BARTIROMO: Which is why we raised it.

Senator Rubio?

Thank you, Mr. Trump.

TRUMP: Thank you.

BARTIROMO: One of the biggest fiscal challenges is our entitlement programs, particularly Social Security and Medicare. What policies will you put forward to make sure these programs are more financially secure?

RUBIO: Well, first let me address the tax issue because it's related to the entitlement issue and I want to thank you for holding a substantive debates where we can have debates about these key issues on taxes. [*applause*]

Here is the one thing I'm not going to do. I'm not going to have something that Ted described in his tax plan. It's called the value added tax. And it's a tax you find in many companies in Europe.

Where basically, businesses now will have to pay a tax, both on the money they make, but they also have to pay taxes on the money that they pay their employees.

And that's why they have it in Europe, because it is a way to blindfolded the people, that's what Ronald Reagan said. Ronald Regan opposed the value tax because he said it was a way to blindfold the people, so the true cost of government was not there there for them.

Now, you can support one now that's very low. But what is to prevent a future liberal president or a liberal Congress from coming back and not just raising the income tax, but also raising that VAT tax, and that vat tax is really bad for seniors. Because seniors, if they are retired, are no longer earning an income from a job. And therefore, they don't get the income tax break, but their prices are going to be

higher, because the vat tax is embedded in both the prices that business that are charging and in the wages they pay their employees.

When I am president of the United States, I'm going to side with Ronald Reagan on this and not Nancy Pelosi and we are not having a vat tax. *[applause]*

BARTIROMO: Thank you senator.

CRUZ: Maria, I assume that I can respond to that.

BARTIROMO: Senator Cruz, yes. You were meant to. Yes, of course.

CRUZ: Well, Marco has been floating this attack for a few weeks now, but the problem is, the business flat tax in my proposal is not a vat. A vat is imposed as a sales tax when you buy a good.

This is a business flat tax. It is imposed on business and a critical piece that Marco seems to be missing is that this 16 percent business flat tax enables us to eliminate the corporate income tax. It goes away. It enables us to eliminate the death tax.

If you're a farmer, if you're a rancher, if you are small business owner, the death tax is gone. We eliminate the payroll tax, we eliminate the Obamacare taxes. And listen, there is a real difference between Marco's tax plan and mine.

Mine gives every American a simple, flat tax of 10 percent. Marco's top tax rate is 35 percent. My tax plan enables you to fill out your taxes on a postcard so we can abolish the IRS. Marco leaves the IRS code in with all of the complexity. We need to break the Washington cartel, and the only way to do it is to end all the subsidies and all...*[bell rings]*...the mandates and have a simple flat tax. The final observation, invoked Ronald Reagan. I would note that Art Laffer, Ronald Reagan's chief economic adviser, has written publicly, that my simple flat tax is the best tax plan of any of the individuals on this stage cause it produces economic growth, it raises wages and it helps everyone from the very poorest to the very richest.

BARTIROMO: Thank you senator. *[applause]*

RUBIO: But that's not an accurate description of the plan. Because, first of all, you may rename the IRS but you are not going to abolish the IRS, because there has to be some agency that's going to collect your vat tax. Someone's going to be collecting this tax.

In fact, Ronald Reagan's treasury, when Ronald Reagan's treasury looked at the vat tax, you know what they found? That they were going to have to hire 20,000 new IRS agencies to collect it.

The second point, it does not eliminate the corporate tax or the payroll tax. Businesses will now have to pay 16 percent on the money they make. They will also have to pay 16 percent on the money they pay their employees.

So there are people watching tonight in business. If you are now hit on a 60 percent tax on both your income and on the wages you pay your employees, where are you going to get that money from? You're going to get it by paying your employees less and charging your customers more, that is a tax, the difference is, you don't see it on the bill.

And that's why Ronald Reagan said that it was a blindfold. You blindfold the American people so that they cannot see the true cost of government. Now 16 percent is what the rate Ted wants it at. But what happens if, God forbid, the next Barack Obama takes over, and the next Nancy Pelosi, and the next Harry Reid...*[bell rings]*...and they decide, we're going to raise it to 30 percent, plus we're going to raise the income tax to 30 percent. Now, you've got Europe.

[crosstalk]

BARTIROMO: Thank you senator. I have to get to a question for Mr. Trump.

CRUZ: Maria...

BARTIROMO: Yes.

CRUZ: Maria, I'd just like to say...*[crosstalk]*

CHRISTIE: Maria, I'd like to interrupt this on the floor of the Senate to actually answer the question you asked, which was on entitlements. Do you remember that, everybody? This was a question on entitlements.

And the reason — and the reason...*[crosstalk]*...no, you already had your chance, Marco, and you blew it. Here's the thing. *[crosstalk]* The fact is, the reason why...

RUBIO: If you'll answer the *[inaudible]* core question.

CHRISTIE: ... the fact is — the fact is the reason why that no one wants to answer entitlements up here is because it's hard. It's a hard problem. And I'm the only one up on this stage who back in April put forward a detailed entitlement reform plan that will save over \$1 trillion, save Social Security, save Medicare, and avoid this — avoid what Hillary Rodham Clinton will do to you.

Because what she will do is come in and she will raise Social Security taxes. Bernie Sanders has already said it. And she is just one or two more poll drops down from even moving further left than she's moved already to get to the left of Bernie on this.

We have seniors out there who are scared to death because this Congress — this one that we have right now, just stole \$150 billion from the Social Security retirement fund to give it to the Social Security disability fund. A Republican Congress did that.

And the fact is it was wrong. And they consorted with Barack Obama to steal from Social Security. We need to reform Social Security. Mine is the only plan that saves over \$1 trillion and that's why I'm answering your question.

BARTIROMO: Thank you, Governor. Thank you, Governor. *[applause]*

CARSON: Can I just add one very quick thing? And I just want to say, you know, last week we released our tax plan. And multiple reputable journals, including The Wall Street Journal, said ours is the best. Just want to get that out there, just saying.

BARTIROMO: Thank you, Dr. Carson.

Coming up, how would the candidates protect America, and another terror attack, if we were to see it. But first, you can join us live on stage during the commercial break right from home. Go to facebook.com/foxbusiness. We'll be streaming live and answering your questions during this break next.

More from South Carolina coming up. Stay with us.

[commercial break]

BARTIROMO: Mr. Trump, your net worth is in the multi-billions of dollars and have an ongoing thriving hotel and real estate business. Are you planning on putting your assets in a blind trust should you become president? With such vast wealth, how difficult will it be for you to disentangle yourself from your business and your money and prioritize America's interest first?

TRUMP: Well, it's an interesting question because I'm very proud of my company. As you too know, I know I built a very great company. But if I become president, I couldn't care less about my company. It's peanuts.

I want to use that same up here, whatever it may be to make America rich again and to make America great again. I have Ivanka, and Eric and Don sitting there. Run the company kids, have a good time. I'm going to do it for America.

So I would — I would be willing to do that.

BARTIROMO: So you'll put your assets in a blind trust?

TRUMP: I would put it in a blind trust. Well, I don't know if it's a blind trust if Ivanka, Don and Eric run it. If that's a blind trust, I don't know. But I would probably have my children run it with my executives and I wouldn't ever be involved because I wouldn't care about anything but our country, anything.

BARTIROMO: Thank you sir.

TRUMP: Thank you.

CAVUTO: Governor Christie, going back to your U.S. Attorney days, you had been praised by both parties as certainly a tough law and order guy. So I wonder what you make of recent statistics that showed violent crimes that have been spiking sometimes by double digit ratings in 30 cities across the country. Milwaukee Police Chief Ed Flynn said, "most local law enforcement officials feel abandoned by Washington." Former NYC Police Chief Ray Kelly, says that, "police are being less proactive because they're being overly scrutinized and second guessed and they're afraid of being sued or thrown in jail."

What would you do as president to address this?

CHRISTIE: Well, first off, let's face it, the FBI director James Comey was a friend of mine who I worked with as U.S. Attorney of New Jersey. He was the U.S. Attorney in Manhattan. He said, "there's a chill wind blowing through law enforcement in this country." Here's why, the president of the United States and both his attorney's general, they give the benefit of the doubt to the criminal, not to the police officers.

That's the truth of the matter and you see it every time with this president. Every time he's got a chance, going all the way back to — remember that Great Beer Summit he had after he messed up that time. This is a guy who just believes that law enforcement are the bad guys.

Now, I for seven years was the U.S. Attorney of New Jersey. I worked hard with not only federal agents but with police officers and here's the problem, sanctuary cities is part of the problem in this country. That's where crime is happening in these cities where they don't enforce the immigration laws. And this president turns his back — this president doesn't enforce the marijuana laws in this country because he doesn't agree with them.

And he allows states to go ahead and do whatever they want on a substance that's illegal. This president allows lawlessness throughout this country. Here's what I would do Neil, I would appoint an Attorney General and I would have one very brief conversation with that Attorney General. I'd say, "General, enforce the law against everyone justly, fairly, and aggressively. Make our streets safe again. Make our police officers proud of what they do but more important than that, let them know how proud we are of them."

We do that, this country would be safe and secure again not only from criminals but from the terrorist who threaten us as well. I'm the only person on this stage who's done that and we will get it done as President of the United States.

Governor Kasich, as someone has to deal with controversial police shootings in your own state, what do you make of Chicago's move recently to sort of retrain police? Maybe make them not so quick to use their guns?

KASICH: Well, I created a task force well over a year ago and the purpose was to bring law enforcement, community people, clergy and the person that I named as one of the co-chair was a lady by the name of Nina Turner, a former State Senator, a liberal Democrat. She actually ran against one of my friends and our head of public safety.

And they say down as a group trying to make sure that we can begin to heal some of these problems that we see between community and police.

And they came back with 23 recommendations. One of them is a statewide use of deadly force. And it is now being put into place everywhere across the state of Ohio. Secondly, a policy on recruiting and hiring, and then more resources for — for training.

But let me also tell you, one of the issues has got to be the integration of both community and police. Community has to understand that that police officer wants to get home at night, and not — not to lose their life. Their family is waiting for them.

At the same time, law enforcement understands there are people in the community who not only think that the system doesn't work for them, but works against them.

See, in Ohio, we've had some controversial decisions. But the leaders have come forward to realize that protest is fine, but violence is wrong. And it has been a remarkable situation in our state. And as president of the United States, it's all about communication, folks. It's all about getting people to listen to one another's problems.

And when you do that, you will be amazed at how much progress you can make, and how much healing we can have. Because, folks, at the end of the day, the country needs healed. I've heard a lot of hot rhetoric here tonight, but I've got to tell you, as somebody that actually passed a budget; that paid down a half-a-trillion dollars of our national debt, you can't do it alone. You've got to bring people together. You've got to give people hope.

And together, we can solve these problems that hurt us and heal America. And that is what's so critical for our neighborhoods, our families, our children, and our grandchildren. *[applause]*

CAVUTO: Thank you, Governor.

BARTIROMO: Senator Rubio? *[applause]*

Under current law, the U.S. is on track to issue more new permanent immigrants on green cards over the next five years than the entire population of South Carolina. The CBO says your 2013 immigration bill would have increased green cardholders by another 10 million over 10 years.

Why are you so interested in opening up borders to foreigners when American workers have a hard enough time finding work?

RUBIO: Well, first of all, this is an issue that's been debated now for 30 years. And for 30 years, the issue of immigration has been about someone who's in this country, maybe they're here illegally, but they're looking for a job. This issue is not about that anymore.

First and foremost, this issue has to be now more than anything else about keeping America safe. And here's why. There is a radical jihadist group that is manipulating our immigration system. And not just green cards. They're looking — they're recruiting people that enter this country as doctors and engineers and even fiances. They understand the vulnerabilities we have on the southern border.

They're looking — they're looking to manipulate our — the visa waiver countries to get people into the United States. So our number one priority must now become ensuring that ISIS cannot get killers into the United States. So whether it's green cards or any other form of entry into America, when I'm president if we do not know who you are or why you are coming, you are not going to get into the United States of America.

BARTIROMO: So your thinking has changed?

RUBIO: The issue is a dramatically different issue than it was 24 months ago. Twenty-four months ago, 36 months ago, you did not have a group of radical crazies named ISIS who were burning people in cages and recruiting people to enter our country legally. They have a sophisticated understanding of our legal immigration system and we now have an obligation to ensure that they are not able to use that system against us.

The entire system of legal immigration must now be reexamined for security first and foremost, with an eye on ISIS. Because they're recruiting people to enter this country as engineers, posing as doctors, posing as refugees. We know this for a fact. They've contacted the trafficking networks in the Western Hemisphere to get people in through the southern border. And they got a killer in San Bernardino in posing as a fiance.

This issue now has to be about stopping ISIS entering the United States, and when I'm president we will.

BARTIROMO: Thank you, Senator. *[applause]*

CRUZ: But Maria, radical Islamic terrorism was not invented 24 months ago; 24 months ago, we had Al Qaida. We had Boko Haram. We had Hamas. We had Hezbollah. We had Iran putting operatives in South America and Central America. It's the reason why I stood

with Jeff Sessions and Steve King and led the fight to stop the Gang of Eight amnesty bill, because it was clear then, like it's clear now, that border security is national security. [applause]

BARTIROMO: Thank you, Senator.

CRUZ: It is also the case that that Rubio-Schumer amnesty bill, one of the things it did is it expanded Barack Obama's power to let in Syrian refugees. It enabled him — the president to certify them en masse without mandating meaningful background checks.

I think that's a mistake. That's why I've been leading the fight to stop it. And I would note the Senate just a few weeks ago voted to suspend refugees from Middle Eastern countries. I voted yes to suspend that. Marco voted on the other side. So you don't get to say we need to secure the borders, and at the same time try to give Barack Obama more authority to allow Middle Eastern refugees coming in, when the head of the FBI tells us they cannot vet them to determine if they are ISIS terrorists.

RUBIO: Maria, let me clear something up here. This is an interesting point when you talk about immigration. Ted Cruz, you used to say you supported doubling the number of green cards, now you say that you're against it. You used to support a 500 percent increase in the number of guest workers, now you say that you're against it. You used to support legalizing people that were here illegally, now you say you're against it. You used to say that you were in favor of birthright citizenship, now you say that you are against it.

And by the way, it's not just on immigration, you used to support TPA, now you say you're against it. I saw you on the Senate floor flip your vote on crop insurance because they told you it would help you in Iowa, and last week, we all saw you flip your vote on ethanol in Iowa for the same reason. [applause]

That is not consistent conservatism, that is political calculation. When I am president, I will work consistently every single day to keep this country safe, not call Edward Snowden, as you did, a great public servant. Edward Snowden is a traitor. And if I am president and we get our hands on him, he is standing trial for treason. [applause]

And one more point, one more point. Every single time that there has been a Defense bill in the Senate, three people team up to vote against it. Bernie Sanders, Rand Paul and Ted Cruz. In fact, the only budget you have ever voted for, Ted, in your entire time in the Senate is a budget from Rand Paul that brags about how it cuts defense.

Here's the bottom line, and I'll close with this. If I'm president of the United States and Congress tries to cut the military, I will veto that in a millisecond. [applause]

BUSH: There's — look, there's —

CAVUTO: Gentlemen, gentlemen —

CRUZ: I'm going to get a response to that, Neil. There's no way he launches 11 attack —

CAVUTO: Very quick, very quick.

CRUZ: I'm going to — he had no fewer than 11 attacks there. I appreciate your dumping your [inaudible] research folder on the stage.

RUBIO: No, it's your record.

CRUZ: But I will say —

CAVUTO: Do you think they like each other?

CRUZ: — at least half of the things Marco said are flat-out false. They're absolutely false.

AUDIENCE: Boo.

CRUZ: So let's start — let's start with immigration. Let's start with immigration and have a little bit of clarity. Marco stood with Chuck Schumer and Barack Obama on amnesty. I stood with Jeff Sessions and Steve King. Marco stood today, standing on this stage Marco supports legalization and citizenship for 12 million illegals. I opposed and oppose legalization and citizenship.

And by the way, the attack he keeps throwing out on the military budget, Marco knows full well I voted for his amendment to increase military spending to \$697 billion. What he said, and he said it in the last, it's simply not true. And as president, I will rebuild the military and keep this country safe.

CAVUTO: All right, gentlemen, we've got to stop. I know you are very passionate about that. [applause]

Governor Bush, fears have gripped this country obviously, and you touched on it earlier since the San Bernardino attacks. Since our last, the national conversation has changed, according to Facebook data as well.

Now this first graphic shows the issues that were most talked about right before those attacks and now after: the issues of Islam, homeland security and ISIS now loom very large. The FBI says Islamic radicals are using social media to communicate and that it needs better access to communication. Now the CEO of Apple, Governor, Tim Cook said unless served with a warrant private communication is private, period. Do you agree, or would you try to convince him otherwise?

BUSH: I would try to convince him otherwise, but this last back and forth between two senators — back bench senators, you know, explains why we have the mess in Washington, D.C. We need a president that will fix our immigration laws and stick with it, not bend

The simple fact is one of the ways, Maria, to solve the problem you described is narrow the number of people coming by family petitioning to what every other country has so that we have the best and the brightest that come to our country. We need to control the border, we need to do all of this in a comprehensive way, not just going back and forth and talking about stuff —

CAVUTO: Would you answer this question?

BUSH: Oh, I'll talk about that, too. But you haven't asked me a question in a while, Neil, so I thought I'd get that off my chest if you don't mind. *[laughter]*

CAVUTO: Fair enough. So Tim Cook — so Tim Cook says he's going to keep it private.

BUSH: I got that. And the problem today is there's no confidence in Washington, D.C. There needs to be more than one meeting, there needs to complete dialogue with the large technology companies. They understand that there's a national security risk. We ought to give them a little bit of a liability release so that they share data amongst themselves and share data with the federal government, they're not fearful of a lawsuit.

We need to make sure that we keep the country safe. This is the first priority. The cybersecurity challenges that we face, this administration failed us completely, completely. Not just the hacking of OPM, but that is — that is just shameful. 23 million files in the hands of the Chinese? So it's not just the government — the private sector companies, it's also our own government that needs to raise the level of our game.

We should put the NSA in charge of the civilian side of this as well. That expertise needs to spread all across the government and there needs to be much more cooperation with our private sector.

CAVUTO: But if Tim cook is telling you no, Mr. President.

BUSH: You've got to keep asking. You've got to keep asking because this is a hugely important issue. If you can encrypt messages, ISIS can, over these platforms, and we have no ability to have a cooperative relationship —

CAVUTO: Do you ask or do you order?

BUSH: Well, if the law would change, yeah. But I think there has to be recognition that if we — if we are too punitive, then you'll go to other — other technology companies outside the United States. And what we want to do is to control this.

We also want to dominate this from a commercial side. So there's a lot of balanced interests. But the president leads in this regard. That's what we need. We need leadership, someone who has a backbone and sticks with things, rather than just talks about them as though anything matters when you're talking about amendments that don't even actually are part of a bill that ever passed.

CAVUTO: Governor, thank you. *[applause]*

BARTIROMO: When we come right back, closing statements. Stay with us.

[commercial break]

BARTIROMO: Welcome back.

Candidates, it is time for your closing statements. You get 60 seconds each.

Governor John Kasich, we begin with you.

KASICH: You know, in our country, there are a lot of people who feel as though they just don't have the power. You know, they feel like if they don't have a lobbyist, if they're not wealthy, that somehow they don't get to play.

But all of my career, you know, having been raised in — by a mailman father whose father was a coal miner, who died of black lung and was losing his eyesight; or a mother whose mother could barely speak English. You see, all of my career, I've fought about giving voice to the people that I grew up with and voice to the people that elected me.

Whether it's welfare reform and getting something back for the hard-earned taxpayers; whether it's engaging in Pentagon reform and taking on the big contractors that were charging thousands of dollars for hammers and screw drivers and ripping us off; or whether it's taking on the special interests in the nursing home industry in Ohio, so that mom and dad can have the ability to stay in their own home, rather than being forced into a nursing home.

Look, that's who I stand up for. That's who's in my mind...*[bell rings]*...And if you really want to believe that you can get your voice back, I will tell you, as I have all my career, I will continue to fight for you, because you're the ones that built this country, and will carry it into the future. Thank you. *[applause]*

CAVUTO: Governor Bush?

BUSH: Who can you count on to keep us safer, stronger and freer? Results count, and as governor, I pushed Florida up to the top in terms of jobs, income and small business growth.

Detailed plans count, and I believe that the plan I've laid out to destroy ISIS before the tragedies of San Bernardino and Paris are the right ones.

Credibility counts. There'll be people here that will talk about what they're going to do. I've done it. I ask for your support to build, together, a safer and stronger America. *[applause]*

BARTIROMO: Governor Chris Christie?

CHRISTIE: Maria, Neil, thank you for a great tonight.

When I think about the folks who are out there at home tonight watching, and I think about what they had to watch this week — the spectacle they had to watch on the floor of the House of Representatives, with the president of the United States, who talked a fantasy land about the way they're feeling.

They know that this country is not respected around the world anymore. They know that this country is pushing the middle class, the hardworking taxpayers, backwards, and they saw a president who doesn't understand their pain, and doesn't have any plan for getting away from it.

I love this country. It's the most exceptional country the world has ever known. We need someone to fight for the people. We need a fighter for this country again.

I've lived my whole life fighting — fighting for things that I believe in, fighting for justice and to protect people from crime and terrorism, fighting to stand up for folks who have not had enough and need an opportunity to get more, and to stand up and fight against the special interests.

But here's the best way that we're going to make America much more exceptional: it is to make sure we put someone on that stage in September who will fight Hillary Clinton and make sure she never, ever gets in the White House again.

I am the man who can bring us together to do that, and I ask for your vote. *[applause]*

CAVUTO: Dr. Ben Carson?

CARSON: You know, in recent travels around this country, I've encountered so many Americans who are discouraged and angry as they watch our freedom, our security and the American dream slipping away under an unresponsive government that is populated by bureaucrats and special interest groups.

We're not going to solve this problem with traditional politics. The only way we're going to solve this problem is with we, the people. And I ask you to join me in truth and honesty and integrity. Bencarson.com — we will heal, inspire and revive America for our children. *[applause]*

BARTIROMO: Senator Marco Rubio?

RUBIO: You know, 200 years ago, America was founded on this powerful principle that our rights don't come from government. Our rights come from God.

That's why we embraced free enterprise, and it made us the most prosperous people in the history of the world. That's why we embraced individual liberty, and we became the freest people ever, and the result was the American miracle.

But now as I travel the country, people say what I feel. This country is changing. It feels different. We feel like we're being left behind and left out.

And the reason is simple: because in 2008, we elected as president someone who wasn't interested in fixing America. We elected someone as president who wants to change America, who wants to make it more like the rest of the world.

And so he undermines the Constitution, and he undermines free enterprise by expanding government, and he betrays our allies and cuts deals with our enemies and guts our military. And that's why 2016 is a turning point in our history. If we elect Hillary Clinton, the next four years will be worse than the last eight, and our children will be the first Americans ever to inherit a diminished country.

But if we elect the right person — if you elect me — we will turn this country around, we will reclaim the American dream and this nation will be stronger and greater than it has ever been. *[applause]*

CAVUTO: Senator Ted Cruz?

CRUZ: "13 Hours" — tomorrow morning, a new movie will debut about the incredible bravery of the men fighting for their lives in Benghazi and the politicians that abandoned them. I want to speak to all our fighting men and women.

I want to speak to all the moms and dads whose sons and daughters are fighting for this country, and the incredible sense of betrayal when you have a commander-in-chief who will not even speak the name of our enemy, radical Islamic terrorism, when you have a commander-in- chief who sends \$150 billion to the Ayatollah Khamenei, who's responsible for murdering hundreds of our servicemen and women.

I want to speak to all of those maddened by political correctness, where Hillary Clinton apologizes for saying all lives matter. This will end. It will end on January 2017.

And if I am elected president, to every soldier and sailor and airman and marine, and to every police officer and firefighter and first responder who risk their lives to keep us safe, I will have your back. [applause]

BARTIROMO: Mr. Donald Trump?

TRUMP: I stood yesterday with 75 construction workers. They're tough, they're strong, they're great people. Half of them had tears pouring down their face. They were watching the humiliation of our young ten sailors, sitting on the floor with their knees in a begging position, their hands up.

And Iranian wise guys having guns to their heads. It was a terrible sight. A terrible sight. And the only reason we got them back is because we owed them with a stupid deal, \$150 billion. If I'm president, there won't be stupid deals anymore.

We will make America great again. We will win on everything we do. Thank you. [applause]

BARTIROMO: Candidates, thank you.

CAVUTO: Gentlemen, thank you all. All of you. That wraps up our debate. We went a little bit over here. But we wanted to make sure everyone was able to say their due. He's upset. All right. Thank you for joining us. Much more to come in the Spin Room ahead.

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EXHIBIT 8

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ANDERSON COOPER 360 DEGREES

Exclusive Interview with Donald Trump. Aired 8-9p ET

Aired March 9, 2016 - 20:00 ET

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(COMMERCIAL BREAK)

ERIN BURNETT, CNN HOST, OUTFRONT: Thanks so much for watching live from Miami. We will be back here tomorrow night. AC 360 starts now.

[20:00:24] ANDERSON COOPER, CNN HOST: And good evening from Miami- Dade College. We are now _____ just an hour away from tonight's Univision Democratic debate seen right here on CNN. Bernie Sanders and Hillary Clinton are going to take the stage shortly. She, of course, coming off a win in Mississippi, which was expected. What wasn't expected was his win in Michigan. There is no overstatement to call it a shocker especially considering he was down by about 20 points in the polls going in. So what happens on the debate stage behind me tonight has taken on a completely new level of importance in a race that's gone to a new level.

First though, the Republicans who are going to be taking part in tomorrow's CNN debate at a nearby University of Miami. I sat down today with Donald Trump the front-runner. And as you might imagine, he made headlines. He said that he expects a softer tone tomorrow night at the debate. However, he is still calling his leading rival lying Ted. We will bring you the interview in depth right after Sara Murray sets the Republican stage.

(BEGIN VIDEOTAPE)

DONALD TRUMP (R), PRESIDENTIAL CANDIDATE: I was watching the news in one of the rooms, and every single advertisement was about me. And it was during my tournament. I'm turning my tournament. I go from tournament to horrible land. Every -- the most vicious.

SARA MURRAY, CNN POLITICS REPORTER (voice-over): In the face of an onslaught of attacks, Donald Trump is triumphing, notching three more victims Tuesday night and nudging the party to rally behind him.

TRUMP: The bottom line is we have something going that's so good. We should grab each other and we should unify the party and nobody is going to beat us, OK.

MURRAY: The billionaire businessman celebrating with a surreal election night event, responding to a drum beat of criticism about his failed ventures with an evening designed to showcase Trump branded products.

TRUMP: And we have Trump steaks. And by the way, if you want to take one, we'll charge you about what, 50 bucks a steak, Donald. MURRAY: According to news reports, Sharper Image no longer sells

Trump steaks.

TRUMP: You'll love Trump steaks.

MURRAY: And Busch brothers provides steaks to Trump hotels and golf clubs. So it's unclear where the slab of meat Trump touted came from.

Now that the fight for the nomination is looking more like a two-man race, Ted Cruz isn't letting up.

SEN. TED CRUZ (R), PRESIDENTIAL CANDIDATE: I don't have any steaks to sell you. I don't have any wine. I don't have any cleaning products.

MURRAY: The Texas senator emerging with a victory in Idaho Tuesday and today getting another boost with an endorsement from former presidential hopeful Carly Fiorina.

CRUZ: Carly's being with us today is just one more manifestation of what we have been seeing playing out over the last several weeks, which is Republicans uniting, coming together behind our campaign.

MURRAY: But for Marco Rubio, a brutal night. Another winless evening and even steeper odds as he pins all his hopes on Florida.

SEN. MARCO RUBIO (R), PRESIDENTIAL CANDIDATE: You believed in me once. I am asking you to believe again. We can win this election, and we will. I need your help next Tuesday because we are not just going to win the Florida primary. We are going to win Florida in November.

MURRAY: Today John Kasich is still holding on. Outperforming Rubio last night and fighting for victory in his home state of Ohio next Tuesday.

GOV. JOHN KASICH (R), PRESIDENTIAL CANDIDATE: And with those states that have not yet selected a delegate, basically, the three, Donald Trump, Ted Cruz and I, are dead even going into the last half of this whole match. So don't be thinking it's over yet.

(END VIDEOTAPE)

COOPER: Sara Murray joins us from the University of Miami which is the site of tomorrow night's CNN Republican debate.

What can we expect from the GOP candidates at that debate?

MURRAY: Well, Anderson, there is no doubt that Ted Cruz wants to turn this into a two-man race with Donald Trump. But as Donald Trump said to you, he want a kinder, softer, gentler debate and I think that is because he wants to come off as more presidential than perhaps he and others did in the last debate stage where they were comparing hand size among other things.

And I think for Marco Rubio and for John Kasich, the stakes could not be higher. These two candidates need to prove to voters that casting a ballot for them is not a waste. Both of their states coming up March 15th. And it is pretty much do or die for both candidates, Anderson.

COOPER: Yes. Sara Murray, thanks very much.

And the debate is one of the things I talked to Donald Trump about today.

Coming up right now, the wide-ranging conversation with Trump. How he sizes up his competition. His thoughts heading into tomorrow night and next week's winner take all Florida primary. I pressed him on specifics on his promise to reverse what he sees as this country's weaken position in the world as well as his evolving positions so it says on fighting terrorism that some military and legal analysts say could amount to war crimes. We spoke earlier today at his Mar-a-Lago club in Palm Beach.

COOPER: Huge night last night. Do you have any idea that you were going to win as big as you did?

[20:05:02] TRUMP: Well, I felt good. I mean, Mississippi, I was in three or four times and it was like a love fest. And so, I felt very good about it. Michigan has been great. It has been great for me for a long time. I have so many friends there. I had no idea it would be that big.

COOPER: Do you think it's the message on trade in particular in Michigan that was effective? Sanders winning as well there. You have a very similar message.

TRUMP: I think they want strength. I think they want military. I think they want to take care of vets. I think they hate Obamacare. But I would say ultimately it's about jobs and the economy. And you know, Michigan has been stripped. You look at those empty factories all over the place. And nobody hits that's message better than me. I'm going to take care of it. I'm going to stop it. I'm going to stop the craziness that is going on. If you look at what's happening, how -- even today, I mean, we're just shipping company after company after company is leaving this country and leaving jobs behind. And I'm going to get it stopped.

COOPER: Two new polls out today. Quinnipiac, also a CNN one both showing essentially the same thing. You are way ahead here in Florida. Almost I think 2-1 against Rubio. And even in Ohio leading Kasich with six points and seven points in each poll. If you win Florida and Ohio, is it over?

TRUMP: I think so. I think if I win those two, I think it's over. I thought Kasich said after Michigan he was going to drop out, to be honest with you. He was saying that he will win Michigan, he will win it easily. And he --

COOPER: He is now saying Ohio. If he doesn't win Ohio -- TRUMP: And I was saying Ohio. But no, he said Michigan. He was

said, you know, it's his neighbor. And he said he is going to win Michigan, and he was pretty confident of Michigan. And I thought he said he was going to drop out if he lost Michigan. I guess he's not going to do that. So I think we are going to do very well in Ohio. I know Ohio very well. I have many, many friends.

COOPER: You think you'll win there?

TRUMP: Well, even Paul O'Neill of the Yankees endorsed me. He is from Ohio. Great guy. And he endorsed me last night at the press conference. I think I'll win Ohio, yes. And I think - I mean, we just have better policies. The country is sick and tired of what they are seeing. The country is sick and tired of these politicians that's talk and to all talk, no action. And they are all tired of it, Anderson.

COOPER: So if Kasich drops - if you win Ohio, Kasich drops out and out you win Florida and Rubio is gone and it's just you and Cruz, if you don't get all of the delegates needed to win by the convention --

TRUMP: Well, I think if I win Ohio and if I win Florida, pretty much, you're going to be pretty much assured of doing that.

COOPER: You think you'll get all the delegates?

TRUMP: I think so, yes. I really think so. I don't see the convention going that route. I see probably getting the delegates. You know, it is like the fighters. That's the ultimate way of doing it. You knock them out. If you knock them out, nothing can happen.

COOPER: You want to go for knockout?

TRUMP: I would rather go for a knockout.

COOPER: If you get to the convention, though, and you don't have the delegates, is any kind of a deal acceptable to you other than you getting the nomination?

TRUMP: Well, then you have to fight it out. But, you know, it is really unfair. Let's say you get there and are a few short but you have 1200, let's say, and somebody else had 500 or 600. Because I'm way ahead and in all fairness to Ted, he is the only one who beats me, but he doesn't say I beat him two or three times for every time he wins one. And we won the important ones. We won the big ones and we won last night. I mean, last night was a romp.

So, look. Ted, the problem with Ted is he walks in with the viable, hauls up the viable. You know, I call him lying Ted.

COOPER: I have heard that.

TRUMP: Puts down the bible and then he lies. I have never seen a man lie this much. But even --.

COOPER: You think for a guy who says he is very religious, you are surprise?

TRUMP: No, Ted. I call him lying Ted. He is lying Ted. And you know, that's his name. And I think frankly that name has stuck because the evangelicals are on my side. They don't like liars. Evangelicals do not like liars.

COOPER: So if it goes to convention, you don't have -- you are a couple short or couple hundred short, for you, that doesn't matter. It's got to be you as the nominee? No other deal is acceptable?

TRUMP: I think this. If you go to the convention and because of some artificial number that they said, if you go to the convention and you are leading by a lot of delegates, I think you should get the nomination. And that will be me. I'll have far more delegates. Now, whether I get to that artificial number, I don't know, but I think I will.

COOPER: You've had a lot of money thrown against you in just these last couple of weeks.

TRUMP: This never been anything like it.

COOPER: This whole never Trump movement, is it dead do you think?

TRUMP: Well, I think it's mortally wounded. I do think it is mortally wounded. Marco had a very rough night. He had no delegates. He got nothing. And that was a very, very bad night. And, you know, when people have hit me, if you watch, and it's been the story of my life, (INAUDIBLE), but everybody that's hit me has gone down. They all came at me. Perry came at me. I can go through Lindsey Graham came at me. Bush came at me. Every one of them came at me. And every one of them that's come at me has gone down. And wouldn't it be nice to have that happen with our country where we can very simply win again?

COOPER: So what do you think was Rubio's demise?

TRUMP: I think he tried to be Don Rickles, frankly. He wanted to be Don Rickles and he's not Don Rickles. And it took me by surprise. I mean, I'm standing at one of the debates and all of a sudden, he got nasty. He was very nasty.

[20:10:05] COOPER: Did he get under your skin?

TRUMP: No, he didn't. Nobody gets under my skin. I mean, you have to handle it. But he was really rude. And, in fact, for a while, I wasn't even sure if what I was seeing was right. Then he had a horrible debate with Chris Christie where he folded. I mean, he totally choked. And you know the expression. Once a choker, always a choker.

COOPER: Do you think going after you, you know, with jokes, with humor, with insults, that took him off his message?

TRUMP: I think so. He wasn't only joking. I mean, he was insulting and, you know, made up insults, a nasty insults.

COOPER: And it weakened him do you think in a long term?

TRUMP: It turned out to. I didn't know it would. I mean, I think I hit him very hard. I probably hit him much harder. But maybe for me it's more natural. It wasn't natural for him. And took him off his game. Amazing, I've never seen anything like it. And he went from being, you know, from doing pretty good to now he is at the bottom of the pack.

COOPER: I want to ask you about Cruz in a minute. But just in a big picture, have you given much thought to how you want to define the GOP? I mean, you will be not only the nominee, you will be standard bearer for the Republican Party. How do you want to redefine the GOP?

TRUMP: OK. Well, I think the biggest story in all of politics, all over the world right now -- I've been on the cover of "Time" magazine four times in the last short number of months - I mean, because of what's happening. There's a movement. And it's millions and millions of people that are disgusted with the incompetence of our politicians and our leaders, if you want to call them that. I don't even call them that. I hate to use it.

COOPER: Republicans and Democrats?

TRUMP: Republicans and Democrats. And I'll get to the Republicans in a second because they are blown a great opportunity. So you have primaries. And millions of people more are going to the primaries and voting. And in all fairness, it's because of me. I'm not going to joke. It's not because of Ted Cruz who nobody cares about. Millions of people are going to the polls. More people than did four years ago and did ever. By the way, ever. You report on it. Millions of people, it's the biggest story. And people come up to me, Mr. Trump, when I'm signing autographs or shaking hands. Mr. Trump, 50 years old, 60 years old, I've never voted before, but I'm so proud to be voting.

COOPER: So you want a more populist GOP?

TRUMP: No, no, I'll tell you what. I'm a conservative person. I don't think the labels matter. You know they say he is not -- Jeb Bush used to say he is not a conservative, OK. He is not a conservative. I say, what difference does it make? I mean, who cares? I have very conservative views. But one view that probably isn't considered conservative, but is it smart trade. I want smart trade.

COOPER: Your position is actually similar to Bernie Sanders in some way.

(END VIDEOTAPE)

COOPER: His response to that and to critics who say he's destroying the GOP brand and perhaps even the party itself.

Plus, he talks about his victory speech which as you saw in Sara Murray's report, turned into sort of infomercial for all things Trump. Some of which are not actually products still sold by Trump. That and more as we count down to the Democratic debate at the top of the hour and after hour the debate analysis later tonight.

(COMMERCIAL BREAK)

[20:16:56] COOPER: As we count down to the Univision Democratic debate which you can watch right here on CNN tonight and tomorrow's CNN Republican debate, not far from here.

More with my conversation with the front-runner of the Republican Party, Donald Trump. In part two, his trade plan and his answers to critics who say it will boost prices of the things that Americans buy. Also his answers, the comparison I grove between him and Bernie Sanders.

(BEGIN VIDEOTAPE)

COOPER: Your position is actually similar to Bernie Sanders in some way. I mean, you are both --

TRUMP: Except I can do something about it. The difference between Sanders and I, I watched him recently. And he is right about one thing. The world is ripping us off on trade. It has been a horrible thing. It has been horrible, horrible experiment. I have been against it for years. You know, if you look back, I have been against it your friend Wolf Blitzer actually did a tape of his interviews with me from like 15, 17 years ago. And I was saying the same thing, a little bit different nations like Japan who is really ripping us off.

COOPER: But your position is pretty un-Republican. I mean, Larry Kudlow who, you know, is positive about your corporate tax policy, he's critical of you on trade. He says that essentially it's going to be raising prices for people on consumer goods, on electronics, on cars and other items. And it's essentially a tax on people who can't afford it.

TRUMP: No, I have heard Larry. And let me tell you what's going to happen from a practical standpoint, from a negotiating standpoint. The world is ripping us off because of manipulation, monetary manipulation, devaluations, OK. They are great. The greatest player of them all is China. Nobody has ever played the valuation game with their currency better. It's currency devaluation, than China. China is a grand master. Japan is doing very well. But some of these countries are just absolute masters at it. When we start getting tough, and they think that we're serious, and I'm totally serious. I would put a tax on it in two seconds.

COOPER: You talk about a 45 percent tax --

TRUMP: I've talked about different taxes. I have also said - I didn't say I was going to put. I said use it as a negotiating tool, and I would if we couldn't make the right deal.

COOPER: But that would raise prices for consumer goods. TRUMP: China just devalued their currency recently more than they

have at any time in more than two decades. This was like shocking. And the only reason they did it is because we're weak and have no leadership. It makes it impossible for our companies to compete with Chinese companies and China generally, OK. It makes it absolutely impossible. The threat of me doing this, for instance, the threat of doing it against Japan or China, tell Japan, by the way, when your cars come in you are going to have to pay a 35 percent tax. I sued 35 percent. I only used 45 if somebody is really egregious and, of course, now you have many people that are really egregious.

COOPER: So you are seeing this as a negotiation tactic?

TRUMP: Absolutely. And you know what is going to happen? When they see that we are not playing games, that we are really do because I would do it in a heartbeat. I would love to do it. When they see that we are not playing games, they are going to stop playing with their currencies and they are going to stop taking our jobs to the extent that they are taking them right now.

COOPER: You do worry a lot of people, obviously, in the Republican establishment, though. You know this better than anybody and I know you don't like the NBC/"Wall Street Journal" poll. Anew one just came out today and saying the majority of the American voters, six in ten, saying you are harming the GOP's image. Two-thirds have a negative impression of you. How do you go about bringing the GOP back together?

[20:20:06] TRUMP: Look, first of all, millions of people now are voting more as we just said, more than they were four year ago, eight years ago, 16 years ago. Millions and millions of people. They would never see anything like it. I was in South Carolina and a woman came up who was at the polling. She said, you know, Mr. Trump, I've done this for 24 years. I've never seen anything like it.

COOPER: There's a lot of higher voter turnouts. So you are saying that's bringing new people in and --

TRUMP: But many more people are coming in. You know where they're coming from? They are Democrats and they are independents and they are people that never voted before. And don't kid yourself. The people that never

voted before, that's a huge part of it. They are coming in in tremendous numbers.

So many people have told me that, Anderson. They said I have never voted before. I mean, these are people that are 60 years old. I'm not talking about somebody that's 18. They never voted before and they are coming in. And I have had hundreds of people telling me that just walking down the line shaking hands.

COOPER: So when Lindsey Graham said choosing between you and Cruz would be like choosing between being shot or poisoned. He is now saying that he will go for Cruz.

TRUMP: Yes, that is OK. Look. Let me explain. I was very hard on him. He was very nasty. They were all nasty. And when they are bad you have to do something about it. Lindsey Graham started at seven percent. I got into the race and he attacked me. And Lindsey Graham went home at zero, at zero. Lindsey Graham in South Carolina where he is a senator was at one when I was at 40 and I won South Carolina. Just so you understand. And I watch this guy who ran for president and he left in disgrace. He was a fool. He left in disgrace, OK, in disgrace. He made a fool out of himself. I don't think he could be elected again in South Carolina because he ran so badly. OK, no way.

Then I see him on television like nothing happened talking about Donald Trump. Donald Trump is this. Donald Trump is that. I destroyed him in the sense of we were competing. We were combatants. Then I hear him talking about the war. I have been doing this for ten years. You know why we have been doing it for ten years? Because, of guys like him. He wants to attack Syria and ISIS at the same time, OK? Now for what reason? I want to knock out ISIS. You do one at a time.

COOPER: So how does the GOP differ under Donald Trump than under President Bush, than under --?

TRUMP: It would be smarter. It would save money. It would have balanced budgets. It would have many more products made in the United States. It would have smart trade, not free trade. I'm a free trader. The problem with free trade, and it's a very big problem. We need smart leadership. To have free trade successfully, you have to have a really smart group of people at the top and person. We don't have that. We have people that are grossly incompetent.

We are dealing against China. I've made a lot of money dealing against China. I have buildings. I own the bank of America building. A big chunk of it in San Francisco. I owned 1290 Avenue of America. I got it by competing against China. I didn't get it because of China. I competed against them. I won and I have these assets, these great assets.

You know, I have told you before, I have the biggest bank in the world is a tenant of mine in Manhattan. I sell condos to the Chinese. I get along great with the Chinese. I have no problem with the Chinese. I wish we could do it. In fact, I respect China. They gotten away with murder. The single greatest theft in the history of the world what China has done for the United States. We have rebuilt China with what they have taken out of our country.

I want to ask you about Ted Cruz. Ted Cruz says flexibility is Washington code word for he is getting ready to stick it to the voters. What does flexibility mean to you?

(END VIDEOTAPE)

COOPER: Well, as you might expect, he had a lot to say about Senator Cruz, his tough rival in the polls of right, at the right. More of our conversation with Trump just ahead.

Plus what to watch for in tonight's Democratic debate right here which starts at the top of the hour. Hillary Clinton and Bernie Sanders facing off in the wake of his own unexpected win in Michigan that is just days from Florida's important primary.

(COMMERCIAL BREAK)

[20:27:55] COOPER: We're a little more than a half hour away from the Democratic presidential debate here in

Miami. Univision is hosting it. CNN is bringing it to you live. You can watch it right here on CNN at the top of the hours.

Tomorrow, though, Republicans will be debating that the University of Miami. That's also on CNN. Florida's primary is on Tuesday. And tonight Donald Trump is riding a new wave of momentum after winning big in Michigan and Mississippi last night. He also won the Hawaii caucuses. When I sat down with him earlier today, we talked about his rival Ted Cruz who also had a big win last night in Idaho and today, got a ringing endorsement from their former mutual opponent Carly Fiorina.

(BEGIN VIDEOTAPE)

COOPER: I want to ask you about Ted Cruz. You talked about the importance, you know, you and I talked about the importance of being flexible.

TRUMP: He's totally inflexible.

COOPER: Cruz says flexibility is Washington code word for he is getting ready to stick it to the voters. What is flexibility to you? On what can you work?

TRUMP: It's negotiation.

COOPER: So you can work with Democrats?

TRUMP: Hey, I wrote "the art of the deal." OK.

COOPER: How important is unlocking gridlock in Washington?

TRUMP: Very important. We have total gridlock. Nobody can do anything. We have corporate -- you take a look at corporate inversions which, by the way, the senators, they don't even know what it is. We have companies leaving our country. They are leaving for two reasons. Because the taxes are too high and I cut taxes very substantially and Larry Kudlow, by the way, loves my tax plan.

Taxes are too high and because they can't get their money back. They have money. You know, Anderson, they have money outside of this country. Billions and billions of dollars, big corporations like Pfizer. That is leaving now moving to Ireland. So they have money out there.

Every Democrat agrees we should let it come back. Every Republican agrees we should -- they all agree that we should let it come back. Who wouldn't? In other words, let the money come into the United States. They have agreed for four years they can't make a deal. You know why? There's no leader. I could sit these guys down in a room and within 20 minutes we would have a deal. COOPER: So Donald Trump as president reaches out to Democrats and

Republicans?

TRUMP: Well, that's the way it was set up, Anderson.

COOPER: Because there are some conservatives who say look, it's more important to stand on principle than it is compromise.

TRUMP: I watched Ted Cruz make a fool of himself. I watched Ted Cruz filibuster.

[20:30:00] For how long did he do it? For two days or something?

I also watched 99 senators sitting back and laughing at him and saying, "Hey, when do we get back to work?"

Now, they don't get along and everything so getting back to work doesn't help either. His filibuster did nothing. What did they do? He wasted a day and half while he sat there and told stories about Alice in Wonderland.

COOPER: What do you want to make deals with Democrats on? Where do you see room for a compromise?

TRUMP: OK. Well first of all, I'd start with corporate inversion, because I can that one on about two seconds. The money has to come back in them. They have \$2.5 trillion, probably \$5 trillion. But the government says \$2.5 trillion that companies want to bring into the country. Right. They can't bring it in.

Some countries --some companies are leaving to get their money. Not just the taxes. They are leaving because they can't bring their money back in. I could solve that problem in 10 minutes. OK. But there are many things. We have to make a better health care deal. We have to work on education. We have horrible education. We're number 30 in the world in education and yet number one per pupil in cost.

COOPER: So those are all things you can make compromises on with Democrats to get something done?

TRUMP: Of course you can. Of course you can. You can't be inflexible. Look, if somebody wants to sell this house and they want a billion dollars. I want a billion dollars. You have to negotiate a little bit. OK.

COOPER: So the other knock that, you know, because some conservatives make, certainly to make on President Obama. They say he is sort of an imperial president. Its one of the things Cruz is saying about you. Even these are the pledge that you are having people make at rallies. He says that you're-- they're treating your supporters like subjects to a king. The implication being as president you would be ...

TRUMP: It's just words. Look, it's just words. Ted, it's just words with Ted. Ted is a guy who's somebody he's a very inflexible guy who never -- he'll never make a deal. You talk about gridlock now. If Ted Cruz became president you wouldn't have anything done and Washington would be a total piece of stone. You wouldn't make any -- just I understand you know, he talks about he's a constitutionalist. OK, the constitution was set up with senators and congressmen and you are supposed to work and make deals.

COOPER: Do you see the constitution ...

TRUMP: And two parties. And it could be more than two parties but two parties.

COOPER: Do you see the constitution as a living breathing document that -- or do you see that something set in stone from long ago? Those are sort of ...

TRUMP: I see the constitution as set in stone. I see it as one of the great documents of all time. I also see it as something that says you're going to sit down and make deals. I mean look, if Ted wants something, health care and he won't negotiate, the other side is not going to negotiate either. There is going to be a little bit of movement. And that's wrong.

COOPER: And that's key to you to end gridlock in transition?

TRUMP: Yeah, but I'm going to make a better deal on the other side.

COOPER: All right.

TRUMP: I'm going to make a better deal.

COOPER: On foreign policy. Is there -- and maybe you've been running a campaign. Have you started thinking about a -- sort of a Trump doctrine when for using foreign power overseas. What criteria do you look that?

TRUMP: First of all, there can be no doctrine because everything is different. Every situation is different. And I didn't

want to go into Iraq and I'll say it 100 times. I didn't want to go , you know, there is way you were on Howard Stern's show years. You know, before it ever happened. And if he asked me that question and he's a friend of mine. He's a good guy actually, much different than you see on radio. Believe me.

COOPER: It's a great interview.

TRUMP: H is a great guy. But Howard asked me and I said, "Well, I don't know." That's was the first time it was ever asked. But don't forget I'm an entrepreneur. They don't ask me about me simply going into Iraq at that time? And this was long before we went in. And you could see that I was very hesitant. That's was like I wish I go in. Look ...

COOPER: What criteria would you use for sending troops somewhere?

TRUMP: Let me just tell you. Going into Iraq, my opinion, was one of the worst mistakes in the history of this country. It was one of the worst decisions ever made in the history of this country. It started everything that's happening today in the Middle East is because of that one decision to go into Iraq, OK? It was a horrible decision, including the migration. Everything that, you know, it's a mess.

Now if Saddam Hussein was there, would we be better off? Absolutely. You know, hey, this was not a nice man. This wasn't great guy, but Saddam Hussein did one thing. He killed terrorists. He was a professional killer of terrorists.

Now you want to be a terrorist? You go to Iraq. That's called the Harvard of terrorism. Look, whether it's Gaddafi, so terrible decision, Hillary Clinton. Whether it's Saddam Hussein, we were a lot better off before.

COOPER: Do you think your ...

TRUMP: And besides that. Iraq did not knock down the world trade center. Just in case you had any questions.

COOPER: Do you think Islam is at war with the west?

TRUMP: I think Islam hates us. There is something -- there is something there that is a tremendous hatred there. There's a tremendous hatred. We have to get to the bottom of it. There's an unbelievable hatred of us.

COOPER: In Islam itself?

TRUMP: You're going to have to figure that out. OK. You'll get another Pulitzer, right? But you'll have to figure that out. But there's a tremendous hatred. And we have to be very vigilant. We have to be very careful. And we can't allow people coming into this country who have this hatred of the United States.

COOPER: I guess the question is ...

TRUMP: And of people that are not Muslim.

[20:35:01] COOPER: I guess the question is, is there a war between the west and radical Islam or between the west and Islam itself?

TRUMP: Well, it's radical but it's very hard to define. It's very hard to separate because you don't know who is who.

Look, these two young people that got married, she supposedly radicalized him. Who knows what happened?

COOPER: The San Bernardino killer?

TRUMP: The bottom line is they killed 14 people. They gave them baby showers. I mean, they were friends of theirs and they walked in and they killed them. There's unbelievable hatred.

You look at Paris, 138 people killed. Many, many people are going to die in the hospital. Mortally wounded, horribly

wounded, horribly wounded. And they walk into a room and boom, boom, boom. There's a sickness going on that's unbelievable. And honestly, you have to get to the bottom of it.

COOPER: You talked about going after the families of terrorists. You now reversed that essentially ...

TRUMP: I didn't reverse anything.

COOPER: You would still want to go after the families of terrorists?

TRUMP: No, no, no. I didn't reverse anything.

(END VIDEO CLIP)

COOPER: Donald Trump had a lot more to say about what tactics he would try to use against terrorists. How far he's actually willing to go and what he thinks about waterboarding. What we talked about today, some were calling his -- and we also talked about what some were calling, it's a real victory speech last night.

Let's go ask our political panel what they are expecting to see at the Univision Democratic Debate which starts at the top of the hour now just a minutes away. We're going to bring it you live, starting at 9:00 p.m. Eastern.

Stick around.

(COMMERCIAL BREAK)

COOPER: Looking in the two podiums here in Miami tonight. We're less than 20 minutes from now and Hillary Clinton and Bernie Sanders will be facing off in Democratic debate. CNN's bringing the Univision Debate to you live.

Now earlier today, I interviewed Republican frontrunner Donald Trump fresh off his big wins yesterday and his pretty surreal victory speech which was we've said, he used to showcase something Trump products which aren't actually products that are available.

[20:40:10] Steaks, some are calling it a QVC moment filled by Mitt Romney's recent remarks. I asked Trump about that. You'll hear his response in a moment. But, first let's pick up the interview where we left off before the break. Where does Trump stand now on his comments about going after the families of terrorists?

(BEGIN VIDEO CLIP)

You would still want to go after the families of terrorists?

TRUMP: No, no, I didn't reverse anything. I clarified very simply we have laws. We have to obey the laws. Now there must have to be one what

COOPER: During the candidate of church would be against the law.

TRUMP: I didn't say kill. We have to go after them. The family knows would have terrorists in that

COOPER: What does that mean? Kidnapping them?

TRUMP: You have a terrorist you have we going to do something and it's the only way you going to stop it. You know, I tell the story of General Pershing and take a look at General Pershing in 1990 in the Philippines, how he stopped terrorism. OK. You'll take a look at it. It's too long a story to tell on the tape. It will take the whole thing but it's one of the very interesting and very powerful stories.

Look, we're going to have to be a lot tougher. We are playing with a different set of rules. ISIS chops off people heads. ISIS drowns people in steel cages and pulls up the cage an hour later. Everyone is gone, 40, 50, 60 people

at a time.

COOPER: Were you said the other day we have to play the game, you said we got to play the game the way they play the game.

TRUMP: We have to play the game at a much tougher level that were plan.

COOPER: What does that mean though?

TRUMP: We have to expand those laws.

COOPER: Does that mean cutting off heads?

TRUMP: No, it doesn't mean that but we have to expand the laws luck.

COOPER: What is explains the laws?

TRUMP: Anderson, lets me explain something we are playing at this level and they don't care. They have no rules. And we have these rules that are very onerous. I mean our military is got brought in because ...

COOPER: Geneva Conventions on war. There's ways -- there's rules in a battle.

TRUMP: I know that, but, you know what, it's funny. It's very interesting what's happens with the Geneva Convention. Everybody believes in the Geneva Convention until they start losing and then they say oh, let's take out the bomb. OK. When they start losing. We have to play with a tougher set of rules. We have laws. We don't allow water boarding.

Think of this ISIS is -- these are smart people. These are people that know the internet better than we do and we're the ones that's, you know, came up with it. ISIS is sitting around. They just chopped off 20 heads of Christians and others. They just drowned 40 people. And they are sitting around watching us arguing about water boarding.

COOPER: When you say increase the laws and do more than water boarding, what is that specifically?

TRUMP: I'll work it with the generals. I'll work wit the generals. COOPER: I talked to General Michael Hayden.

TRUMP: For sure he says it's terrible that we talk that way. And, you know, what that's why he's been fighting this war for many years. OK.

COOPER: He is the Four-Star General Former CIA. Fomer Head of the CIA., he says sharing foreign policy ideas are frightening.

TRUMP: Oh, yeah I know well, his, he frightens me because we've been fighting ISIS for many years and this shouldn't have taken -- this should have been over with quickly. So that's the problem we have these people that are frightened because I'm protecting chaos.

COOPER: But do you think the problem with fighting ISIS is that we're not using the same tactics that they are?

TRUMP: We're not fighting it strongly enough. We have to end it and get become to rebuilding our country. Our infrastructure is falling apart. Our country is falling apart. Our country is falling apart. Our bridges are falling down.

You know, 60 percent of our bridges are in dangerous condition? And we're spending trillions, trillions of dollars in the Middle East. We have to fight it viciously and swiftly and we have to knock out ISIS. Now I didn't want to go into Iraq. But the problem now is the way Obama got us out was a disaster.

And if you remember, when we got out -- and I said it on your show two or three years ago. I said take the oil. Did I

say take the oil?

COOPER: Yeah, you did.

TRUMP: OK.

COOPER: So when you say so are you still in support of water boarding and more?

TRUMP: I'm in total support of water boarding. It going to be within the law but I have to expand the law because a lot of people think it's not within the law now because of this administration. So they are allow to chop off heads and we aren't allowed to water board. Somehow we're at a big disadvantage. I will tell you that right now.

COOPER: On a -- yeah.

TRUMP: And, again I was going to give you the analogy. So they are sitting around having dinner. They believe it or not, even though they chop off heads and even though do they drown people, and they are talking. Can you imagine the conversation when they are talking about how weak and soft and pathetic we are and they go out and chop off people's heads? OK. They can't believe it. They can believe it.

COOPER: I asked about ...

TRUMP: The fact is, just in a nutshell, we have to be much tougher. If we're going to beat ISIS, we have to be much tougher than we are. When you have General Hayden saying, "Oh, that's so terrible the way Trump is talking," that's why we're losing.

COOPER: I got to ask you. I watched the press conference you gave last night. The victory speech. Obviously huge night for you. Just a couple factual things. The steaks you showed, those aren't Trump steaks, right?

TRUMP: Oh, no they are Trump. No I buy them. I'm not going to kill the cow.

COOPER: No but they aren't sold those are because ...

TRUMP: No, no, we sell excuse me.

COOPER: For showing this thing was to fight back in Flint and Mitt Romney said about ...

TRUMP: No, no just I understand Trump steaks.

[20:45:00] We sell the steaks through my clubs. I have many clubs and hotels. So we sell this cow ...

COOPER: But they aren't sold at sharper image. They are not

TRUMP: Oh no, they are sold differently.

COOPER: That business is gone.

TRUMP: No, no it's the same thing. It's an offshoot of it. I mean it's the same thing. We have, we do a tremendous steak business.

COOPER: Because those steaks weren't bought locally from a meat supplier?

TRUMP: No, no. We buy a lot of steaks from different places. I don't want to but if I'm in California, I don't want to buy my steaks in New York.

COOPER: So those steaks you sell ...

TRUMP: ...we sale the steaks, and largely, to our hotels and our clubs and things like that. You know, it's a small business..

COOPER: And the magazine, you showed up, that's not the Trump magazine that Mitt Romney was talking out?

TRUMP: I've had many magazines. Every time I open a business, I'll sometimes open a magazine for a period of a year and get the business started and then close it.

COOPER: If people were pointing out today saying, "Oh, look, the items you were showing last night, in order to push back against Mitt Romney, you know, the implication was those are Trump steaks available nationwide somewhere they're not." TRUMP: ...where they are available nation wide. You can buy them at different places that I own. I own many, many places.

COOPER: You can buy them if you eat in your restaurant here somewhere?

TRUMP: Yeah.

COOPER: You can't go on the internet and buy them.

TRUMP: The magazine, that magazine has been with me for a long time and you've morphed it in.

COOPER: But that's not the Trump magazine that Romney was talking about.

TRUMP: ...many magazines when I start a business, and I keep it open for a year or two until the business gets going.

And after the building, if business gets going, you close it up. It's like a lost leader, because frankly, you don't make any money with these magazines.

COOPER: Finally, the debate tomorrow night, do you expect that the tone, the tenor to be different than the last?

Last one was tough and then you had people on both sides come after you?

TRUMP: It's such an interesting question. I think it's going to be much different. I must tell you, last time, I was leading.

And by the way, I don't know how you feel about it, but every single poll said that I won the last debate, every -- Drudge said it, Time Magazine said it. You know, they do those online poll. With hundreds of thousands of people calling in, but, I was in the '60s and '70s percentile.

Now, when I went into that, I said, this is going to be an interesting evening. I will tell you. It's going to be a tough evening.

Many people said, "Oh, boy, I wouldn't want to be you tonight." That was going to be a tough evening. I mean, they were like wounded. They were really wounded.

I think this is going to be much different. Now, I may be wrong, but I am now far and away the front-runner. I think -- here's the thing, the Republican Party is sitting on something that's so bright. They are sitting on millions and millions and millions of people that want to be part of it.

The worst thing they can do is knock me out. If I get knocked out, if I don't make it, every one of those ...

COOPER: Do you think they'll going to start to coalesce around you?

TRUMP: ... every one of those, I'm the only one can beat Hillary and I'll beat her easily.

I'll bring in Michigan, I may bring in New York. You know, we always talk about the path. You know, the path is much tougher for a Republican, you do understand that structurally.

Because if they lose Ohio, it's over, If they lose Pennsylvania, they loose Florida, it's over.

But I'll bring in states along the other. First of all, I'll win in Florida.

COOPER: Will you debate Cruz if it's one on one?

TRUMP: Yeah, that's fine.

COOPER: You would do a debate with Cruz

TRUMP: I don't think he's a good debater. I think he's -- frankly, the way I look at Ted, I think it's very phony. I think Ted is actually a bad talker, pretty good debater, bad talker, can't talk.

I don't mind debating him at all. The problem is when I debate somebody, then people say, I'm not a nice person. But they say you won the debate.

COOPER: So, bottom line, tomorrow night you're expecting a different tone, but you'll be ready for anything?

TRUMP: ... be softer, but I'll be ready. I mean, you know, I think that Marco is going to be a different person. Marco has been, you know, mortally wounded. You know, question is, will Marco even be there? I hope he makes the right decision. I'm not going to make the decision for him.

But Marco has been, you know, pretty, badly wounded. It will be interesting to see what happens. Kasich is interesting, because he said he's going to win Michigan and he lost. He said he's going to win, I mean, he said it to you. I think I watched him on your show.

COOPER: He never came out and said he'd win. But, he said, he thought he would do very well.

TRUMP: ...said, he would Michigan. He didn't even come in second. OK.

So, you know, I mean, I was of the impression if he didn't win Michigan -- I'm not talking about Ohio, I'm talking about Michigan.

If he didn't win Michigan, he would drop out. He came in third. OK. He didn't even come in second.

So, it'll be interesting to see what he says. And Ted is Ted. I mean, we've been playing the game now for a long time.

These debates to me are getting very boring, if you want to know the truth. COOPER: Mr. Trump, thank you.

TRUMP: Have a good time.

COOPER: Appreciate it.

(END VIDEO CLIP)

A lot to talk about in that interview. Just ahead, we'll have some reaction to what Donald Trump said.

Steaks and all, we'll also talk about what is at stake tonight for the Democrat, Bernie Sanders, Hillary Clinton about to take the debate stage in about 10 minutes. Stay with us, we'll be right back.

(COMMERCIAL BREAK)

[20:53:14] COOPER: Well, the Univision Democratic Debate will be starting here on CNN just a few minutes from

now you can watch right here just stake around for that. There's a lot of excitement in this hall. We're also looking forward to our CNN Republican Debate over the University of Miami tomorrow night. It's a very busy week for us in light of my conversation with the GOP front-runner, I want start offer panel discussion on Donald Trump and then will switch the Democrats his victory speech last night his opponents and also his path going to forward.

Joining us right now with CNN "Inside Politics" Anchor John King and Chief Political Analyst Gloria Borger. You know, it's interesting to hear Trump. He is clearly you and I we're talking about this. He's aware of the moment he is in right now.

JOHN KING, CNN ANCHOR, "INSIDE POLITICS": Yeah. I take the whole interview globally. Especially when you start very measured, leaning back. You asked him a question about Larry Kudlow his used in China trade. Six weeks ago, Donald Trump would not have let you finish that sentence. He would have jumped and attacked Larry Kudlow. He would made a solution on steaks. He would have been more combative.

He understands you heard a bit debate last night before he got into the infomercial two where he said its time to let keep the Republican Senate, keep the Republican Congress. He understands the moment that he's very close to being the presumptive nominee and trying to see more measured, trying to see more frankly, in a word, presidential.

COOPER: He can't stop himself from like going back to what Mitt Romney said about his failed businesses showing steaks which are not steaks that are -- they aren't Trump steaks. They are bought from a local meat seller in West Palm Beach Florida called Bush brothers that still sold

KING: Irony there? That was witness.

COOPER: It's a minor ridiculous point but the fact that he was sort of fibbing about it in a nationally, you know, broadcast press conference is kind of surreal. GLORIA BORGER, CNN CHIEF POLITICAL ANALYST: You know, he can only exhibit a certain amount of self-control to a point, I think, and I thought he was trying to do so with you today because, clearly, people have gotten to him and said, OK, you need to act presidential. But then when you ask him a question, he turns into sort of Donald Trump who has to go on the attack, attack, attack.

[20:55:00] KING: He got most of the way through. Ted Cruz doesn't get under my skin, doesn't get under my skin, roar.

COOPER: I want to bring Alicia Menendez, on Fusion. This is the Network Univision. Thank you so much joining us its pleasure to be here. What are you looking on the stage now? I mean, it comes at a critical time. We do a debate on Sunday night with the democrats for the states now. I mean, a lot has changed just since then.

ALICIA MENENDEZ, FUSION CORRESPONDENT: Yeah, and listen, I think the candidates understand that they're speaking tonight to a broad audience, but also very specifically to a Latino audience, which Univision knows that it caters to.

So, top of mind for that audience economic issues, one and three Latino voters say that's what's top of mind for them but, immigration, of course, a deeply personal issue to this community.

I saw a study that said one in every three Latino voters actually has someone in their family who is undocumented. When you think about that, that's an issue not only that, you know, you might say to a pollster, yes, it's important to me. It's an issue that actually gets you out on the door on Election Day, especially the candidate like Donald Trump.

COOPER: And also, Alicia, I've seen polls based where they show Donald Trump very unpopular among Latino voters in a general election.

I'm curious to see how much they sort of try to define the GOP as Donald Trump's party and how much they try to talk about Donald Trump.

MENENDEZ: I think they would be insane not to. I think Democrats see that there's an opportunity for them to pivot to the general election to use Trump as an example of what the GOP stands for.

And yet, even though you see a vast majority of Latino voters saying that they find Trump's remarks on immigration abhorrent. You also see that only a small percentage thinks it's reflective of the Republican Party overall.

So the question is, if it's someone other than Trump namely, if it is Cruz, can he get out from under the damage that Trump has done?

BORGER: And, you know, tonight, you'll see Hillary Clinton hug President Obama to a certain degree on the executive orders on immigration. But on the question of deportation ...

MENENDEZ: Yeah. BORGER: ... and the number of illegal immigrants who have been deported, it's a very big issue in the Latino community. And we'll see how she deals with that.

KING: I think it fascinates questions, who are they talking to? They have a national audience, but Senator Sanders is trying to build the relationships from the Latino community, very important to him, because he's a newcomer, because he's from the state of Vermont.

So, is he want to focus there or does he want to focus on Ohio or Illinois next week, because he has a national audience, even though he's at a Univision debate.

Also on the trade issue, does he want to talk like he talks to the Rust Belt about, you know, you're getting screwed by these deals, we need to be tougher, we need to take them away.

Well, in Florida and among the Latino community, a lot of the small businesses do a lot of business throughout the hemisphere.

They have family relationships, they have cultural relationship, they have historical relationships.

So, the tough on trade argument that you can sell in Michigan, Ohio and Illinois is a little bit different here when you get to Florida.

COOPER: And does Hillary Clinton start to -- I mean, did she learn some lesson from what happened in Michigan and start to pivot that, you know, famous word of politics which you can interpret in a multitude of different ways?

MENENDEZ: I saw a statistic that should perhaps, make the Clinton campaign nervous, which is that about 18 percent of the early voting that's been done in the state by democratic voters are from voters who did not vote in the last two elections.

So, those are voters that are more likely to come out and vote for an outsider candidate, which is what Sanders is trying to position himself as.

So, I think you have the possibility of seeing the type of spike we saw in Michigan that pollsters missed, actually happen on Election Day.

BORGER: It's such a diverse state, though, right? And I think that, you know, somebody who can win Florida in either party can say, I have an appeal to a broad coalition because, you know, this is in many ways, three different states.

And so, you know, either one of them would want to win this state.

COOPER: And just in terms of delegate count. I mean, that you have that floating around in your head at all times. I mean, Bernie Sanders had, I mean, amazing win in Michigan, surprised a lot of people, certainly in the pundit world.

The path forward, though, is tough. KING: And yet, she stretched her lead last night in the delegate race.

So, you have two campaigns going on. Her campaign says it's OK. Yeah, we took a punch. We didn't want to lose Michigan, it's embarrassing. But, we stress our lead in the delegate debate for the psychology of the race is now in Sanders camp.

And the question is one win is not enough, but, if he can take in Ohio and in Illinois, or at least, one of them, if he can have a stronger showing in Florida than people expect. Last night was an opening, it was not a game-changer. It was an opening to a game-changer.

Next Tuesday could be a game changer if he wins again. If he understands the pressure up there tonight, she wants to put him back in his place, if he will make him more of a message candidate.

So, they both have reasons to escalate the attacks because of the stakes in the campaign, but there are huge risks if you do that, too. That's what I'm fascinated by, the chess.

COOPER: Right, how aggressive is it going to get tonight? I mean, we saw a lot of tension on the stage on Sunday ...

BORGER: Yeah.

COOPER: ... of the debate over the issues of NAFTA and trade. But, are they going to be coming out from the get-go ready to go?

BORGER: I think they might. It's hard to say, but so much is at stake, particularly for Bernie Sanders right now that I can't imagine that he would back off. He was very aggressive from the last debate. I think he'll continue.

COOPER: Yeah, well, I want to thank John King and Gloria Borger, Alicia Menendez, it's great to have you. Thank you for joining us.

We will see all of our panelists after the debate. It's about 10 seconds way now.

[21:00:00] Time now for the main event and we'll be on live right afterward. Here it is.

EXHIBIT 9

After Florida shooting, Trump hardens stance on Muslims

 [reuters.com/article/us-usa-election-clinton-idUSKCN0YZ1GE](https://www.reuters.com/article/us-usa-election-clinton-idUSKCN0YZ1GE)



By [Steve Holland](#) and [Ginger Gibson](#) | MANCHESTER, N.H./WASHINGTON

Republican Donald Trump on Monday placed responsibility for a mass shooting in Florida squarely at the feet of radical Muslims, who he said were entering the country amidst a flood of refugees and "trying to take over our children."

The presumptive Republican presidential nominee drew on the country's deadliest mass shooting to sharpen his vow to ban Muslim immigrants, proposing that the United States suspend immigration from areas of the world where there is "a proven history of terrorism."

In his national security speech, Trump said it was time to "tell the truth about radical Islam," the day after 49 people were killed at a gay nightclub in Orlando by a gunman, likely self-radicalized, who had sworn allegiance to the rebel group Islamic State.

His comments contrasted sharply to those of Hillary Clinton, the wealthy businessman's likely Democratic rival in the Nov. 8 election, who urged increased intelligence gathering and more airstrikes on Islamic State territory, and cautioned against "demonizing" American Muslims.

"If we want to protect the quality of life for all Americans - women and children, gay and straight, Jews and Christians and all people - then we need to tell the truth about radical Islam and we need to do it now," Trump told the crowd in New Hampshire.

He went on to lambaste Clinton's policies, saying they would allow "hundreds of thousands of refugees from the Middle East" to enter the United States without adequate security measures.

There would be "no system to vet them, or to prevent the radicalization of... their children," he said. "Not only their children, by the way. They're trying to take over our children and convince them how wonderful ISIS is and how wonderful Islam is, and we don't know what's happening."

Trump said that, if elected, he would use the executive authority of the presidency to impose stronger controls on immigration to protect Americans from attacks, fine-tuning his earlier campaign promise to temporarily ban the entry of foreign Muslims to shore up national security.

"When I'm elected, I will suspend immigration from areas of the world where there is a proven history of terrorism against the United States, Europe or our allies until we fully understand how to end these threats," he said.

He noted that the parents of the Florida gunman, Omar Mateen, 29, were born in Afghanistan. Pointing to specific incidents such as the Sept. 11, 2001, attacks, Trump said threats were posed by people with roots in Pakistan, Saudi Arabia and Somalia.

The immigration ban, he said would last until "we are in a position to properly screen these people coming into our country. They're pouring in, and we don't know what we're doing."

Trump's hard-line proposals on immigration have helped fuel his surge in popularity among some conservative voters. But they have also triggered heavy condemnation from minority and human rights activists, and his political opponents - many of whom have called his rhetoric racist.

Trump has rejected the criticism, and has said he is often misunderstood by the media and his opponents.

'ANTI-WOMAN, ANTI-GAY'

In her response to the Florida massacre, Clinton, warned against demonizing Muslim Americans and called for increased efforts to remove Islamic State propaganda from the internet, more air strikes in areas held by the group and better coordination with allies in the region.

"The Orlando terrorist may be dead, but the virus that poisoned his mind remains very strong, and we must attack it," she said in a speech in Cleveland.

She specifically criticized three U.S. allies - Saudi Arabia, Qatar and Kuwait - for allowing its citizens to fund mosques and schools that train jihadists.

She also proposed stricter gun control laws, reiterating previous calls to prohibit people on terrorism watch lists from buying firearms. She pointed out that while the Federal Bureau of Investigation was aware of Mateen as a possible threat, he was still able to purchase a gun legally.

"It's important that we stop the terrorists from getting the tools they need to carry out the attacks, and that is especially true when it comes to assault weapons like those used in Orlando and San Bernardino," California, Clinton said, drawing a standing ovation from the crowd.

Trump challenged Clinton to explain why she favored letting Syrian civil war refugees into the United States. He said his policies would better protect American women, gays and lesbians, Jews and Christians. Trump's support among women and gay voters lags far behind that of Clinton.

"Radical Islam is anti-woman, anti-gay and anti-American," said Trump.

He accused her of having ties to Saudi Arabia.

"Saudi Arabia and many of the countries that gave vast amounts of money to the Clinton Foundation want women as slaves and to kill gays," he said in a Facebook post. "Hillary must return all money from such countries!"

(Additional reporting by Susan Heavey and Alana Wise in Washington; Editing by Jonathan Oatis and Mary Milliken)



EXHIBIT 10

Donald J. Trump speaks at the Saint Andelm College New Hampshire Institute of Politics in Manchester, N.H. on June 13.

Transcript: Donald Trump's national security speech

06/13/16 03:06 PM EDT

As posted on his website, this is the transcript of Donald Trump's June 13 speech on national security and terrorism in the wake of the Orlando massacre. Underlined segments are the author's.

Thank you for joining me today.

This was going to be a speech on Hillary Clinton and how bad a President, especially in these times of Radical Islamic Terrorism, she would be.

Even her former Secret Service Agent, who has seen her under pressure and in times of stress, has stated that she lacks the temperament and integrity to be president.

There will be plenty of opportunity to discuss these important issues at a later time, and I will deliver that speech soon.

But today there is only one thing to discuss: the growing threat of terrorism inside of our borders.

The attack on the Pulse Nightclub in Orlando, Florida, was the worst terrorist strike on our soil since September 11th, and the worst mass shooting in our country's history.

So many people dead, so many people gravely injured, so much carnage, such a disgrace.

The horror is beyond description.

The families of these wonderful people are totally devastated. Likewise, our whole nation, and indeed the whole world, is devastated.

We express our deepest sympathies to the victims, the wounded, and their families.

We mourn, as one people, for our nation's loss – and pledge our support to any and all who need it.

I would like to ask now that we all observe a moment of silence for the victims of the attack.

[SILENCE]

Our nation stands together in solidarity with the members of Orlando's LGBT Community.

This is a very dark moment in America's history.

A radical Islamic terrorist targeted the nightclub not only because he wanted to kill Americans, but in order to execute gay and lesbian citizens because of their sexual orientation.

It is a strike at the heart and soul of who we are as a nation.

It is an assault on the ability of free people to live their lives, love who they want and express their identity.

Trump: Clinton, Obama protecting terrorists to be 'politically correct'

By LOUIS NELSON

It is an attack on the right of every single American to live in peace and safety in their own country.

We need to respond to this attack on America as one united people – with force, purpose and determination.

But the current politically correct response cripples our ability to talk and think and act clearly.

If we don't get tough, and we don't get smart – and fast – we're not going to have a country anymore -- there will be nothing left.

The killer, whose name I will not use, or ever say, was born to Afghan parents who immigrated to the United States. His father published support for the Afghan Taliban, a regime which murders those who

The bottom line is that the only reason the killer was in America in the first place was because we allowed his family to come here.

That is a fact, and it's a fact we need to talk about.

We have a dysfunctional immigration system which does not permit us to know who we let into our country, and it does not permit us to protect our citizens.

We have an incompetent administration, and if I am not elected President, that will not change over the next four years -- but it must change, and it must change now.

With fifty people dead, and dozens more wounded, we cannot afford to talk around the issue anymore -- we have to address it head on.

I called for a ban after San Bernardino, and was met with great scorn and anger but now, many are saying I was right to do so -- and although the pause is temporary, we must find out what is going on. The ban will be lifted when we as a nation are in a position to properly and perfectly screen those people coming into our country.

The immigration laws of the United States give the President the power to suspend entry into the country of any class of persons that the President deems detrimental to the interests or security of the United States, as he deems appropriate.

I will use this power to protect the American people. When I am elected, I will suspend immigration from areas of the world when there is a proven history of terrorism against the United States, Europe or our allies, until we understand how to end these threats.

After a full, impartial and long overdue security assessment, we will develop a responsible immigration policy that serves the interests and values of America.

We cannot continue to allow thousands upon thousands of people to pour into our country, many of whom have the same thought process as this savage killer.

Many of the principles of Radical Islam are incompatible with Western values and institutions.

Radical Islam is anti-woman, anti-gay and anti-American.

I refuse to allow America to become a place where gay people, Christian people, and Jewish people, are the targets of persecution and intimidation by Radical Islamic preachers of hate and violence.

Trump attacks Obama: 'He's got something else in mind'

By NICK GASS

It's not just a national security issue. It is a quality of life issue.

If we want to protect the quality of life for all Americans – women and children, gay and straight, Jews and Christians and all people – then we need to tell the truth about Radical Islam.

We need to tell the truth, also, about how Radical Islam is coming to our shores.

We are importing Radical Islamic Terrorism into the West through a failed immigration system -- and through an intelligence community held back by our president.

Even our own FBI Director has admitted that we cannot effectively check the backgrounds of the people we are letting into America.

All of the September 11th hijackers were issued visas.

Large numbers of Somali refugees in Minnesota have tried to join ISIS.

The Boston Bombers came here through political asylum.

The male shooter in San Bernardino – again, whose name I won't mention -- was the child of immigrants from Pakistan, and he brought his wife – the other terrorist - from Saudi Arabia, through another one of our easily exploited visa programs.

Immigration from Afghanistan into the United States has increased nearly five-fold in just one year. According to Pew Research, 99% of people in Afghanistan support oppressive Sharia Law.

We admit many more from other countries in the region who share these same oppressive views.

If we want to remain a free and open society, then we have to control our borders.

Yet, Hillary Clinton – for months and despite so many attacks – repeatedly refused to even say the words “radical Islam,” until I challenged her yesterday to say the words or leave the race.

However, Hillary Clinton – who has been forced to say the words today after policies she supports have caused us so much damage – still has no clue what Radical Islam is, and won't speak honestly about what it is.

She is in total denial, and her continuing reluctance to ever name the enemy broadcasts weakness across the world.

In fact, just a few weeks before the San Bernardino slaughter, Hillary Clinton explained her refusal to say the words Radical Islam. Here is what she said: “Muslims are peaceful and tolerant people, and have nothing whatsoever to do with terrorism.”

Hillary Clinton says the solution is to ban guns. They tried that in France, which has among the toughest gun laws in the world, and 130 were brutally murdered by Islamic terrorists in cold blood. Her plan is to disarm law-abiding Americans, abolishing the 2nd amendment, and leaving only the bad guys and

Case 1:17-cv-00537-TSC Document 33-10 Filed 04/11/17 Page 6 of 11
terrorists with guns. She wants to take away Americans' guns, then admit the very people who want to slaughter us.

I will be meeting with the NRA, which has given me their earliest endorsement in a Presidential race, to discuss how to ensure Americans have the means to protect themselves in this age of terror.

The bottom line is that Hillary supports the policies that bring the threat of Radical Islam into America, and allow it to grow overseas.

In fact, Hillary Clinton's catastrophic immigration plan will bring vastly more Radical Islamic immigration into this country, threatening not only our security but our way of life.

When it comes to Radical Islamic terrorism, ignorance is not bliss – it's deadly.

The Obama Administration, with the support of Hillary Clinton and others, has also damaged our security by restraining our intelligence-gathering and failing to support law enforcement. They have put political correctness above common sense, above your safety, and above all else.

I refuse to be politically correct.

I will do the right thing--I want to straighten things out and to Make America Great Again.

The days of deadly ignorance will end, and they will end soon.

As President I will give our intelligence community, law enforcement and military the tools they need to prevent terrorist attacks.

We need an intelligence-gathering system second to none. That includes better cooperation between state, local and federal officials – and with our allies.

I will have an Attorney General, a Director of National Intelligence, and a Secretary of Defense who will know how to fight the war on Radical Islamic Terrorism – and who will have the support they require to get the job done.

We also must ensure the American people are provided the information they need to understand the threat.

The Senate Subcommittee on Immigration has already identified hundreds of immigrants charged with terrorist activities inside the United States since September 11th.

Nearly a year ago, the Senate Subcommittee asked President Obama's Departments of Justice, State and Homeland Security to provide the immigration history of all terrorists inside the United States.

These Departments refused to comply.

The public has a right to know how these people got here.

We have to screen applicants to know whether they are affiliated with, or support, radical groups and beliefs.

Trump takes credit for 'being right on radical Islamic terrorism'

By **NOLAN D. MCCASKILL** and **KRISTEN EAST**

We have to control the amount of future immigration into this country to prevent large pockets of radicalization from forming inside America.

Even a single individual can be devastating, just look at what happened in Orlando. Can you imagine large groups?

Truly, our President doesn't know what he is doing. He has failed us, and failed us badly, and under his leadership, this situation will not get any better -- it will only get worse.

Each year, the United States permanently admits more than 100,000 immigrants from the Middle East, and many more from Muslim countries outside the Middle East. Our government has been admitting ever-growing numbers, year after year, without any effective plan for our security.

In fact, Clinton's State Department was in charge of the admissions process for people applying to enter from overseas.

Having learned nothing from these attacks, she now plans to massively increase admissions without a screening plan, including a 500% increase in Syrian refugees.

This could be a better, bigger version of the legendary Trojan Horse.

We can't let this happen.

Altogether, under the Clinton plan, you'd be admitting hundreds of thousands of refugees from the Middle East with no system to vet them, or to prevent the radicalization of their children.

The burden is on Hillary Clinton to tell us why she believes immigration from these dangerous countries should be increased without any effective system to screen who we are bringing in.

The burden is on Hillary Clinton to tell us why we should admit anyone into our country who supports violence of any kind against gay and lesbian Americans.

The burden is also on Hillary Clinton to tell us how she will pay for it. Her plan will cost Americans hundreds of billions of dollars long-term.

Wouldn't this money be better spent on rebuilding America for our current population, including the many poor people already living here?

We have to stop the tremendous flow of Syrian refugees into the United States – we don't know who they are, they have no documentation, and we don't know what they're planning.

What I want is common sense. I want a mainstream immigration policy that promotes American values.

That is the choice I put before the American people: a mainstream immigration policy designed to benefit America, or Hillary Clinton's radical immigration policy designed to benefit politically-correct special interests.

We've got to get smart, and tough, and vigilant, and we've got to do it now, because later is too late.

The media talks about “homegrown,” terrorism, but Islamic radicalism, and the networks that nurture it, are imports from overseas.

Yes, there are many radicalized people already inside our country as a result of the poor policies of the past. But the whole point is that it will be much, much easier to deal with our current problem if we don't keep on bringing in people who add to the problem.

For instance, the controversial Mosque attended by the Boston Bombers had as its founder an immigrant from overseas charged in an assassination plot.

This shooter in Orlando was the child of an immigrant father who supported one of the most repressive regimes on Earth. Why would we admit people who support violent hatred?

Hillary Clinton can never claim to be a friend of the gay community as long as she continues to support immigration policies that bring Islamic extremists to our country who suppress women, gays and anyone who doesn't share their views.

She can't have it both ways. She can't claim to be supportive of these communities while trying to increase the number of people coming in who want to oppress them.

How does this kind of immigration make our life better? How does this kind of immigration make our country better?

Why does Hillary Clinton want to bring people here—in vast numbers—who reject our values?

Ask yourself, who is really the friend of women and the LGBT community, Donald Trump with his actions, or Hillary Clinton with her words? Clinton wants to allow Radical Islamic terrorists to pour into our country—they enslave women, and murder gays.

I don't want them in our country.

America has already admitted four times more immigrants than any country on earth, and we continue to admit millions more with no real checks or scrutiny.

Not surprisingly, wages for our workers haven't budged in many years.

So whether it's matter of national security, or financial security, we can't afford to keep on going like this. We owe \$19 trillion in debt, and no longer have options.

All our communities, from all backgrounds, are ready for some relief. This is not an act of offense against anyone; it is an act of defense.

White House smacks down 'small' Trump for Obama attacks

By NICK GASS

I want us all to work together, including in partnership with our Muslim communities. But Muslim communities must cooperate with law enforcement and turn in the people who they know are bad – and they do know where they are.

I want to fix our schools, roads, bridges and job market. I want every American to succeed. Hillary Clinton wants to empty out the Treasury to bring people into the country that include individuals who preach hate against our own citizens.

I want to protect our citizens – all of our citizens.

The terrorist attack on the Pulse Night Club demands a full and complete investigation into every aspect of the assault.

In San Bernardino, as an example, people knew what was going on, but they used the excuse of racial profiling for not reporting it.

We need to know what the killer discussed with his relatives, parents, friends and associates.

We need to know if he was affiliated with any radical Mosques or radical activists and what, if any, is their immigration status.

We need to know if he travelled anywhere, and who he travelled with.

We need to make sure every single last person involved in this plan – including anyone who knew something but didn't tell us – is brought to justice.

If it can be proven that somebody had information about any attack, and did not give this information to authorities, they must serve prison time .

It also means we must change our foreign policy.

The decision to overthrow the regime in Libya, then pushing for the overthrow of the regime in Syria, among other things, without plans for the day after, have created space for ISIS to expand and grow.

These actions, along with our disastrous Iran deal, have also reduced our ability to work in partnership with our Muslim allies in the region.

That is why our new goal must be to defeat Islamic terrorism, not nation-building.

For instance, the last major NATO mission was Hillary Clinton's war in Libya. That mission helped unleash ISIS on a new continent.

Christie talks 'radical Islam,' doesn't address Trump's remarks

By MATT FRIEDMAN

I've said NATO needs to change its focus to stopping terrorism. Since I've raised that criticism, NATO has since announced a new initiative focused on just that.

America must unite the whole civilized world in the fight against Islamic terrorism, just like we did against communism in the Cold War.

We've tried it President Obama's way. He gave the world his apology tour, we got ISIS, and many other problems, in return.

I'd like to conclude my remarks today by again expressing our solidarity with the people of Orlando who have come under attack.

When I am President, I pledge to protect and defend all Americans who live inside of our borders. Wherever they come from, wherever they were born, all Americans living here and following our laws will be protected.

America will be a tolerant and open society.

America will also be a safe society.

We will protect our borders at home.

We will defeat ISIS overseas.

We will ensure every parent can raise their children in peace and safety.

We will make America rich again.

We will make American Great Again.

Thank you.

EXHIBIT 11

MEET THE PRESS JUL 24 2016, 11:47 AM ET

Meet the Press - July 24, 2016

Meet the Press - July 24, 2016

CHUCK TODD:

This Sunday, the Democratic National Convention gets underway here in Philadelphia, after a raucous and unpredictable Republican convention. That ended with the nomination of Donald Trump.

DONALD TRUMP:

I am with you, I will fight for you, and I will win for you.

CHUCK TODD:

This morning, my sit-down with Donald Trump on his convention speech.

DONALD TRUMP:

The only negative reviews were a little dark.

CHUCK TODD:

On whether he's backing off on his Muslim ban.

DONALD TRUMP:

I actually don't think it's a pull-back. In fact, you could say it's an expansion.

CHUCK TODD:

And on Hillary Clinton's choice of Tim Kaine.

DONALD TRUMP:

Tim Kaine was a slap in the face to Bernie Sanders.

CHUCK TODD:

Plus Hillary Clinton and Tim Kaine hit the road in Florida.

HILLARY CLINTON:

Tim Kaine is everything Donald Trump and Mike Pence are not.

CHUCK TODD:

But some Bernie Sanders supporters are criticizing the Kaine pick as a sellout to moderates. I'll talk to Sanders and get his reaction to that and to the DNC Wikileaks e-mail release. Joining me for insight and analysis are MSNBC's Rachel Maddow, former chairman of the RNC, Michael Steele, NBC News Chief Foreign Affairs Correspondent, Andrea Mitchell, and host of Hardball and Philadelphia hometown boy, Chris Matthews. Trump, Sanders and reactions to the new Democratic ticket. Welcome to Sunday, in a special edition of Meet the Press at the Democratic National Convention.

CHUCK TODD:

Good Sunday morning. We are at the Wells Fargo Center here in South Philadelphia, home of the NBA 76ers and the NHL Broad Street Bullies, the Fliers. Democrats have begun to arrive, along with a pretty bad heat wave. And beginning tomorrow, they will gather to officially nominate Hillary Clinton as their presidential candidate.

Yesterday in Miami, Clinton was joined by her new running mate, Senator Tim Kaine of Virginia, in an upbeat event that was notable simply by the contrast to the disorganized rollout of Donald Trump's running mate a week earlier, Mike Pence.

(BEGIN TAPE)

SEN. TIM KAINE:

Hillary Clinton, she doesn't insult people, she listens to them. What a novel concept, right? She doesn't trash our allies, she respects them. And she'll always have our backs, that is something I am rock solid sure of.

(END TAPE)

CHUCK TODD:

We will get to reaction to the new Democratic ticket later in the show, including my interview with Senator Bernie Sanders of Vermont in a moment. But first, we're going to talk also about Sanders, about those Wikileaks emails and what they may say about DNC favoritism towards Hillary Clinton. But we begin with the man who has now taken control of the Republican Party. It's nominee Donald Trump.

I traveled to Trump National Golf Club in Bedminster, New Jersey, sort of his weekend getaway, last night for a face-to-face interview since dropping the word "presumptive," it's his first one, from the nominee title. We touched on so much: Tim Kaine, Trump's tax returns, his proposed restrictions on Muslim immigration and why he says he alone can fix the country's problems. But I began by asking him how it feels to be the Republican nominee for president of the United States.

(BEGIN TAPE)

Well, it really feels great. And we really have a very unified party, other than a very small group of people that, frankly, lost. And we have a very unified party. You saw that the other night with the love in the room, and the enthusiasm in the room. The enthusiasm, there are people that say they have never seen anything like what was going on in that room, especially Thursday night.

CHUCK TODD:

Let me tell you, you bring up Thursday night, I've got to ask you about your entrance. Before we get serious here. That Monday night entrance was something else. I know you've gotten a lot of feedback on it. How'd you come up with it?

DONALD TRUMP:

I think I'm a little bit lucky, and a couple of people had that idea and I went along with the idea. And everything just worked right. And it was so good that they wanted to do it on Thursday night. I said, "Never in a million years, because you'll never get it that way again."

CHUCK TODD:

I don't think I've seen that even on WWE.

DONALD TRUMP:

Yeah, I know. Well, Vince is a good friend of mine. He called me, he said, "That was a very, very good entrance." But I didn't want to do it a second time, because, you know, it never works out the second time.

CHUCK TODD:

All right, let's go into the speech. I want to put some meat on the bones. But first, let's talk about, you've seen some of the positive reviews, some of the negative reviews. Some of the negative has been that it was a little dark--

DONALD TRUMP:

That's the only thing that--

CHUCK TODD:

--that there wasn't enough optimism in it. What would you say? It's not Morning in America.

DONALD TRUMP:

Yeah.

CHUCK TODD:

What would you say to that?

DONALD TRUMP:

Well, I think the only negativity, and, you know, the hate, I call them the haters, and that's fine. But the only negative reviews were, "A little dark." And the following day, they had another attack, and then today you see what happened in Afghanistan with many, many people killed.

They have no idea how many, so many killed. Yesterday it was Munich. And you know, I know they're saying, "Maybe it wasn't terrorism. Maybe it was just a crazy guy." But in the meantime he's screaming, "Allahu Akbar," as he's shooting people, so, you know, we'll see how that turns out. And all of a sudden people are saying, "Maybe it wasn't dark at all." But the only thing that some people said, "It was a little dark. It was a little bit tough."

CHUCK TODD:

Do you think it was a little dark?

DONALD TRUMP:

No, oh, I thought it was very optimistic. To me, it was an optimistic speech, because--

CHUCK TODD:

What makes it optimistic in your view?

DONALD TRUMP:

Because we're going to stop the problems. We're going to stop the problems. In other words, sure, I talk about the problems, but we're going to solve the problems.

CHUCK TODD:

One of the phrases you used, "I alone can fix it." And to some people, that sounded almost too strong-mannish for them. Do you understand that criticism and what do you make of it?

DONALD TRUMP:

I'll tell you, part of it was I'm comparing myself to Hillary. And we know Hillary, and we look at her record. Her record has been a disaster. And I am running against Hillary. It's not like I'm running against the rest of the world. I know people that are very, very capable that could do a very good job, but they could

I can tell you right now. I can give you ten names of people that would do an extraordinary job, but there's no way they could ever get elected. They wouldn't know where to begin. It wouldn't be for them. But for governing, they would be good. I'm running and, you know, against one person.

CHUCK TODD:

You said there would be consequences for any company that tried to move a factory out. What--

DONALD TRUMP:

Absolutely, so simple--

CHUCK TODD:

--what is the consequence? Let's start with, you bring up Carrier a lot.

DONALD TRUMP:

It's so simple--

(OVERTALK)

CHUCK TODD:

Right, I understand that. But explain the consequences--

DONALD TRUMP:

Okay, here's the consequence--

CHUCK TODD:

What would it be?

DONALD TRUMP:

So Carrier comes in, they announce they're moving to Mexico, they fire all their people in Indiana, and they say, "Hi, well, here we are in Mexico, you know, enjoy your plant, enjoy the rest of your life," and you hire people from Mexico, okay? Now they make their product and they put it into the United States.

Well, we will have a very strong border, by the way, but they put it into the United States and we don't charge them tax. There will be a tax to be paid. If they're going to fire all their people, move their plant to Mexico, build air conditioners, and think they're going to sell those air conditioners to the United States, there's going to be a tax.

CHUCK TODD:

What kind of tax are you thinking?

DONALD TRUMP:

It could be 25 percent. It could be 35 percent. It could be 15 percent. I haven't determined. And it could be different for different companies. We have been working on trying to stop this government, because we don't know what we're doing. And not only Obama, they've been trying to stop this from before Obama. But they don't know. You know, they've done, they've tried lower interest loans, they've tried zero interest loans, these guys--

CHUCK TODD:

Well, some of these things aren't going to get through the World Trade Organization. There's--

DONALD TRUMP:

It doesn't matter. Then we're going to renegotiate or we're going to pull out. These trade deals are a disaster, Chuck. World Trade Organization is a disaster.

CHUCK TODD:

You know the concern on some of this--

DONALD TRUMP:

NAFTA is a disaster--

CHUCK TODD:

-- is that it would rattle the world economy. Look what Brexit did to the world economy. Investors got rattled.

DONALD TRUMP:

What did it do? What did it do?

CHUCK TODD:

Now you--

DONALD TRUMP:

The stock market's higher now than it was when it happened. And by the way, I'm the only one of all of these people at the higher level of the wonderful world of politics, I'm the only one that said, "Brexit's going to happen." Remember, I was asked the question. I said, "Yeah, I think they're going to approve it. I think they want independence. I don't think they want people pouring into their country." And I was--

CHUCK TODD:

You're not worried about, you think a fractured Europe is good for America?

DONALD TRUMP:

No, no. But we're spending a lot of money on Europe. Don't forget, Europe got together, why, primarily did they get together? So that they could beat the United States when it comes to making money, in other words, foreign trade--

CHUCK TODD:

Economic--

DONALD TRUMP:

Okay? And now we talk about Europe like it's so wonderful. Hey, I love Europe, I have property in Europe. I'm just saying, the reason that it got together was like a consortium so that it could compete with the United States--

CHUCK TODD:

So what you're saying is all this stuff is good for America, even if it's not good for Europe?

DONALD TRUMP:

Look, you take a look at Airbus. They make more planes now than Boeing, okay? They got together, all of these countries got together so that they could beat the United States. Okay, so we're in competition. So you know, we're in competition in one way, we're helping them in another way. It is so messed up.

CHUCK TODD:

The Muslim ban. I think you've pulled back from it, but you tell me.

(BEGIN TAPE)

DONALD TRUMP:

We must immediately suspend immigration from any nation that has been compromised by terrorism until such time as proven vetting mechanisms have been put in place.

CHUCK TODD:

This feels like a slight rollback--

DONALD TRUMP:

I don't think that's--

CHUCK TODD:

Should it be interpreted--

DONALD TRUMP:

I don't think so. I actually don't think it's a rollback. In fact, you could say it's an expansion. I'm looking now at territories. People were so upset when I used the word Muslim. Oh, you can't use the word Muslim. Remember this. And I'm okay with that, because I'm talking territory instead of Muslim.

But just remember this: Our Constitution is great. But it doesn't necessarily give us the right to commit suicide, okay? Now, we have a religious, you know, everybody wants to be protected. And that's great. And that's the wonderful part of our Constitution. I view it differently.

Why are we committing suicide? Why are we doing that? But you know what? I live with our Constitution. I love our Constitution. I cherish our Constitution. We're making it territorial. We have nations and we'll come out, I'm going to be coming out over the next few weeks with a number of the places. And it's very complex--

CHUCK TODD:

Well I was just going to say--

DONALD TRUMP:

--we have problems in Germany and we have problems with France--

CHUCK TODD:

I was just going to ask that. Will this limit--

DONALD TRUMP:

You know, so it's not just the countries with--

CHUCK TODD:

DONALD TRUMP:

What we're going to have is a thing called--

CHUCK TODD:

They've been compromised by terrorism.

DONALD TRUMP:

They have totally been. And you know why? It's their own fault. Because they allowed people to come into their territory--

CHUCK TODD:

So you would toughen up. You're basically saying, "Hey, if the French want to come over here, you've got to go through an extra check."

DONALD TRUMP:

It's their own fault, because they've allowed people over years to come into their territory. And that's why Brexit happened, okay? Because the U.K. is saying, "We're tired of this stuff, what's going on, we're tired of." But listen to this--

CHUCK TODD:

You could get to the point where you're not allowing a lot of people to come into this country from a lot of places.

DONALD TRUMP:

Maybe we get to that point. Chuck, look what's happening. Look at what just took place in Afghanistan, where they blow up a whole shopping center with people, they have no idea how many people were even killed. Happened today. So we have to be smart and we have to be vigilant and we have to be strong. We can't be the stupid people--

CHUCK TODD:

So France, Germany, Spain--

DONALD TRUMP:

Here's my plan--

--places that have been compromised?

DONALD TRUMP:

--here is what I want: Extreme vetting. Tough word. Extreme vetting.

CHUCK TODD:

What does that look like?

DONALD TRUMP:

Tough. We're going to have tough standards. And if a person can't prove--

CHUCK TODD:

Give me one.

DONALD TRUMP:

--that they're from an area, and if a person can't prove what they have to be able to prove, they're not coming into this country. And I would stop the Syrian migration and the Syrian from coming into this country in two seconds. Hillary Clinton wants to take 550 percent more people coming in from that area than Barack Obama. I think she's crazy. I think she's crazy. We have no idea who these people are for the most part, and you know, because I've seen them on different shows--

CHUCK TODD:

All right.

DONALD TRUMP:

--but more importantly, I've read about it. I study it. There is no way that you can vet some of these people. There is no way. Law enforcement officials, I've had them in my office. I've talked to them.

CHUCK TODD:

You realize some of these folks have nowhere to go? They're truly victims of this civil war, what do you do with them?

DONALD TRUMP:

We will help them and we will build safe havens over in Syria, and we will get Gulf States--

We, the United States are going to build these safe havens?

DONALD TRUMP:

We, the United States, we'll get Gulf States to pay for it, because we right now, we're going to have \$21 trillion very soon, trillion, in debt. We will do safe havens and safe zones in Syria and we will get nations that are so wealthy that are not doing anything. They're not doing much. They have nothing but money. And you know who I'm talking about, the Gulf States. And we will get them to pay for it. We would lead it. I don't want to pay because our country is going down the tubes. We owe too much money.

CHUCK TODD:

All right. Let me move to something with NATO. Mitch McConnell said this about your NATO remarks in the New York Times. He said it was a rookie mistake, and that once you, let me finish the comment here. "It's a rookie mistake, and it proves that Trump needs people like us around to help steer him in the right direction on some basic things."

DONALD TRUMP:

He's 100 percent wrong. Okay? He's 100 percent wrong if he said that. I didn't hear he said that--

CHUCK TODD:

He did say it.

DONALD TRUMP:

Okay, fine, fine--

CHUCK TODD:

New York Times--

DONALD TRUMP:

If he said that, he's 100 percent wrong. And frankly it's sad. We have NATO, and we have many countries that aren't paying for what they're supposed to be paying, which is already too little, but they're not paying anyway. And we're giving them a free ride or giving them a ride where they owe us tremendous amounts of money. And they have the money. But they're not paying it. You know why? Because they think we're stupid--

CHUCK TODD:

DONALD TRUMP:

I feel differently. I feel very differently--

CHUCK TODD:

But if a country's not doing -- Britain hasn't done the two percent.

DONALD TRUMP:

We have countries that aren't paying. Now, this goes beyond NATO, because we take care of-- we take care of Japan, we take care of Germany, we take care of South Korea, we take care of Saudi Arabia, and we lose on everything. We lose on everything. If Mitch McConnell says that, then he's wrong.

So all I'm saying is they have to pay. Now, a country gets invaded, they haven't paid, everyone says, "Oh, but we have a treaty." Well, they have a treaty too. They're supposed to be paying. We have countries within NATO that are taking advantage of us. With me, I believe they're going to pay. And when they pay, I'm a big believer in NATO.

But if they don't pay, we don't have, you know, Chuck, this isn't 40 years ago. This isn't 50 years ago. It's not 30 years ago. We're a different country today. We're much weaker, our military is depleted, we owe tremendous amounts of money. We have to be reimbursed. We can no longer be the stupid country.

(END TAPE)

CHUCK TODD:

When we come back, what Donald Trump says about David Duke, Bernie Sanders, and whether he really plans to spend millions for the sole purpose of defeating Ted Cruz and John Kasich. Sanders about Trump and about his reaction to Tim Kaine becoming Hillary Clinton's running mate. We're in Philadelphia, site of the Democratic National Convention. Stay with us.

COMMERCIAL BREAK

CHUCK TODD:

Such a beautiful city here. Welcome back. More now of my interview with Donald Trump at The Trump National Golf Club in Bedminster, New Jersey. And since we had a limited amount of time, I ended up speeding things up by asking Trump for some quick reaction to simply some very prominent names in the news.

(BEGIN TAPE)

I'm just going to literally throw out a name and you'll know the question I'm asking. Bernie Sanders.

DONALD TRUMP:

Great respect for what he's done. He is being taken advantage of, and frankly, the system was rigged, and I'm the first one to say it was rigged against him. And by the way--

CHUCK TODD:

You took after him. You took after him. You said for supporting Hillary Clinton, you think he needs to--

DONALD TRUMP:

Well, I'm not a fan of Bernie Sanders. But I am a fan of one thing that he talks about: Trade. He is the only one on that side that understands trade. Now, he can't do anything about it because that's not his thing. But he has been gamed. He has been, it's a rigged system against him. And what happened with the choice of Tim Kaine was a slap in the face to Bernie Sanders and everybody. I was shocked. I love it from my standpoint, I love--

CHUCK TODD:

Why do you love the Kaine pick?

DONALD TRUMP:

Well, first of all, he took over \$160,000 of gifts. And they said, "Well, they weren't really gifts, they were suits and trips and lots of different things," all for 160--

CHUCK TODD:

Legal, legal in the state of Virginia.

DONALD TRUMP:

Bob McDonnell-- I believe it was Bob McDonnell, in the meantime, he had to go to the United States Supreme Court to get out of going to jail--

CHUCK TODD:

Well, they proved to quid pro quo--

DONALD TRUMP:

--for taking a fraction of what--

They proved quid pro quo on that one.

DONALD TRUMP:

Excuse me, Bob McDonnell took a fraction of what Kaine took. And I think, to me, it's a big problem. Now, how do you take all these gifts? Hundreds of thousands of dollars. The other thing about him, he's bought and owned by the banks. And the third thing, he's in favor of TPP and every other trade deal that he's ever looked at. And that means he wants people not to work.

Now, he's going to change his tune. And I understand he's now going to say, "I'm against TPP." Hillary Clinton was totally in favor of TPP, which is the job killer, right? So was he. When she watched me on your show and other shows, all of a sudden she changed, because she knows she can't win that in a debate.

CHUCK TODD:

All right. Ted Cruz, I'm going to amend it, are you really going to fund a super PAC to help defeat him--

DONALD TRUMP:

Well, it's not the number one thing on my mind. Look, what's on my mind is beating Hillary Clinton. What's on my mind is winning for the Republican Party. With that being said, yeah, I'll probably do a super PAC, you know, when they run against Kasich, for \$10 million to \$20 million, against Ted Cruz. And maybe one other person that I'm thinking about--

CHUCK TODD:

Who's that other one person?

DONALD TRUMP:

--but I won't tell you that. I mean, he's actually such a small person, I hate to give him the publicity. But yes, I will probably do that at the appropriate at time. But I'm not going to do that until--

CHUCK TODD:

Oh, give me the small person here.

DONALD TRUMP:

No, no, don't worry about it. We'll give it to you another time.

CHUCK TODD:

All right, let me ask you about this one. David Duke announced his Senate candidacy claiming your agenda for his own, or essentially saying, "Glad that you spoke out."

DONALD TRUMP:

Are you ready, before you ask the question?

CHUCK TODD:

Newt Gingrich said, "Every Republican should repudiate this guy no matter what it takes"--

DONALD TRUMP:

I did. And I do. Are you ready? I want--

CHUCK TODD:

Would you support a Democrat over David Duke if that was what was necessary to defeat him?

DONALD TRUMP:

I guess, depending on who the Democrat, but the answer would be yes. Look, the answer is, as quick as you can say it. In fact, I went to answer you before you--

DONALD TRUMP:

Because last time with another person in your position, I did it very quickly. And they said, "He didn't do it fast enough." Rebuked. Is that okay? Rebuked, done--

CHUCK TODD:

Rebuked, done. Okay. Tax returns. A lot of conspiracy theories are being out there about why-- what's in your tax returns. You would get rid of all these conspiracy theories tomorrow--

DONALD TRUMP:

Let me tell you--

CHUCK TODD:

Probably make people look silly--

DONALD TRUMP:

Let me tell you. Let me give you a little lesson on tax returns. First of all, you don't learn very much from a tax return. I put in to the federal elections group 100 and some-odd pages of my financials. It showed, as you know, that I'm much wealthier than anybody even understood, okay? Tremendous cash, tremendous assets, tremendous all that stuff. Okay, that's it. I'm going through a routine audit. Just a routine audit, and I've had it for I think 14 years, 13 years--

CHUCK TODD:

Why?

DONALD TRUMP:

Every year they audit me. It's routine government. I would never give my tax returns until the audit's finished. But remember this: Mitt Romney, four years ago, was under tremendous pressure to give his tax returns. And he held it and held it and held it, and he fought it, and he, you know, he didn't do too well, okay? But he didn't do anything wrong on his taxes. When he gave his tax returns, people forget, not now. He gave them in September, before the election--

CHUCK TODD:

So you still might release them--

DONALD TRUMP:

No, wait a minute, wait a minute. When he did, and his tax returns are a tiny peanut compared to mine, they went through his tax returns. And they found one little sentence, another little-- there was nothing wrong. And they made him look bad. In fact I think he lost his election because of that.

CHUCK TODD:

Because of the tax returns?

DONALD TRUMP:

I think he lost. And I'll tell you why: He didn't do anything wrong. Mitt Romney did nothing wrong. But they would take out of, his weren't too big. Have you ever seen mine with the picture, they're like this high?

CHUCK TODD:

I have seen that picture, yes.

DONALD TRUMP:

Okay, so they took his tax return and they found a couple of little things. Nothing wrong, just standard. And they made him look very bad, very unfair. But with all that said, I'd love to give them, but I'm under audit. When the audit's finished I'll give them.

CHUCK TODD:

Finally, Roger Ailes. Is he helping you? Is he advising you?

DONALD TRUMP:

Well, I don't want to comment. But he's been a friend of mine for a long time, and I can tell you that some of the women that are complaining, I know how much he's helped them. And even recently, and when they write books that are fairly recently released, and they say wonderful things about him.

And now all of a sudden they're saying these horrible things about him. It's very sad. Because he's a very good person. I've always found him to be just a very, very good person. And by the way, a very, very talented person. Look what he's done. So I feel very badly. But a lot of people are thinking he's going to run my campaign.

CHUCK TODD:

Yeah, well--

DONALD TRUMP:

My campaign's doing pretty well.

CHUCK TODD:

Mr. Trump, until we meet again.

DONALD TRUMP:

Thank you very much--

CHUCK TODD:

Thank you for your time, sir, appreciate it.

(END TAPE)

CHUCK TODD:

Up next, the man who had hoped to be the candidate being nominated by Democrats right here in Philadelphia this week, Senator Bernie Sanders of Vermont. What does he think of those leaked DNC e-mails? We'll get his first comments since it happened. We're going to be right back in just a minute.

(BEGIN TAPE)

CHUCK TODD:

Tremendous shots there of a beautiful city. Welcome back. It's not the kind of thing you want happening days before your convention. This weekend, Wikileaks released nearly 20,000 emails sent and received by members of the Democratic National Committee, some of which seem to confirm what a lot of people had suspected, that the DNC was playing favorites with Hillary Clinton over Bernie Sanders.

It appears Wikileaks either stole these emails or got them from a source. Remember, the DNC was hacked a few months ago. Among the emails was one from the DNC's Chief Financial Officer Brad Marshall that was looking ahead to the contests in Kentucky and West Virginia in early May. While not mentioning Sanders specifically by name, the email appeared to question Sanders' faith.

He wrote this, quote: "Does he believe in a god? I think I read he is an atheist. This could make several points difference with my peeps. My Southern Baptist peeps would draw a big difference between a Jew and an atheist." Well, Sanders has long believed that DNC Chair Debbie Wasserman Schultz was in Clinton's corner the whole campaign. Well, he joins me now. Senator Sanders, welcome back to Meet the Press.

And I should note that you talked about your belief in God last fall in an interview, I think, with your hometown paper there, so want to get that out of the way. So let me start with this question questioning your faith. Brad Marshall apologized on Facebook. Has anyone apologized to you personally? And what is your response to this entire discussion?

BERNIE SANDERS:

Well, no, nobody has apologized to me. And as you just mentioned, this really does not come as a shock to me or my supporters. There is no question but the DNC was on Secretary Clinton's side from day one. We all know that. And I think, as I have said a long time ago, that the time is now for Debbie Wasserman Schultz to step aside, not only for these issues.

We need a Democratic Party that is open, that's going to bring young people and working people into it, that is going to stand up and take on the big money interests and fight for working families. I don't think Debbie has been that type of leader. So I would hope, and I said this many months ago, that she would--

CHUCK TODD:

Right.

BERNIE SANDERS:

CHUCK TODD:

And do you think it needs to happen now, today, before the start of the convention?

BERNIE SANDERS:

Well--

CHUCK TODD:

Would that help calm some of your supporters down?

BERNIE SANDERS:

Well, I think what is already happening is that it's clear she is not going to be speaking to the convention. That is the right thing. I think right now what we have got to focus on as Democrats is defeating perhaps the worst Republican candidate that I have seen in my lifetime. Donald Trump would be a disaster for this country. He must be defeated.

We've got to elect Secretary Clinton on every single issue: fighting for the middle class on health care, on climate change, is a far, far superior candidate to Trump. That's where I think the focus has got to be.

CHUCK TODD:

Do you believe that the DNC's apparent favoritism cost you this race?

BERNIE SANDERS:

Well, I think you-- there are a lot of reasons why one loses. We started off 50 points behind Secretary Clinton. We had the opposition of virtually the entire Democratic leadership in every state in this country. And by the way, in terms of media, we did not get the kind of media attention that somebody like a Donald Trump got, because media is not necessarily interested in the issues facing the middle class, more interested in attacks in personality. So I think there were a lot of reasons.

But I will tell you this, Chuck, from the bottom of my heart, I am extraordinarily proud of the campaign that we ran. The issues that we raised, the fact that we got 13 million Americans to vote for a political revolution. People who know the economy is rigged in favor of big money, people who know that our middle class continues to decline and we have to go outside of establishment politics and economics, people who know that we need to reform a broken criminal justice system and we need comprehensive immigration reform.

The people-- what we did in our campaign is bring people together to say, "You know what? This country, our government, belongs to all of us and not just a few." So I am very proud of the campaign we ran and the supporters that came on board.

CHUCK TODD:

So just to sum up here, these leaks, these emails, it hasn't given you any pause about your support for Hillary Clinton?

BERNIE SANDERS:

No, no, no. We are going to do everything that we can to protect working families in this country. And again, Chuck, I know media is not necessarily focused on these things. But what a campaign is about is not Hillary Clinton, it's not Donald Trump. It is the people of this country, people who are working longer hours for lower wages, people who do not have health care or are underinsured.

Hillary Clinton and I have worked together on a higher education proposal which will guarantee free tuition in public colleges and universities for every family in this country making \$125,000 a year or less. We're going to fight for paid family and medical leave. Those are the issues that the American people want to hear discussed, and I'm going to go around the country discussing them and making sure that Hillary Clinton is elected president.

CHUCK TODD:

You know, The Green Party presumptive nominee, Jill Stein, put out a release yesterday about the emails. And she said this: "Democratic Party elites have been caught red-handed, sabotaging a grassroots campaign that tried to bring huge numbers of young people, independents and non-voters into their party. Instead, they have shown exactly why America needs a new major party, a truly democratic party for the people." Are you going to urge your supporters not to support Jill Stein and try to thwart her efforts to recruit your supporters?

BERNIE SANDERS:

Well, you know, let me just say this. As the longest serving Independent in the history of the United States Congress, as somebody who came into office by defeating an incumbent Democratic mayor in Burlington, Vermont, I know something about third party politics. And I respect Jill.

But right now, the focus, to my mind, is to make sure that Donald Trump does not become president of the United States. I think by temperament he is unqualified to be president. I think his views-- you have a guy who's running for president who rejects science, doesn't even believe climate change is real, let alone wants to do something about it, wants to give hundreds of billions of dollars in tax breaks to the top two-tenths of one percent.

CHUCK TODD:

Let me ask you--

BERNIE SANDERS:

So my job right now is to see that Donald Trump is defeated, Hillary Clinton is elected.

CHUCK TODD:

You know, he makes a big deal out of the fact that you and he agree on one big issue, and that is trade deals, that these trade deals have been bad for the country. And he basically says that Clinton and Kaine, as a ticket, aren't-- that their opposition, for instance, the TPP as sort of Johnny-come-lately, that it can't be trusted, and that Sanders supporters should support Trump if they care about trade. What do you say to that?

BERNIE SANDERS:

Well, I think in terms of who can be trusted, I think the evidence is clear that there has been no candidate that I have ever seen who lies more often than does Donald Trump. I mean and that's just not me saying it, that's what any independent media analysis has shown. So in terms of trust, you really can't trust a word, I think, that Mr. Trump has to say.

In terms of the TPP, it is no secret. I think our trade policies, for many, many years, have been a disaster. They have benefited corporate America at the expense of working people. Secretary Clinton has come out in opposition to the TPP, does not want to see it--

CHUCK TODD:

Right.

BERNIE SANDERS:

--appear in the lame duck Congress. That's my view, as well.

CHUCK TODD:

You know, some of your supporters are disappointed in the pick of Tim Kaine, that he's not progressive enough. I know Tim Kaine called you after he was picked. Do you consider Tim Kaine a progressive? And are you happy with this pick?

BERNIE SANDERS:

Look, you know, the pick is Secretary Clinton's. I've known Tim Kaine for a number of years. We've served in the Senate together, obviously. Tim is a very, very smart guy. He's a very nice guy. His political views are not my political views. He is more conservative than I am. Would I have preferred to see somebody like an Elizabeth Warren selected by Secretary Clinton? Yes, I would have.

And then finally, do you feel as if, that you, when you got Glass-Steagall, I wanted to ask about this, because it looks like the one thing that both parties may agree on in their platforms is putting-- is being in favor of reinstating Glass-Steagall. Does this mean we will see that happen in the next Congress?

BERNIE SANDERS:

Well, I'm going to do everything that I can to make it happen. You know, when we talk about our campaign, one of the things that we have been able to do, Chuck, is create the most progressive Democratic platform in the history of the Democratic Party, and that includes breaking up the large Wall Street banks and reestablishing Glass-Steagall.

I think the American people understand that we cannot continue to have a handful of reckless, irresponsible banks often acting illegally, that something has to happen. They have to be broken up.

CHUCK TODD:

All right, Senator Bernie Sanders. The big speech is tomorrow night. We'll be waiting for you here in a very, very hot Philadelphia, over 100 degrees.

BERNIE SANDERS:

Okay.

CHUCK TODD:

Senator Sanders, thanks for coming on. Good to see you, sir.

BERNIE SANDERS:

Thank you very much.

CHUCK TODD:

When we come back, reaction to Hillary Clinton's choice of Tim Kaine as a running mate, who showed why he might have appeal, unique appeal, to a very important voting bloc.

(BEGIN TAPE)

SEN. TIM KAINE:

Aprendilo valores de mi pueblo--faith, familia, y trabajo.

(END TAPE)

CHUCK TODD

And we'll be back in a moment from Philadelphia with this great panel. Rachel Maddow, Michael Steele, Andrea Mitchell, and Chris Matthews. Stay tuned.

(END TAPE)

CHUCK TODD:

And we'll be back in a moment from Philadelphia with this great panel, Rachel Maddow, Michael Steele, Andrea Mitchell, and Chris Matthews. Stay tuned.

COMMERCIAL TAPE

CHUCK TODD:

We are back. So much to talk about already. Our panel is here, Rachel Maddow, host of The Rachel Maddow Show on MSNBC, former chairman of the Republican National Committee, Michael Steele, he's sort of the fish out of water here in Philadelphia. Andrea Mitchell, NBC News, Chief Foreign Affairs Correspondent, host, of course, of Andrea Mitchell Reports on MSNBC. And a Philadelphia native himself, Mr. Brotherly Love Chris Matthews, host of Hardball--

RACHEL MADDOW:

Mr. Brotherly Love?

CHRIS MATTHEWS:

And sisterly affection.

CHUCK TODD:

--Sisterly affection here for the Penn grad.

CHUCK TODD:

And-- this morning by the way we have new pictures of Tim Kaine walking into church this morning in Richmond, Virginia. He now realizes, and now his parish is realizing, what it's like to have Secret Service following around a member of the parish there. All right.

RACHEL MADDOW:

Know what his Secret Service name is going to be yet?

CHUCK TODD:

ANDREA MITCHELL:

But we're not sure--

RACHEL MADDOW:

Well, the big joke was that if you're boring enough, your Secret Service name is Tim Kaine.

CHUCK TODD:

Ooh.

RACHEL MADDOW:

Right? That--

CHUCK TODD:

Those are old Johnny Carson and Jay Leno, Al Gore jokes--

CHUCK TODD:

All right, you guys are having already too much fun.

RACHEL MADDOW:

Sorry, sorry.

CHUCK TODD:

Let me just throw it out here. We heard what Bernie Sanders said about Tim Kaine. It was, that was tougher than I expected.

RACHEL MADDOW:

"His politics are not my politics."

ANDREA MITCHELL:

That's really --

RACHEL MADDOW:

"He does not share my political views." That's an aggressive take from Bernie. I'm not surprised.

Bernie's an aggressive politician. And I think when Senator Sanders speaks at the DNC, I think everybody's going to be on the edge of their seat. I think that he is not going to pull a Ted Cruz because he's already made an endorsement.

CHUCK TODD:

Well, he said, "I'm for Hillary," and he was tough on Trump.

RACHEL MADDOW:

Yeah. And but he doesn't relish going after Trump. He likes going after the Democratic Party to try to move the Democratic Party. That's his target, always has been.

MICHAEL STEELE:

It's still obvious, he's not 'Feeling the Bern' for Hillary. And that was very obvious. And when you asked about the trust question, he didn't say he trusted Hillary Clinton. He said he didn't trust Donald Trump. So the reality of it is there's still some tension there that Bernie is reflecting among his supporters. And it was evident there. I mean--

RACHEL MADDOW:

He's got a mission that's bigger than one election. He always has.

MICHAEL STEELE:

That's true.

ANDREA MITCHELL:

And in fact, he could quiet the march that is planned to go from the center of Center City, and Rittenhouse Square all the way down at Independence Hall. This march is going to disrupt the city today, no matter how peaceful, because this is a city, in 100-degree heat, that is planning for a convention. And it's going to be a very large outpouring. He also said--

CHUCK TODD:

And by the way, the hotter it is, the crankier people will be.

ANDREA MITCHELL:

Yeah. And he also says that Tim Kaine doesn't share his politics, not only that, but that he would have preferred Elizabeth Warren. He made it very clear; Tim Kaine is a nice guy, but he's not endorsing or embracing someone who Hillary Clinton --

There's a painful look in your face, Chris.

ANDREA MITCHELL:

--called Tim Kaine a progressive.

CHRIS MATTHEWS:

He didn't get to pick. Hillary Clinton did. And I've watched Hillary Clinton. I've watched a lot of politicians over the years. You can tell when they're actually happy, not when they fake the laugh or anything else. She looked delighted during his speech yesterday. And I haven't seen her that delighted in a long time. She had found her guy to be her running mate. I think she loved it.

And I think one thing we're getting all excited about, I understand why the progressives are upset. But one thing historically we all know is the selection of a vice president is a poor predictor of the direction of that administration.

RACHEL MADDOW:

Yeah.

CHRIS MATTHEWS:

FDR picked John Nance Garner--

RACHEL MADDOW:

It's not a policy pick.

CHRIS MATTHEWS:

Kennedy picked another conservative from the south, Lyndon Johnson, relatively conservative. And then we got the New Deal out of that and we got the Great Society we got the New Frontier. It's a poor predictor. Now, if this is about spoils, they've got an argument. They wanted a piece of the action. But there's differences between spoils and direction.

CHUCK TODD:

I want to throw out the one thing that Trump's trying to hit Kaine on, well, two things. But the one big one is the gifts in Virginia.

RACHEL MADDOW:

Yeah.

I only throw it out there is that I heard Ed Rendell ask to defend it. And he struggled, Andrea. He said, "Well, it's illegal in Pennsylvania."

ANDREA MITCHELL:

Virginia--

CHUCK TODD:

Okay. And it's legal in Virginia. That wasn't exactly a resounding defense.

ANDREA MITCHELL:

Yeah. Virginia has a very strange, let's face it, strange gift law. The difference with Bob McDonnell, who was convicted, and then the Supreme Court overturned it, is there was no quid pro quo. He declared it. That was the main thing. He declared everything, put it down, in fact, computed higher numbers to staying in friends' houses. He put everything down. He was meticulous about it.

So they don't think there's a big ethics thing. Just on his progressivity or lack of it, he has this civil rights background. I mean I was in the room. And what you saw on T.V. yesterday in Miami, in that largely Hispanic campus, that wonderful campus in Miami, it was extraordinary. The enthusiasm for him and the affection. And having watched her all of these years, you're absolutely right, Chris--

CHUCK TODD:

You know--

ANDREA MITCHELL:

--she found her guy. She was a happy camper.

RACHEL MADDOW:

He's not a progressive, but they will tell a very progressive story about his history. The party has moved to the left while he sort of always been a solid liberal.

CHUCK TODD:

Both of them are trying to--

ANDREA MITCHELL:

Yeah.

I feel like both Clinton and Kaine are trying to catch up to the party's movement.

CHRIS MATTHEWS:

That's so true.

ANDREA MITCHELL:

Well, on guns he was always there. He was heroic in Virginia on gun laws.

CHUCK TODD:

That they're moving-- and Michael, let me ask you this. The Trump campaign says, "We love the Kaine pick." And here's their reasoning. They love the Kaine pick because it reinforces that they're the political professionals, that here's Tim Kaine, and all he's done in life, is been in office for the last 25 years.

MICHAEL STEELE:

Right.

CHUCK TODD:

And the whole point of Trump is Trump's Mr. "I'm the total outsider." If they want to double down on that, fine, go ahead. What do you say?

RACHEL MADDOW:

Except Mike Pence

MICHAEL STEELE:

Right, right, right.

CHUCK TODD:

They pay no attention to that. I brought that brought to them. I said, "What about Pence?" And they're like, "Well, it's the top of the ticket."

MICHAEL STEELE:

"Ignore that man behind the curtain."

CHUCK TODD:

MICHAEL STEELE:

Well, they'll have a-- I think the broader point, is an interesting one. Because what he's comparing himself-- he's comparing himself, Trump, to Kaine--

CHUCK TODD:

Right.

MICHAEL STEELE:

--and Clinton. So it's me and against them.

CHUCK TODD:

Yeah.

MICHAEL STEELE:

Pence is not a part of that equation, necessarily.

RACHEL MADDOW:

Yeah.

MICHAEL STEELE:

So when he's talking about the maverick, the outsider, he's-- he's assuming his ticket is total that.

ANDREA MITCHELL:

Well, Pence wasn't even a part of his own rollout.

MICHAEL STEELE:

Right.

ANDREA MITCHELL:

If you remember. And that was--

RACHEL MADDOW:

He couldn't get a word in edgewise.

Hillary Clinton spoke about Tim Kaine--

MICHAEL STEELE:

I think their strength, Chuck, is gonna be on the argument-- this notion that Tim Kaine is progressive is just not believable. And for a whole host of reasons. I think that's an opening for a lot of folks on Trump's side.

RACHEL MADDOW:

You can, there are element of his record that are not progressive, but on balance, I would argue that he is.

ANDREA MITCHELL:

I would argue that too.

CHRIS MATTHEWS:

But one thing, the guy's two doors from you, if you're president. Look at the structure of the West Wing now. It's not some guy that goes back to Maine like Lincoln's first vice president. He or she is right with you.

MICHAEL STEELE:

Right.

CHRIS MATTHEWS:

You want a good person two doors for you, somebody who has values. And it's not just smart politics. I think what Hillary Clinton's going to love having is a guy who's a true blue good guy. And I think he is a progressive on all the moral issues--

CHUCK TODD:

Let's sneak in a break here. When we come back, I want to get into the DNC e-mail situation. And I also want to get your guys' reaction to some interesting comments from Donald Trump. Yeah, you know that guy that was at the start of the show. We'll be right back.

COMMERCIAL BREAK

CHUCK TODD:

Welcome back, panelists here. Before we jump to Trump, the DNC email leaks, Cleveland, we expected rowdiness, Never Trumpsters, and all that stuff. We expect order here. But I wonder, Rachel, if-- look, I'm hearing from the Bernie bros. I'm in one of the emails just-- I'm the complaint department here sometimes at NBC. Somebody was complaining about coverage. And I said, "Okay, let's talk on the phone," or whatever. But we didn't do anything about it, because I get complaints about coverage every hour, every day.

RACHEL MADDOW:

Yeah.

CHUCK TODD:

But I think Bernie supporters may like this place, at least outside. They may be upset, and they may do something about it.

RACHEL MADDOW:

Yeah. I mean and, you know, there will be that big protest that Andrea was talking about today, to start things off. And there will be a lot, there will be hundreds of Bernie delegates inside the room. Now honestly, from the top, down, he said, "We've got to elect Hillary Clinton." He's been unequivocal about that, that's the most important thing.

It'll be interesting to see whether the rules fights and the platform fights end up, in the end, when there's need to get nailed down with those votes, there is some dissent and chaos there. There might be.

CHRIS MATTHEWS:

One thing is--

CHUCK TODD:

Do you think Debbie Wasserman Schultz needs to get out now?

CHRIS MATTHEWS:

Well, look--

CHUCK TODD:

Not even gavel it in?

CHRIS MATTHEWS:

This is not a mystery story. This isn't Colombo.

CHUCK TODD:

Yeah.

CHRIS MATTHEWS:

We knew from the beginning, watching the debate schedule, put together by the DNC--

CHUCK TODD:

Sure.

CHRIS MATTHEWS:

--that they were tilting the scales to Hillary Clinton. Middle of the night debates, Sunday morning -- it was an absurd debate schedule. And it just said, "We're for Hillary, we don't want the new guy to get all the attention."

ANDREA MITCHELL:

And what Bernie said to you is that she's not going to be giving a speech. When does the party chair not give a speech at the convention? And apparently that is the case.

CHUCK TODD:

And then right now, though, they will gavel in.

RACHEL MADDOW:

Thank god we haven't-- her quitting right now before -- I mean, the DNC's gonna be running a big part of the ground game for the whole--

CHRIS MATTHEWS:

Yeah.

RACHEL MADDOW:

You know, you don't--

CHUCK TODD:

But I tell you, this--

RACHEL MADDOW:

CHUCK TODD:

This doesn't help her own fight for reelection, which I still think she's going to be okay.

RACHEL MADDOW:

No, but--

CHUCK TODD:

It's a district that she knows very well. But--

ANDREA MITCHELL:

But Bernie endorsed her opponent.

RACHEL MADDOW:

But her reelection fight is in her district.

CHRIS MATTHEWS:

Right.

RACHEL MADDOW:

It's not to be the chair of the DNC, that's next year.

CHUCK TODD:

All right. Michael Steele, what'd you hear from Donald Trump? Did it make you feel better or worse about his chances?

MICHAEL STEELE:

Well, I think Donald Trump did a couple of things he needed to do. One was, and you could see it in the room that night, people began to say, "Okay, I can get there." The speech that he gave, when you read it, seemed a lot darker and harsher than when he delivered it. He delivered it in a way--

RACHEL MADDOW:

I thought the opposite.

MICHAEL STEELE:

Yeah, yeah.

RACHEL MADDOW:

When reading it, I wasn't freaked out.

MICHAEL STEELE:

Yeah.

RACHEL MADDOW:

And then, when I saw him give it, I pulled the covers up.

MICHAEL STEELE:

No, for me, it was the reverse. Because the reaction. I'm sitting in the room and I'm getting the reaction from the crowd.

RACHEL MADDOW:

Mmm.

MICHAEL STEELE:

And the reaction from the crowd was, "This guy is going to be a fighter." And I think that's a strong message for him coming out of this convention.

CHRIS MATTHEWS:

Rachel, you have never pulled the covers up.

RACHEL MADDOW: Oh no, I meant proverbially

CHUCK TODD: There's a lot of personal information here. Woah, it's Sunday morning, guys.

MICHAEL STEELE:

I thought he did what he needed to do, Chuck. I do.

RACHEL MADDOW:

Standing under those 15-foot-tall letters with Trump, and then his head comes up there. And then he spent 76 minutes screaming, red faced, about terrorism and death and destruction and "I'm the only one who can fix it"--

I think that was technical. I don't think he knew how to read a script like that. I don't think he had the ability to-- his daughter knew how to do it. It's tough to read a script in a conversational manner. So you end up doing this sort of scream thing.

RACHEL MADDOW:

But it takes an ego to turn a 30 minute script into a 78 minute rant.

ANDREA MITCHELL:

But he said that he was the person who would fix everything. And they're focusing on that. But, you know, Kaine was focusing on that. You know, it is the "we" not the I. They're comparing him to a dictator.

MICHAEL STEELE:

But the--

ANDREA MITCHELL:

It is the language and the delivery, Michael--

MICHAEL STEELE:

Don't lose sight of the fact that a lot of Americans out there are saying it is the "we" who screwed us up to this point.

CHRIS MATTHEWS:

Yeah.

MICHAEL STEELE:

It is the we who've gotten us into this mess.

ANDREA MITCHELL:

It's a different way of defining democracy, Michael.

MICHAEL STEELE:

So they're looking for the I, someone who's going to step forward as a leader, to get us through this mess. This is the bifurcation of the of the population, the voting population right now. And it's going to be interesting to see which one of these arguments win--

Is this about the hunger for a strong man, is that what you're talking about?

MICHAEL STEELE: Yeah no, there really is Rachel.

RACHEL MADDOW: We've seen this around the world, it's not supposed to be us.

CHRIS MATTHEWS:

I've heard Bernie make your point.

MICHAEL STEELE:

Yes!

CHRIS MATTHEWS:

It's that we have to reach outside the establishment to get the solution to these really bad economic problems affecting the working people of this country.

MICHAEL STEELE:

Right.

CHRIS MATTHEWS:

Same message. Different sides.

MICHAEL STEELE: Same message.

RACHEL MADDOW:

Same message. The question is whether or not one man is supposed to deliver salvation for the country. We're not supposed to be that kind of country.

CHUCK TODD:

I want to throw one more. He seemed, at least in the interview with me, he goes after Mitch McConnell, goes after Ted Cruz, goes after John Kasich.

ANDREA MITCHELL:

He is fearless in that regard.

CHUCK TODD: He really is.

He is not going to moderate himself.

RACHEL MADDOW:

You didn't even ask about Kasich. And he's bringing it up

CHUCK TODD:

No, exactly. He brought Kasich up himself.

ANDREA MITCHELL:

And another player to be named player, who, you know, remain -- could be one of the senators like Jeff Flake. Look, the fact is that he is not playing by anybody's ground rules except Donald Trump's. What he said about N.A.T.O. was extraordinary because he doubled down on that. And the whole system of collect your security in Europe, if you're in Poland today, you are not reassured--

CHUCK TODD:

What's amazing is the Trump campaign tried to walk it back all last week on the N.A.T.O. stuff. And he's basically saying, "Don't walk it back."

RACHEL MADDOW:

Even beyond N.A.T.O. to talk about Europe as a threat to America is what's good for Europe is bad for America and we have an interest in Europe being weak and divided, they only got together to screw us? Like, hold on a second.

CHRIS MATTHEWS:

Yeah, it'll play in Scranton. It'll play up there in the Eerie, Pennsylvania it'll play.

RACHEL MADDOW:

The European Union-- came out of the way to try to not have World War III.

CHRIS MATTHEWS:

Because people think we're being shoved around and exploited and he's saying, "I'm going to shove back."

ANDREA MITCHELL:

They are our markets-- markets, allies--

CHUCK TODD:

You guys great. I'm going to try to get another half hour. But let me sneak in this. We'll be back in a moment with our-- we'll call it halftime segment. No, it's Endgame Segment. And we'll look at Hillary Clinton's popularity compared to other Democratic nominees on the eve of their conventions.

COMMERCIAL BREAK

CHUCK TODD:

The panel never stops interacting here. Seriously we just went to a commercial break--

RACHEL MADDOW:

--wants more with France!

CHUCK TODD:

It's endgame time. Look, I want to show you here very quickly some numbers, because it will help us judge whether this is a successful convention for Hillary Clinton. These are favorable ratings, personal favorable ratings, whether you're right side up or upside down, from our NBC Wall Street Journal poll, for every Democrat going back to '92. And as you can see, Hillary Clinton in the worst shape of any presumptive nominee going into their convention.

Now, let me show you what everybody else came through after their convention. So successful convention for Bill Clinton, successful one for Al Gore. Flat for John Kerry, successful, Barack Obama. Obviously, we'll find out, for Hillary Clinton, what does she need to--

ANDREA MITCHELL:

Well, what they are going to do is they're going to have gauzy films, the same kind of films you saw in 1992, the same producers--

CHUCK TODD:

And JFK?

ANDREA MITCHELL:

They're going to have all of these films, biography, résumé. They know that her résumé is not resonating with millennials. People know what she did, they don't know-- they know the list of what she was. They don't know what she actually did, what she accomplished.

CHRIS MATTHEWS:

Yeah.

ANDREA MITCHELL:

They're going to do all of that. The balance is going to be very different.

RACHEL MADDOW:

--because T.V. networks don't always take the movies anymore--

ANDREA MITCHELL:

Well, they're going to have to validators.

RACHEL MADDOW:

Yeah.

ANDREA MITCHELL:

They're going to have people on that podium behind it who are going to talk about things she has done for them. And it's going to be very much all about her and much less about taking down Trump

CHRIS MATTHEWS:

I think the magic moment in this convention's going to be Thursday night. And a lot of women, and a lot of men, too, are going to see Hillary Clinton as the first party nominee, who's probably going to be like the president. She has the advantage right now. And there are going to be misty eyes all across the country.

And any men at that moment who make a wisecrack are going to be guaranteeing another vote for Hillary Clinton. I think it's a very emotional moment for people. They've haven't quite got to it because of all is mishegas that's gone on this year. I think it's going to be magical. And if Hillary Clinton just stands there with a little emotion, this is an amazing historic moment.

CHUCK TODD:

Michael was the Republican convention too anti-Clinton and not enough pro-Trump?

MICHAEL STEELE:

No. The Republican convention had to go anti-Clinton--

CHUCK TODD:

Had to do that?

--because of the Trump issues.

CHUCK TODD:

What about this one?

MICHAEL STEELE:

This one? I was thinking, as you guys were talking about Barack Obama and talking about Hillary Clinton being likable enough, this is going to be a convention in which they're going to showcase her so you can like her. Because people, those numbers show, don't like her. So it's going to be everything you just said, Chris, plus more. The problem is what happens afterwards. And that's where Hillary Clinton's going to have to continue .

CHUCK TODD:

Here's an out question for all of you. Besides Hillary Clinton's speech, what will be the other buzziest speech or speaker when we walk away from this convention?

RACHEL MADDOW:

We're going to have a huge one on night one. Bernie is a big deal.

MICHAEL STEELE:

Bernie.

RACHEL MADDOW:

The Democratic Party is going through a transformation. Liberals are having their moment. And this convention has to reflect it.

CHRIS MATTHEWS:

Every Democratic convention I can remember, going back to, God, '64, the best speech was never given by the nominee, whether it's Bobby Kennedy or it's Jesse Jackson, or it's Mario Cuomo.

MICHAEL STEELE:

Right.

CHRIS MATTHEWS:

The candidates never have been able to deliver the best speech. So I would bet on Bernie.

It was Trump Jr. last week.

CHRIS MATTHEWS:

Bernie or President Obama.

ANDREA MITCHELL:

Michelle Obama and Barack Obama on day two.

CHUCK TODD:

I think it's Barack Obama on Wednesday night. I think it's going to be to Hillary Clinton what Bill Clinton was to Barack Obama four years ago. All right. That's all for this Sunday morning.

CHRIS MATTHEWS:

We agree.

CHUCK TODD:

I'll be hosting a special edition of Meet the Press Daily tonight at 5:00 Eastern on MSNBC. I know that's what everybody on this table will be watching. And then, throughout the week, I'll be joined by my colleagues Lester Holt and Savannah Guthrie right here at The Wells Fargo Center for convention coverage on the network beginning at 10:00 Eastern, 7:00 Pacific. If you missed it last week, you should be regretting it. Watch us this week. And of course we'll be back next Sunday. Because if it is Sunday, Meet the Press.

* * *END OF TRANSCRIPT* * * 

EXHIBIT 12



Giuliani: Trump asked me how to do a Muslim ban 'legally'

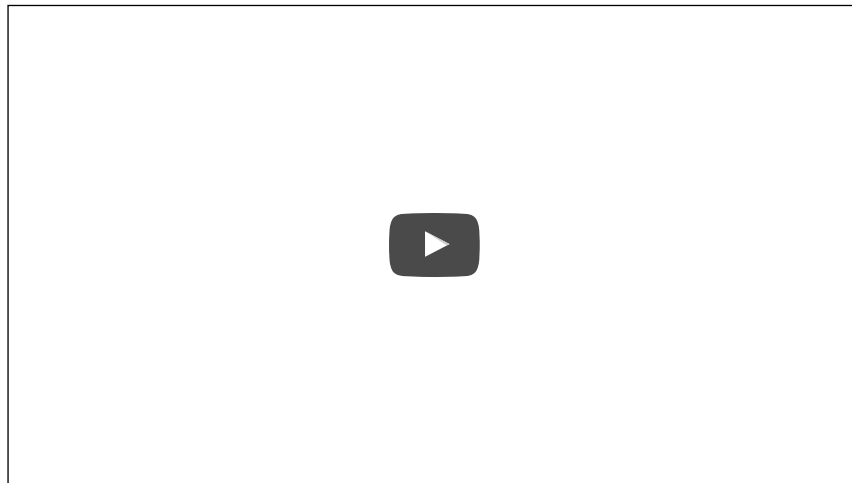
BY REBECCA SAVRANSKY - 01/29/17 08:48 AM EST

SHARES

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TWEET

PLUS C



Former New York City Mayor Rudy Giuliani (R) said in an interview on Saturday that President Trump had previously asked him about legally implementing a "Muslim ban."

But Giuliani then disputed the notion that the president's sweeping executive order barring refugees and people from seven predominantly Muslim nations amounts to a ban on Muslims.

"I'll tell you the whole history of it: When he first announced it, he said 'Muslim ban,'" Giuliani said on Fox News.

"He called me up, he said, 'Put a commission together, show me the right way to do it legally.'"

Giuliani said he then put together a commission that included lawmakers and expert lawyers.

"And what we did was we focused on, instead of religion, danger," Giuliani said.

"The areas of the world that create danger for us, which is a factual basis, not a religious basis. Perfectly legal, perfectly sensible."

Giuliani reiterated that the ban is "not based on religion."

"It's based on places where there are substantial evidence that people are sending terrorists into our country," he said.

The president on Friday signed an order that bars Syrian refugees indefinitely and halts the country's refugee resettlement program for four

months. It also denies entry for 90 days to people from seven majority-Muslim countries: Iran, Iraq, Syria, Yemen, Somalia, Sudan and Libya.

The president on Saturday denied that the executive order was a Muslim ban. He also insisted his new administration was "totally prepared" to carry out the refugee and travel ban.

A federal judge in New York on Saturday night granted an emergency stay temporarily halting the removal of immigrants and refugees detained following Trump's order.

SHARE (21K)

TWEET

PLUS ONE



EXHIBIT 13

Donald Trump National Security Adviser Mike Flynn Has Called Islam 'a Cancer'

 abcnews.go.com/Politics/donald-trump-national-security-adviser-mike-flynn-called/story

The man whom President-elect Donald Trump picked as his national security adviser has said he doesn't believe that all cultures are "[morally equivalent](#)" and once described Islam as "a cancer," comments that have many in the Muslim community worried about what his new job might mean for them.

Retired Army Lt. Gen. Michael Flynn served as an adviser to Trump on national security and foreign policy throughout the [presidential campaign](#). Flynn has said he agreed with Trump's initial proposal to temporarily ban Muslims from entering the United States, but told [Al Jazeera](#) earlier this year it likely "wouldn't work," and that he supports the vetting of Muslims coming from Syria and places where [terrorism](#) is a major threat.

He also accompanied Trump to his first top-secret national security briefing in August this year, and he was vetted as a potential running mate before Vice President-elect Mike Pence was eventually announced, two senior level sources with direct knowledge told ABC News earlier this year.

"I am pleased that Lieutenant General Michael Flynn will be by my side as we work to defeat radical Islamic terrorism, navigate geopolitical challenges and keep Americans safe at home and abroad," Trump said in a statement today. "General Flynn is one of the country's foremost experts on military and intelligence matters and he will be an invaluable asset to me and my administration."

The position of National Security Adviser does not require U.S. Senate approval.

Here are some of his controversial comments:

Flynn on 'Radical Islam'

Flynn, a registered Democrat who had a decades-long military career, served under the Obama administration until reportedly being forced to retire early as director of the Defense Intelligence Agency in 2014. The early retirement resulted from "the stand I took on radical Islam," he wrote in an op-ed for the New York Post.

Pentagon press secretary John Kirby reportedly said at the time that the retirement had "been planned for some time" and that then-Defense Secretary [Chuck Hagel](#) "appreciates [his] service."

For Flynn's part, he told Fox News in April 2015, "I've been at war with Islam, or a component of Islam, for the last decade."

Flynn earlier this year released a book -- "The Field of Fight: How We Can Win The Global War Against Radical Islam And Its Allies" -- that he co-wrote sharing his views on what he called the "global war against radical Islam," calling for the United States to develop a deeper understanding of radical ideology.

Flynn wrote, "we're in a world war against a messianic mass movement of evil people, most of them inspired by a totalitarian ideology: Radical Islam."

He also said in the book, "I don't believe all cultures are morally equivalent, and I think the West, and especially America, is far more civilized, far more ethical and moral, than the system our main enemies want to impose on us."

"And we've got to stop feeling the slightest bit guilty about calling them by name and identifying them as fanatical killers acting on behalf of a failed civilization."



Brooks Kraft/Getty Images

Retired Lt. Gen. Michael Flynn delivers a speech on the first day of the Republican National Convention, July 18, 2016, at the Quicken Loans Arena in Cleveland, Ohio. [more +](#)

Flynn, who's chairman and CEO of Flynn Intel Group, is also a board member of ACT for America, which the [Southern Poverty Law Center](#) calls "far and away the largest grassroots anti-Muslim group in America."

The organization bills itself as "the nation's largest non-profit, non-partisan, grassroots national security organization" that's "committed to recruiting, training, and mobilizing citizens community by community to help protect and preserve American culture and to keep this nation safe," according to its website.

ACT for America did not respond to ABC News' request for comment

"Mr. Flynn's past Islamophobic statements, and his association with the nation's most venomous anti-Muslim hate group, should disqualify him from serving in any public office," Ibrahim Hooper, spokesman for the [Council on American-Islamic Relations](#), told ABC News before Flynn's official selection.

In this tweet from February, Flynn said the fear of Muslims is a rational one:

Fear of Muslims is RATIONAL: please forward this to others: the truth fears no questions ... " he tweeted, referring to an anti-Muslim video from a third party.

"Radical Islam" is a designation that President Obama has refused to recognize. Throughout his tenure as president, he has sought to make a clear distinction between Islam built on peaceful teachings and the acts of terrorism carried out by extremists who adhere to radical interpretations of the religion.

Flynn did not respond to ABC News' request for comment left with Flynn Intel.

But he said in a statement this morning via the Trump Transition team that, "I am deeply humbled and honored to accept the position as National Security Adviser to serve both our country and our nation's next President, Donald J. Trump."

Muslims 'All on Guard'

Speaking this summer at an ACT for America event in Dallas, Flynn likened Islam to "a cancer," according to [the Dallas Morning News](#), adding that documents taken from terrorist groups tell followers to "get into the bloodstream of the opposition," which Flynn said he interprets as attacks on Western nations.

Muslim activists are troubled by the prospect of a Trump administration that might include Flynn.

"President-elect Trump is carefully curating a senior team that seem to have one thing in common: a deep seated animosity against Islam and Muslims. [Lt.] General Flynn is one of them, and has been on the record about his sentiments towards Islam and Muslims repeatedly," said Rabia Chaudry, a senior fellow at the United States Institute of Peace and a board member of the new Muslim-Jewish Advisory Council that was launched to combat Islamophobia and anti-Semitism.

"Putting this man in charge of domestic security matters has the potential of great damage to American Muslims, who are certain to be at top of his 'enemy within' list, rather than white nationals, which both studies and authorities show are the real greatest domestic threat we face," she said before Flynn's official selection.

Hazem Bata, secretary general of the Islamic Society of North America, says Muslim leaders across the United States "are all on guard."

"Our community is preparing for an America that has parts of government openly hostile to Muslims," Bata said before Flynn's official selection. "We are hoping for the best, but getting ready for the worst."

EXHIBIT 14

Michael Flynn in August: Islamism a 'vicious cancer' in body of all Muslims that 'has to be excised'

 cnn.com/2016/11/22/politics/kfile-michael-flynn-august-speech/

11/22/2016

Story highlights

- Flynn: "This is Islamism, it is a vicious cancer inside the body of 1.7 billion people on this planet and it has to be excised."
- In the same speech, Flynn falsely claimed that Florida Democrats voted to impose Islamic shariah law at the state and local level.

(CNN)Donald Trump's pick to be national security adviser, retired Lt. Gen. Michael Flynn, called Islamism a "vicious cancer inside the body of 1.7 billion people" that has to be "excised" during an August speech.

Flynn, who has called Islam as a whole a "cancer" in the past, made the comments during a speech to the Ahavath Torah Congregation in Stoughton, Massachusetts. Video of his speech is available on [YouTube](#) and was reviewed by CNN's KFile.

"We are facing another 'ism,' just like we faced Nazism, and fascism, and imperialism and communism," Flynn said. "This is Islamism, it is a vicious cancer inside the body of 1.7 billion people on this planet and it has to be excised."

In the same speech, Flynn falsely claimed that Florida Democrats voted to impose Islamic shariah law at the state and local level. The claim, peddled by far-right blogs in 2014, was rated "pants on fire" by the independent fact-checking organization [PolitiFact](#), which explained that the bill in question was about prohibiting judges from using foreign law in family law cases if the law conflicted with existing U.S. policy. Democrats voted against the bill, saying it was unnecessary and targeted Muslims in the state.

"Look up something called 'the American laws for American courts,'" Flynn said. "I don't know if it's happening up here in Massachusetts, it's happening in other states. I have had people in the media, mainstream media, say, 'oh, that's all a conspiracy, it's a lie.'"

"No, in the state of Florida," he continued. "The state of Florida they have 36 senators at the state level. 36 senators at the state level. 12, of them are Democrats, the Republicans hold the majority in the Florida state senate. All 12 Democrats, all 12 Democrats voted to impose shariah at the local and state level. Now, it was beaten because the Republicans are in charge. I'm telling you, this is 'American laws for America's courts.'"

Flynn didn't respond to a comment request for this story. CNN's KFile [reported](#) last week Flynn shared fake news and interacted with figures of the so-called alt-right on Twitter. On Monday, CNN's KFile [reported](#) Flynn said "who knows" when asked about a conspiracy about the 2013 sarin gas attack in Syria being a "false flag."

Trump's pick for national security adviser once bashed torture, drone strikes, night raids

In the speech, Flynn fielded a question asking if President Obama was a Muslim.



"Okay let me repeat the question," Flynn said. "Is Obama doing this intentionally or is he incompetent and is he a Muslim? This is where I say we're to blame. We. We. You, me, are to blame. All you have to do, and most people don't do these things, I do because it's part of who I am, all you got to do is read what he's written and listen to what he says. It's that simple."

"Well before he became president of the United States the first time, he said what he was going to do," Flynn added. "He said it. The second time -- fool me once, shame on me. Fool me twice, shame on you. I mean what happened? The second time he comes in -- honestly, the first time I was kind of hopeful. Maybe we're enlightened. This country, this is going to be a good guy. He says all these things. I'm listening to what he's saying. I'm like, 'wow. This is different. This is different.'"

"This is an individual who has an ideology ,and he has apologized for all the ill will of the United States of America over our history, for who we have been. He has. The apology tour. His speech in Cairo was unbelievable. I'm sitting there and I'm listening to it because I was deployed at that time and we were watching what our president's saying because it's going to cause some impact, and boy did it cause some impact. It caused the Muslim world to blow up."

Watch the full speech:

EXHIBIT 15

Steve Bannon's own words show sharp break on security issues

Steve Reilly and Brad Heath, USA TODAY Published 5:26 p.m. ET Jan. 31, 2017 | Updated 2:26 a.m. ET Feb. 1, 2017



(Photo: Evan Vucci, AP)

Steve Bannon, who has ascended in just months from relative obscurity to become one of President Trump's most influential advisors, has said that Islam is ["the most radical \(https://soundcloud.com/breitbart/breitbart-news-daily-benjamin-harnwell-may-25-2016#t=7:50\)"](https://soundcloud.com/breitbart/breitbart-news-daily-benjamin-harnwell-may-25-2016#t=7:50) religion in the world and the U.S. is engaged in a civilizational struggle potentially leading to ["a major shooting war in the Middle East again \(https://soundcloud.com/breitbart/breitbart-news-daily-brandon-darby-bob-price-november-27-2015#t=5:28\)."](https://soundcloud.com/breitbart/breitbart-news-daily-brandon-darby-bob-price-november-27-2015#t=5:28)

Trump installed Bannon this week as a member of his National Security Council, taking the unusual step of installing a political adviser on the powerful White House body responsible for shaping security and foreign

policy.

Far more significant may be the views he brings to that table, which represent a sharp break from how previous administrations approached security issues, particularly around Islamic terrorism.

In dozens of hours of audio recordings reviewed by USA TODAY of his Breitbart News Daily radio show in 2015 and 2016, Bannon told his listeners that the United States and the Western world are engaged in a ["global existential war \(https://soundcloud.com/breitbart/breitbart-news-daily-frank-gaffney-june-29-2016#t=4:19\),"](https://soundcloud.com/breitbart/breitbart-news-daily-frank-gaffney-june-29-2016#t=4:19) and he entertained claims that a ["fifth column \(https://soundcloud.com/breitbart/breitbart-news-daily-john-quandolo-july-15-2016#t=6:32\)"](https://soundcloud.com/breitbart/breitbart-news-daily-john-quandolo-july-15-2016#t=6:32) of Islamist sympathizers had infiltrated the U.S. government and news media. Those recordings, preserved online, offer an often unfiltered window into the thinking of Trump's interview-averse senior adviser.

The views mark a stark shift from foreign policy doctrine under the previous two administrations.

In the days after the Sept. 11 attacks, President George W. Bush was cautious in his public statements and gave [a speech \(https://georgewbush-whitehouse.archives.gov/news/releases/2001/09/20010917-11.html\)](https://georgewbush-whitehouse.archives.gov/news/releases/2001/09/20010917-11.html) in which he said, "Islam is peace." In a radio show [last May \(https://soundcloud.com/breitbart/breitbart-news-daily-dr-thomas-d-williams-may-11-2016?in=breitbart/sets/breitbart-news-daily-may-11#t=0:47\)](https://soundcloud.com/breitbart/breitbart-news-daily-dr-thomas-d-williams-may-11-2016?in=breitbart/sets/breitbart-news-daily-may-11#t=0:47), Bannon said those were "the dumbest" comments made by Bush during his presidency. On his radio show, Bannon repeatedly made [sarcastic references \(https://soundcloud.com/breitbart/breitbart-news-daily-kim-jensen-june-14-2016#t=3:30\)](https://soundcloud.com/breitbart/breitbart-news-daily-kim-jensen-june-14-2016#t=3:30) to Islam as a "religion of [peace \(https://soundcloud.com/breitbart/breitbart-news-daily-stephen-k-bannon-show-opening-may-27-2016#t=8:36\)."](https://soundcloud.com/breitbart/breitbart-news-daily-stephen-k-bannon-show-opening-may-27-2016#t=8:36)

University of Texas law professor Stephen Vladeck said it's "unprecedented to have someone who doesn't just harbor those views but seems to have no compunction basing decisions on those views" as a member of the National Security Council.

"It seems like we're headed for more of the jaw-dropping steps like the immigration order," he said.

Bannon left a position as the executive chairman of the right-wing news organization Breitbart in August 2016 to become chief executive of Trump's presidential campaign, and after the election, he was named the president's chief strategist and senior counsel — a position equal in rank to the chief of staff.

His role in shaping Trump's domestic and foreign policy has grown increasingly apparent in the early days of the administration. Bannon played a role in shaping a flurry of executive orders, including one that temporarily blocks immigration from seven majority-Muslim nations.

"He's got a tremendous understanding of the world and the geopolitical landscape that we have now," White House spokesman Sean Spicer said on ABC's [This Week \(http://abcnews.go.com/Politics/week-transcript-29-17-sean-spicer-sen-mitch/story?id=45112815\)](http://abcnews.go.com/Politics/week-transcript-29-17-sean-spicer-sen-mitch/story?id=45112815) on Sunday, defending Bannon's place on the security post.



Diverging from longtime foreign policy

While hosting his radio program, Bannon made statements that diverged from decades of U.S. foreign policy.

"We're going to war in the South China Sea in five to 10 years, aren't we?" he said in March 2016 (<https://soundcloud.com/breitbart/breitbart-news-daily-lee-edwards-march-10-2016#t=5:20>). "There's no doubt about that. They're taking their sandbars and making basically stationary aircraft carriers and putting missiles on those. They come here to the United States in front of our face — and you understand how important face is — and say it's an ancient territorial sea."

The United States and China have a tenuous relationship in part because China is entangled in a dispute with Japan and other Asian nations in the region over an important trade channel in the South China Sea and the country's attempts to assert its dominion by building islands topped with military installations.



Bannon is a Washington outsider. (Photo: Win McNamee, Getty Images)

During an interview in February 2016, Bannon expressed alarm about China and Islam as he talked about a Breitbart story proclaiming a mosque at the North Pole (<http://www.breitbart.com/national-security/2016/02/25/muslims-inaugurate-second-mosque-at-north-pole/>), although it was actually in a northern Canadian village hundreds of miles away.

"You have an expansionist Islam and you have an expansionist China (<https://soundcloud.com/breitbart/breitbart-news-daily-dr-thomas-d-williams-february-25-2016?in=breitbart/sets/breitbart-news-daily-69#t=5:50>). Right? They are motivated. They're arrogant. They're on the march. And they think the Judeo-Christian West is on the retreat," he said. "Talk to us about this mosque on the North Pole."

In January 2016 (<https://soundcloud.com/breitbart/breitbart-news-daily-dr-thomas-williams-january-6-2016?in=breitbart/sets/breitbart-news-daily-january-6#t=8:10>), Bannon discussed various threats facing Europe in the late 1930s and evaluated Islam alongside fascism and Nazism.

"This is when Europe's looking down the barrel of fascism — the rise of Mussolini in Italy, Stalin and the Russians and the communist Bolsheviks in the Soviet Union. And obviously Hitler and the Nazis," he said. "I mean you're looking at fascism, you're looking at communism. And to say that — what so blows me away is the timing of it. You could look in 1938 and say, 'Look, it's pretty dark here in Europe right now, but there's something actually much darker. And that is Islam.'"

Emma Ashford, a research fellow at the Cato Institute, said public statements by other members of Trump's National Security Council indicate their views are not in alignment with Bannon's, setting the stage for debate on the council.

"I think it's very good that there is internal dissent on these issues — particularly when you look at how unorthodox, and frankly repulsive, some of these ideas that Bannon expresses are," she said. "I think the fact that there's opposition can only be a good thing."

The White House did not answer questions from USA TODAY about Bannon's radio statements.

A native of Richmond, Va., Bannon served as an officer in the U.S. Navy after attending Virginia Tech.

Bannon's military personnel file (<https://www.documentcloud.org/documents/3438272-Bannon-OMPF.html>), obtained by USA TODAY, shows he was regularly promoted during his seven years of service. Senior officers wrote that Bannon had earned their "complete trust" and praised him for his "outstanding performance." Bannon earned a master's degree in government from Georgetown University and an MBA from Harvard and worked as an investment banker for Goldman Sachs.

Despite that background, the radio shows featured frequent tirades against the "globalist elites" who he said encouraged policies that benefited the wealthy and powerful to the detriment of the working class.

"I'm the patron saint of commoners (<https://soundcloud.com/breitbart/breitbart-news-daily-jordan-schachtel-january-11-2016#t=0:05>)," he said in one segment.

Immigration concerns

Bannon often spoke on his radio show about his concerns over immigration from Muslim-majority countries to Europe and the USA. Many of his concerns are rooted in his perception of cultural differences and *sharia*, or Islamic religious law.

"These are not Jeffersonian democrats," he said of immigrants to Europe from Muslim majority countries in April of last year (<https://soundcloud.com/breitbart/breitbart-news-daily-dr-thomas-d-williams-april-7-2016#t=2:14>). "These are not people with thousands of years of democracy in their DNA coming up here."

"I think that most people in the Middle East, at least 50%, believe in being *sharia*-compliant," Bannon said in December 2015 (<https://soundcloud.com/breitbart/breitbart-news-daily-rosemary-jenks-december-8-2015#t=5:35>). "If you're *sharia*-compliant or want to impose *sharia* law, the United States is the wrong place for you."



Jared Kushner, son-in-law of President Trump, left, walks with Stephen Bannon at Indianapolis International Airport on Dec. 1, 2016. (Photo: Evan Vucci, AP)

Susan Hennessey, a former lawyer for the National Security Agency, said Bannon appears to misunderstand the basic features of *sharia* and seems to use the term “*sharia*-compliant” as shorthand for observant Muslim.

“Listening to his words carefully, he is saying observant Muslims don’t belong in the U.S. and isn’t modifying that statement to be about immigrants,” she said. “Plenty of natural-born American citizens are observant Muslims. Those people are every bit as American as Steve Bannon is, and they have real reason to fear his role in the White House.”

On his radio shows, Bannon often provided figures about immigration from Muslim-majority nations that are either exaggerations of disputed numbers or lack basis in fact.

“And some of the statistics are, what, like up to 5-10% believe in radical — in radical jihad. I mean you’re talking literally — they said thousands, hundreds (of) thousands are coming in. Say the number is 3 million,” he said in April 2016 (<https://soundcloud.com/breitbart/breitbart-news-daily-dr-thomas-d-williams-april-7-2016#t=3:15>). “You start to get some pretty big numbers. Particularly if half of these believe in *sharia* law or over 60%. Right? I mean the numbers are staggering.”

During a show in December 2015 (<https://soundcloud.com/breitbart/breitbart-news-daily-rosemary-jenks-december-8-2015#t=6:30>), Bannon told a guest he heard an additional 1 million Muslim immigrants would enter the USA in each of the next two years.

“If we didn’t hit the pause button today, is it already locked up that we’re going to be importing at least a couple of million Muslims whatever happens?” The guest agreed, “Absolutely.”

In truth, the Pew Research Center estimates the U.S. Muslim population is 3.3 million (<http://www.pewresearch.org/fact-tank/2016/01/06/a-new-estimate-of-the-u-s-muslim-population/>) and forecasts that it will double — over the next 36 years, not the next few years. About 100,000 Muslims arrived in the USA each of the past few years, Pew said.

‘We’re at war’

On Breitbart News Daily, Bannon’s words often centered on the idea of a global clash of civilizations.

“To be brutally frank, I mean Christianity is dying in Europe, and Islam is on the rise,” he said in an interview in January 2016 with a Breitbart reporter (<https://soundcloud.com/breitbart/breitbart-news-daily-dr-thomas-d-williams-january-19-2016?in=breitbart/sets/breitbart-news-daily-43#t=0:11>).

In November 2015, Bannon told his listeners it was time to have an “adult conversation” about national security.

“Some of these situations may get a little unpleasant,” Bannon said. “But you know what, we’re in a war. We’re clearly going into, I think, a major shooting war in the Middle East again (<https://soundcloud.com/breitbart/breitbart-news-daily-brandon-darby-bob-price-november-27-2015#t=5:12>).”

Bannon often criticized elected officials and the media for failing to condemn Islam after terrorist attacks. After the Pulse nightclub attack in June 2016, he lashed out at the media and politicians for not casting blame on the religion and suggested they may be subservient to *sharia*, or Islamic religious law.

“The way the media is presenting this, it’s almost like they’re conforming to blasphemy law (<https://soundcloud.com/breitbart/breitbart-news-daily-raheem-kassam-june-13-2016#t=4:50>),” he said. “They will not criticize Islam, the president of the United States will not criticize Islam. Mrs. Clinton will not criticize Islam. Do you get a sense that the media in the West — and I mean in London and in the United States — is almost working under the precepts of *sharia* law right now?”

Concern about brewing conflict, he said, was a fundamental concept behind Bannon’s media enterprise. “Our big belief, one of our central organizing principles at the site, is that we’re at war (<https://soundcloud.com/breitbart/breitbart-news-daily-aaron-klein-november-17-2015#t=5:44>),” he said.

“It’s war. It’s war (<https://soundcloud.com/breitbart/breitbart-news-daily-katie-gorka-december-4-2015#t=3:47>). Every day, we put up: America’s at war, America’s at war. We’re at war,” he said in December 2015. “Note to self, beloved commander in chief: We’re at war.”

Contributing: John Kelly

Read or Share this story: <http://usat.ly/2jSvXJf>

EXHIBIT 16

Steve Bannon's Islamophobic film script just one example of anti-Muslim views

 [theguardian.com/us-news/2017/feb/03/steve-bannon-islamophobia-film-script-muslims-islam](https://www.theguardian.com/us-news/2017/feb/03/steve-bannon-islamophobia-film-script-muslims-islam)

Tom McCarthy

2/3/2017

The emergence this week of a script for an Islamophobic film written a decade ago by Steve Bannon, [Donald Trump's chief strategist](#), has drawn new attention to Bannon's past statements about Islam, and to his view that "the Judeo-Christian west" is engaged in a "global war" against "jihadist Islamic fascism".

Steve Bannon's role in inner circle of Trump team raises fears of security crisis



Read more

The script for the film, *Destroying the Great Satan*, which was never produced, opens with a fantasy scene of the US Capitol adorned with a star-and-crescent flag and broadcasting the Muslim call to prayer, according to a script obtained by the [Washington Post](#). The film imagines a "fundamental clash of civilizations" between the west and "supremacist" Islam, the Post reported.

Here is a selection from the script published by the Post, and previous statements Bannon has made about [Islam](#).

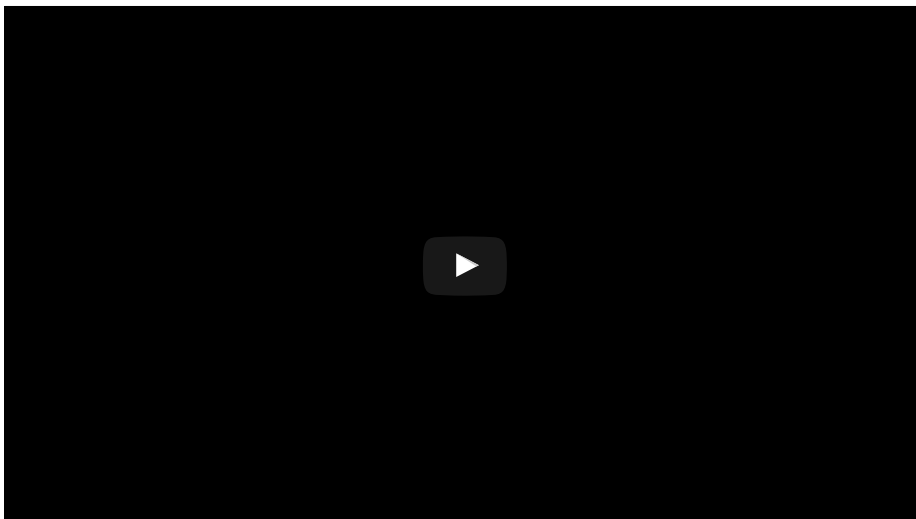
'Loss of the will to win'

“

The road to the establishment of an Islamic Republic in the United States starts slowly and subtly with the loss of the will to win. The road to this unique hell on earth is paved with the best intentions from our major institutions. This political/accommodation/appeasement approach is not simply a function of any one individual's actions but lies at the heart of our most important cultural and political institutions.

– from *Destroying the Great Satan*, a 2007 film script by Stephen Bannon.

'Very brutal and bloody conflict'

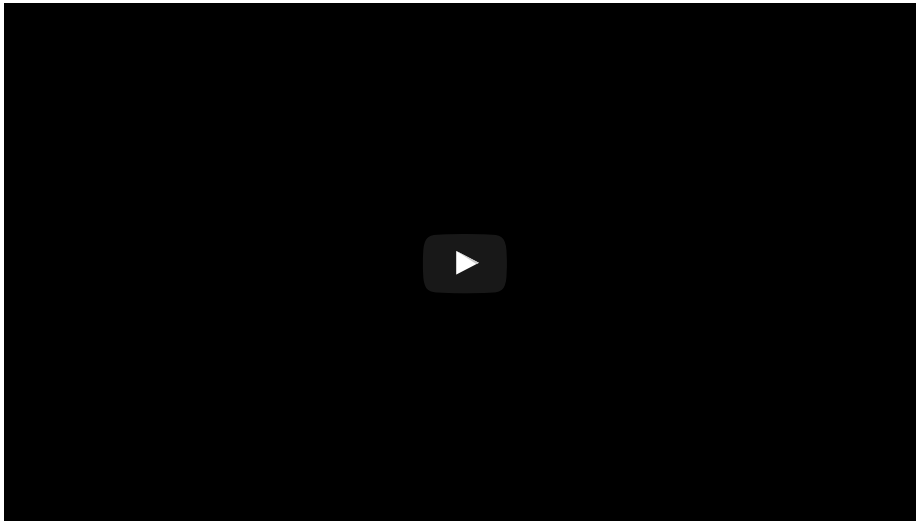


“

We're at the very beginning stages of a very brutal and bloody conflict, of which if the people in this room, and people in the church, do not bind together and really form what I feel is an aspect of the church militant, to really be able to not just stand with our beliefs against but to fight for our beliefs this this new barbarity that's starting, uh that we will literally eradicate everything we've been bequeathed over the last 2,000 and 2,500 years.

– from a summer 2014 talk via Skype to a Vatican meeting of the conservative Catholic group Institute for Human Dignity.

‘Something that we’re going to have to face’



“

It's a very unpleasant topic. But we are in an outright war against jihadist Islamic fascism. And this war is, is, I think metastasizing, almost far quicker than governments can handle it ... We have Boko Haram and other groups that will eventually partner with Isis in this global war. And it is unfortunately something that we're going to have to face, and we're going to have to face very quickly.

– from a summer 2014 talk via Skype to a Vatican meeting of the conservative Catholic group Institute for Human Dignity.

‘The very beginning stages of a global conflict’



“

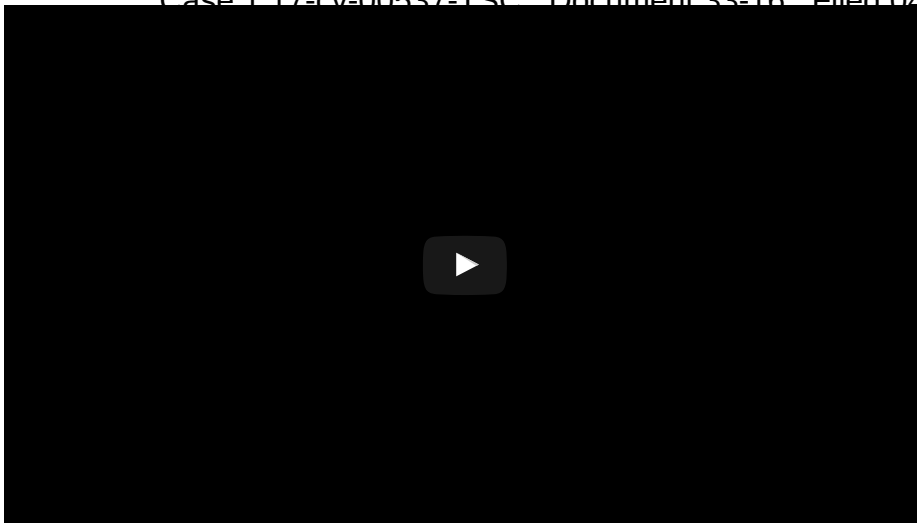
I think the discussion of, you know, can we put a cap on wealth creation and distribution – it's something that should be at the heart of every Christian that is a capitalist. Is, what is the purpose I'm doing with this wealth. What is the purpose I'm doing with the ability that god has given us and that divine providence has given us to actually be a creator of jobs and a creator of wealth. I think it behooves all us to really take a hard look and make sure that we are reinvesting that back into positive things, but also to make sure that we understand that we're at the very beginning stages of a global conflict, and that if we do not bind together with other countries that this conflict is only going to metastasize.

They have a Twitter account today, Isis does, about turning the United States into a river of blood if it comes in and tries to defend the city of Baghdad. And trust me, that is going to come to Europe. That is going to come to central Europe, it is going to come to western Europe, and it's going to come to the United Kingdom. And so, I think that we are in a crisis, like I said a crisis of capitalism, really the underpinnings of capitalism. And on top of that we're now, I believe, at the beginning stages of a global war against Islamic fascism.

Steve Bannon: 'We're going to war in the South China Sea ... no doubt'

– from a summer 2014 talk via Skype to a Vatican meeting of the conservative Catholic group Institute for Human Dignity.

'The Judeo-Christian west is in crisis'



“

I believe the world, and particularly the Judeo-Christian west, is in a crisis, and it's really the organizing principle of how we built Breitbart News to really be a platform to bring news and information to people throughout the world, principally in the west but we're expanding internationally, to let people understand the depths of this crisis. And it is a crisis both of capitalism but really of the underpinnings of the Judeo-Christian west and our beliefs.

It's ironic I think that we're talking today, at exactly, uh, tomorrow, 100 years ago, at the exact moment we're talking, uh, the assassination took place in Sarajevo, um, of uh Archduke Franz, uh, Ferdinand, um, that uh led to really the end of the Victorian era and the beginning of the bloodiest century in mankind's history.

– from a summer 2014 talk via Skype to a Vatican meeting of the conservative Catholic group Institute for Human Dignity.

‘Islam is not a religion of peace’



In a 2010 interview, Bannon spoke of former president George W Bush and his statement after the 9/11 attacks that “Islam is a religion of peace”:

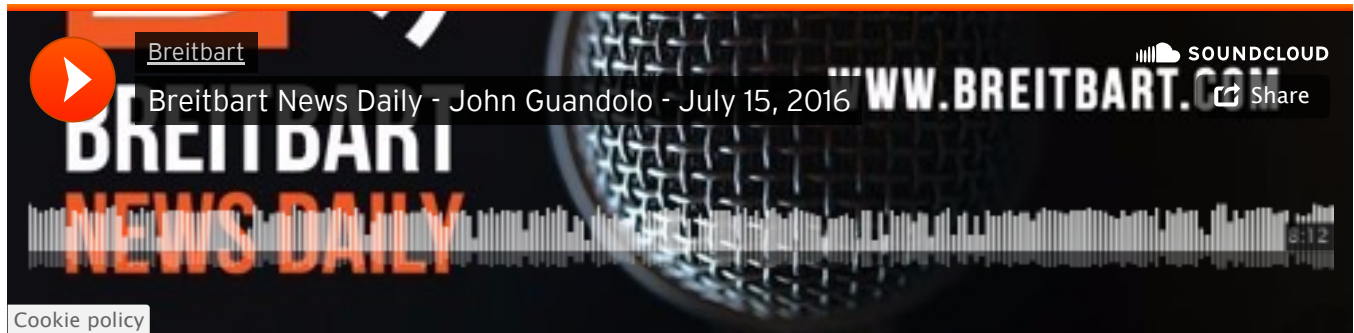
“

Islam is not a religion of peace. Islam is a religion of submission. Islam means submit. I mean, the whole thing, it's just categorically, he's – Avi, he is the epitome, he's the Republican version – not a

conservative – he’s a Republican establishment, country club version of the Clintons. That’s all they are. It’s a it’s it’s a it’s a – it’s the baby boomer, narcissistic, he wants to feel loved.

– A 2010 interview with “Western Word Radio with Avi Davis”, flagged by CNN.

‘There’s clearly a fifth column ... that has to be dealt with?’



Bannon asking a radio guest a question:

“

You believe that not only we’re at war, but we have to prosecute this as a war, and we have to take care of this fifth column – there’s clearly a fifth column here in the United States – that needs to be dealt with immediately?

– 2016 Breitbart interview, flagged by [USA Today](#).

EXHIBIT 17

Bannon, Flynn and Sessions: How Trump's top advisers view Muslims, in their own words

Steve Reilly, USA TODAY Published 10:24 a.m. ET Feb. 9, 2017 | Updated 3:41 p.m. ET Feb. 9, 2017



(Photo: J. Scott Applewhite, AP)

Corrections & Clarifications: An earlier version of this story misstated the status of Ben Carson's nomination.

Months before they became two of President Trump's top advisers, Steve Bannon and Sebastian Gorka engaged in a winding conversation about Islam on Bannon's talk-radio show.

"The dirty little secret, Steve, that nobody wants to tell you, (is) what the bad guys do — what al-Qaeda does or what ISIS is doing right now — is not fundamentally un-Islamic," said Gorka (<https://soundcloud.com/breitbart/breitbart-news-sunday-dr-sebastian-gorka-april-10-2016#t=10:12>), who at the time of the April 2016 show was a Breitbart writer but today is a deputy assistant to the president.

The recordings of Bannon's Breitbart News Daily radio show shed light on how a cadre of top Trump administration officials view immigration and, more specifically, Muslims.

Reporting by USA TODAY (<https://story/news/2017/01/31/bannon-odds-islam-china-decades-us-foreign-policy-doctrine/97292068/>) and other news media about the recordings of Bannon's statements in 2015 and 2016 prompted White House press secretary Sean Spicer to address Trump's views on Islam (<https://story/news/2017/02/01/spicer-addresses-bannons-views-islam/97361388/>) last week, suggesting "there's a difference" between Bannon's and Trump's views on the religion. Yet in the recordings from Bannon's shows, other people who've ascended to top jobs in the West Wing and the Cabinet openly aired controversial views about Muslims, immigrants in general, and their threat to America.

"We must acknowledge that we are at war," Michael Flynn, now Trump's national security adviser, told Bannon during a [discussion of Islamic terrorism in July 2016](https://soundcloud.com/breitbart/breitbart-news-daily-it-gen-ret-michael-flynn-july-20-2016#t=6:40) (<https://soundcloud.com/breitbart/breitbart-news-daily-it-gen-ret-michael-flynn-july-20-2016#t=6:40>).

Steve Bannon's own words show sharp break on security issues

(<http://www.usatoday.com/story/news/2017/01/31/bannon-odds-islam-china-decades-us-foreign-policy-doctrine/97292068/>)

During an appearance on Bannon's show in December 2015, after then-candidate Trump proposed a "total and complete shutdown of Muslims entering the United States," newly confirmed Attorney General Jeff Sessions said the United States' "classical" principles about religious freedoms don't apply to immigrants seeking to come into the country.



Conway and White House chief strategist Steve Bannon wait for Trump's arrival at a meeting on cybersecurity in the Roosevelt Room of the White House on Jan. 31, 2017. (Photo: Chip Somodevilla, Getty Images)

While Americans are “deeply committed to freedom of religion,” Sessions told Bannon (<https://soundcloud.com/breitbart/breitbart-news-daily-senator-jeff-sessions-december-10-2015#3:10>), “we are in an age that’s very dangerous. And we are seeing more and more persons enter, and a lot of them have done terrorist acts.”

“It’s time for us to think this through,” said Sessions, a former U.S. senator who now will lead the Justice Department as it defends the White House’s immigration, refugee and travel ban in federal court. “And the classical internal American religious principles I don’t think apply — providing constitutional protections to persons (who are) not citizens who want to come here.”

According to a recent [Cato Institute report \(https://www.cato.org/publications/policy-analysis/terrorism-immigration-risk-analysis\)](https://www.cato.org/publications/policy-analysis/terrorism-immigration-risk-analysis), out of more than 3 million refugees admitted to the U.S. from 1975 to 2015, three committed terrorist acts that killed Americans. They were Cuban refugees in the 1970s.

Recordings show many of the newly-installed Trump figures who made regular appearances on Bannon’s show share the host’s ominous views on Islam and a hard-line stance on legal and illegal immigration that is at odds with decades of U.S. domestic and foreign policy.

Then-presidential candidate Ben Carson, who is now Trump’s nominee for housing secretary, [said in February \(https://soundcloud.com/breitbart/breitbart-news-daily-dr-ben-carson-february-16-2016#t=6:30\)](https://soundcloud.com/breitbart/breitbart-news-daily-dr-ben-carson-february-16-2016#t=6:30) that he thought Mohammed was “somebody who lives a life who is in no way comparable to Jesus Christ.”

Former Breitbart reporter Julia Hahn, who has been hired to work in the White House, told Bannon [in August \(https://soundcloud.com/breitbart/breitbart-news-daily-julia-hahn-august-10-2016#t=4:27\)](https://soundcloud.com/breitbart/breitbart-news-daily-julia-hahn-august-10-2016#t=4:27) that Trump opponent Hillary Clinton could not claim to care about women’s issues “if she wants to bring large flows of unassimilated Muslim migrants who, you know, don’t have the same values toward women that western culture does.”

Corey Saylor, spokesman for the Council on American-Islamic Relations, said the statements indicate White House officials “have bought into false notions that Islam itself somehow endorses the actions of devil-inspired groups like ISIS.”

“It’s sort of like holding all Christian groups accountable for Jim Jones or for the actions of Joseph Kony’s militia,” Saylor said. “And that would normally reasonably be considered fringe thinking. But now we have those fringe thinkers directly in the White House.”

Those views are particularly apparent among Trump’s top national security advisers. Flynn told Bannon — in a [discussion of Islamic terrorism in July 2016 \(https://soundcloud.com/breitbart/breitbart-news-daily-lt-gen-ret-michael-flynn-july-20-2016#t=6:40\)](https://soundcloud.com/breitbart/breitbart-news-daily-lt-gen-ret-michael-flynn-july-20-2016#t=6:40) — that it was time for the U.S. to declare war.

“Our enemies have declared war on us and we have to take this on with all the resources that the United States of America can bring to bear,” Flynn said. “There is no doubt.”



President Trump and Steve Bannon. (Photo: Evan Vucci, AP)

“You think Congress should declare war on, on — you want to declare war on them?” Bannon probed.

“That’s right,” Flynn replied. “I think we need a declaration of war.”

In the April interview, Gorka and Bannon describe the basis of their beliefs about Islam and other world religions. Gorka laughs when Bannon mockingly notes (<https://soundcloud.com/breitbart/breitbart-news-sunday-dr-sebastian-gorka-april-10-2016#t=13:50>) that former president George W. Bush said Islam “means peace.”

“Let me tell you how it means peace,” Gorka says. “The word Islam actually means submission. It means surrender. Surrender to what? The will of Allah. The only way it means peace is a derivational way.”

The discussion between Bannon and Gorka revolves around their belief (<https://soundcloud.com/breitbart/breitbart-news-sunday-dr-sebastian-gorka-april-10-2016#t=11:30>) that Islam is fundamentally different than Christianity and other faiths, saying the Koran is meant to be taken literally while other religious texts are meant to be interpreted.

At the end of the discussion, Bannon appears to play a voice of moderation to the rhetoric of both Gorka and Trump.

“One of the things about Donald Trump — and I’m not arguing for Donald Trump here — but one of the reactions when you see in this firestorm in the media against him is that he has brought up some elements of fighting ISIS and some of it has been incredibly immature and a lot of it has been heavy-handed and, quite frankly, stupid,” Bannon said (<https://soundcloud.com/breitbart/breitbart-news-sunday-dr-sebastian-gorka-april-10-2016#t=39:00>). “However, he has brought into the conversation (the idea of) winning.”

“How bloody, how nasty, how divisive ... how awful is it going to be?” Bannon asked his guest.

“You have to go to war,” Gorka replied. “You cannot win if you do not go to war, and we have not gone to war. That’s the reality.”

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EXHIBIT 18

Brody File Exclusive: President Trump Says Persecuted Christians Will Be Given Priority As Refugees

cbn.com/thebrodyfile/archive/2017/01/27/brody-file-exclusive-president-trump-says-persecuted-christians-will-be-given-priority-as-refugees

1/27/2017

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01-27-2017

[David Brody](#)



In an exclusive interview with The Brody File, President Donald Trump says persecuted Christians will be given priority when it comes to applying for refugee status in the United States. “We are going to help them,” President Trump tells CBN News. “They’ve been horribly treated. Do you know if you were a Christian in Syria it was impossible, at least very tough to get into the United States? If you were a Muslim you could come in, but if you were a Christian, it was almost impossible and the reason that was so unfair, everybody was persecuted in all fairness, but they were chopping off the heads of everybody but more so the Christians. And I thought it was very, very unfair.”

The Brody File conducted the interview Friday morning in the Blue Room at The White House. More newsworthy clips are coming soon. The entire interview can be seen this Sunday at 11pm on Freeform (cable TV, formerly ABC Family Channel) during our special CBN News show. This is just the third interview President Trump has done from The White House and it will be the only interview that will air in its’ entirety this weekend.

MANDATORY VIDEO AND COURTESY: CBN NEWS/THE BRODY FILE

DAVID BRODY: “Persecuted Christians, we’ve talked about this, the refugees overseas. The refugee program, or the refugee changes you’re looking to make. As it relates to persecuted Christians, do you see them as kind of a priority here?”

PRESIDENT TRUMP: “Yes.”

PRESIDENT TRUMP: *"They've been horribly treated. Do you know if you were a Christian in Syria it was impossible, at least very tough to get into the United States? If you were a Muslim you could come in, but if you were a Christian, it was almost impossible and the reason that was so unfair, everybody was persecuted in all fairness, but they were chopping off the heads of everybody but more so the Christians. And I thought it was very, very unfair. So we are going to help them."*

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The Brody File newsletter

Stay up-to-date with CBN News Chief Political Correspondent, David Brody.

EXHIBIT 19

The New York Times | <https://nyti.ms/2jSL4Vx>

POLITICS

More People Were Affected by Travel Ban Than Trump Initially Said

By RON NIXON JAN. 31, 2017

WASHINGTON — A far larger number of people were affected by President Trump's executive order on refugees than he initially said, Department of Homeland Security officials acknowledged on Tuesday.

Mr. Trump posted on Twitter that only 109 people were detained or denied entry into the United States after his order, but during a news briefing at the Customs and Border Protection agency's headquarters on Tuesday, officials said that 721 people had been denied boarding for the United States after it began enforcing the travel ban. The agency said it processed waivers for 1,060 green card holders, and an additional 75 waivers granted to immigrant visa and nonimmigrant visa holders.

Homeland security officials said the White House was referring to the number of people who were either detained or denied boarding during the initial hours after the travel ban was signed, a total based on preliminary calculations.

The officials also disclosed that 872 refugees were granted waivers to enter the country, despite Mr. Trump's executive order freezing resettlement. Customs officials said the waivers were granted because the refugees were "ready to travel." They had already been vetted by the government, they said.

John F. Kelly, the secretary of homeland security, said that Mr. Trump's order did not amount to a "travel ban," adding, "This is a temporary pause that allows us to better review the existing refugee and visa vetting system."

But Mr. Kelly also confirmed that, while he saw versions of the executive order, he did not see the final order before it was signed by the president.

He said that executives at homeland security were involved in writing the order, but added that the knowledge of it and its distribution was limited. Mr. Kelly said that he had known that the order was coming for some time, but that he was not involved personally in the process to the degree to which he "corrected grammar or say we needed to change things."

The New York Times reported on Monday that Mr. Kelly was on a conference call about the order when it was signed on Friday and was given his first full briefing about its contents later that day.

Mr. Trump's order initially created chaos and confusion at airports around the world. Passengers, many of them with green cards that allow them to live and work in the United States, were barred from flights into the country. A number of people with visas were suddenly unsure if they would be allowed into the United States, and many were stopped when they arrived.

Neither homeland security nor related agencies posted any information on their websites or social media accounts informing the public about Mr. Trump's travel ban until Sunday.

Immigration proponents and lawyers representing people stuck at airports because of the ban say they were unable to speak to anyone at Customs and Border Protection or at the headquarters of homeland security.

The first briefing on the order by homeland security officials for the news media was at 9 p.m. on Saturday, long after news reports raised questions about the effects of the order and after thousands of people had lined the sidewalks and terminals of international airports to protest the ban.

During the Tuesday briefing, the acting commissioner of Customs and Border Protection, Kevin K. McAleenan, rejected criticism of the agency's efforts to enforce the order.

"We worked quickly to implement, and I think the process has really smoothed out," he said.

Mr. Kelly also insisted that there was no chaos. "Our officers who are at the counters, so to speak, the only chaos they saw was what was taking place in other parts of the airport," he said.

Despite the ban on travelers from seven majority-Muslim countries, Mr. Kelly insisted the country remained open to visitors despite their religious beliefs.

"The vast majority of the 1.7 billion Muslims that live on this planet, the vast majority of them have, all other things being equal, have access to the United States," Mr. Kelly said.

Correction: January 31, 2017

An earlier version of this article misstated what the number 109 referred to in a Twitter post by President Trump. It was the number of people affected by the travel ban, not the number of people denied boarding on planes to the United States.

Follow The New York Times's politics and Washington coverage on Facebook and Twitter, and sign up for the First Draft politics newsletter.

A version of this article appears in print on February 1, 2017, on Page A11 of the New York edition with the headline: More People Affected by Ban Than Initially Stated.

EXHIBIT 20



United States Department of State

*Deputy Assistant Secretary
for Visa Services*

Washington, D.C. 20520

January 27, 2017

Upon request of the U.S. Department of Homeland Security and pursuant to sections 212(f) and 221(i) of the Immigration and Nationality Act and 22 CFR 41.122 and 42.82, and in implementation of section 3(c) of the Executive Order on Protecting the Nation from Terrorist Attacks by Foreign Nationals, I hereby provisionally revoke all valid nonimmigrant and immigrant visas of nationals of Iraq, Iran, Libya, Somalia, Sudan, Syria, and Yemen, subject to the exceptions discussed below.

The revocation does not apply to visas in the following nonimmigrant classifications: A-1, A-2, G-1, G-2, G-3, G-4, NATO, C-2, or certain diplomatic visas.

The revocation also does not apply to any visa exempted on the basis of a determination made by the Secretaries of State and Homeland Security pursuant to section 3(g) of the Executive Order on a case-by-case basis, and when in the national interest.

This document is not intended to, and does not, create any right or benefit, substantive or procedural, enforceable at law or in equity by any party against the United States, its departments, agencies, or entities, its officers, employees, or agents, or any other person.

A handwritten signature in blue ink, appearing to read 'E. Ramotowski', with a long horizontal line extending to the right.

Edward J. Ramotowski

Deputy Assistant Secretary

Bureau of Consular Affairs

Department of State

EXHIBIT 21

PRESS RELEASES

Home (<https://www.lgraham.senate.gov/public/index.cfm/home>) / Press (<https://www.lgraham.senate.gov/public/index.cfm/press>) / Press Releases (<https://www.lgraham.senate.gov/public/index.cfm/press-releases>)

Jan 29 2017

Statement By Senators Graham & McCain On Executive Order On Immigration



Washington, D.C. -- U.S. Senators John McCain (R-AZ) and Lindsey Graham (R-SC) released the following statement today on the President's executive order on immigration:

"Our government has a responsibility to defend our borders, but we must do so in a way that makes us safer and upholds all that is decent and exceptional about our nation.

"It is clear from the confusion at our airports across the nation that President Trump's executive order was not properly vetted. We are particularly concerned by reports that this order went into effect with little to no consultation with the Departments of State, Defense, Justice, and Homeland Security.

"Such a hasty process risks harmful results. We should not stop green-card holders from returning to the country they call home. We should not stop those who have served as interpreters for our military and diplomats from seeking refuge in the country they risked their lives to help. And we should not turn our backs on those refugees who have been shown through extensive vetting to pose no demonstrable threat to our nation, and who have suffered unspeakable horrors, most of them women and children.

"Ultimately, we fear this executive order will become a self-inflicted wound in the fight against terrorism. At this very moment, American troops are fighting side-by-side with our Iraqi partners to defeat ISIL. But this executive order bans Iraqi pilots from coming to military bases in Arizona to fight our common enemies. Our most important allies in the fight against ISIL are the vast majority of Muslims who reject its apocalyptic ideology of hatred. This executive order sends a signal, intended or

not, that America does not want Muslims coming into our country. That is why we fear this executive order may do more to help terrorist recruitment than improve our security.”

###

Share This: <https://www.lgraham.senate.gov/public/index.cfm/2017/1/statement-by-senators-graham-mccain-on-executive-order-on-immigration> (<https://www.lgraham.senate.gov/public/index.cfm/2017/1/statement-by-senators-graham-mccain-on-executive-order-on-immigration>)

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EXHIBIT 22



Donald J. Trump 
@realDonaldTrump

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SEE YOU IN COURT, THE SECURITY OF
OUR NATION IS AT STAKE!

RETWEETS

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3:35 PM - 9 Feb 2017



148K



68K



240K

EXHIBIT 23

Inside the confusion of the Trump executive order and travel ban

 cnn.com/2017/01/28/politics/donald-trump-travel-ban/index.html

1/28/2017

Washington (CNN) When President Donald Trump declared at the Pentagon Friday he was enacting strict new measures to prevent domestic terror attacks, there were few within his government who knew exactly what he meant.

Administration officials weren't immediately sure which countries' citizens would be barred from entering the United States. The Department of Homeland Security was left making a legal analysis on the order after Trump signed it. A Border Patrol agent, confronted with arriving refugees, referred questions only to the President himself, according to court filings.

Trump's immigration order: Which countries are affected?

- Iran
- Iraq
- Syria
- Sudan
- Libya
- Yemen
- Somalia

Saturday night, a federal judge granted an emergency stay for citizens of the affected countries who had already arrived in the US and those who are in transit and hold valid visas, ruling they can legally enter the US.

Trump's unilateral moves, which have drawn the ire of human rights groups and prompted protests at US airports, reflect the President's desire to quickly make good on his campaign promises. But they also encapsulate the pitfalls of an administration largely operated by officials with scant federal experience.

It wasn't until Friday -- the day Trump signed the order banning travel from seven Muslim-majority countries for 90 days and suspending all refugee admission for 120 days -- that career homeland security staff were allowed to see the final details of the order, a person familiar with the matter said.

The result was widespread confusion across the country on Saturday as airports struggled to adjust to the new directives. In New York, two Iraqi nationals sued the federal government after they were detained at John F. Kennedy International Airport, and 10 others were detained as well.

The ban and its impact

In Philadelphia, a Syrian family of six who had a visa through a family connection in the US was placed on a return flight to Doha, Qatar, and Department of Homeland Security officials said others who were in the air would be detained upon arrival and put back on a plane to their home country.

Asked during a photo opportunity in the Oval Office Saturday afternoon about the rollout, Trump said his government was "totally prepared."

"It's working out very nicely," Trump told reporters. "You see it at the airports. You see it all over. It's working out very nicely and we're going to have a very, very strict ban, and we're going to have extreme vetting, which we should

Trump's immigration ban sends shockwaves

The policy team at the White House developed the executive order on refugees and visas, and largely avoided the traditional interagency process that would have allowed the Justice Department and homeland security agencies to provide operational guidance, according to numerous officials who spoke to CNN on Saturday.



Homeland Security Secretary John Kelly and Department of Homeland Security leadership saw the final details shortly before the order was finalized, government officials said.

Friday night, DHS arrived at the legal interpretation that the executive order restrictions applying to seven countries - Iran, Iraq, Libya, Somalia, Syria, Sudan and Yemen -- did not apply to people with lawful permanent residence, generally referred to as green card holders.

![Travel ban affects citizens of 7 Muslim-majority nations](http://i2.cdn.cnn.com/cnnnext/dam/assets/170129023207-travel-ban-7-muslim-nick-paton-walsh-klv-00002701-large-169.jpg)



Travel ban affects citizens of 7 Muslim-majority nations 02:26

The White House overruled that guidance overnight, according to officials familiar with the rollout. That order came from the President's inner circle, led by Stephen Miller and Steve Bannon. Their decision held that, on a case by case basis, DHS could allow green card holders to enter the US.

There had been some debate whether green card holders should be even allowed to board international flights. It was decided by the Department of Homeland Security they could fly to the US and would be considered on a case-by-case basis after passing a secondary screening.

But the guidance sent to airlines on Friday night, obtained by CNN, said clearly, "lawful permanent residents are not included and may continue to travel to the USA."

![Iran says it will ban US citizens](http://i2.cdn.cnn.com/cnnnext/dam/assets/151221165341-iranian-flag-large-169.jpg)



Iran says it will ban US citizens 02:16

As of Saturday afternoon, Customs and Border Protection continued to issue the same guidance to airlines as it did Friday, telling airlines that fly to the US that green card holders can board planes to the US but they may get extra scrutiny on

arrival, according to an airline official.

Before the President issued the order, the White House did not seek the legal guidance of the Office of Legal Counsel, the Justice Department office that interprets the law for the executive branch, according to a source familiar with the process.

White House officials disputed that Sunday morning, saying that OLC signed off and agency review was performed.

A source said the creation of the executive order did not follow the standard agency review process that's typically overseen by the National Security Council.



Trump: Travel ban working out very nicely 01:07

Separately, a person familiar with the matter said career officials in charge of enforcing the executive order were not fully briefed on the specifics until Friday. The officials were caught off guard by some of the specifics and raised questions about how to handle the new banned passengers on US-bound planes.

Regarding the green card holders and some of the confusion about whether they were impacted, the person familiar with the matter said if career officials had known more about the executive order earlier, some of the confusion could have been avoided and a better plan could be in place.

Administration officials also defended the process Saturday. They said the people who needed to be briefed ahead of time on the plane were briefed and that people at the State Department and DHS who were involved in the process were able to make decisions about who to talk and inform about this.

Executive orders: Read more

Bannon and Miller were running point on this order and giving directives regarding green cards, according to a Republican close to the White House.

But even after the Friday afternoon announcement, administration officials at the White House took several hours to produce text of the action until several hours after it was signed. Adviser Kellyanne Conway even said at one point it was not going to be released before eventually it did get sent out.

Administration officials also seemed unsure at first who was covered in the action, and a list of impacted countries was only produced later on Friday night, hours after the President signed the document at the Pentagon.

This story has been updated to include the White House's response on the issue of Justice Department review.

CNN's Rene Marsh and Athena Jones contributed to this report.

EXHIBIT 24

Citizenship Likely an Unreliable Indicator of Terrorist Threat to the United States

Scope Note: This paper was prepared at the request of the DHS Acting Under Secretary for Intelligence and Analysis. It assesses the international terrorist threat to the United States and worldwide by citizens of Iran, Iraq, Libya, Somalia, Sudan, Syria, and Yemen. Citizens of these seven countries were impacted by Section 3 of Executive Order (E.O.) 13769 "Protecting the Nation from Foreign Terrorist Entry into the United States." The assessment relies on unclassified information from Department of Justice press releases on terrorism-related convictions and terrorist attack perpetrators killed in the act, Department of State visa statistics, the 2016 Worldwide Threat Assessment of the US Intelligence Community, and the Department of State Country Reports on Terrorism 2015. This paper does not assess the threat of domestic terrorism.

Key Findings

- DHS I&A assesses that country of citizenship is unlikely to be a reliable indicator of potential terrorist activity. Since the beginning of the Syrian conflict in March 2011, the foreign-born primarily US-based individuals who were inspired by a foreign terrorist organization to participate in terrorism-related activity were citizens of 26 different countries, with no one country representing more than 13.5 percent of the foreign-born total.
- Relatively few citizens of the seven countries impacted by E.O. 13769, compared to neighboring countries, maintain access to the United States.
- Terrorist groups in Iraq, Syria, and Yemen pose a threat of attacks in the United States while groups in Iran, Libya, Somalia, and Sudan remain regionally focused.

Citizens of Countries Affected by E.O. 13769 Rarely Implicated in US-Based Terrorism

DHS I&A assesses that country of citizenship is unlikely to be a reliable indicator of potential terrorist activity. Since the beginning of the Syrian conflict in March 2011, at least 82 primarily US-based individuals, who died in the pursuit of or were convicted of any terrorism-related federal offense inspired by a foreign terrorist organization, according to a DHS study of Department of Justice press releases on convictions and terrorist attack perpetrators killed in the act.^{1*} Of the 82 individuals we identified, slightly more than half were native-born United States citizens. Of the foreign-born individuals, they came from 26 different countries, with no one country representing more than 13.5 percent of the foreign-born total.

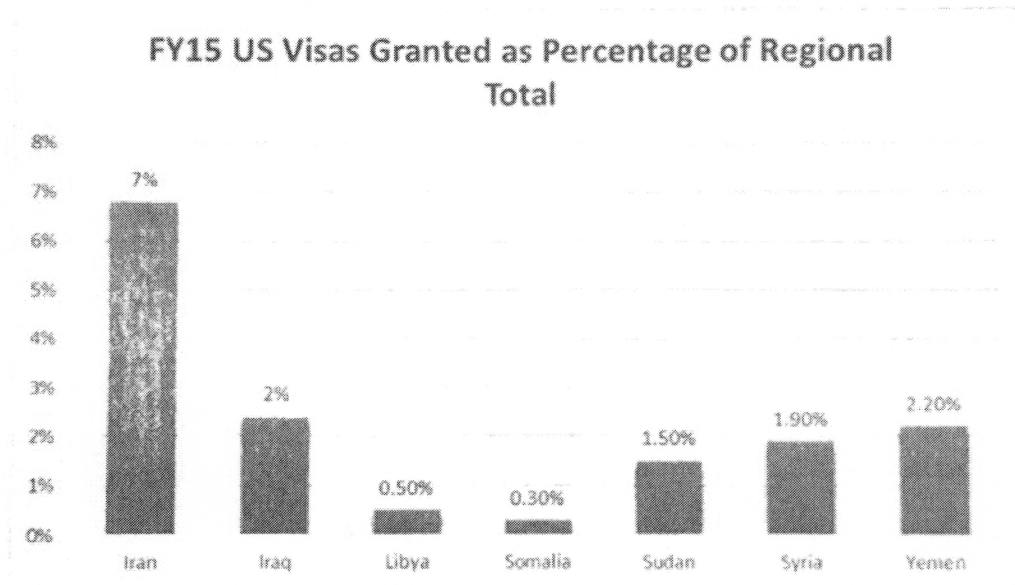
- The top seven origin countries of the foreign-born individuals are: Pakistan (5), Somalia (3), and Bangladesh, Cuba, Ethiopia, Iraq, and Uzbekistan (2).

* For the purposes of this paper, we limited our data to individuals prosecuted under 18 U.S.C. Chapter 133B in support of or inspired by a Foreign Terrorist Organization (FTO). We excluded traveling or attempting to travel overseas to join a FTO and activities unrelated to FTOs, to include purely domestic terrorism.

- Of the seven countries impacted by E.O. 13769 that are not listed above, Iran, Sudan, and Yemen had 1 each, and there were no individuals from Syria.

Limited Access to the United States by Citizens of Impacted Countries

Relatively few citizens of the seven countries impacted by E.O. 13769, compared to neighboring countries, maintain access to the United States. None of the seven countries account for more than 7 percent of the US visas granted in their region—the Middle East and North Africa or Sub-Saharan Africa—in Fiscal Year 2015, according to publicly available Fiscal Year 2015 visa issuance data from the Department of State.^{23†}



Few of the Impacted Countries Have Terrorist Groups that Threaten the West

Terrorist groups in Iraq, Syria, and Yemen pose a threat of attacks in the United States, while groups in Iran, Libya, Somalia, and Sudan are regionally focused, according to the 2016 Worldwide Threat Assessment of the US Intelligence Community and the Department of State Country Reports on Terrorism 2015.

Iran – Designated as a State Sponsor of Terrorism in 1984, Iran continued its terrorist-related activity in 2015, including support for Hizballah, Palestinian terrorist groups in Gaza, and various groups in Iraq and throughout the Middle East, according to the Country Reports on Terrorism 2015.⁴ Iran used the Islamic Revolutionary Guard Corps-Qods Force (IRGC-QF) to implement foreign policy goals, provide cover for intelligence operations, and create instability

[†] Fiscal Year 2015 is the most recent year we have visa issuance data for both immigrant and non-immigrant visas. A-1, A-2, A-3, C-2, NATO, G-1, G-2, G-3, and G-3 non-immigrant visas were excluded from these calculations to be consistent with section 3(c) in E.O. 13769.

in the Middle East. The IRGC-QF is Iran's primary mechanism for cultivating and supporting terrorists abroad.

Iraq and Syria – The Islamic State of Iraq and the Levant (ISIL) has become the preeminent terrorist threat because of its self-described caliphate in Syria and Iraq, its branches and emerging branches in other countries, and its increasing ability to direct and inspire attacks against a wide range of targets around the world, according to the 2016 Worldwide Threat Assessment.⁵ ISIL's narrative supports jihadist recruiting, attracts others to travel to Iraq and Syria, draws individuals and groups to declare allegiance to ISIL, and justifies attacks across the globe.

Libya – Libya has been locked in civil war between two rival governments and affiliated armed groups, according to the 2016 Worldwide Threat Assessment.⁶ The 17 December 2015 signing of a UN-brokered agreement to form a Government of National Accord resulted from a year-long political dialogue that sought to end the ongoing civil war and reconcile Libya's rival governments. Extremists and terrorists have exploited the security vacuum to plan and launch attacks in Libya and throughout the region.

Somalia – In 2015, al-Shabaab continued to commit deadly attacks in Somalia, seeking to reverse progress made by the Federal Government of Somalia and weaken the political will of the African Union Mission in Somalia troop contributing countries, according to the Country Reports on Terrorism 2015.⁷

Sudan – Sudan was designated as a State Sponsor of Terrorism in 1993 due to concerns about support to international terrorist groups, according to the Country Reports on Terrorism 2015.⁸ In 2014, members of Hamas were allowed to raise funds, travel, and live in Sudan. However, in 2015 the use of Sudan by Palestinian designated terrorist groups appeared to have declined. The last known shipment was interdicted by Israel in 2014.

Yemen – Al-Qa'ida in the Arabian Peninsula remained a significant threat to Yemen, the region, and to the United States in 2015, as efforts to counter the group were hampered by the ongoing conflict in that country, according to the Country Reports on Terrorism 2015.⁹ The Islamic State of Iraq and the Levant in Yemen also exploited the political and security vacuum to strengthen its foothold inside the country.

¹ DHS I&A; DHS I&A Terrorism-Related Activities Study; 16 FEB 17; DOI 01 MAR 11 – 31 JAN 17; DHS I&A Terrorism-Related Activities Study

² <https://travel.state.gov/content/dam/visas/Statistics/AnnualReports/FY2016AnnualReport/FY16AnnualReport-TableXIV.pdf>

³ <https://travel.state.gov/content/dam/visas/Statistics/Non-Immigrant-Statistics/NIVDetailTables/FY15%20NIV%20Detail%20Table.xls>

⁴ <https://www.state.gov/j/ct/rls/crt/2015/257520.htm>

EXHIBIT 25

The New York Times | <https://nyti.ms/2jRZm93>

AMERICAS

State Dept. Dissent Cable on Trump's Ban Draws 1,000 Signatures

By JEFFREY GETTLEMAN JAN. 31, 2017

NAIROBI, Kenya — It started out in Washington.

Then it went to Jakarta. Then across Africa.

One version even showed up on Facebook.

Within hours, a State Department dissent cable, asserting that President Trump's executive order to temporarily bar citizens from seven Muslim-majority countries would not make the nation safer, traveled like a chain letter — or a viral video.

The cable wended its way through dozens of American embassies around the world, quickly emerging as one of the broadest protests by American officials against their president's policies. And it is not over yet.

By 4 p.m. on Tuesday, the letter had attracted around 1,000 signatures, State Department officials said, far more than any dissent cable in recent years. It was being delivered to management, and department officials said more diplomats wanted to add their names to it.

The State Department has 7,600 Foreign Service officers and 11,000 civil servants.

The letter had been evolving since this weekend, when the first draft emerged. It was edited as it moved along, with some diplomats adding words and others striking

out passages.

For example, one diplomat suggested this sentence should simply end on “lasting shame”: “The decision to restrict the freedom of Japanese-Americans in the United States and foreign nationals who wanted to travel to or settle in the United States during the 1940s has been a source of lasting shame for many in our country.”

Some officials who were trying to sign the document on Tuesday said it was not clear who was in charge or who was collecting signatures. The letter was passed through official State Department email accounts and on government time — several diplomats said union rules allowed them to work on dissent memos on the clock.

“Policy dissent is in our culture,” said one diplomat in Africa, who did not want to speak publicly before the letter was released. “We even have awards for it.”

The letter, which harshly took apart the executive order, said the visa ban would “alienate allies” and “hurt America economically.” Foreign travelers inject nearly \$250 billion into the American economy, the letter said, supporting more than one million jobs.

Some diplomats said they joined the dissent by sending an email saying “I’m in” or “Please add my name as a signer” along with their full name, title, position and post.

The letter was apparently circulated through informal networks of diplomats and not through any State Department-wide email list. One diplomat on vacation in the United States said he received the letter from a colleague in another part of the world who was not connected to the drafters and was simply passing it along.

The diplomat predicted that hundreds of other diplomats would be eager to sign it if they could, but because of the complications of figuring out where the dissent memo originally came from, he was not sure how many would actually sign it.

Most people in the State Department have never seen anything like this, the diplomat said. He said dissent memos were reserved for major policy issues, not for little grumbles like bad food in the embassy cafeteria.

That diplomat also requested anonymity, saying that Foreign Service officers were not supposed to criticize American policy publicly and that he did not want to open himself up to accusations that he had violated the rules. That could threaten his job, he said, especially in such a polarized environment.

This is exactly what the dissent channel, as it is called, was intended for.

Starting in 1971 during the Vietnam War, the channel encourages department officials to voice their criticisms internally through a process of sending a memo or a cable to the secretary of state expressing their concerns and suggesting solutions. The final part of the visa ban memo lays out detailed alternatives, including increased vetting for specific nationalities.

State Department rules are supposed to protect dissenters from being retaliated against, and last year several dozen diplomats signed a dissent memo criticizing American policy on Syria.

But however officially tolerated, several veteran diplomats said dissent was still risky. When it comes to ambassadorships, the selection process is highly competitive — and highly subjective — and the diplomats said it would be impossible to prove why someone had been blocked from a coveted post. Previous dissent could easily be used against the person.

Some State Department officials said on Tuesday that they would not sign the letter because of those risks. While one said he disagreed with the visa ban, he considered it his job to enforce American government policies whether or not he agreed with them.

Other diplomats said the letter did not mean that dissenters would disobey the visa ban. The intent was to try to change the policy so the ban would be lifted, they said.

The diplomat who said he would not use a dissent memo to complain about cafeteria food said that he had been torn when the United States invaded Iraq because he was strongly against the war, but that he did not know how to express his concern.

He said he was just starting out at the time.

The visa ban, he said, “was such obviously bad policy” that he was trying to find a way to sign the dissent letter.

He also said that many diplomats were using the letter as a vehicle to express broader concerns about the way the Trump administration has appeared to sideline the State Department.

The diplomat spoke in defense of refugees, saying that the tiny percentage from, say, Somalia who had been approved for resettlement in the United States had been scrutinized by several agencies and were among the most vulnerable of very vulnerable people. Now, many are stuck in limbo in transit centers.

The diplomat also criticized Mr. Trump’s press secretary, Sean Spicer, who said on Monday that State Department officials who did not agree with Mr. Trump’s agenda “should either get with the program or they can go.”

He called that “bullying at the highest levels.”

Follow Jeffrey Gettleman on Twitter @gettleman.

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The New York Times

EXHIBIT 26

DISSENT CHANNEL

SENSITIVE BUT UNCLASSIFIED

TO:

FROM:

SUBJECT: Dissent Channel: Alternatives to Closing Doors in Order to Secure Our Borders

(U) The following is a Dissent Channel message from

(SBU) Summary: We are writing to register our dissent to the State Department's implementation of President Trump's Friday, January 27, 2017 Executive Order on "Protecting The Nation From Foreign Terrorist Entry Into The United States," which, among other things, blocks the Department of State from issuing immigrant and nonimmigrant visas to citizens of Syria, Iraq, Iran, Libya, Somalia, Sudan, and Yemen for a minimum 90 day period with an unclear timeline for when issuance would resume. As consular professionals, Foreign Service Officers, and members of the Civil Service, we see every day the value that "**Secure Borders and Open Doors**" brings to our nation. A policy which closes our doors to over 200 million legitimate travelers in the hopes of preventing a small number of travelers who intend to harm Americans from using the visa system to enter the United States will not achieve its aim of making our country safer. Moreover, such a policy runs counter to core American values of nondiscrimination, fair play, and extending a warm welcome to foreign visitors and immigrants. Alternative solutions are available to address the risk of terror attacks which are both more effective and in line with Department of State and American values.

This Ban Does Not Achieve Its Aims--And Will Likely Be Counterproductive

(SBU) This ban, which can only be lifted under conditions which will be difficult or impossible for countries to meet, will not achieve its stated aim of to protect the American people from terrorist attacks by foreign nationals admitted to the United States. Despite the Executive Order's focus on them, a vanishingly small number of terror attacks on U.S. soil have been committed by foreign nationals who recently entered the United States on an immigrant or nonimmigrant visa. Rather, the overwhelming majority of attacks have been committed by native-born or naturalized U.S. citizens--individuals who have been living in the United States for decades, if not since birth. In the isolated incidents of foreign nationals entering the

U.S. on a visa to commit acts of terror, the nationals have come from a range of countries, including many (such as Pakistan or Saudi Arabia) which are not covered by the Executive Order.

(SBU) Given the near-absence of terror attacks committed in recent years by Syrian, Iraqi, Irani, Libyan, Somalia, Sudanese, and Yemeni citizens who are in the U.S. in after entering on a visa, this ban will have little practical effect in improving public safety.

(SBU) If this ban will not prevent terror attacks from occurring, what will it do?

- (SBU) It will immediately sour relations with these six countries, as well as much of the Muslim world, which sees the ban as religiously-motivated. These governments of these countries are important allies and partners in the fight against terrorism, regionally and globally. By alienating them, we lose access the intelligence and resources need to fight the root causes of terror abroad, before an attack occurs within our borders.
- (SBU) It will increase anti-American sentiment. When the 220 million citizens of these countries lose the opportunity to travel to the U.S. overnight, hostility towards the United States will grow. Instead of building bridges to these societies through formal outreach and exchanges and through informal people-to-people contact, we send the message that we consider all nationals of these countries to be an unacceptable security risk. Almost one-third of these countries' combined populations are children under the age of 15; there is no question that their perception of the United States will be heavily colored by this ban. We are directly impact the attitudes of current and future leaders in these societies--including those for whom this may be a tipping point towards radicalization.
- (SBU) It will have an immediate and clear humanitarian impact. Every day foreign nationals come to the United States to seek medical treatment for a child with a rare heart condition, to attend a parent's funeral, or to help a relative in distress. For citizens of these countries, a blanket ban on travel will not just ruin vacation plans but potentially cut off access to life-saving medical treatment or impose terrible humanitarian burdens. While the Executive Order allows for the Secretary of State or the Secretary of Homeland security to admit travelers from these countries on a case-by-case basis, it is unrealistic to think that this will be feasible to implements for the thousands of aliens with urgent and compelling needs to travel.

- (SBU) It will have a negative impact on the U.S. economy. According to the Department of Commerce, foreign travelers collectively injected almost \$250 billion into the U.S. economy in 2015 alone, supporting over one million American jobs. Foreign students alone contribute more than \$30 billion to the U.S. economy. Preventing travelers from these six countries from spending their money in the U.S. will immediately decrease that amount; more perniciously, this ban can be expected to cause an overall drop in traveler dollars as the U.S. quickly sheds its welcoming “Secure Borders, **Open Doors**” reputation.

(SBU) The end result of this ban will not be a drop in terror attacks in the United States; rather, it will be a drop in international good will towards Americans and a threat towards our economy.

We Are Better Than This Ban

(SBU) Looking beyond its effectiveness, this ban stands in opposition to the core American and constitutional values that we, as federal employees, took an oath to uphold.

(SBU) The United States is a nation of immigrants, starting from its very origins. The concept that immigrants and foreigners are welcome is an essential element of our society, our government, and our foreign policy. So, too, is the concept that we are all equal under the law and that we as a nation abhor discrimination, whether it is based on race, religion, sex, or national origin. Combined together, that means we have a *special* obligation to maintain an immigration system that is as free as possible from discrimination, that does not have implied or actual religious tests, and that views individuals as individuals, not as part of stereotyped groups.

(SBU) The Executive Order frames the ban as a 90-day suspension of entry for these nationals until their countries can set up arrangements to provide adequate information to determine that an individual seeking a benefit is who the individual claims to be and is not a security or public-safety threat. This is a high, vague, and nebulous bar. In some cases, the governments of these countries may be wholly incapable of providing this information; in others, the government may be unwilling. In either case, individual citizens will pay the price—a situation which runs counter to U.S. values of fair play and offering equal opportunities to all.

(SBU) Banning travelers from these seven countries calls back to some of the worst times in our history. Law enacted in the 1920s and which lasted through the 1960s severely restricted immigration based on national origin and, in some cases, race. The decision to restrict the freedom of Japanese-Americans in the U.S. and foreign citizens who wanted to travel to or settle in the U.S. during the 1940s has been a source of lasting shame for many in our country. Decades from now, we will look back and realize we made the same mistakes our predecessors: shutting borders in a knee-jerk reaction instead of setting up systems of checks that protect our interests and our values.

Alternative Ways Forward

(SBU) Just as equality and multiculturalism are core American values, so too is pragmatism. And there are pragmatic ways to achieve our common goals to protect the American people from terrorist attacks by foreign nationals admitted to the United States and to secure a better and more prosperous future.

(SBU) Rather than a blanket ban on the travel of over 200 million citizens, we need to strengthen our targeted and interagency approach to deterring, detecting, and subverting attacks. We should not focus our screening and vetting on specific nationalities at the expense of missing the forest for the trees but should turn those tools to cover the full range of sources of terror, including those who may hold “friendly” or even U.S. passports.

(SBU) There is no question that the visa process can be improved and refined to better detect individuals who intend to exploit United States immigration laws for malevolent purposes. We need to expand existing interagency cooperation between the different elements of the government responsible for border security and protection of the homeland. This includes cooperation with state, local, campus, and tribal law enforcement, who in many cases are best situated to detect threats. The Visa Security Program which embeds Department of Homeland Security staff into consular sections around the world has proven the effectiveness of incorporating a law enforcement perspective into the visa process; this approach should be expanded.

(SBU) Continuous vetting program for visa holders--which looks at all visa holders, not just those of specific nationalities--allows our law enforcement and intelligence bodies to act on new information and to focus on individuals that may become radicalized. This vetting should be expanded and made more comprehensive. Likewise, the Visa Viper Program, which allows posts overseas to

report on potential threats, should be strengthened to become a more reliable source of intelligence.

(SBU) The Department of State and the U.S. government already has numerous tools already at its disposal to secure its visa process: access to law enforcement databases, biometric screening, Security Advisory Opinions, continuous vetting. If we haven't accomplished our goals so far, then let's strengthen and improve these tools. And let's develop new tools: cutting-edge data analytics, social media tracking, data mining, aggressive outreach.

(SBU) We do not need to place a blanket ban that keeps 220 million people--men, women, and children--from entering the United States to protect our homeland. We do not need to alienate entire societies to stay safe. And we do not need to sacrifice our reputation as a nation which is open and welcoming to protect our families. It is well within our reach to create a visa process which is more secure, which reflects our American values, and which would make the Department proud.