No. 17-15589

UNITED STATES COURT OF APPEALS

FOR THE NINTH CIRCUIT

STATE OF HAWAII, *et al.*,
Plaintiffs-Appellees,

v.

DONALD J. TRUMP, *et al.*,
Defendants-Appellants.

On Appeal from the United States District Court
for the District of Hawaii, No. 1:17-cv-00050-DKW-KSC
District Judge Derrick K. Watson

BRIEF OF *AMICUS CURIAE* KHIZR KHAN IN SUPPORT OF PLAINTIFFS-APPELLEES AND AFFIRMANCE

JOHN W. KEKER - # 49092
DAN JACKSON - # 216091
R. ADAM LAURIDSEN - # 243780
KEKER, VAN NEST & PETERS LLP
633 Battery Street
San Francisco, CA 94111-1809
Telephone: 415 391 5400
Facsimile: 415 397 7188

Attorneys for Khizr Khan

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I. INTRODUCTION

On October 3, 1965, at the foot of the Statue of Liberty, President Lyndon B. Johnson commemorated the abolition of discrimination from the Immigration and Nationality Act ("INA"). Saluting those who have been "brave enough to die for liberty," President Johnson remarked that:

> Neither the enemy who killed them nor the people whose independence they have fought to save ever asked them where they or their parents came from. They were all Americans. It was for free men and for America that they gave their all, they gave their lives and selves. By eliminating that same question as a test for immigration the Congress proves ourselves worthy of those men and worthy of our own traditions as a Nation.[1]

On June 8, 2004, at an Army base in Iraq, Captain Humayun Khan joined the hallowed company of those who have sacrificed everything for this country. Captain Khan died stopping a car full of explosives before it could reach hundreds of other American soldiers. He was one of thousands of Muslims who have served in the United States armed forces since the terrorist attacks of September 11, 2001. It is now the sacred duty of this Court to ensure that we remain worthy of those men and women, and worthy of our traditions as a Nation—including the Constitution itself, which Captain Khan gave his life to defend.

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[1] Lyndon B. Johnson, *Remarks at the Signing of the Immigration Bill* (Oct. 3, 1965), included as Exhibit A to the attached Declaration of *Amicus Curiae* Khizr Khan ("Khan Decl."). Subsequent exhibit references are to that declaration.

II. BACKGROUND

A. Statement of *amicus curiae* pursuant to FRAP 29(a)(4)(D)-(E)

Amicus curiae Khizr Khan is the father of Captain Humayun Khan, and has an interest in this case because Executive Order No. 13,780 ("the Executive Order") not only desecrates his son's service and sacrifice as a Muslim-American officer in the United States Army, but also violates Mr. Khan's own constitutional rights. *See* Khan Decl. All parties have consented to the filing of this brief, which is authorized by Federal Rule of Appellate Procedure 29(a) and Ninth Circuit Rule 29-3. This brief was neither authored nor funded by anyone other than Mr. Khan and his undersigned counsel, who do not represent any of the parties to this case.

B. Out of the melting pot and into the fire

Mr. Khan is originally from Pakistan. Khan Decl. ¶ 3. He met his wife, Ghazala, at the University of Punjab, where she studied Persian and he studied law. *Id.* After they married, they moved to the United Arab Emirates, where their son Humayun was born on September 9, 1976. *Id.* In 1980, the Khans came to the United States, originally settling in Houston, Texas. *Id.* Once they had saved enough money, Mr. Khan enrolled at Harvard Law School, graduating with a master of laws (LL.M.) degree in 1986. *Id.* The Khans moved to Silver Spring, Maryland, where Humayun and his two brothers grew up—all of them having become citizens of the United States. *Id.*

Thomas Jefferson has long been one of Mr. Khan's heroes, and he liked to take the boys to the Jefferson Memorial and have them read the inscription under the dome: "I have sworn upon the altar of god eternal hostility against every form of tyranny over the mind of man." *Id.* ¶ 4. Years later, when Humayun applied to the University of Virginia, he invoked the spirit of Jefferson, writing that "liberty requires vigilance and sacrifice," and that those who are "beneficiaries of liberty must always bear this in mind, and keep it safe from attacks." *Id.* Putting those ideals into practice, Humayun enrolled in the Army Reserve Officers' Training Corps (ROTC). *Id.*

Humayun graduated in 2000 and was commissioned as an Army officer, eventually attaining the rank of Captain. *Id.* ¶ 5. After he was called to serve in Iraq, he reminded his father of his college application essay about defending liberty. "I meant it," he said. *Id.* He was stationed at Camp Warhorse near Baqubah, Iraq—about fifty miles northeast of Baghdad—leading the Force Protection Team of the 201st Support Battalion, First Infantry Division. *Id.*

As Captain Khan's commanding officer later wrote, Captain Khan's unit was the most motivated and combat-oriented logistics unit he had ever seen. Ex. H. As a Muslim, Captain Khan was particularly able to foster warm relationships with local Iraqis. Khan Decl. ¶ 6. He started a program to hire locals to work on the base as a way of trying to improve relations between the soldiers and the town.

Id. And he was determined to break the cycle of violence by preventing unnecessary deaths and injuries at the gates, where several innocent Iraqi drivers had been wounded or killed because they failed to heed or did not understand the soldiers' instructions. *Id.* The terrible irony is that Captain Khan's remarkable success in winning local Iraqi hearts and minds may have been what provoked the suicide bombing that took his life. *Id.*; *see also* Exs. H & M.

C. Captain Khan's sacrifice

On the morning of June 8, 2004, Captain Khan was supervising a checkpoint outside of Camp Warhorse. Khan Decl. ¶ 7. A taxi was approaching the gates. *Id.* Captain Khan could have ordered his soldiers to put a .50 caliber shell through the windshield, but perhaps this driver, like others before, was just confused. *See id.*; Exs. H & M. Ordering his soldiers to hit the dirt, Captain Khan moved forward to stop the taxi before it could reach the gates or the mess hall beyond, where hundreds of soldiers were eating breakfast. Khan Decl. ¶ 7. Captain Khan was killed when the suicide bombers in the taxi detonated their explosives. *Id.*

Captain Khan was posthumously awarded a Bronze Star and a Purple Heart. *Id.* ¶ 8. The Army named the 201st Battalion headquarters at Camp Warhorse the Khan Building in his honor. *Id.* The University of Virginia's ROTC center has a Khan Room dedicated to his memory. *Id.* In July 2016, a regiment of ROTC cadets at Fort Knox honored Captain Khan at their graduation. *Id.* In May, the

University of Virginia will honor Captain Khan with a memorial plaque in the University's Rotunda. *Id.* But the soldier who dropped Captain Khan off at the gates that fateful morning honored him in the terms he might have appreciated most: "I read where someone called him a soldier's officer," Sergeant Crystal Selby said. "To me, he was a human's human." Ex. I; *see also* Ex. L.

After Captain Khan's death, Mr. and Mrs. Khan moved to Charlottesville, Virginia, to be near their two remaining sons. Khan Decl. ¶ 10. The Khans have also become an integral part of the University of Virginia's Army ROTC program. *See* Ex. I. Since 2005, the Khans and the ROTC have given the CPT Humayun S.M. Khan Memorial Award to the fourth year cadet who best exemplifies Captain Khan's qualities of courage, dedication, leadership, and selfless service. Khan Decl. ¶ 10. At the commissioning ceremonies, Mr. Khan gives the new officers pocket-sized copies of the Constitution. *Id.* He reminds them to think hard about their oath to "defend the Constitution of the United States against all enemies, foreign and domestic." 10 U.S.C. § 502. No oath is more solemn, he tells them: "My son died for that document." Khan Decl. ¶ 10.

D. The Muslim Ban

On December 7, 2015, then-candidate Donald J. Trump called for "a total and complete shutdown of Muslims entering the United States until our country's representatives can figure out what is going on." Ex. C. When asked how this

Muslim Ban would be enforced, Mr. Trump said that customs agents would ask, "Are you Muslim?," and ban people who answered "yes." Ex. D. The Executive Order at issue in this case seeks to accomplish the same unconstitutional result, merely changing the question to, in effect, "Are you from one of these Muslim-majority countries?" But in 1965, Congress and President Johnson abolished such questions as unworthy of the sacrifices of soldiers like Captain Khan. *See* Ex. A.[2]

Mr. Khan was asked to speak about his son's sacrifice at the Democratic National Convention on July 28, 2016. *See* Khan Decl. ¶¶ 14-15. During that speech, Mr. Khan held up his copy of the Constitution—the pocket-sized kind he has been giving to newly commissioned Army officers and others for years—and asked if Mr. Trump had ever read it, offering to lend him one. *Id.* ¶ 16. Mr. Khan also urged Mr. Trump to go to Arlington National Cemetery, where Captain Khan is buried, to "look at the graves of brave patriots who died defending the United States of America. You will see all faiths, genders and ethnicities." Ex. G.

Mr. Trump responded by disparaging the Khans and their plea to respect the Constitution and those who have died defending it. Khan Decl. ¶ 17; *see also, e.g.*,

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[2] Since 1965, Congress has repeatedly reaffirmed the nondiscrimination principles that President Johnson emphasized. For example, the Refugee Act of 1980 prohibits discrimination based on "race, religion, nationality, sex, or political opinion." 8 U.S.C. § 1522(a)(5). Congress intended that "the plight of the refugees themselves, as opposed to national origins or political considerations, should be paramount in determining which refugees are to be admitted to the United States." H.R. Rep. No. 96-608, at 13 (1979).

Ex. K. And after candidate Trump became President Trump, he lost no time in implementing his unconstitutional Muslim Ban. *See, e.g.*, Ex. E. President Trump asked his advisors to find a way to do so "legally." *Id.* They failed, and the initial executive order was enjoined. Yet the current Executive Order, as President Trump himself has publicly stated, is simply "a watered-down version of the first one." Ex. P. The taint of discrimination has not been washed away.

Far from valuing Captain Khan's sacrifice, President Trump's advisors claim to represent "the Judeo-Christian West" in a "battle" against "Islam." Khan Decl. ¶ 25; Ex. O at 20. And, far from valuing Captain Khan's oath—and President Trump's own oath—to defend the Constitution against all enemies, foreign and domestic, President Trump himself contends that judicial defense of the Constitution "makes us look weak" in that purported battle against "radical Islamic terrorists." Ex. P. Those messages have been received loud and clear—not only by Muslims like Mr. Khan, but by those who have been denigrating and attacking Muslims with increasing frequency and vehemence since President Trump issued his executive orders. *See* Khan Decl. ¶¶ 25-29; Ex. R.

III. ARGUMENT

A. The Executive Order violates the First Amendment's Religion Clauses.

The First Amendment prohibits any "law respecting an establishment of religion, or prohibiting the free exercise thereof." U.S. CONST. amend. I. The

Establishment and Free Exercise Clauses are "inextricably connected." *Larson v. Valente*, 456 U.S. 228, 245 (1982). They must be "read together" in light of their joint purpose "to promote and assure the fullest possible scope of religious liberty and tolerance for all and to nurture the conditions which secure the best hope of attainment of that end." *Sch. Dist. of Abington Twp., Pa. v. Schempp*, 374 U.S. 203, 305 (1963) (Goldberg, J., concurring); *accord Larson*, 456 U.S. at 246.

Determining whether the Religion Clauses have been violated "requires an equal protection mode of analysis." *Church of the Lukumi Babalu Aye, Inc. v. City of Hialeah*, 508 U.S. 520, 540 (1993) (quoting *Walz v. Tax Comm'n of City of N.Y.*, 397 U.S. 664, 696 (1970)). Lawmakers "are required to accord to their own religions the very same treatment given to small, new, or unpopular denominations." *Larson*, 456 U.S. at 245. When they fail to do so, the Court must "apply strict scrutiny." *Id.* at 246. The challenged law must advance "interests of the highest order," and be narrowly tailored to those interests; it "will survive strict scrutiny only in rare cases." *Lukumi*, 508 U.S. at 546 (citation omitted).

The protection of the Religion Clauses, moreover, "extends beyond facial discrimination" to forbid "subtle departures from neutrality and covert suppression of particular religious beliefs. Official action that targets religious conduct for distinctive treatment cannot be shielded by mere compliance with the requirement of facial neutrality." *Id.* at 534 (citations and internal quotation marks omitted).

Accordingly, courts look to "both direct and circumstantial evidence," including "the historical background of the decision under challenge, the specific series of events leading to the enactment or official policy in question, and the legislative or administrative history, including contemporaneous statements made by members of the decisionmaking body." *Id.* at 540.

Here, the evidence of discriminatory intent is overwhelming. That evidence is discussed in the district court's order and in Plaintiffs' principal brief to this Court, and need not be addressed further here. Instead, Mr. Khan asks this Court to consider the message of the Executive Order from the perspective of those on the receiving end of it. Defendants ignore that perspective, contending that "only the official purpose of government action is material." AOB at 18. But this Court rejected such solipsism in one of the cases Defendants cite as support for it. *See id.* at 48 (citing *Trunk v. City of San Diego*, 629 F.3d 1099 (9th Cir. 2011)).

In *Trunk*, this Court held that, in determining whether the government has sent the impermissibly "stigmatic message to nonadherents that they are outsiders, not full members of the political community, and an accompanying message to adherents that they are insiders, favored members," the Court adopts "the perspective of an informed and reasonable observer who is familiar with the history of the government practice at issue." 629 F.3d at 1109-10 (citations and internal quotation marks omitted). Although Congress had predominantly secular

reasons for acquiring the memorial at issue in *Trunk*, which featured a cross, ***earlier*** statements about that memorial "cast a long shadow of sectarianism." *Id.* at 1122. Thus, the memorial conveyed "a message of government endorsement of religion that violates the Establishment Clause." *Id.* at 1125.

Similarly, in *Santa Fe Independent School District v. Doe*, 530 U.S. 290 (2000), the Supreme Court held that school prayers violated the Establishment Clause—even though they were offered by students, rather than school officials—because a student "will unquestionably perceive the inevitable pregame prayer as stamped with her school's seal of approval." *Id.* at 308. "Most striking" to the Court was the "evolution" of the school's policy from "the candidly titled 'Prayer at Football Games' regulation." *Id.* at 309. Although the school later removed the word "prayer" from the regulation, the "history indicates that the District intended to preserve the practice of prayer before football games." *Id.*

As in *Santa Fe*, the "evolution" from what candidate Trump candidly called a "Muslim Ban," to what President Trump ***still*** candidly calls a "watered-down version," Ex. P, shows that, although the form of the executive order has changed, the underlying message has not. The message is that Muslims are outsiders, regardless of the depth of their devotion to the Constitution, and despite paying the ultimate price to defend it—a message that is painfully clear to Mr. Khan. *See* Khan Decl. ¶¶ 25-29. Contrary to Defendants' assertions, no psychoanalysis is

necessary to perceive that message. Indeed, no "other conclusion seems possible if we take seriously the admonition that 'when we take our seats on the bench we are not struck with blindness, and forbidden to know as judges what we see as men and women.'" *Rusak v. Holder*, 734 F.3d 894, 897 (9th Cir. 2013) (brackets omitted) (quoting *Ho Ah Kow v. Nunan*, 12 F. Cas. 252, 255 (C.C.D. Cal. 1879)).

B. The Executive Order also violates Article I of the Constitution.

Defendants try to evade the conclusion that the Executive Order violates the Religion Clauses of the First Amendment by arguing that the opposite conclusion is mandated by the "separation of powers" and *Kleindienst v. Mandel*, 408 U.S. 753 (1972). *See* AOB at 18. Defendants have it backwards. It is the Executive Order itself, not this Court's review of it, that violates the separation of powers.

As the Supreme Court recognized in *Mandel*, the formulation of immigration policy "is entrusted exclusively to Congress," whereas the President's role is "the enforcement of these policies," respecting "the procedural safeguards of due process." 408 U.S. at 767 (quoting *Galvan v. Press*, 347 U.S. 522, 531 (1954)). "That kind of Executive action is always subject to check by the terms of the legislation that authorized it; and if that authority is exceeded it is open to judicial review," as the Supreme Court made clear in *INS v. Chadha*, 462 U.S. 919, 953 n.16 (1983). "Because the Constitution's separation-of-powers structure, like the substantive guarantees of the Fifth and Fourteenth Amendments, protects persons

as well as citizens," anyone who has "the privilege of litigating in our courts can seek to enforce separation-of-powers principles." *Boumediene v. Bush*, 553 U.S. 723, 743 (2008) (citation omitted). Congress and the President must "engage in a genuine debate about how best to preserve constitutional values while protecting the Nation from terrorism," and the Court's "'insistence upon that consultation does not weaken our Nation's ability to deal with danger. To the contrary, that insistence strengthens the Nation's ability to determine—through democratic means—how best to do so.'" *Id.* at 798 (quoting *Hamdan v. Rumsfeld*, 548 U.S. 557, 636 (2006) (Breyer, J., concurring)).

Yet the Executive Order "does not direct that a congressional policy be executed in a manner prescribed by Congress—it directs that a presidential policy be executed in a manner prescribed by the President." *Youngstown Sheet & Tube Co. v. Sawyer*, 343 U.S. 579, 588 (1952). Like a statute, the Executive Order "sets out reasons why the President believes certain policies should be adopted, proclaims these policies as rules of conduct to be followed, and again, like a statute, authorizes a government official to promulgate additional rules and regulations consistent with the policy proclaimed and needed to carry that policy into execution." *Id.* But the "Founders of this Nation entrusted the law making power to the Congress alone in both good and bad times." *Id.* at 589.

None of the authorities on which Defendants rely support their assertion of unilateral authority to promulgate new immigration policies at odds with those already established by Congress. For example, Defendants rely on *Fiallo v. Bell*, 430 U.S. 787 (1977), but the Court in *Fiallo* afforded "judicial deference to ***congressional*** policy choices in the immigration context." *Id.* at 793 (emphasis added). Likewise, in *Harisiades v. Shaughnessy*, 342 U.S. 580 (1952), the Court deferred to an Act of Congress, not a unilateral executive order. *See id.* at 590. And in *United States ex rel. Knauff v. Shaughnessy*, 338 U.S. 537 (1950), although the Court initially blurred the lines between legislative and executive power in the context of World War II, the Court went on to clarify that "[n]ormally Congress supplies the conditions of the privilege of entry into the United States," and that, even during war, any delegation of power to the executive is constrained by "congressional intent." *Id.* at 543. "Standards prescribed by Congress are to be read in the light of the conditions to which they are to be applied. They derive much meaningful content from the purpose of the Act, its factual background and the statutory context in which they appear." *Id.* (quoting *Lichter v. United States*, 334 U.S. 742, 785 (1948)).

Defendants' contention that 8 U.S.C. §§ 1182(f) and 1185(a) grant the President boundless legislative authority deprives those statutes of "meaningful content." *Knauff*, 338 U.S. at 543 (quoting *Lichter*, 334 U.S. at 785). The

Supreme Court rejected a similarly overbroad interpretation of Section 1185 in *Kent v. Dulles*, 357 U.S. 116 (1958). Section 1185(b) makes it unlawful for a citizen to depart from or enter the United States without a valid passport "except as otherwise provided by the President, and subject to such limitations and exceptions as the President may authorize and prescribe." *Id.* at 122 n.4. Those "broad terms" are the same as in Section 1185(a)(1), but the Court held that they do not grant the "pervasive power" to deny passports based on "beliefs or associations." *Id.* at 127-30. Even in the context of "foreign relations," a statute cannot "grant the Executive totally unrestricted freedom of choice." *Zemel v. Rusk*, 381 U.S. 1, 17 (1965). On the contrary, a seemingly broad grant of authority "must take its content from history," authorizing only those "refusals and restrictions 'which it could fairly be argued were adopted by Congress in light of prior administrative practice.'" *Id.* at 17-18 (quoting *Kent*, 357 U.S. at 128). Without that limiting construction, the statute would "constitute an invalid delegation." *Id.* at 18.

Similarly, President Truman's Commission on the INA warned that Section 1182(f), in the absence of a limiting construction, would be impermissibly "vague." Commission on Immigration and Naturalization, WHOM WE SHALL WELCOME 178 (1953). Although "**latitude in administrative action is frequently a desirable objective . . . such discretionary authority should not be nebulous and undefined but rather should contain some standards controlling the**

administrative action." *Id*. (emphasis in original). From Truman's time until now, executive orders under Section 1182(f) have "typically" applied to "individuals"; have sometimes been "based on affiliation"; and otherwise have suspended entry "based on objectionable conduct." 9 *Foreign Affairs Manual* § 302.14-3(B)(1) (2016), https://fam.state.gov/FAM/09FAM/09FAM030214.html.

Thus, Defendants' interpretation of Section 1182(f) as a grant of sweeping legislative authority is inconsistent with "prior administrative practice." *Kent*, 357 U.S. at 128. In any case, past practice "does not, by itself, create power." *Texas v. United States*, 809 F.3d 134, 184 (5th Cir. 2015), *aff'd by an equally divided Court*, 136 S. Ct. 2271 (2016) (quoting *Medellin v. Texas*, 552 U.S. 491, 532 (2008)). "Congress has not thereby lost its exclusive constitutional authority to make laws necessary and proper to carry out the powers vested by the Constitution 'in the Government of the United States, or in any Department or Officer thereof.'" *Youngstown*, 343 U.S. at 588-89 (quoting U.S. CONST. art. I, § 8, cl. 18).

Congress has given the President authority to address exigent circumstances, but has not given and cannot give him the legislative power to amend Congress's "specific criteria for determining terrorism-related inadmissibility." *Kerry v. Din*, 135 S. Ct. 2128, 2140 (2015) (Kennedy, J., concurring in the judgment). Nor may the President disregard Congress's command that "no person shall receive any preference or priority or be discriminated against in the issuance of an immigrant

visa because of the person's race, sex, nationality, place of birth, or place of residence." 8 U.S.C. § 1152(a)(1)(A). Nor may the President unilaterally suspend the entire refugee program, or halve the number of potential refugees—much less do so without "appropriate consultation" with Congress. 8 U.S.C. § 1157. Sections 1182(f) and 1185(a) may be "broad grants of authority," but they "cannot reasonably be construed as assigning decisions of [such] vast economic and political significance." *Texas*, 809 F.3d at 183 (internal quotation marks omitted).

Defendants' contrary interpretation would make Sections 1182(f) and 1185(a) the immigration equivalents of the line-item veto, which the Supreme Court ruled unconstitutional in *Clinton v. City of New York*, 524 U.S. 417 (1998). The Constitution denies the President the power to unilaterally suspend, amend, repeal, or enact statutes, in whole or in part, even if Congress purports to grant the President such power. *See id.* at 438-45; *see also, e.g.*, *Gutierrez-Brizuela v. Lynch*, 834 F.3d 1142, 1153 (10th Cir. 2016) (Gorsuch, J., concurring) (Congress cannot delegate legislative power to the President). Such changes to the INA can be accomplished "in only one way; bicameral passage followed by presentment to the President." *Chadha*, 462 U.S. at 954-55. This may "often seem clumsy, inefficient, even unworkable, but those hard choices were consciously made by men who had lived under a form of government that permitted arbitrary governmental acts to go unchecked." *Id.* at 959.

Nevertheless, Defendants claim the power to unilaterally impose a "dramatic immigration policy change" that would prevent "large Islamic populations" such as those "in parts of France, in parts of Germany, in Belgium, etcetera," from being "replicated inside the United States." Ex. Q. But Congress already rejected this argument that we should put "self-interest first" by refusing to admit "greater numbers of persons of different cultures and with different values who may come to add to our own very real and growing social upheavals," or engage in "subversion." S. Rep. No. 89-748, at 3347-48 (1965). Such fearful prejudice is "un-American in the highest sense," and unworthy of Captain Khan's sacrifice. Ex. A. The United States has "flourished because it was fed from so many sources, because it was nourished by so many cultures and traditions and peoples." *Id.* President Trump cannot overturn half a century of congressional policy—much less the Constitution itself—with the mere stroke of his pen.

IV. CONCLUSION

Mr. Khan respectfully urges this Court to affirm the preliminary injunction.

DATED: April 19, 2017

/s/ *Dan Jackson*
DAN JACKSON
KEKER, VAN NEST & PETERS LLP
Attorneys for Khizr Khan

CERTIFICATE OF COMPLIANCE

This brief complies with the type-volume limitation of Fed. R. App. P. 29(a)(5) because it contains 4,153 words, excluding the parts of the brief exempted by Fed. R. App. P. 32(a)(7)(B)(iii).

DATED: April 19, 2017

/s/ *Dan Jackson*
DAN JACKSON
KEKER, VAN NEST & PETERS LLP
Attorneys for Khizr Khan

DECLARATION OF AMICUS CURIAE KHIZR KHAN

I, KHIZR KHAN, declare and state as follows:

1. I have knowledge of the facts set forth herein, and if called upon to testify as a witness thereto, I could and would competently do so under oath.

2. I am the father of Humayun Saqib Muazzam Khan, a Muslim-American Captain in the United States Army who died serving our country.

3. I am originally from Pakistan. I met my wife, Ghazala, at the University of Punjab, where she studied Persian and I studied law. After we married, we moved to the United Arab Emirates, where Humayun was born on September 9, 1976. In 1980, we moved to the United States, originally settling in Houston, Texas. Once we had saved enough money, I enrolled at Harvard Law School, graduating with a master of laws (LL.M.) degree in 1986. We moved to Silver Spring, Maryland, where Humayun and his two brothers grew up. I became a citizen of the United States in 1988. My wife and sons, including Humayun, became United States citizens in 1991.

4. Thomas Jefferson has long been one of my heroes, and I would take my sons to the Jefferson Memorial and have them read the inscription under the dome: "I have sworn upon the altar of god eternal hostility against every form of tyranny over the mind of man." When Humayun applied to the University of Virginia, he invoked the spirit of Jefferson in his application essay, in which he wrote that "liberty requires vigilance and sacrifice," and that those who are

"beneficiaries of liberty must always bear this in mind, and keep it safe from attacks." Putting those ideals into practice, Humayun enrolled in the Army Reserve Officers' Training Corps (ROTC).

5. Humayun graduated in 2000 and was commissioned as an Army officer, eventually attaining the rank of Captain. After he was called to serve in Iraq, he reminded me of his college application essay about defending liberty. "I meant it," he said. He was stationed at Camp Warhorse near Baqubah, Iraq—about fifty miles northeast of Baghdad—leading the Force Protection Team of the 201st Support Battalion, First Infantry Division.

6. As a Muslim, Humayun was particularly able to foster warm relationships with local Iraqis. He started a program to hire locals to work on the base as a way of trying to improve relations between the soldiers and the town. And he was determined to break the cycle of violence by preventing unnecessary deaths and injuries at the gates, where several innocent Iraqi drivers had been wounded or killed because they failed to heed or did not understand the soldiers' instructions. The terrible irony, as his commanding officers later noted, is that Humayun's success in winning local Iraqi hearts and minds may have been what provoked the suicide bombing that took his life.

7. I have been informed that on the morning of June 8, 2004, Humayun was supervising soldiers who were inspecting vehicles at a checkpoint outside of

Camp Warhorse. A taxi was approaching the gates. Humayun could have simply put a .50 caliber shell through the windshield. Instead, ordering his soldiers to hit the dirt, Humayun moved forward to stop the taxi before it could reach the gates or the mess hall beyond, where hundreds of soldiers were eating breakfast. Humayun was killed when the suicide bombers in the taxi detonated their explosives.

8. Humayun was posthumously awarded a Bronze Star and a Purple Heart. The Army named the 201st Battalion headquarters at Camp Warhorse the Khan Building in his honor. The University of Virginia's ROTC center has a Khan Room dedicated to his memory. In July 2016, the graduation of a regiment of ROTC cadets at Fort Knox, which my wife and I were honored to attend, was dedicated to Humayun's exemplary service and sacrifice. In May, the University of Virginia will honor Humayun with a memorial plaque in the Rotunda. I am proud of our country's long tradition of honoring its soldiers no matter where they came from or what their religion, as exemplified by President Lyndon B. Johnson's October 3, 1965 Remarks at the Signing of the Immigration Bill, a true and correct copy of which is attached as **Exhibit A**.

9. In 2005, long before Donald Trump began calling for a "Muslim Ban," I was interviewed for an article in the Washington Post about Humayun's sacrifice and our grief. *See* Stephanie McCrummen, *Khizr Khan's loss: A grieving*

father of a soldier struggles to understand, WASH. POST, Mar. 22, 2005. A true and correct copy of that article is attached as **Exhibit B**.

10. After Humayun died, my wife and I moved to Charlottesville, Virginia, to be near our two remaining sons. Since 2005, we and the ROTC have given the CPT Humayun S.M. Khan Memorial Award to the fourth year cadet who best exemplifies Captain Khan's qualities of courage, dedication, leadership, and selfless service. At the commissioning ceremonies, I typically give the new officers pocket-sized copies of the Constitution. I remind them to think hard about their oath to defend the Constitution of the United States against all enemies, foreign and domestic. As I tell them: My son died for that document.

11. On December 7, 2015, then-candidate Donald J. Trump called for "a total and complete shutdown of Muslims entering the United States until our country's representatives can figure out what is going on." Donald J. Trump, *Statement on Preventing Muslim Immigration*. A true and correct copy of that statement is attached as **Exhibit C**.

12. When asked how this Muslim Ban would be enforced, Mr. Trump said that customs agents would ask, "Are you Muslim?," and ban people who answered "yes." Maya Rhodan, *Here's How Donald Trump Says His Muslim Ban Would Work*, TIME, Dec. 8, 2015. A true and correct copy of that article is attached as **Exhibit D**.

13. Mr. Trump asked his advisors to find a way to implement this Muslim Ban "legally." Amy B. Wang, *Trump asked for a 'Muslim ban,' Giuliani says – and ordered a commission to do it 'legally,'* WASH. POST, Jan. 29, 2017. A true and correct copy of that article is attached as **Exhibit E**.

14. After Donald Trump began calling for his Muslim Ban, I was interviewed for an article in an online publication called Vocativ. *See* James King, *The Father Of A Muslim War Hero Has This To Say To Donald Trump*, VOCATIV, Dec. 8, 2015. A true and correct copy of that article is attached as **Exhibit F**.

15. A few weeks later, someone from Hillary Clinton's presidential campaign asked if my comments could be used in a tribute to Humayun at the Democratic National Convention. I said I would be honored. Later, the campaign asked if my wife and I would come to the convention. Again, we said we would be honored. Then they asked if I would be willing to give a brief speech, and asked if I needed speechwriting help. I agreed to speak, but wrote the speech myself. A true and correct copy of my July 28, 2016 speech, as transcribed by ABC News, is attached as **Exhibit G**.

16. In my speech, I held up my copy of the Constitution—the same pocket-sized kind I have been giving to newly commissioned Army officers and others for years—and asked if Mr. Trump had ever read it, offering to lend him one. I also urged Mr. Trump to go to Arlington National Cemetery, where my son

is buried, to look at the graves of brave patriots, of all faiths, genders and ethnicities, who died defending the United States of America.

17. Mr. Trump responded by disparaging me and my wife. Many articles have since been published about Humayun's sacrifice, my speech, Donald Trump's reaction, and the responses of those who served with Humayun. I attach some of those articles for the Court's reference.

18. Attached as **Exhibit H** is a true and correct copy of an article by Humayun's former commanding officer. Dana J.H. Pittard, *I was Capt. Khan's commander in Iraq. The Khan family is our family*, WASH. POST, Aug. 3, 2016.

19. Attached as **Exhibit I** is a true and correct copy N.R. Kleinfield, Richard A. Oppel, Jr., and Melissa Eddy, *Moment in Convention Glare Shakes Up Khans' American Life*, N.Y. TIMES, Aug. 5, 2016.

20. Attached as **Exhibit J** is a true and correct copy of Richard A. Oppel, Jr., *In Tribute to Son, Khizr Khan Offered Citizenship Lesson at Convention*, N.Y. TIMES, July 29, 2016.

21. Attached as **Exhibit K** is a true and correct copy of Maggie Haberman & Richard A. Oppel Jr., *Donald Trump Criticizes Muslim Family of Slain U.S. Soldier, Drawing Ire*, N.Y. TIMES, July 30, 2016.

22. Attached as **Exhibit L** is a true and correct copy of Missy Ryan, *Capt. Humayun Khan, whose grieving parents have been criticized by Trump, was 'a soldier's officer,'* WASH. POST, Aug. 2, 2016.

23. Attached as **Exhibit M** is a true and correct copy of Michael Hirsh, *The Tragedy of Humayun Khan*, POLITICO MAGAZINE, Aug. 4, 2016.

24. Attached as **Exhibit N** is a true and correct copy of Robin Wright, *Khizr Khan, Gold Star Father, on the New Refugee Ban*, THE NEW YORKER, Jan. 29, 2017.

25. As a Muslim myself, and as Captain Khan's father, the message I perceive in President Trump's Executive Order No. 13,780 is that Muslims—even those, like my son, who have died for this country—are stigmatized by the Trump administration as outsiders, not valued as members of the political community. Indeed, President Trump's advisor Steve Bannon claims to represent "the Judeo-Christian West" in a "battle" against "Islam." J. Lester Feder, *This Is How Steve Bannon Sees The Entire World*, BUZZFEED NEWS, Nov. 16, 2016. A true and correct copy of that article is attached as **Exhibit O**.

26. President Trump himself contends that when judges and citizens like me defend the Constitution—which my son died to defend—it "makes us look weak" in the purported battle against "radical Islamic terrorists." Donald J. Trump,

Remarks by the President at Make America Great Again Rally, Mar. 15, 2017. A true and correct copy of that speech is attached as **Exhibit P**.

27. Senior administration officials have stated that President Trump seeks to impose a dramatic immigration policy change that would prevent "large Islamic populations" such as those "in parts of France, in parts of Germany, in Belgium, etcetera," from being "replicated inside the United States." Neil Munro, *Left Protests While Trump Junks Obama's Global Immigration Plan*, BREITBART, Jan. 30, 2017. A true and correct copy of that article is attached as **Exhibit Q**.

28. I am also extremely concerned about the message non-Muslims hear in the Executive Order. I have personally experienced a dramatic and disturbing increase in anti-Muslim harassment after these executive orders were issued. In my neighborhood near Thomas Jefferson's Monticello I had always felt at home, free in the pursuit of happiness despite my grief. Recently, however, I have been forced to put up "No Trespassing" signs because of anti-Muslim threats. None of my non-Muslim neighbors need such signs. To some extent, this may be the result of my speech at the convention, though that is no excuse for such behavior. But I am also aware of many incidents of anti-Muslim harassment and violence that have nothing to do with my speech.

29. The Council on American-Islamic Relations (CAIR) has documented, and continues to document, the increase in frequency and vehemence of anti-

Muslim attacks. As CAIR reported on April 12, 2017: "Since the beginning of the year, CAIR has called for investigations of possible bias motives for 35 incidents targeting mosques in Colorado, Florida, Ohio, Iowa, Kentucky, Georgia, Arizona, Virginia, New Jersey, New York, Maryland, Texas, and a number of other states. By comparison, in the January-March period in 2016, CAIR recorded 19 such incidents." **Exhibit R** is a true and correct copy of that report.

I declare under penalty of perjury that the foregoing is true and correct and that this declaration was executed on April 18, 2017, in Charlottesville, Virginia.

KHIZR KHAN

Ex. A

THE OFFICIAL WEEKLY RECORD OF UNITED STATES FOREIGN POLICY

THE DEPARTMENT OF STATE BULLETIN

Vol. LIII, No. 1374

October 25, 1965

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GOVERNMENT PRINTING OFFICE 1965 201-931/16

ous round-table sessions on the afternoon of October 28. Subjects to be covered in these sessions are the United Nations, Latin America, problems of developing countries, Africa, arms control, and problems of India and Pakistan.

Plenary sessions will be held in the West Auditorium of the Department of State. The conference will be held under the "background only" ground rule.

President Signs Immigration Bill; Offers Asylum to Cubans

Remarks by President Johnson[1]

This bill that we sign today is not a revolutionary bill. It does not affect the lives of millions. It will not reshape the structure of our daily lives, or really add importantly to either our wealth or our power.

Yet it is still one of the most important acts of this Congress and of this administration. For it does repair a very deep and painful flaw in the fabric of American justice. It corrects a cruel and enduring wrong in the conduct of the American nation.

Speaker [John W.] McCormack and Congressman [Emanuel] Celler almost 40 years ago first pointed that out in their maiden speeches in the Congress. And this measure that we will sign today will really make us truer to ourselves both as a country and as a people. It will strengthen us in a hundred unseen ways.

I have come here to thank personally each Member of the Congress who labored so long and so valiantly to make this occasion come true today and to make this bill a reality . I cannot mention all their names for it would take much too long, but my gratitude and that of this nation belongs to the 89th Congress.

We are indebted, too, to the vision of the late beloved President John Fitzgerald Kennedy and to the support given to this measure by the then Attorney General and now Senator, Robert F. Kennedy.

In the final days of consideration this bill had no more able champion than the present Attorney General, Nicholas Katzenbach, who, with New York's Emanuel Celler, and Senator Ted Kennedy of Massachusetts, and Congressman [Michael A.] Feighan of Ohio, and Senator [A. S. Mike] Mansfield and Senator [Everett] Dirksen constituting the leadership in the Senate, and Senator [Jacob] Javits, helped to guide this bill to passage along with the help of the Members sitting in front of me today.

This bill says simply that from this day forth those wishing to emigrate to America shall be admitted on the basis of their skills and their close relationship to those already here.

This is a simple test, and it is a fair test. Those who can contribute most to this country—to its growth, to its strength, to its spirit—will be the first that are admitted to this land.

The fairness of this standard is so self-evident that we may well wonder that it has not always been applied. Yet the fact is that for over four decades the immigration policy of the United States has been twisted and has been distorted by the harsh injustice of the national-origins quota system.

Under that system the ability of new immigrants to come to America depended upon the country of their birth. Only three countries were allowed to supply 70 percent of all the immigrants. Families were kept apart because a husband or a wife or a child had been born in the wrong place. Men of needed skill and talent were denied entrance because they came from southern or eastern Europe or from one of the developing continents.

This system violated the basic principle of American democracy—the principle that values and rewards each man on the basis of his merit as a man. It has been un-American in the highest sense because it

[1] Made at Liberty Island, N.Y., on Oct. 3 when the President signed H.R. 2580, a bill to amend the Immigration and Nationality Act (White House press release (Liberty Island, N.Y.) dated Oct. 3; as-delivered text).

has been untrue to the faith that brought thousands to these shores even before we were a country.

Today, with my signature, this system is abolished. We can now believe that it will never again shadow the gate to the American nation with the twin barriers of prejudice and privilege.

Our beautiful America was built by a nation of strangers. From a hundred different places or more, they have poured forth into an empty land, joining and blending in one mighty and irresistible tide. The land flourished because it was fed from so many sources, because it was nourished by so many cultures and traditions and peoples.

And from this experience, almost unique in the history of nations, has come America's attitude toward the rest of the world. We, because of what we are, feel safer and stronger in a world as varied as the people who make it up—a world where no country rules another and all countries can deal with the basic problems of human dignity and deal with those problems in their own way.

Now, under the monument which has welcomed so many to our shores, the American nation returns to the finest of its traditions today.

The days of unlimited immigration are past. But those who do come will come because of what they are and not because of the land from which they sprung.

When the earliest settlers poured into a wild continent, there was no one to ask them where they came from. The only question was: Were they sturdy enough to make the journey, were they strong enough to clear the land, were they enduring enough to make a home for freedom, and were they brave enough to die for liberty if it became necessary to do so?

And so it has been through all the great and testing moments of American history. This year we see in Viet-Nam men dying—men named Fernandez and Zajac and Zelinko and Mariano and McCormick. Neither the enemy who killed them nor the people whose independence they have fought to save ever asked them where they or their parents came from. They were all Americans. It was for free men and for America that they gave their all, they gave their lives and selves.

By eliminating that same question as a test for immigration the Congress proves ourselves worthy of those men and worthy of our own traditions as a nation.

So it is in that spirit that I declare this afternoon to the people of Cuba that those who seek refuge here in America will find it. The dedication of America to our traditions as an asylum for the oppressed is going to be upheld.

I have directed the Departments of State and Justice and Health, Education, and Welfare to immediately make all the necessary arrangements to permit those in Cuba who seek freedom to make an orderly entry into the United States of America.

Our first concern will be with those Cubans who have been separated from their children and their parents and their husbands and their wives that are now in this country. Our next concern is with those who are imprisoned for political reasons.

And I will send to the Congress tomorrow a request for supplementary funds of $12,600,000 to carry forth the commitment that I am making today.

I am asking the Department of State to seek through the Swiss Government immediately the agreement of the Cuban government in a request to the President of the International Red Cross Committee. The request is for the assistance of the Committee in processing the movement of refugees from Cuba to Miami. Miami will serve as a port of entry and temporary stopping place for refugees as they settle in other parts of this country.

And to all the voluntary agencies in the United States, I appeal for their continuation and expansion of their magnificent work. Their help is needed in the reception and settlement of those who choose to leave Cuba. The Federal Government will work closely with these agencies in their tasks of charity and brotherhood.

I want all the people of this great land of ours to know of the really enormous contri-

bution which the compassionate citizens of Florida have made to humanity and to decency. And all States in this Union can join with Florida now in extending the hand of helpfulness and humanity to our Cuban brothers.

The lesson of our times is sharp and clear in this movement of people from one land to another. Once again it stamps the mark of failure on a regime when many of its citizens voluntarily choose to leave the land of their birth for a more hopeful home in America. The future holds little hope for any government where the present holds no hope for the people.

And so we Americans will welcome these Cuban people. For the tides of history run strong, and in another day they can return to their homeland to find it cleansed of terror and free from fear.

Over my shoulder here you can see Ellis Island, whose vacant corridors echo today the joyous sounds of long-ago voices. And today we can all believe that the lamp of this grand old lady is brighter today, and the golden door that she guards gleams more brilliantly in the light of an increased liberty for the people from all the countries of the globe.

OAS Informed of U.S. Move To Help Cuban Refugees

Statement by Ward P. Allen[1]

My delegation requested that this item be inscribed on the agenda in order to inform the members of the Council of recent developments in a matter which is of great importance to all members of the Organization of American States. Not only do all of our governments have a common interest and responsibility in the general question of Cuba; we also have a special concern for the condition of the Cuban people, and so my Government wants to share our hopes and desires in helping the refugees.

For more than 5 years we have all witnessed a steady outpouring of Cubans from their island home in search of freedom from an increasingly oppressive totalitarian regime. About 350,000 persons are estimated to have left Cuba for other lands. About 270,000 of these are in the United States. In recent months these refugees have been arriving in this country alone at the rate of about 1,000 persons per month, including hundreds who have bravely chosen a dangerous escape by sea in small craft of all sizes and descriptions.

In most, if not all, of the other countries here represented, the thousands of Cuban exiles have found refuge. We are all aware of the human suffering, the broken homes, the bewildered children which are the bitter fruits of this massive movement. Never before has this hemisphere been faced with a similar situation of such tragic magnitude.

On September 28 Premier Castro announced in a speech in Havana that Cubans with relatives in the United States who wished to leave Cuba would be permitted to do so. He made reference to the small fishing port of Camarioca as a possible gathering place and point of departure. He mentioned October 10th as a date when such departures might be permitted.

On September 30 the Department of State referred to Premier Castro's apparent offer,[2]

[1] Made before the Council of the Organization of American States at Washington on Oct. 6. Mr. Allen is Alternate U.S. Representative to the Council.

[2] On Sept. 30 the following statement was read to news correspondents by Robert J. McCloskey, Director of the Office of News:

"A study of the text of the speech [by Premier Castro] shows that the so-called proposal on the exit from Cuba of relatives of Cuban exiles in the United States is vague and ambiguous. The terms of the proposal and the form and tone in which it was presented raise doubts about its seriousness. In keeping with its humanitarian traditions, and its record of having given refuge and assistance to more than a quarter million Cubans who have fled from the island and who continue to enter this country, the United States has been and continues to be concerned about the problem of reuniting Cuban families. At the same time it is concerned about

Continued on p. 664

Ex. B

The Washington Post

National

Khizr Khan's loss: A grieving father of a soldier struggles to understand

By Stephanie McCrummen March 22, 2005

Editor's note: This story was originally published March 22, 2005.

Khizr Khan is a lawyer by training and demeanor, an articulate man, a careful and methodical thinker who is trying at 2 p.m. on a Wednesday to make sense of the fact that his 27-year-old son is gone forever.

It's a workday, so he finds someplace quiet, an empty conference room on the 13th floor of the office building where he works near the White House. He shuts the door, sits at a big empty table, picks up a pen.

He and his wife would talk often to their three boys about why they decided to come to the United States, he began. It was the 1970s, and Pakistan was under military rule. They came to Silver Spring to have more freedom and opportunity.

"It sounds cliche," said Khan, 54, "but that is the story."

His son was always reading books about Thomas Jefferson; that part of his passion was certainly his father's doing. When the boys were small, Khan would take them to the Jefferson Memorial. He'd have them stand there and read the chiseled, curving words about swearing hostility against tyrannies over the minds of men.

[Read: At DNC, Khan delivers a brutal repudation of Donald Trump]

But Humayun had a serious-minded disposition all his own, even as a little boy. He was the middle one, the comforter, the one the cousins would run to when they were being picked on. He gave swimming lessons to disabled children in high school. He had a sense of responsibility that his father cannot quite account for, other than to say that's just the way he was.

"We always depended on his balanced approach to things," Khan said, fidgeting with the pen.

It was not exactly surprising, he continued, that Humayun quoted Jefferson in his admissions essay for the University of Virginia, a line about freedom requiring vigilance. It was a bit surprising, though, when he signed up for ROTC and told his dad

that after graduation in 2000, he wanted to join the Army.

They had dinner conversations about it, Khan said, looking down at the wooden conference table. He told Humayun that he wouldn't have control over his life, but his son insisted, and that was that.

"He said that it seems only fair and logical to join the Army," Khan said. "Because he wanted to complete the journey -- he felt that ROTC had completed him as a person, and he wanted to give back. That's what he wanted to do."

It was logical, Khan said, and how was a lawyer going to argue with logic?

Humayun finished his four years of service and was preparing for law school when the Army called him back to duty. As he was moving into Iraq last year, Khan called him and they spoke briefly, a conversation he has turned over in his mind a million times since.

His son said, "Remember I wrote that article for admission to U-Va.?" Khan said, pausing, taking the pen cap off and putting it on again, his voice steady. "He said, 'I meant it.' He said that. He wasn't going there through some thoughtless process, or thoughtlessly following orders. He thought he was serving a purpose."

On June 9, four months after his arrival in Iraq, Humayun was killed by a car bomber.

Over time, his colonel and his fellow soldiers told Khan how his son died, and that, too, had some sort of horrible logic to it. Humayun's job at the base in Baqubah was to inspect the soldiers at the gates, where crowds of Iraqis would sometimes gather. Humayun went early that morning, which was just like him. He saw a taxi speeding toward the gates, too fast, he thought. He yelled for everyone to hit the dirt. Then, as was his nature, he went running toward it, they said.

"Ten or 15 steps with his hand outstretched," his father said, stretching his own arm out in front of him almost a year later, telling some ghost taxi to stop in a downtown conference room.

The explosives detonated before the car could ram the gates or the mess hall nearby, where several hundred soldiers were eating breakfast.

Since his death, Khizr Khan said, he has learned so much more about his son -- how he mentored a young man while he was at U-Va.; how he was an unofficial counselor for mentally troubled soldiers; how he started a program to hire local Iraqis for jobs on the base as a way of trying to improve relations between the soldiers and the town.

"They did not call him Captain Khan," his father said. "They called him 'our captain.' "

All of it has in a way made his son more mysterious to him, not less. Humayun was so much more like his mother, so generous and kind, the father said. He's not sure what his son got from him.

"We wonder how we got so lucky," Khizr Khan said.

The Khans moved to Charlottesville on the advice of a therapist, who thought being closer to their other two sons at U-Va. would help them. They have started a foundation in Humayun's name to continue the work he wanted to do counseling soldiers. When they can, they go to funerals of other soldiers at Arlington National Cemetery. "Somehow it reminds us that that's what he would do, perhaps," Khan said.

On long drives back home, between phone calls and meetings at work, he tries to remember how purposeful Humayun was, how deliberately he chose his path. Khan is certain that his son did not die for nothing, and having that certainty helps.

There is just one thing, Khizr Khan said at the end of a long afternoon, one thing that all the logic and purpose in the world can't help him with.

"I just can't seem to get my arms around the loss," he said, lifting his arms and embracing the air, as people out in the hallway talked about lunch.

Stephanie McCrummen is a national enterprise reporter for The Washington Post. Previously, she was the paper's East Africa bureau chief. She has also reported from Egypt, Iraq and Mexico, among other places.

Ex. C

- 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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Ex. D

2016 ELECTION

Here's How Donald Trump Says His Muslim Ban Would Work

Maya Rhodan
Dec 08, 2015

Republican presidential candidate Donald Trump sought to explain how his proposed ban on allowing Muslims into the U.S. would work Tuesday during an interview on MSNBC's *Morning Joe*, saying he was "using common sense" when calling for limiting Muslims' entrance into America.

MSNBC's Willie Geist responded to the plan by asking the real estate mogul specifically how the ban would be implemented, noting that passports do not indicate a person's religion. "A customs agent would ask the person his or her religion?" Giest inquired.

"They would say, 'Are you Muslim?'" Trump replied.

"And if they said, 'yes,' they would not be allowed in the country?" Geist asked.

"That's correct," said Trump.

The exchange between the *Morning Joe* hosts and the leading Republican presidential candidate was sometimes tense—at one point, host Joe Scarborough went to break while the business mogul was speaking. “We will go to break if you keep talking. We’re going to ask you questions," Scarborough said, before cutting to commercials.

Ex. E

The Washington Post

The Fix

Trump asked for a 'Muslim ban,' Giuliani says — and ordered a commission to do it 'legally'

By Amy B Wang January 29

Former New York mayor Rudy W. Giuliani said President Trump wanted a "Muslim ban" and requested he assemble a commission to show him "the right way to do it legally."

Giuliani, an early Trump supporter who once had been rumored for a Cabinet position in the new administration, appeared on Fox News late Saturday night to describe how Trump's executive order temporarily banning refugees came together.

Trump signed orders on Friday not only to suspend admission of all refugees into the United States for 120 days but also to implement "new vetting measures" to screen out "radical Islamic terrorists." Refugee entry from Syria, however, would be suspended indefinitely, and all travel from Syria and six other nations — Iran, Iraq, Libya, Somalia, Sudan and Yemen — is suspended for 90 days. Trump also said he would give priority to Christian refugees over those of other religions, according to the Christian Broadcasting Network.

Fox News host Jeanine Pirro asked Giuliani whether the ban had anything to do with religion.

"How did the president decide the seven countries?" she asked. "Okay, talk to me."

"I'll tell you the whole history of it," Giuliani responded eagerly. "So when [Trump] first announced it, he said, 'Muslim ban.' He called me up. He said, 'Put a commission together. Show me the right way to do it legally.' "

Giuliani said he assembled a "whole group of other very expert lawyers on this," including former U.S. attorney general Michael Mukasey, Rep. Mike McCaul (R-Tex.) and Rep. Peter T. King (R-N.Y.).

"And what we did was, we focused on, instead of religion, *danger* — the areas of the world that create danger for us," Giuliani told Pirro. "Which is a *factual* basis, not a religious basis. Perfectly legal, perfectly sensible. And that's what the ban is based

on. It's not based on religion. It's based on places where there are substantial evidence that people are sending terrorists into our country."

It was unclear when the phone call Giuliani took place and when the commission began working. An email to the White House press office was not immediately returned Sunday.

Clips of the exchange between Giuliani and Pirro quickly went viral Saturday night, with some claiming that Giuliani's statement amounted to admitting Trump's intent had been to institute a ban based on religion.

Others, including Trump senior adviser Kellyanne Conway and White House Chief of Staff Reince Priebus, have insisted it is not a ban on Muslims, but rather one based on countries from which travel was already restricted under Barack Obama's administration.

Priebus appeared on CBS's "Face the Nation" Sunday morning to say it was possible Trump would expand the list of countries included in the travel ban.

"You can point to other countries that have similar problems, like Pakistan and others," Priebus told host John Dickerson. "Perhaps we need to take it further."

Priebus also said there had been weeks of work and "plenty of communication" between the White House, the State Department and the Department of Homeland Security regarding the ban.

"We didn't just type this thing up in an office and sign up," he told Dickerson.

Later on the same program, Rep. Keith Ellison (D-Minn.) called out Giuliani's interview with Pirro from the night before.

"They can't deny that this is a Muslim ban," Ellison told Dickerson. "On the campaign trail, [Trump] said he wanted a Muslim ban. ... Rudolph W. Giuliani who helped him write it said that they started out with the intention of a Muslim ban and then they sort of 'languaged' it up so to try to avoid that label, but it is a religiously based ban."

Senate Democrats vowed to draft legislation to block the travel ban.

"We're demanding the president reverse these executive orders that go against what we are, everything we have always stood for," Senate Minority Leader Charles E. Schumer (D-N.Y.) said in a news conference Sunday morning, noting later that his middle name, Ellis, was originally inspired by Ellis Island.

"It was implemented in a way that created chaos and confusion across the country, and it will only serve to embolden and inspire those around the globe those that will do us harm," Schumer added of the ban. "It must be reversed immediately."

Trump's executive order sparked massive protests at airports around the country Friday and Saturday, as reports surfaced that dozens of travelers from the affected countries, including green-card holders, were being detained.

The American Civil Liberties Union filed a lawsuit Saturday morning challenging Trump's order after two Iraqi men with immigrant visas were barred from entering the United States at New York's John F. Kennedy International Airport.

As Giuliani was speaking, Fox News simultaneously aired an alert that noted federal judge Ann M. Donnelly had issued a stay to stop the deportations nationwide.

Donnelly wrote that there was a strong likelihood the order had violated the petitioners' rights to due process and equal protection by the Constitution.

"There is imminent danger that, absent the stay of removal, there will be substantial and irreparable injury to refugees, visa-holders, and other individuals from nations subject to the January 27, 2017 Executive Order," Donnelly wrote.

The ACLU hailed the victory.

"Clearly the judge understood the possibility for irreparable harm to hundreds of immigrants and lawful visitors to this country," ACLU executive director Anthony D. Romero said in a statement. "Our courts today worked as they should as bulwarks against government abuse or unconstitutional policies and orders. On week one, Donald Trump suffered his first loss in court."

On Sunday, the Department of Homeland Security issued a statement saying it did not plan to back off enforcing Trump's orders.

"President Trump's Executive Orders remain in place — prohibited travel will remain prohibited, and the U.S. government retains its right to revoke visas at any time if required for national security or public safety," the statement read. "President Trump's Executive Order affects a minor portion of international travelers, and is a first step towards reestablishing control over America's borders and national security."

The department said that less than 1 percent of daily international air travelers to the United States had been "inconvenienced" on Saturday.

Matthew Kolken, an immigration attorney based in Buffalo said there has been "a systemic bias against individuals from Muslim countries in the U.S. immigration departments" for years, including under the Obama administration.

"This isn't unprecedented," Kolken told The Washington Post by phone Sunday. "The unfortunate reality is the executive branch does have vast discretionary authority to determine who they are going to [allow in or not]."

Still, Kolken said, he believes “Trump has gone a step further without a doubt” in including even people who are lawful permanent residents and suspending all immigration applications from people from the seven countries on the banned list.

If there was evidence of disparate treatment of individuals from the same country — if there were anecdotal evidence of, for example, a Syrian family of one religious background allowed to enter over that of another religious background — then that is where lawsuits could come into play, he said.

“The question becomes whether they're trying to do an end-around by couching the ban as a country-specific ban based on a security-related issues when in reality it's a religious ban,” Kolken said.

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Trump’s travel ban could make Rex Tillerson’s potential job harder, a former defense secretary says

Amy B Wang is a general assignment reporter for The Washington Post. Follow @amybwang

Ex. F

NAT SEC

The Father Of A Muslim War Hero Has This To Say To Donald Trump

Captain Humayun Khan is a decorated war hero who died defending members of his unit in Iraq

(Courtesy of Khizr M. Khan)

By James King

Dec 08, 2015 at 5:24 PM ET

Humayun S. M. Khan was a University of Virginia graduate with plans to go to law school when he decided to enlist in the U.S. Army. Khan rose to the rank of captain, ultimately leading an infantry company in Iraq, where he was killed when a suicide bomber attacked his unit.

Khan was one of 14 American Muslims who died serving the United States in the ten years after the September 11 terrorist attacks. His family came to the United States from the United Arab Emirates, where Khan was born. Shortly after Donald Trump called for a ban on families like Khan's coming to the U.S., his father talked to Vocativ about the Republican frontrunner's comments and how he remembers his son.

"Muslims are American, Muslims are citizens, Muslims participat[e] in the well-being of this country as American citizens," Khan's father, Khizr Khan, who moved to the U.S. in the late 1970s after growing up in Pakistan, said Tuesday. "We are proud American citizens. It's the values [of this country] that brought us here, not our religion. Trump's position on these issues do not represent those values," he said.

The Trolling And Polling Of Donald J. Trump
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Captain Khan was killed just north of Baghdad on June 8, 2004. A car approached the gates of the base he was tasked with protecting. As soldiers under Khan's command prepared to inspect the vehicle, his father told us, Captain Khan screamed for his men to "hit the dirt" and walked towards it himself and demanded the driver stop. Inside the car were two suicide bombers and a large amount of explosives. As the car reached the gate, the bomb was detonated, killing Khan and wounding 10 U.S. soldiers. His father believes many more men might have died without Khan's warning. Khan was posthumously awarded the Bronze Star and the Purple Heart, two of the military's highest honors.

"We still wonder what made him take those 10 steps [towards the car]," Khan's father said. "Maybe that's the point where all the values, all the service to country, all the things he learned in this country kicked in. It was those values that made him take those 10 steps. Those 10 steps told us we did not make [a] mistake in moving to this country. These were the values we wanted to adopt. Not religious values, human values," he said.

When asked about the recent bloodshed in San Bernardino and other attacks, like the 2009 massacre at Fort Hood, where Nidal Hasan, a veteran, killed 13 people in the name of radical Islam, Khan remembers a conversation with his other son. Shaharyar Khan, the brother of the late Humayun, told his father that Muslim communities share in the responsibility for rooting out extremism.

"This is the time for us American Muslims to rat out any traitor who walks amongst us. This is high time for Muslims to stand firm [against terrorists]," the elder Khan recounted. "Among us hides the enemies of the value system of this country. And we need to defend it. And if it means ratting out the traitors who hide behind an American passport, that's what we need to do."

As outrage at Trump's remarks erupts across the political spectrum, Khan says he still believes the

Republican candidate's incendiary rhetoric against Muslims doesn't represent the values of the United States. "I remember when my family arrived here and the first place we went was the Jefferson Memorial," he said. "[Jefferson's ideals] are the values that we have cherished as a family and as Americans."

Of his son who died, Khan said he believes the "values that he learned throughout his life came together and made him a brave American soldier. This country is not strong because of its economic power, or military power. This country is strong because of its values, and during this political season, we all need to keep that in mind."

Ex. G

FULL TEXT: Khizr Khan's Speech to the 2016 Democratic National Convention

By ABC NEWS

Aug 1, 2016, 10:30 AM ET

J. Scott Applewhite/AP Photo

WATCH | **Father of Muslim U.S. Soldier Killed in Combat Blasts Trump in DNC Speech**

Below is the full text of the speech of Khizr Khan, father of a U.S. army captain killed in Iraq in 2004, to the Democratic National Convention in Philadelphia, July 28, 2016

First, our thoughts and prayers are with our veterans and those who serve today. Tonight, we are honored to stand here as the parents of Capt. Humayun Khan, and as patriotic American Muslims with undivided loyalty to our country.

Like many immigrants, we came to this country empty-handed. We believed in American democracy -- that with hard work and the goodness of this country, we could share in and contribute to its blessings.

We were blessed to raise our three sons in a nation where they were free to be themselves and follow their dreams. Our son, Humayun, had dreams of being a military lawyer. But he put those dreams aside the day he sacrificed his life to save his fellow soldiers.

Hillary Clinton was right when she called my son "the best of America." If it was up to Donald Trump, he never would have been in America. Donald Trump consistently smears the character of Muslims. He disrespects other minorities -- women, judges, even his own party leadership. He vows to build walls and ban us from this country.

Donald Trump, you are asking Americans to trust you with our future. Let me ask you: Have you even read the U.S. Constitution? I will gladly lend you my copy. In this document, look for the words "liberty" and "equal protection of law."

Have you ever been to Arlington Cemetery? Go look at the graves of the brave patriots who died defending America -- you will see all faiths, genders, and ethnicities.

You have sacrificed nothing and no one.

We can't solve our problems by building walls and sowing division. We are stronger together. And we will keep getting stronger when Hillary Clinton becomes our next president.

Comments

Ex. H

The Washington Post

Opinions

I was Capt. Khan's commander in Iraq. The Khan family is our family.

By Dana J.H. Pittard August 3, 2016

The writer is a retired U.S. Army major general.

I am a former soldier who served our nation in uniform for more than 34 years. I was also Capt. Humayun Khan's combat brigade commander in Diyala province, Iraq, in 2004. I came to know Humayun after taking command of the 3rd Brigade, 1st Infantry Division, in Germany in 2002. The motto of our unit was "No mission too difficult. No sacrifice too great. Duty First!" Humayun was a wonderful person, liked and respected by all who knew him. I used to joke with him about the tank platoon he once led, which I had led 20 years earlier. I often told him that we were kindred spirits. I remember clearly the day he died.

Humayun was a great officer. The 201st Forward Support Battalion, Humayun's unit, was the most motivated and combat-oriented logistics unit I had ever seen. It supported our 4,000-person brigade, protected wheeled convoys and was responsible for guarding the gates at our large forward operating base: Camp Warhorse.

We employed more than 1,000 Iraqi citizens at Camp Warhorse. We were slowly making progress in the province, the economy and security were improving, and the insurgents were losing steam. Security at Camp Warhorse was extremely tight. Unfortunately, we had killed or wounded several innocent Iraqi drivers at our gates over the previous month for failing to heed our warning signs and our gate guards' instructions. Each of these incidents potentially hurt our relationship with local Iraqis. Humayun had fostered a warm relationship with our local workforce, and he and his unit were determined to break the cycle of violence by reducing or eliminating unnecessary deaths and injuries at our gates.

On the morning of June 8, 2004, the gate guards alerted Humayun to an orange-and-white taxicab slowly moving through our serpentine barriers during the "rush hour" of Iraqi day workers coming onto camp. Humayun probably moved toward the suspicious vehicle to avoid killing the driver unnecessarily, but at some point, he concluded that something was wrong and ordered his men to hit the dirt. The driver detonated his car bomb, killing Humayun and two Iraqi citizens. Humayun died trying to save the lives of innocent Iraqis. His brave effort to approach the vehicle probably saved American lives as well.

I raced to the gate upon hearing the huge explosion. It was an awful scene. Battalion commander Lt. Col. Dan Mitchell and his soldiers had resecured the destroyed gate, but we lost more than a gate, we lost a member of our team — of our family. Humayun's death caused sadness throughout our entire brigade combat team. There were three memorial services for him — one with our soldiers at Camp Warhorse, a second with our rear detachment and family members at our home base in Vilseck, Germany, and a third with the Khan family in United States. We named the 201st Battalion headquarters on Camp Warhorse the Khan Building in his honor.

Humayun was one of 36 men and one woman in our brigade who died during our year in Iraq. Our fallen comrades were of all races, religions and genders. They represented sacrifice, service, duty and the essence of what makes our country great. And, yes, it is a great country right now. Despite our flaws, the United States remains a beacon of hope around the world.

Blue Star families are those with a member deployed to combat in the service of our country. Gold Star families are families that have lost a loved one in a combat zone. In our military culture, we hold Blue Star families in the highest regard. But we have absolute reverence for our Gold Star families.

I join all those who stand in support of the Khan family. This family is our family, and any attack on this wonderful American Gold Star family is an attack on all patriotic and loyal Americans who have sacrificed to make our country great. Any politically or racially motivated attack on the Khans is despicable and un-American.

I am no politician. I have stayed away from politics my entire adult life. My family has been Republican ever since my maternal grandparents migrated from Jim Crow South Carolina to Philadelphia in the late 1920s. My grandmother voted for Herbert Hoover in 1928. Though I am a Republican, I have voted my conscience — for both Democrats and Republicans — for the past 32 years. I'm going to vote my conscience again this year.

We live in a dangerous and complex world. We need leaders who are steady, patient and empathetic, especially at the national level, during this troubled time. We need somebody who has respect for our Gold Star families.

But, above all, our country needs more men and women like Humayun Khan and the countless others who willingly and humbly served this great nation of ours without reservation or recognition.

"Duty First!"

Read more about this topic:

Ghazala Khan: Donald Trump criticized my silence. He knows nothing about true sacrifice

The Post's View: What is at stake in this year's election

E.J. Dionne Jr.: Will the GOP repudiate Trump's cruelty?

Ex. I

The New York Times | https://nyti.ms/2aHuLE0

Moment in Convention Glare Shakes Up Khans' American Life

How Khizr and Ghazala Khan, parents of a soldier killed in Iraq, came to challenge Donald J. Trump and reshape a presidential campaign.

By N. R. KLEINFIELD, RICHARD A. OPPEL Jr. and MELISSA EDDY AUG. 5, 2016

Six minutes and one second. That was all it took for the 66 years of Khizr Khan's life to become an American moment.

It was not something that he could have anticipated. For years, he and his wife, Ghazala, had lived a rather quiet existence of common obscurity in Charlottesville, Va. He was known in circles that dealt with electronic discovery in legal proceedings. Another overlapping sphere was the rotating cast of cadets that passed through the Army R.O.T.C. program at the University of Virginia. His wife was a welcoming face to the customers of a local fabric store.

And the last dozen years for the Khans were darkened by their heartbreak over the death of a military son, Humayun, whose body lies in Arlington National Cemetery, his tombstone adorned with an Islamic crescent. Their grief brought them closer to a university and to a young woman in Germany whom their son loved. It also gave them a conviction and expanded the borders of their lives.

Some of their neighbors knew Mr. Khan liked to carry a $1 pocket Constitution around with him. In the Khan home, a stack of them always lay at the ready. Guests showed up and they were handed one, in the way other hosts might distribute a party favor. Mr. Khan wanted it to stimulate a conversation about liberty, a cherished topic of his. He liked to point out that he lives nearly in the shadow of

Monticello, home of one of his heroes, Thomas Jefferson. Mrs. Khan liked to say, "We need Thomas Jefferson."

And then the Khans stepped into a sports arena in Philadelphia and left as household names. In a passionate speech at the Democratic National Convention, the bespectacled Mr. Khan stingingly criticized Donald J. Trump and his stance on Muslim immigration, scolding him, "You have sacrificed nothing and no one." Quickly enough, both Khans felt the verbal lashings of Mr. Trump, the Republican presidential candidate.

And just like that, they found themselves a pivot point in the twisting drama that is American politics.

Goals Set Forth

This is another moment in the lives of Khizr and Ghazala Khan. In 1972, he was studying law at the University of the Punjab in Lahore, the largest public university in his native Pakistan. He was intrigued by Persian literature. Learning of a Persian book reading, he went. Ghazala was the host.

He was raised in Gujranwala in Punjab Province, the oldest of 10 children. His parents had a poultry farm. "My life was very ordinary," he said in an interview this week. "There was nothing special. I grew up as every other Pakistani. No extra earth-shattering events took place during my lifetime, and we were modest people." But, he said, he had the ambition "to keep moving forward."

The university reading was one thing, but what enchanted him was the host. She was from Faisalabad and was studying the Persian language. He engaged in some decorous maneuvering and decided that she was the woman he wanted to marry. He enlisted the help of his parents, who reached out to her parents. Then the real courtship began.

In 1973, he graduated from law school and he was licensed with the Punjab bar in 1974. Already, his goal was to move to the United States. "Everybody's dreams come true if you are able to study and complete higher education abroad," he said.

"That's the plan we grew up with: that it makes your future better if you have a postgraduate degree from overseas, England or United States."

But he did not have enough money. And so after the Khans were married, they moved to Dubai in the United Arab Emirates. For three years, Mr. Khan worked for an American oil field company as the lawyer who handled the affairs of the expatriate workers. Their first two sons were born, Shaharyar and Humayun.

In 1980, the Khans came to the United States. First, they went to Houston to save up more money. The four of them squeezed into a $200-a-month one-bedroom apartment.

Once he had the savings, he enrolled at Harvard Law School. He graduated in 1986 with a master of laws degree and became a citizen, as did his wife.

They moved to Silver Spring, Md., and he found work reviewing mortgage documents. It was not his dream job, but a third son, Omer, had been born. Mouths had to be fed.

In time, he moved on to several large law firms, where he specialized in the emerging area of electronic discovery. It involved finding information that was stored electronically to answer discovery requests from opposing sides in lawsuits.

Robert Eisenberg, a consultant who is a pioneer of the field, came to know Mr. Khan well and found him highly proficient at his work and immensely likable. "There is an old-world gentility about him," he said. "He has this veneer of formality. But under it is kindness."

And so the Khans settled in, and they became an American life.

A Protector Against Bullies

There are different vantages from which to understand the Khans' middle son, Humayun, and one of them is through Amir Ali Guerami. He was born in Iran and he happened to come to the Maryland middle school that Humayun attended. There were few Muslims, and that made Mr. Guerami different. And he was very

overweight. He was taunted and beaten up. His middle name was Patrick. As he walked down the school hallways, bullies would bellow, "Fat Rick."

And Humayun would hear this and step in. He would walk alongside him, a sentry staring the bullies down, deflecting them. And he intervened when Mr. Guerami was being roughed up outside the library. When he was punched in the throat in gym class and could not breathe.

This cemented a friendship that continued throughout high school. Humayun was Mr. Guerami's defender and his motivator. He urged him to exercise and to diet. And after his sophomore year, Mr. Guerami was 60 pounds lighter.

As a high school student, Humayun swam and played basketball, and he taught swimming to children with disabilities.

In his middle son, Mr. Khan saw the traits of his mother — farsighted and "much more balanced in her thinking and gestures." "I'm a little more emotional and shortsighted," Mr. Khan said. Mr. Guerami saw this, too. "You always knew he had a plan," Mr. Guerami said. "He wasn't just stumbling through life like the rest of us. He was planning college from Day 1."

They lost contact after high school. Mr. Guerami now lives in California and owns a mortgage company. He was watching the Democratic convention when the video came on about Captain Khan. And that was when Mr. Guerami learned that he had been an R.O.T.C. cadet at the University of Virginia and had joined the Army and had gone to Iraq and become a hero. That his life was frozen at age 27.

The memories returned. "He had an impact on my life," he said. "You read about kids being bullied in school and then their hurting themselves. He owed me nothing, a complete stranger. Yet he stood up for me. He was a savior."

Love in Germany

A German woman named Irene Auer sat down in a cafe in the Bavarian town of Amberg, and a man approached her. This was another moment in the life of Humayun Khan.

He was stationed in the barracks at nearby Vilseck. This was 2002.

She liked his manner, and she especially liked his English. "There were many who spoke English very badly, or with a lot of slang, but not him," she said. "He spoke beautiful English and had a very beautiful voice."

They started dating. In time, she began studying international management but stayed with him in his apartment off base on weekends. His mother went to Germany in 2003, and the two became acquainted. In September 2003, Ms. Auer flew with Captain Khan to the United States to meet his father. This was serious stuff.

Captain Khan loved to have a good debate with Ms. Auer, her family and her friends. One of his favorite topics was the meaning of life.

As it happens, she opposed the war in Iraq. But he accepted his duty and was proud to be a soldier. "Once he even said to me, 'You know that I am married,' " she said. "I asked him, 'What do you mean you're married?' and he told me, 'Yes, I am married to the U.S. Army.' "

On Feb. 9, 2004, he left for Iraq.

They planned to get married the following year and eventually settle in the United States. His intention was to go to law school. In one of the last emails she received from him, he told her to go pick out an engagement ring.

A Captain's Kindness

It was his day off but he was not much for days off. He was the commander of the Force Protection Team of the 201st Forward Support Battalion, First Infantry Division, at Camp Warhorse in Diyala Province, Iraq.

Sgt. Crystal Selby, one of the team's drivers, went to pick him up that morning. June 8, 2004. He said he wanted to check the compound's gate. On a day off? She told him to stay in his room. He was her boss. She could not order him to, and he got in.

It was funny how she had known Captain Khan only a couple of months and yet it seemed like she had known him so much longer. It was the way he treated her and all of the soldiers. "He didn't talk to you like he was in charge of you, but like a friend," she said. "He taught you how to be better. Not better tanker or better fueler. Better human being."

He made sandwiches for his soldiers when there was no time to get to lunch. He had such an easy sense of humor. "I read where someone called him a soldier's officer," she said. "To me, he was a human's human."

The drive took three or four minutes. She dropped him off outside the gate and headed to the office. An orange-and-white taxi carrying two suicide bombers was creeping toward the gate. Captain Khan shouted for his men to hit the dirt. That may well have saved their lives. He moved toward the taxi, trying to halt it.

Sergeant Selby was still in the truck, not even to the office, when she heard the explosion. When she arrived, the news of his death was already on the radio.

R.O.T.C. 'Mom and Pop'

The Army R.O.T.C. center at the University of Virginia is on the first floor of the Astronomy Building. The program is not large — a typical Army cadet class commissions 10 to 20 people. When you walk into the offices, it is the first room on the left. The Khan Room.

There are several pictures of Captain Khan. Clippings about him. One of his uniforms. A letter of condolence from the Seven Society, one of the university's secret societies. Memorial plaques. The piece he wrote for his commissioning. It is where who he was endures.

It is a functional space, serving as a conference room, a place where prospective cadets might get interviewed or meetings held. When it is empty, cadets use it to study for exams.

A few months after their son's death, the Khans moved to Charlottesville, where their other two sons were living, so they could try to recover as a family. Shaharyar,

their oldest son, co-founded a biotech firm that Omer, their youngest son, works at.

The Army R.O.T.C. program became a part of their restoration. Tim Leroux, who was the commander from 2009 to 2012 and retired a lieutenant colonel, saw them as the "mom and pop of the department." It became one of their rocks. They attended all its formal events.

At the annual commissioning ceremony, Mr. Khan always spoke. When the cadets took the oath, he told them, they needed to think hard about their pledge to defend the Constitution, to reflect on what they were pledging to defend, because his son died for that document.

And he would give each graduate one of his pocket Constitutions.

Then there would be an award presented, the Khan award, that went to that year's outstanding scholar-soldier.

"For years, I've been telling people he's the most patriotic person I've ever met, and I've met quite a few," Mr. Leroux said of Mr. Khan. "There are people who will put on cutoffs of the American flag and say they're patriotic. Or they'll put on bumper stickers — America, Love It or Leave It — and say they're patriotic. He has a much more profound idea of being patriotic. It's a complete understanding of what liberty and democracy mean."

Mrs. Khan came to these commissioning ceremonies, too. They were hard for her. Her grief over her son's death reached deep. One day not long after moving to Charlottesville, she stopped at a local fabric store, Les Fabriques. She makes her own clothing and needed fabric.

Carla Quenneville, the store's owner, waited on her. Mrs. Khan told her the story of her son's death. "She said she came in because she was so depressed and she said, 'I have to get off my couch and stop crying,' " Ms. Quenneville said. "She had cried for a solid year. And we cried together that day."

Ms. Quenneville wanted to bring sun back into her life. She told her, if she wished, she could spend time in the store, help out if she wanted. And so she did. Pretty much every Monday, she began showing up and assisting customers, giving

them tips on the sewing machines that the store sold. Since she prayed five times a day, she sometimes used a back room to pray.

The fabric store helped her mend her own life. The sorrow, though, persists. "A new staff person comes on, she tells the story of her son," Ms. Quenneville said. "And she cries. She can't get through this."

There was other healing to be done in the circle of their son's life. When Ms. Auer, the woman Captain Khan planned to marry, came to his funeral, Mrs. Khan presented her with his favorite quilt. She asked her to return it when she got married, so they would know she was happy again.

Two years later, Ms. Auer was still adrift. The Khans invited her to stay with them, and she did, from May until August 2006. "They said to me, come, we need you here by us," she said.

After returning to Germany, she met a man who became her husband. They have two daughters. She realizes she should return that quilt.

Honoring a Legacy

It was important to the Khans to know the R.O.T.C. cadets, really know them, and so they began the ritual of the dinners at their house. There would be one dinner each year for the freshmen cadets and one for the seniors.

A front room was filled with mementos and objects no parent ever wants — the letter of condolence from President George W. Bush, the American flag that had covered the coffin. Often, the Khans would show the cadets the room for them to understand the magnitude of the step they were taking.

"The Khans didn't become bitter when they lost their son or become angry with the military," said Joe Riley, a cadet who graduated in 2013. "The exact opposite. They showed tremendous pride in us."

He remembered how Mr. Khan pulled him aside and told him how he felt blessed to be in this country and how much he admired the American military.

The focus at these dinners would swivel to the cadets — who they were, why they wanted to join the Army, what future they envisioned. As they shared, Mrs. Khan, always the R.O.T.C. mom, would remind them to eat their vegetables.

At one dinner, he told of how he had pictures of himself as a boy wearing an Army uniform and digging tiny foxholes on the farm he lived on in Tennessee. As he got older, he just felt it was the correct thing to do, the only thing to do. He said he felt that if you live in your country and enjoy its wonders, you should give back. For him, the Army was the way to fulfill that obligation.

His parents had a different view. When they learned of his plans, they did not speak to him for eight weeks.

And, oh, how the Khans loved hearing this conviction in a young man, this resolute belief in guarding American democracy.

In 2011, Joe Riley won the Khan Award. He went on to become a Rhodes Scholar and is now stationed in Fort Lewis, near Tacoma, Wash., an Army lieutenant.

A Crush of Attention

Everything had happened in the space of a week, and it was so much. The Khans were on "Meet the Press" and "State of the Union" and "PBS NewsHour," some dozen news shows in all, fresh arrivals in the political process.

All from the dominoes of chance. Months ago, Mr. Khan was quoted in an article in Vocativ, an online publication, criticizing Mr. Trump's position on Muslims. When asked about Muslim extremism in the United States, he recounted a conversation with his older son about the need to root out "traitors" among them. Seeing the article, campaign officials for Hillary Clinton wanted to put his son in a video to be shown at the convention, and then asked the Khans if they wished to say a few words. And now all this.

Mr. Khan was on "Anderson Cooper 360" this week, and he seemed spent. He said they would not become silent but they were withdrawing.

"I will continue to remind you what your behavior for the whole year had been," he said addressing Mr. Trump. "I am not going to continue to appear on television. It is really disturbing because it is emotionally disturbing. It is family-wise disturbing."

He told The Times this week that he was exhausted from talking to reporters and that it was harming his health.

In recent years, he had gone out on his own as a legal consultant. A few days ago, he took down the website promoting his law work. He said that he was getting hateful messages and that he was worried about it being hacked. Insinuations were being made, that he was involved in shady immigration cases. He said he has had no clients come to him for that sort of work. He said he did commercial law, especially electronic discovery work.

The Khans had been one sort of family and now they are another. In the fast-forward way that it can happen in modern society, they have become public figures. They were put up in Washington hotels for their TV appearances. People floated up to them on the street. Took selfies with them.

They wanted to be themselves again, mingle with cadets and talk about sewing at the fabric store.

A few days ago, done with a round of interviews in Washington, they stopped at Arlington National Cemetery to visit the grave of their son. Then they went home.

Salman Masood and Jackson Landers contributed reporting. Susan Beachy and Jack Begg contributed research.

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A version of this article appears in print on August 6, 2016, on Page A1 of the New York edition with the headline: Moment in Convention Glare Stirs Parents' American Life.

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Ex. J

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In Tribute to Son, Khizr Khan Offered Citizenship Lesson at Convention

By RICHARD A. OPPEL Jr. JULY 29, 2016

When Capt. Humayun Khan was ordered to Iraq a dozen years ago, his father wanted to talk to him about being an American Muslim soldier sent to war in a Muslim country.

His son, though, was focused only on the job at hand.

"I asked him, 'How do you feel about the whole Iraq deal?' " recalled Khizr Khan, who became a United States citizen after emigrating from Pakistan in 1980. "He said: 'Look, that's not my concern and that's not my pay grade. My responsibility is to make sure my unit is safe.' And that's all he would talk about, and nothing else."

Captain Khan, 27, died on June 8, 2004, after he told his men to take cover and then tried to stop a suicide bomber outside the gates of his base in Baquba. And on Thursday night, speaking about his son at the Democratic National Convention, Mr. Khan gave a voice to Muslim Americans outraged by the anti-Muslim pronouncements of the Republican nominee for president, Donald J. Trump.

In a speech that electrified the convention and turned Mr. Khan into a social media and cable news sensation, he waved a pocket Constitution and challenged Mr. Trump, "You have sacrificed nothing and no one."

Mr. Trump's call for restrictions on Muslims entering the country is acutely personal, Mr. Khan said, in an interview on Friday, adding that he had no plans to campaign for Hillary Clinton, the Democratic presidential nominee, nor had the campaign asked him to.

Mr. Trump's campaign did not respond to a request for comment on Mr. Khan's remarks. In December Mr. Trump called for "a total and complete shutdown of Muslims entering the United States until our country's representatives can figure out what is going on." More recently, he has pledged to suspend immigration from any country "compromised by terrorism."

If restrictions on Muslim immigration had been in place decades ago, Mr. Khan said, neither he, a lawyer with an advanced degree from Harvard Law School; his wife, Ghazala, who taught Persian at a Pakistani college before raising three boys in the Washington suburbs; their eldest son, Shaharyar, who was a top student at the University of Virginia and a co-founder of a biotechnology company; nor Captain Khan, who posthumously earned the Bronze Star, along with a Purple Heart, for saving the lives of his men, would have been allowed to settle here.

A third son, Omer, who works at his brother's biotech company, was born in the United States.

"If it was up to Donald Trump, he never would have been in America," Mr. Khan exclaimed about his deceased son during his speech, his wife by his side. Mr. Khan said that Mr. Trump "wants to build walls and ban us from this country."

"Let me ask you: Have you even read the United States Constitution? I will gladly lend you my copy," Mr. Khan said, addressing Mr. Trump directly, while pulling a miniature version of the country's founding document from his coat pocket.

Mr. Khan said he admires both Ronald Reagan and Barack Obama, though Thomas Jefferson is his real hero.

Mr. Khan's odyssey from lawyer and legal consultant to prime-time D.N.C. speaker began in December, when he got a phone call from a writer for Vocativ, an online publication, who wanted his thoughts on Mr. Trump's statements about Muslims.

Mr. Khan criticized Mr. Trump's statements as un-American in an article published by Vocativ. A few weeks later, he got a phone call from a Clinton campaign official, who had seen the article and asked if his comments could be used in a tribute for his son at the convention.

"I said, 'What a wonderful honor,' " he recalled in the interview. "Who am I to say, 'No'?"

Months later, the campaign asked if he and his wife would come to the convention. "The initial plan was just to go there and stand and talk to the media afterwards," he said. "Then somebody called and said, 'Would you like to say a word or two?' "

Time was tight and the schedule packed, he was told. The campaign asked whether he needed speechwriting help or any coaching. "I said: 'I really don't, I have my thoughts in my head," he said. "I won't make it an hourlong speech, just let me say what I want to say. It will be heart-to-heart."

Nothing from the speech, he said, was the product of the campaign, including his dig at Mr. Trump's lack of military service. It all flowed pretty easily, because he had been thinking about these things for quite a while, he said.

Mr. Khan expressed great faith in the Constitution and in a political process that bolsters a belief that "an unqualified person will never get to this office."

"I respect the Republican Party as much as the Democratic Party," he said. But he added: "I definitely will continue to raise my voice out of concern that the Republican leadership must pay attention to what is taking place."

Mr. Khan met his wife at Punjab University in Lahore, Pakistan. They moved to Dubai, where their two eldest sons were born, then arrived in Houston, renting a $200-a-month apartment. Eventually they settled outside Washington, where Mr. Khan worked at a mortgage company and law firms.

Captain Khan attended John F. Kennedy High School in Silver Spring, Md. In his free time, he taught disabled children to swim. At the University of Virginia, he joined the R.O.T.C. program, and majored in psychology, his father said. He planned to attend law school.

His last conversation with his parents was on Mother's Day 2004. His mother said: " 'I don't want you to be a hero. I want you to return back to me safely,' " Mr. Khan recalled. "Of course I will," he promised her. "But Mother, you should know I have responsibility for these soldiers, and I cannot leave them unprotected."

The bomber who took Captain Khan's life drove an orange-and-white taxi toward the base. Had the captain not warned his men to take cover, "there would have been more casualties," his brigade commander, Dana Pittard, said in an interview.

Recalling the captain's potential as he watched Mr. Khan's speech, Mr. Pittard said, "I had to leave the room, it brought back such a flood of memories."

After their son's death, Mr. Khan and his wife, who had moved to Charlottesville to be close to their other sons, had the university's R.O.T.C. cadets over for dinner once a year. Mr. Khan would give them each a pocket-size copy of the Constitution, just like the one he brandished on Thursday, said Tim Leroux, who used to run the R.O.T.C. program.

University officials let Mr. Khan read an application essay his son wrote for a residential college. In the essay, Captain Khan wrote of how "liberty requires vigilance and sacrifice" and that those who are "beneficiaries of liberty must always bear this in mind, and keep it safe from attacks."

"That summed up his later life," Mr. Khan said.

Reporting was contributed by Niraj Chokshi, Stephanie Saul, Thomas Kaplan and Ashley Parker.

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A version of this article appears in print on July 30, 2016, on Page A1 of the New York edition with the headline: In Tribute to Dead Son, a Lesson in Citizenship.

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Ex. K

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Donald Trump Criticizes Muslim Family of Slain U.S. Soldier, Drawing Ire

By MAGGIE HABERMAN and RICHARD A. OPPEL Jr. JULY 30, 2016

Donald J. Trump belittled the parents of a slain Muslim soldier who had strongly denounced Mr. Trump during the Democratic National Convention, saying that the soldier's father had delivered the entire speech because his mother was not "allowed" to speak.

Mr. Trump's comments, in an interview with George Stephanopoulos of ABC News that will air on Sunday, drew quick and widespread condemnation and amplified calls for Republican leaders to distance themselves from their presidential nominee. With his implication that the soldier's mother had not spoken because of female subservience expected in some traditional strains of Islam, his comments also inflamed his hostilities with American Muslims.

Khizr Khan, the soldier's father, lashed out at Mr. Trump in an interview on Saturday, saying his wife had not spoken at the convention because it was too painful for her to talk about her son's death.

Mr. Trump, he said, "is devoid of feeling the pain of a mother who has sacrificed her son."

Gov. John Kasich of Ohio, a rival of Mr. Trump's in the Republican primaries who has refused to endorse him, castigated him on Twitter. "There's only one way to talk about Gold Star parents: with honor and respect," he wrote, using the term for surviving family members of those who died in war.

And Hillary Clinton, Mr. Trump's Democratic opponent, said he "was not a normal presidential candidate."

"Someone who attacks everybody has something missing," she told a crowd at a campaign stop in Youngstown, Ohio. "I don't know what it is. I'm not going to get into that."

Mr. Khan's speech at the convention in Philadelphia was one of the most powerful given there. It was effectively the Democratic response to comments Mr. Trump has made implying many American Muslims have terrorist sympathies or stay silent when they know ones who do. Mr. Trump has called to ban Muslim immigration as a way to combat terrorism.

At the convention, Mr. Khan spoke about how his 27-year-old son, Humayun Khan, an Army captain, died in a car bombing in 2004 in Iraq as he tried to save other troops.

He criticized Mr. Trump, saying he "consistently smears the character of Muslims," and pointedly challenged what sacrifices Mr. Trump had made. Holding a pocket-size copy of the Constitution, he asked if Mr. Trump had read it. Mr. Khan's wife stood silently by his side.

Mr. Trump told Mr. Stephanopoulos that Mr. Khan seemed like a "nice guy" and that he wished him "the best of luck." But, he added, "If you look at his wife, she was standing there, she had nothing to say, she probably — maybe she wasn't allowed to have anything to say, you tell me."

Mr. Trump also told Maureen Dowd of The New York Times on Friday night, "I'd like to hear his wife say something."

In a statement late Saturday, Mr. Trump called Captain Khan a "hero," and reiterated his belief that the United States should bar Muslims from entering the

country.

"While I feel deeply for the loss of his son," he added, "Mr. Khan, who has never met me, has no right to stand in front of millions of people and claim I have never read the Constitution, (which is false) and say many other inaccurate things."

Even given Mr. Trump's reputation for retaliating when attacked, his remarks about the Khans were startling. They called to mind one of his earliest counterpunches of the campaign, when he responded to criticism from Senator John McCain of Arizona, once a prisoner of war in Vietnam, by saying at a forum in Iowa, "I like people that weren't captured."

But Mr. McCain has a long history in the public eye. The Khans, before their convention appearance, had none.

"Trump is totally void of any decency because he is unaware of how to talk to a Gold Star family and how to speak to a Gold Star mother," Mr. Khan said on Saturday.

Ms. Khan did speak on Friday to MSNBC's Lawrence O'Donnell, saying she "cannot even come in the room where his pictures are."

When she saw her son's photograph on the screen behind her on the stage in Philadelphia, she said, "I couldn't take it."

"I controlled myself at that time," she said, while choking back tears. "It is very hard."

In his interview with The Times, Mr. Khan said his wife had helped him craft his convention speech, and told him to remove certain attacks he had wanted to make against Mr. Trump.

But on Saturday, he unmuzzled himself. "Unlike Donald Trump's wife, I didn't plagiarize my speech," Mr. Khan said, referring to how several lines from a Michelle Obama speech found their way into Melania Trump's address at the Republican National Convention.

"I also wanted to talk about how he's had three wives, and yet he talks about others' ethics and their religion," Mr. Khan said. "She said, 'Don't go to his level. We are paying tribute to our son.'"

Mr. Trump's comments provoked another avalanche of criticism on social media, and again put Republican leaders in a difficult position, facing new demands that they repudiate their presidential nominee.

Even before Mr. Trump's remarks to ABC News, Mr. Khan had asked that Senator Mitch McConnell, the majority leader, and Paul D. Ryan, the House speaker, denounce Mr. Trump.

On Saturday, neither directly addressed Mr. Trump's new comments. Don Stewart, a spokesman for Mr. McConnell, referred to Mr. McConnell's response last year that a ban on Muslims entering the United States would be unacceptable.

AshLee Strong, a spokeswoman for Mr. Ryan, delivered a similar response: "The speaker has made clear many times that he rejects this idea, and himself has talked about how Muslim Americans have made the ultimate sacrifice for this country."

In the same ABC News interview, when Mr. Stephanopoulos said that Mr. Khan had pointed out that his family would not have been allowed into the United States under Mr. Trump's proposed ban, the candidate replied, "He doesn't know that."

And when asked what he would say to the grieving father, Mr. Trump replied, "I'd say, 'We've had a lot of problems with radical Islamic terrorism.'"

Mr. Stephanopoulos also noted that Mr. Khan said that Mr. Trump had "sacrificed nothing," and had lost no one.

"I think I've made a lot of sacrifices," Mr. Trump replied. "I've worked very, very hard. I've created thousands and thousands of jobs."

Some of the fiercest condemnations on Saturday came from Republicans who have argued — unsuccessfully to date — that Mr. Trump is unfit to be president.

Tim Miller, a former communications director for Jeb Bush's presidential campaign, called Mr. Trump's comments "inhuman."

"Memo to Trump supporters," Peter Wehner, a speechwriter for President George W. Bush, wrote on Twitter. "He's a man of sadistic cruelty. With him there's no bottom. Now go ahead & defend him."

Reihan Salam, a conservative writer for National Review and a frequent Trump critic, said that Mr. Trump had an opportunity to declare remorse for the Khans while still holding to his own views as a candidate.

"He might have asked why Humayun Khan had died in the first place — because of a war that many, if not most, Americans regard as a tragic blunder," he said.

"There was really no benefit for Trump in suggesting that Ghazala Khan had been muzzled," he added, "because she could easily come out and say that she had been too grief-stricken to speak, which she did."

Ibrahim Hooper, the spokesman for the Council on American-Islamic Relations, said on Saturday, "It's really despicable that anyone, let alone a presidential candidate, would choose to dishonor the service of an American who gave his life for this nation."

Ms. Khan, he said, "was obviously there to support her husband, who was offering what many people believe was the most impactful speech of the entire convention."

As is often the case, Mr. Trump, who has had no campaign events this weekend, managed with a few words to overshadow Mrs. Clinton, who was making several stops in Ohio and Pennsylvania with her running mate, Senator Tim Kaine of Virginia.

In the ABC News interview, Mr. Trump also hedged over whether he would participate in the three scheduled debates with Mrs. Clinton. He insinuated that she had worked to schedule two during football games so viewership would be lower, and said that the National Football League had sent him a letter complaining about the timing.

The debates were scheduled in September of last year by the bipartisan Commission on Presidential Debates. And while Joe Lockhart, a spokesman for the National Football League, said the league was not thrilled about the scheduling, "we did not send a letter to Trump."

Ken Belson, Matt Flegenheimer, Emmarie Huetteman and Tas Tobey contributed reporting.

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A version of this article appears in print on July 31, 2016, on Page A1 of the New York edition with the headline: Ire for Trump as He Derides Muslim Parents.

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Ex. L

The Washington Post

Checkpoint

Capt. Humayun Khan, whose grieving parents have been criticized by Trump, was 'a soldier's officer'

By Missy Ryan August 2, 2016

Capt. Humayun Khan didn't need to be out there that day.

Not all officers at Forward Operating Base Warhorse would choose to spend that kind of time outside the gates of their fortified compound, checking on lower-ranking soldiers pulling security detail, said Marie Legros, a staff sergeant posted at the facility in eastern Iraq in 2004.

But Khan, a Army reserve officer and naturalized American on his first deployment to Iraq, was a hands-on supervisor who wanted to know what was going on with the men and women under his command. It was early summer 2004, and conditions in Iraq — including in the restive eastern province of Diyala — were growing more dangerous by the day.

"That's the thing," Legros said. "He went just to check on his troops."

What's more, June 8 was Khan's day off, said Crystal Selby, a sergeant at the time who, like Khan, worked the midnight-to-noon force protection shift. Selby said she had tried to convince the 27-year-old captain that he needed his rest, but he was adamant that she drive him to the base's gate so he could see how the guard personnel were doing.

"I dropped him off there, and it wasn't five minutes after that it happened," Selby said in a phone interview, her voice choked with emotion.

Khan was standing with other troops outside Warhorse that morning when an orange taxi came speeding toward them. Instructing his soldiers to get down, Khan moved toward the vehicle, motioning for it to stop. Before he could reach the car, an improvised bomb went off, killing Khan and two Iraqi civilians in addition to the two suicide bombers. A dozen more people were wounded.

For fellow members of the 1st Infantry Division's 201st Forward Support Battalion, the loss of an officer who, according to his comrades, was universally liked and respected was a devastating moment relatively early in their deployment in Iraq.

"He was just that type of person, wanting to make sure his soldiers were okay," Legros said. He was a "soldier's officer," she said, personally invested in those serving under him.

Following his father's emotionally charged speech at last week's Democratic convention, Khan is now at the center of a major political controversy about the role of Muslims in America and the treatment of families who have lost loved ones in the line of duty.

Soldiers who served with Khan declined to talk about the political dynamics swirling around his family's public stand. But they described the captain as a down-to-earth young officer who set aside the conventions of military hierarchy to connect with lower-ranking soldiers and enlisted personnel.

"He never put his rank above his care for his soldiers and his comrades," said Laci Walker, who was a sergeant and worked in a motor pool at Warhorse under Khan's supervision. Walker's memories of Khan in Iraq are rooted in his generosity and interest in others: Khan pulling out an extra towel to lend Walker when she forgot hers; Khan, who had a habit of making himself tuna fish sandwiches, letting others know that the condiments in his drawer were up for grabs to all.

Even 12 years later, Walker said her feelings were too raw to talk about the aftermath of Khan's death. "He was the most amazing officer I ever worked for," she said.

It wasn't immediately obvious that Khan, who was born in the United Arab Emirates in 1976, was bound for life in the U.S. military.

Khan's parents arrived in the United States when Khan was 2 years old. He graduated from Kennedy High School in Silver Spring, Md., in 1996 and earned a degree in psychology from the University of Virginia in 2000. He planned to be a lawyer, said his father, Khizr Khan, who is an attorney.

But in Charlottesville, Khan made friends with students who were part of the university's ROTC program, and the idea of military service appealed to him, said Nizam Missaghi, a classmate of Khan's older brother who got to know the younger Khan at the University of Virginia. According to Khan's family, he had learned about Thomas Jefferson as a boy and was inspired by the idea of safeguarding freedom.

"He liked the discipline and the opportunity to serve, and so he chose that path," Missaghi said. "He was very loyal to his choice."

Those who knew and worked with Khan said his South Asian heritage — his parents were born in Pakistan — and his Muslim faith weren't a secret, but neither were they something he wore on his sleeve. Missaghi described Khan as "just your average, all-American kid" who had an infectious sense of humor and a knack for connecting with others.

“If he entered a crowd and someone seemed to be marginalized … he would be the first person to reach out to them,” Missaghi said.

In his short time in Iraq, Khan had worked on a program to provide employment to Iraqis and tried to involve tribal leaders, former colleagues said. By phone and in online tributes, those who served with Khan described the lasting impression he made on them. “June 8th every year is a very sore spot with me,” Selby said.

Brig. Gen. Dan Mitchell, who as a lieutenant colonel was Khan’s commanding officer in 2004, said that as a force protection operations officer at Warhorse, Khan was playing a critical role in keeping fellow soldiers safe from artillery attacks, sniper fire and improvised explosive devices like the one that killed him.

In a statement, Mitchell called Khan, who was awarded Bronze Star and Purple Heart medals after his death, an “exceptional person, leader and military officer” who loved his soldiers.

“On the day he died, he was doing exactly what a good leader should do,” Mitchell said.

Julie Tate and Dan Lamothe contributed to this report.

Missy Ryan writes about the Pentagon, military issues, and national security for The Washington Post.
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WAR ROOM

The Tragedy of Humayun Khan

The commander who served with the late son of the most famous Gold Star parents in America broke down at his memorial service in Iraq. Those who served with Captain Khan understand why.

By MICHAEL HIRSH | August 04, 2016

There is a photograph of Maj. Gen. John Batiste, eyes brimming with tears after the memorial ceremony for Capt. Humayun Khan in Baqubah, Iraq, on June 11, 2004, three days following Khan's death. Standing next to Batiste—who was the commanding general of the 1st Infantry Division in which Khan served—is his subordinate, Col. Dana Pittard, who commanded Khan's brigade in Diyala Province, the violent epicenter of the unfolding insurgency and what, a year later, would become a full-blown sectarian civil war. Looking at the picture more than 12 years later, Batiste says the memory of that day came back to him. "I made it a priority to attend as many of those memorial services as I could," he says. "But I do remember that one."

Batiste was in the receiving line after the ceremony, he recalls, and he choked up because he had come to realize the man they were honoring that day—years before his parents got into a war of words with Donald Trump over the death of their Muslim-American son—was one of the finest soldiers under his command.

This is Khan's story. It is also, to a very great extent, the story of America's long experience in Iraq.

"These ceremonies are very private moments, and this one was extremely emotional," Batiste says. "The battalion and company commanders spoke, and then some of Capt. Khan's colleagues who served under him spoke." They spoke, among other things, of Khan's sacrifice, when the captain ordered his solders to hit the dirt while he moved forward to stop the bomb-laden suicide car that would kill him instantly, with a giant blast heard by "everybody at the base," as Pittard recalls.

Says Batiste: "You could hear how well respected he was within his battalion, I remember now also, talking to one of his comrades afterwards, feeling that he was a great soldier." Pittard agrees: "It was just raw emotion." Khan was special, he says. "When he was still a lieutenant, we had nominated him to be aide de camp to the deputy commanding general. That means we felt that he was the outstanding lieutenant in the entire brigade. That's who you send forward."

The terrible irony, says Pittard, is that Khan died—he was the first casualty in his unit—just as the 3rd Brigade was starting to make real inroads into stabilizing the province. Indeed, the suicide bomber who killed Khan may well have been retaliating for that success. By the fall of 2004, they were doing so well in quelling the Sunni insurgency and winning over Sunni moderates, says Pittard, that the general in overall command of U.S. forces in Iraq, Gen. George Casey, made a fatal mistake later in the year, and decided to move resources elsewhere: "But it was too early to move that much combat power away from Diyala. The insurgency was able to get re-embedded. By the end of 2006, Diyala had blown up. When I returned in 2006 and 2007, I got to watch that nightmare." (Casey, now retired, did not respond immediately to a request for comment.)

The larger issue, says Batiste, was too few resources in Iraq, period. The sum total of all those wrenching memorial services—those casualties during his year commanding the 1st ID around Baqubah (where Khan was killed)—had a lot to do with the shocking decision he made a year later: Batiste rejected an offer of three stars and one of the premier commands in the U.S. military at the time: V Corps, which was being rotated back into Iraq. He would have been the top general in Iraq in charge of day-to-day combat operations. Instead,

Batiste resigned from the Army. “It was gut-wrenching,” he told me. “I loved soldiering.” But he could no longer stay silent, he says, about the decisions being made in Washington—the withholding of soldiers and resources, the state of denial of what was really happening at Donald Rumsfeld’s Defense Department, that was making Iraq so dangerous for soldiers like Khan.

“The 1st Infantry Division did a hell of a job in Iraq. I couldn’t have been prouder of all those soldiers,” says Batiste, who is today president and CEO of a military and civilian armor-supply company in Buffalo, N.Y. “But we went into Iraq without a coherent strategy. And just as important as the strategy, we did not have the resourcing or any rehearsing of what to do after the fall of Saddam Hussein. The lack of foresight at the U.S. government level, I think our soldiers paid for that.”

At the moment of Khan’s death at Forward Operating Base Warhorse, malign forces were just starting to gather all at once—like the first heavy wisps of a hurricane wind—in the town of Baqubah and the province as a whole, which lies just east of Baghdad and borders Iran. “There was more and more evidence that the fault line was going through Baqubah,” says Batiste. “The early indications of Al Qaeda in Iraq were in Baqubah, where [its founding leader Abu Musab al] Zarqawi was later tracked and killed. There was a lot of Shia support coming from Iran there, and the Shias were exercising power while the Sunnis were feeling disenfranchised. It was a microcosm of everything that was going wrong in Iraq.”

L. Paul Bremer III, head of the Coalition Provisional Authority governing Iraq at the time, also remembers that period of early summer as critical; Khan was killed at the height of uncertainty about Iraq’s future, only three weeks before the handover of sovereignty that Bremer orchestrated but which was so physically dangerous that the Americans bolted two days before the official ceremony so they could fool the enemy and avoid a terrorist attack. “There had been IEDs, but we were also starting to see car bombs,” Bremer recalled in an interview. Within a few months, from April to early June—when Capt. Khan was killed—Iraq began to come apart at the seams. “Zarqawi had started up Al Qaeda. Moqtada Sadr had radicalized the Shias. On the 24th of June three car bombs exploded in Mosul. … And when four Blackwater guys were killed on the airport road, I ordered all civilian traffic stopped. On June 7, we got hit by mortar fire in the CPA, and on June 12, the acting [Iraqi] foreign minister was assassinated. That whole period was certainly very unsettled.”

Why was the situation gettting out of control? Bremer—though he earned the ire of Batiste and other commanders for disbanding the Iraqi army as one of his first decisions—agrees with Batiste’s assessment that the troops on the ground were too few and didn’t have

enough support. “Absolutely, yes. About this time, I sent Rumsfeld a top secret memo, which I sent by personal courier, to suggest we needed two divisions.” He heard nothing back. “They [the Pentagon] were trying to assert that the Iraqi army and the ICDC [Iraqi police] could take the place of the First Airborne, which I kept saying over and over was fantasy. During the earlier part of the spring uprising, in April and early May of 2004, I repeatedly said we had serious problems.” But Rumsfeld, both Bremer and Batiste say, would not listen.

Batiste said he sought to communicate his concerns that there were too few U.S. troops on the ground to play anything but whack-a-mole with the enemy. “I was extremely vocal within my chain of command,” he says, speaking to both his then-superior, Multinational Forces commander Gen. Rick Sanchez, and Centcom commander Gen. George Casey. At one point, he also brought it up with Rumsfeld himself and Deputy Defense Secretary Paul Wolfowitz. “I do remember speaking to both those guys about the frustrations of picking up a brigade element of 3,000 to 5,000 troops in contact with the enemy and moving to another location in Iraq 200 to 300 miles away to deal with an emergency. When you do that, you create an immediate vacuum. … It’s the whack-a-mole game.”

Pittard, for his part, is less willing to blame the lack of resources for the ultimate failure to secure Diyala—and then Iraq itself. “Sure, we could have used more. But there’s never been a commander in combat who didn’t say you could use more resources.” Despite that, he insists, the First ID—which unlike other U.S. Army units had been trained in counterinsurgency the previous year in Kosovo—was making major political and military progress in stabilizing Diyala. It was all just starting to come together that June, when Capt. Khan was killed. “We knew going in center of gravity would be people. … We had gone in having had a nine-month rehearsal in Kosovo.”

As a result, much of what the brigade—of which Khan’s 201st Forward Support Battalion was an integral part—was focused on was winning over local Iraqis, Pittard says. “Our predecessor unit might have had 10 to 15 Iraqis working at the base. By the time Capt. Khan was killed, we employed well over 1,000. That helped to stop the mortar attacks, because our Iraqis would tell their fellow Iraqis: ‘What are you doing, trying to kill us? We work there. And by the way, we’re now making money.' … The insurgency was losing force. But the learning curve for all that was the first 90 days. And he was killed in the first 90 days.”

The car bomb that killed him, adds Pittard, was hardly a total surprise—but it was the first one to hit the Warhorse base. “We were of course clearly aware of car bombs. They had been going off in Baghdad. The barriers that we set up were like those in [the Green Zone in

Baghdad] , based on trying to fight car bombs. We had already killed or wounded more drivers than I wanted to do. I'm sure that's what Capt. Khan was thinking of at that time. He was hoping he didn't have to put a .50 caliber shell through the windshield of that car. That driver was not going to be allowed to come onto Warhorse. But Capt. Khan didn't have the time to make that decision."

The Iraqis working at the base were just as grief-struck as Khan's Army comrades, says Pittard. "Among all the Iraqis there—whether Sunni, Shia, the imams, or tribal sheiks—the fact that he had been a fellow Muslim caused a real stir."

And perhaps the saddest thing of all is that the First ID, at that stage, was so close to imbuing Khan's death with some real meaning, Pittard insists. They were fighting the good fight. Whatever the dispute over the decision to go into Iraq in the first place, the group of dedicated Americans that made up the division was on the verge of some success in making life better and more free and peaceful in Diyala Province, Pittard says.

Indeed, the radical Ansar al-Islam cell that sent in the driver who killed Khan may well have been reacting to that American success. Why does Pittard believe that? Because the Americans were listening in on the terrorists' conversations on secure communications, he says. "They were yelling over their communications, 'We need some help here.' Even the price on my head went up. When we started it was $15,000. I was actually somewhat insulted by that. But by September, based on the number of moderates who had left the insurgency, they really felt we were making too much progress. The bounty on my head went up to a million dollars."

But in the end, the American efforts were futile. A combination of bad decision-making at the top of the U.S. occupation, and the rising Sunni-Shia divide in Baghdad and Diyala, doomed those efforts, Pittard says. "The election of January 2005 was pivotal. We assured the Sunni moderates that this can work. We had the highest percentage of Sunnis voting in the entire country. The key difference was the shenanigans played by the Shia-led Iraqi provisional government in Baghdad"—to whom Bremer had handed over power the previous June. Mysteriously, the government managed to eliminate from the ballot the odds-on favorite, the Sunni governor of Diyala, enraging the Sunni population. "That was last straw for the moderate Sunnis in Diyala," says Pittard.

The Americans in command in Baghdad and Washington then compounded things by withdrawing the combat troops, he says. "I don't think Gen. Casey understood the magnitude of that election. Everyone thought it was fine. You remember the purple thumbs and all. But I told him, Sir, there's a problem. He said, 'It's OK, they'll work it out.' So he

took out our two brigades and replaced them with [less than] one brigade—just two battalions. Hindsight's 20-20, but we should have left the two brigades. They would have secured the province."

But Humayun Khan, of course, would never know that.

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NEWS DESK

KHIZR KHAN, GOLD STAR FATHER, ON THE NEW REFUGEE BAN

By Robin Wright January 29, 2017

In a picture from September, 2011, Khizr Khan stands in front of the grave of his son Humayun, in Arlington National Cemetery.

Since his six-minute speech at last summer's Democratic Convention, Khizr Khan has become a kind of celebrity, an honorable everyman who stood up for America's Muslim community. The story he told of his son Humayun, a captain in the U.S. Army who gave his life to stop a suicide bomber approaching his troops in Iraq, in 2004, was emotional, and it made for gripping television. The Washington *Post* called the image of Khan waving his pocket-size Constitution in the air—and asking if Donald Trump had ever read it—one of the most memorable of the campaign. "I will lend you my copy," Khan said, addressing Trump. "You have sacrificed nothing and no one." His speech made the Constitution a best-seller on Amazon. Google searches on it soared tenfold.

Khan, a Harvard-educated lawyer, was born in Pakistan; his son Humuyun was born in the United Arab Emirates. Both became U.S. citizens in 1986. On Sunday, Khan stopped by my house in Washington, and, over honey-lavender tea, discussed President Trump's new executive order banning the entry of Syrian refugees indefinitely and all refugees for four months. The executive order suspends the entry of all citizens from seven predominantly Muslim countries—Iran, Iraq, Libya, Somalia, Sudan, Syria, and

Yemen—for ninety days. The order also calls for a general review of U.S. vetting procedures. The following interview has been edited and condensed for clarity.

What was your reaction to President Trump's Executive Order?

It's un-American. It's against the safety of my country. I say to President Trump and his security advisers, the drafters of these executive orders, to get out of the White House and go to Arlington Cemetery and stand in front of all the tombstones and learn from observation that Muslims, and people from all other faiths, have given their lives to protect the Constitution and values of pluralism and equal protection. I hope that their sense of patriotism is awakened and they realize that these executive orders banning Muslims and creating walls will not do.

Do you have regrets about your personal loss in light of this action?

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Not at all. If I had ten sons I would sacrifice them and offer them for the betterment of this country. We are direct beneficiaries of those values. It's a tribute to the goodness of my country and to its values of inclusion and welcoming immigrants and people from hopeless parts of the world.

Some ugliness has been directed towards us. But we are grown-up people and we know how to forward ugliness to law enforcement.

Is there backlash among Muslims in the United States?

It alienates Muslims who are patriotic citizens. The Bush and Obama Administrations learned that alienating a large Muslim population in the United States works against keeping the U.S. secure. It makes people think of harm. Politicians had been joining hands with local Muslim communities to make them part of the solution rather than alienating them. Dealing with homegrown terrorism is not a one-step deal; an executive order does not solve the problem. It's building relationships with the communities.

When a community at large feels alienated, bad elements start to rise. It's the tragedy that has happened in Europe. It had failed to include immigrants from various parts of the world. Bad elements among them gained strength and began to think of harming societies.

The lone wolves?

Exactly.

How are Muslims elsewhere in the world reacting?

Internationally, it has given platform to our enemies. They are now telling the world's more than 1.6 billion Muslims, "Haven't we been telling you that America is at war with Islam?"

It puts the lives of our men and women serving in these countries in danger. Almost five thousand died in Iraq, where my son died. The coterie of people who surround Trump is so bent on their racist and Islamophobic agenda that they do not see the harm and danger that these executive orders are causing.

One of the first cases affected by the new executive order was an interpreter who worked with the U.S. military. Did your son work with local interpreters?

Yes. We have received not only letters but pictures of people who worked with him.

Ask any member of our defense forces serving in those countries—their lives depend on the loyalty of these people. I am worried about our sons and daughters serving in the countries across the world—these interpreters provide lifesaving advice.

President Trump's national-security adviser, retired Lieutenant General Michael Flynn, has called Islam a "vicious cancer." He said, "Fear of Muslims is rational."

Mike Flynn's rhetoric is unbecoming of a senior member of the armed forces in my country. His ignorance and hatred of a religion of many millions in the United States, and more than a billion in the world, speaks volumes of his ignorance and narrow-mindedness. It is Flynn and Stephen Bannon who have misguided Trump and brought us into the darkest period in U.S. history.

You spoke at the Democratic Convention but you're not a lifelong Democrat. You supported Ronald Reagan.

I did. I supported Reagan from his first term and my support continued into his second term. I carried with pride the card I received when I contributed to the Reagan campaign. It had Lee Atwater's signature on it. I have it still today. I also have a card with Reagan's signature. I voted for Clinton, Obama, and Hillary based on what is good for my country.

What have you been doing since the Democratic Convention?

My speaking engagements include law schools, academic institutions, bar associations, Muslim organizations, middle schools, and high schools. The Oxford Union. And so many more keep coming.

What's your message?

We are at a crossroads in our history. I urge every patriotic American to remain faithful and hopeful, and remain standing. Never before was your duty to serve your country more important, so we can dispel this momentary racism and dehumanization of mankind through these executive orders and bigoted threats.

When nations build walls they suffocate, and I will not let that happen until my last breath—as my son did.

What do you tell other Muslims now?

I tell Muslims to fully participate in the democratic process. It could be on public service boards, local county boards. Don't be pushed into the corner. Run for office if you can. Participate in campaigns. Contribute to campaigns. I say this not only to Muslims. It is critical to Muslims, but I say it to all American patriots.

Participation doesn't guarantee you success. Look at Abraham Lincoln. He continued to lose. [Over the course of his career, Lincoln was defeated when he ran for the Illinois state legislature, for the Speakership of the Illinois House, and for the nomination to run for Congress. He was also defeated twice in runs for the Senate, and lost a bid to be a Vice-Presidential candidate.] But he became President. Don't be without a voice. Speak about the issues that affect your society.

Robin Wright is a contributing writer for newyorker.com, and has written for the magazine since 1988. She is the author of "Rock the Casbah: Rage and Rebellion Across the Islamic World."

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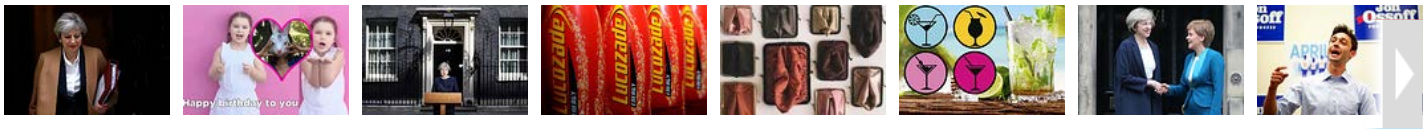

WORLD

This Is How Steve Bannon Sees The Entire World

The soon-to-be White House chief strategist laid out a global vision in a rare 2014 talk where he said racism in the far right gets “washed out” and called Vladimir Putin a kleptocrat. BuzzFeed News publishes the complete transcript for the first time.

J. Lester Feder
BuzzFeed News Reporter

Mandel Ngan / AFP / Getty Images

Donald Trump's newly named chief strategist and senior counselor Steve Bannon laid out his global nationalist vision in unusually in-depth remarks delivered by Skype to a conference held inside the Vatican in the summer of 2014.

Well before victories for Brexit and Trump seemed possible, Bannon declared there was a "global tea party movement" and praised European far-right parties like Great Britain's UKIP and France's National Front. Bannon also suggested that a racist element in far-right parties "all gets kind of washed out," and that the West was facing a "crisis of capitalism" after losing its "Judeo-Christian foundation," and he blasted "crony capitalists" in Washington for failing to prosecute bank executives over the financial

crisis.

The remarks — beamed into a small conference room in a 15th-century marble palace in a secluded corner of the Vatican — were part of a 50-minute Q&A during a conference focused on poverty hosted by the Human Dignity Institute that BuzzFeed News attended as part of its coverage of the rise of Europe's religious right. The group was founded by Benjamin Harnwell, a longtime aide to Conservative member of the European Parliament Nirj Deva, to promote a "Christian voice" in European politics. The group has ties to some of the most conservative factions inside the Catholic Church; Cardinal Raymond Burke, one of the most vocal critics of Pope Francis, who was ousted from a senior Vatican position in 2014, is chair of the group's advisory board.

BuzzFeed News originally posted a transcript beginning 90 seconds into the then–Breitbart News chairman's remarks because microphone placement made the opening mostly unintelligible, but we have completed the transcript from a video of the talk on YouTube. You can hear the whole recording at the bottom of the post.

Here is what he said, unedited:

Steve Bannon: Thank you very much Benjamin, and I appreciate you guys including us in this. We're speaking from Los Angeles today, right across the street from our headquarters in Los Angeles. Um. I want to talk about wealth creation and what wealth creation really can achieve and maybe take it in a slightly different direction, because 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 in our beliefs.

It's ironic, I think, that we're talking today at exactly, tomorrow, 100 years ago, at the exact moment we're talking, the assassination took place in Sarajevo of Archduke Franz Ferdinand that led to the end of the Victorian era and the beginning of the bloodiest century in mankind's history. Just to put it in perspective, with the assassination that took place 100 years ago tomorrow in Sarajevo, the world was at total peace. There was trade, there was globalization, there was technological transfer, the High Church of England and the Catholic Church and the Christian faith was predominant throughout Europe of practicing Christians. Seven weeks later, I think there were 5 million men in uniform and within 30 days there were over a million casualties.

That war triggered a century of barbaric — unparalleled in mankind's history — virtually 180 to 200 million people were killed in the 20th century, and I believe that, you know, hundreds of years from now when they look back, we're children of that: We're children of that barbarity. This will be looked at almost as a new Dark Age.

But the thing that got us out of it, the organizing principle that met this, was not just the heroism of our people — whether it was French resistance fighters, whether it was the Polish resistance fighters, or it's the young men from Kansas City or the Midwest who stormed the beaches of Normandy, commandos in England that fought with the Royal Air Force, that fought this great war, really the Judeo-Christian West versus atheists, right? The underlying principle is an enlightened form of capitalism, that capitalism really gave us the wherewithal. It kind of organized and built the materials needed to support, whether it's the Soviet Union, England, the United States, and eventually to take back continental Europe and to beat back a barbaric empire in the Far East.

That capitalism really generated tremendous wealth. And that wealth was really distributed among a middle class, a rising middle class, people who come from really working-class environments and created what we really call a Pax Americana. It was many, many years and decades of peace. And I believe we've come partly offtrack in the years since the fall of the Soviet Union and we're starting now in the 21st century, which I believe, strongly, is a crisis both of our church, a crisis of our faith, a crisis of the West, a crisis of capitalism.

"I believe we've come partly offtrack in the years since the fall of the Soviet Union and we're starting now in the 21st century, which I believe, strongly, is a crisis both of our church, a crisis of our faith, a crisis of the West, a crisis of capitalism."

And we're at the very beginning stages of a very brutal and bloody conflict, of which if the people in this room, the 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, but to fight for our beliefs against this new barbarity that's starting, that will completely eradicate everything that we've been bequeathed over the last 2,000, 2,500 years.

Now, what I mean by that specifically: I think that you're seeing three kinds of converging tendencies: One is a form of capitalism that is taken away from the underlying spiritual and moral foundations of Christianity and, really, Judeo-Christian belief.

I see that every day. I'm a very practical, pragmatic capitalist. I was trained at Goldman

Sachs, I went to Harvard Business School, I was as hard-nosed a capitalist as you get. I specialized in media, in investing in media companies, and it's a very, very tough environment. And you've had a fairly good track record. So I don't want this to kinda sound namby-pamby, "Let's all hold hands and sing 'Kumbaya' around capitalism."

But there's a strand of capitalism today — two strands of it, that are very disturbing.

One is state-sponsored capitalism. And that's the capitalism you see in China and Russia. I believe it's what Holy Father [Pope Francis] has seen for most of his life in places like Argentina, where you have this kind of crony capitalism of people that are involved with these military powers-that-be in the government, and it forms a brutal form of capitalism that is really about creating wealth and creating value for a very small subset of people. And it doesn't spread the tremendous value creation throughout broader distribution patterns that were seen really in the 20th century.

The second form of capitalism that I feel is almost as disturbing, is what I call the Ayn Rand or the Objectivist School of libertarian capitalism. And, look, I'm a big believer in a lot of libertarianism. I have many many friends that's a very big part of the conservative movement — whether it's the UKIP movement in England, it's many of the underpinnings of the populist movement in Europe, and particularly in the United States.

However, that form of capitalism is quite different when you really look at it to what I call the "enlightened capitalism" of the Judeo-Christian West. It is a capitalism that really looks to make people commodities, and to objectify people, and to use them almost — as many of the precepts of Marx — and that is a form of capitalism, particularly to a younger generation [that] they're really finding quite attractive. And if they don't see another alternative, it's going to be an alternative that they gravitate to under this kind of rubric of "personal freedom."

"Look at what's happening in ISIS … look at the sophistication of which they've taken the tools of capitalism … at what they've done with Twitter and Facebook."

The other tendency is an immense secularization of the West. And I know we've talked about secularization for a long time, but if you look at younger people, especially millennials under 30, the overwhelming drive of popular culture is to absolutely secularize this rising iteration.

Now that call converges with something we have to face, and it's a very unpleasant topic, but we are in an outright war against jihadist Islamic fascism. And this war is, I think, metastasizing far quicker than governments can handle it.

If you look at what's happening in ISIS, which is the Islamic State of Syria and the Levant, that is now currently forming the caliphate that is having a military drive on Baghdad, if you look at the sophistication of which they've taken the tools of capitalism. If you look at what they've done with Twitter and Facebook and modern ways to fundraise, and to use crowdsourcing to fund, besides all the access to weapons, over the last couple days they have had a radical program of taking kids and trying to turn them into bombers. They have driven 50,000 Christians out of a town near the Kurdish border. We have video that we're putting up later today on Breitbart where they've took 50 hostages and thrown them off a cliff in Iraq.

That war is expanding and it's metastasizing to sub-Saharan Africa. 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.

So I think the discussion of, should 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 — "What is the purpose of whatever I'm doing with this wealth? What is the purpose of what I'm doing with the ability that God has given us, that divine providence has given us to actually be a creator of jobs and a creator of wealth?"

I think it really behooves all of 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 if we do not bind together as partners with others in other countries that this conflict is only going to metastasize.

They have a Twitter account up 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's going to come to Western Europe, it's going to come to the United Kingdom. And so I think we are in a crisis of 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.

"With all the baggage that those [right-wing] groups bring — and trust me, a lot of them bring a lot of baggage, both ethnically and racially— but we think that

will all be worked through with time."

Benjamin Harnwell, Human Dignity Institute: Thank you, Steve. That was a fascinating, fascinating overview. I am particularly struck by your argument, then, that in fact, capitalism would spread around the world based on the Judeo-Christian foundation is, in fact, something that can create peace through peoples rather than antagonism, which is often a point not sufficiently appreciated. Before I turn behind me to take a question —

Bannon: One thing I want to make sure of, if you look at the leaders of capitalism at that time, when capitalism was I believe at its highest flower and spreading its benefits to most of mankind, almost all of those capitalists were strong believers in the Judeo-Christian West. They were either active participants in the Jewish faith, they were active participants in the Christians' faith, and they took their beliefs, and the underpinnings of their beliefs was manifested in the work they did. And I think that's incredibly important and something that would really become unmoored. I can see this on Wall Street today — I can see this with the securitization of everything is that, everything is looked at as a securitization opportunity. People are looked at as commodities. I don't believe that our forefathers had that same belief.

Harnwell: Over the course of this conference we've heard from various points of view regarding alleviation of poverty. We've heard from the center-left perspective, we've heard from the socialist perspective, we've heard from the Christian democrat, if you will, perspective. What particularly interests me about your point of view Steve, to talk specifically about your work, Breitbart is very close to the tea party movement. So I'm just wondering whether you could tell me about if in the current flow of contemporary politics — first tell us a little bit about Breitbart, what the mission is, and then tell me about the reach that you have and then could you say a little bit about the current dynamic of what's going on at the moment in the States.

Bannon: Outside of Fox News and the Drudge Report, we're the third-largest conservative news site and, quite frankly, we have a bigger global reach than even Fox. And that's why we're expanding so much internationally.

Look, we believe — strongly — that there is a global tea party movement. We've seen that. We were the first group to get in and start reporting on things like UKIP and Front National and other center right. With all the baggage that those groups bring — and trust me, a lot of them bring a lot of baggage, both ethnically and racially — but we think that will all be worked through with time.

The central thing that binds that all together is a center-right populist movement of really the middle class, the working men and women in the world who are just tired of being dictated to by what we call the party of Davos. A group of kind of — we're not conspiracy-

theory guys, but there's certainly — and I could see this when I worked at Goldman Sachs — there are people in New York that feel closer to people in London and in Berlin than they do to people in Kansas and in Colorado, and they have more of this elite mentality that they're going to dictate to everybody how the world's going to be run.

I will tell you that the working men and women of Europe and Asia and the United States and Latin America don't believe that. They believe they know what's best for how they will comport their lives. They think they know best about how to raise their families and how to educate their families. So I think you're seeing a global reaction to centralized government, whether that government is in Beijing or that government is in Washington, DC, or that government is in Brussels. So we are the platform for the voice of that.

"Putin's ... very, very very intelligent. I can see this in the United States where he's playing very strongly to social conservatives about his message about more traditional values, so I think it's something that we have to be very much on guard of."

Now, with that, we are strong capitalists. And we believe in the benefits of capitalism. And, particularly, the harder-nosed the capitalism, the better. However, like I said, there's two strands of capitalism that we're quite concerned about.

One is crony capitalism, or what we call state-controlled capitalism, and that's the big thing the tea party is fighting in the United States, and really the tea party's biggest fight is not with the left, because we're not there yet. The biggest fight the tea party has today is just like UKIP. UKIP's biggest fight is with the Conservative Party.

The tea party in the United States' biggest fight is with the the Republican establishment, which is really a collection of crony capitalists that feel that they have a different set of rules of how they're going to comport themselves and how they're going to run things. And, quite frankly, it's the reason that the United States' financial situation is so dire, particularly our balance sheet. We have virtually a hundred trillion dollars of unfunded liabilities. That is all because you've had this kind of crony capitalism in Washington, DC. The rise of Breitbart is directly tied to being the voice of that center-right opposition. And, quite frankly, we're winning many, many victories.

On the social conservative side, we're the voice of the anti-abortion movement, the voice of the traditional marriage movement, and I can tell you we're winning victory after victory after victory. Things are turning around as people have a voice and have a platform of which they can use.

Kirk Irwin / Getty Images

Harnwell: The third-largest conservative news website is something to be extremely impressed by. Can you tell for the people here who aren't within the Anglosphere and they might not follow American domestic politics at the moment — there seems to be a substantial sea change going on at the moment in Middle America. And the leader of the majority party, Eric Cantor, was deselected a couple of weeks ago by a tea party candidate. What does that mean for the state of domestic politics in America at the moment?

Bannon: For everybody in your audience, this is one of the most monumental — first off, it's the biggest election upset in the history of the American republic. Eric Cantor was the House majority leader and raised $10 million. He spent, between himself and outside

groups, $8 million to hold a congressional district. He ran against a professor who was an evangelical Christian and a libertarian economist. He ran against a professor who raised in total $175,000. In fact, the bills from Eric Cantor's campaign at a elite steak house in Washington, DC, was over $200,000. So they spent more than $200,000 over the course of the campaign wining and dining fat cats at a steak house in Washington than the entire opposition had to run.

Now, Eric Cantor, it was a landslide. He lost 57–43, and not one — outside of Breitbart, we covered this for six months, day in and day out — not one news site — not Fox News, not Politico, no sites picked this up. And the reason that this guy won is quite simple: Middle-class people and working-class people are tired of people like Eric Cantor who say they're conservative selling out their interests every day to crony capitalists.

"That center-right revolt is really a global revolt. I think you're going to see it in Latin America, I think you're going to see it in Asia, I think you've already seen it in India."

And you're seeing that whether that was UKIP and Nigel Farage in the United Kingdom, whether it's these groups in the Low Countries in Europe, whether it's in France, there's a new tea party in Germany. The theme is all the same. And the theme is middle-class and working-class people — they're saying, "Hey, I'm working harder than I've ever worked. I'm getting less benefits than I'm ever getting through this, I'm incurring less wealth myself, and I'm seeing a system of fat cats who say they're conservative and say they back capitalist principles, but all they're doing is binding with corporatists." Right? Corporatists, to garner all the benefits for themselves.

And that center-right revolt is really a global revolt. I think you're going to see it in Latin America, I think you're going to see it in Asia, I think you've already seen it in India. Modi's great victory was very much based on these Reaganesque principles, so I think this is a global revolt, and we are very fortunate and proud to be the news site that is reporting that throughout the world.

Harnwell: I think it's important to understand the distinction that you're drawing here between what can be understood as authentic, free-market capitalism as a means of promoting wealth that [*unintelligible*] involves everybody with a form of crony capitalism which simply benefits a certain class. And we've watched over the course of our

conference, we've watched two video segments produced by the Acton Institute about how development aid is spent internationally and how that can be driven away from — it damages people on the ground but it also perpetuates a governing class. And the point that you're mentioning here, that I think that you're saying has driven almost a revolution movement in America, is the same phenomenon of what's going on in the developing world, which is a concept of government which is no longer doing what it is morally bound to do but has become corrupt and self-serving. So it's effectively the sa—

Bannon: It's exactly the same. Currently, if you read *The Economist*, you read the *Financial Times* this week, you'll see there's a relatively obscure agency in the federal government that is engaged in a huge fight that may lead to a government shutdown. It's called the Export-Import Bank. And for years, it was a bank that helped finance things that other banks wouldn't do. And what's happening over time is that it's metastasized to be a cheap form of financing to General Electric and to Boeing and to other large corporations. You get this financing from other places if they wanted to, but they're putting this onto the middle-class taxpayers to support this.

"I'm not an expert in this, but it seems that [right-wing parties] have had some aspects that may be anti-Semitic or racial … My point is that over time it all gets kind of washed out, right?"

And the tea party is using this as an example of the cronyism. General Electric and these major corporations that are in bed with the federal government are not what we'd consider free-enterprise capitalists. We're backers of entrepreneurial capitalists. They're not. They're what we call corporatist. They want to have more and more monopolistic power and they're doing that kind of convergence with big government. And so the fight here — and that's why the media's been very late to this party — but the fight you're seeing is between entrepreneur capitalism, and the Acton Institute is a tremendous supporter of, and the people like the corporatists that are closer to the people like we think in Beijing and Moscow than they are to the entrepreneurial capitalist spirit of the United States.

Harnwell: Thanks, Steve. I'm going to turn around now, as I'm sure we have some great questions from the floor. Who has the first question then?

Bannon: First of all, Benjamin, I can tell you I could hardly recognize you, you're so cleaned up you are for the conference.

[*Laughter*]

Questioner: Hello, my name is Deborah Lubov. I'm a Vatican correspondent for Zenit news agency, for their English edition. I have some experience working in New York — I

was working for PricewaterhouseCoopers auditing investment banks, one of which was Goldman Sachs. And considering this conference is on poverty, I'm curious — from your point of view especially, your experience in the investment banking world — what concrete measures do you think they should be doing to combat, prevent this phenomenon? We know that various sums of money are used in all sorts of ways and they do have different initiatives, but in order to concretely counter this epidemic now, what are your thoughts?

"For Christians, and particularly for those who believe in the underpinnings of the Judeo-Christian West, I don't believe that we should have a [financial] bailout."

Bannon: That's a great question. The 2008 crisis, I think the financial crisis — which, by the way, I don't think we've come through — is really driven I believe by the greed, much of it driven by the greed of the investment banks. My old firm, Goldman Sachs — traditionally the best banks are leveraged 8:1. When we had the financial crisis in 2008, the investment banks were leveraged 35:1. Those rules had specifically been changed by a guy named Hank Paulson. He was secretary of Treasury. As chairman of Goldman Sachs, he had gone to Washington years before and asked for those changes. That made the banks not really investment banks, but made them hedge funds — and highly susceptible to changes in liquidity. And so the crisis of 2008 was, quite frankly, really never recovered from in the United States. It's one of the reasons last quarter you saw 2.9% negative growth in a quarter. So the United States economy is in very, very tough shape.

And one of the reasons is that we've never really gone and dug down and sorted through the problems of 2008. Particularly the fact — think about it — not one criminal charge has ever been brought to any bank executive associated with 2008 crisis. And in fact, it gets worse. No bonuses and none of their equity was taken. So part of the prime drivers of the wealth that they took in the 15 years leading up to the crisis was not hit at all, and I think that's one of the fuels of this populist revolt that we're seeing as the tea party. So I think there are many, many measures, particularly about getting the banks on better footing, making them address all the liquid assets they have. I think you need a real clean-up of the banks' balance sheets.

In addition, I think you really need to go back and make banks do what they do: Commercial banks lend money, and investment banks invest in entrepreneurs and to get away from this trading — you know, the hedge fund securitization, which they've all become basically trading operations and securitizations and not put capital back and really grow businesses and to grow the economy. So I think it's a whole area that just — and I will tell you, the underpinning of this populist revolt is the financial crisis of 2008. That revolt, the way that it was dealt with, the way that the people who ran the banks and ran the hedge funds have never really been held accountable for what they did, has fueled

much of the anger in the tea party movement in the United States.

Questioner: Thank you.

Bannon: Great question.

Questioner: Hello, Mr. Bannon. I'm Mario Fantini, a Vermonter living in Vienna, Austria. You began describing some of the trends you're seeing worldwide, very dangerous trends, worry trends. Another movement that I've been seeing grow and spread in Europe, unfortunately, is what can only be described as tribalist or neo-nativist movement — they call themselves Identitarians. These are mostly young, working-class, populist groups, and they're teaching self-defense classes, but also they are arguing against — and quite effectively, I might add — against capitalism and global financial institutions, etc. How do we counteract this stuff? Because they're appealing to a lot of young people at a very visceral level, especially with the ethnic and racial stuff.

Bannon: I didn't hear the whole question, about the tribalist?

> **"One of the committees in Congress said to the Justice Department, 35 [bank] executives, I believe, that they should have criminal indictments against — not one of those has ever been followed up on."**

Questioner: Very simply put, there's a growing movement among young people here in Europe, in France and in Austria and elsewhere, and they're arguing very effectively against Wall Street institutions and they're also appealing to people on an ethnic and racial level. And I was just wondering what you would recommend to counteract these movements, which are growing.

Bannon: One of the reasons that you can understand how they're being fueled is that they're not seeing the benefits of capitalism. I mean particularly — and I think it's particularly more advanced in Europe than it is in the United States, but in the United States it's getting pretty advanced — is that when you have this kind of crony capitalism, you have a different set of rules for the people that make the rules. It's this partnership of big government and corporatists. I think it starts to fuel, particularly as you start to see negative job creation. If you go back, in fact, and look at the United States' GDP, you look at a bunch of Europe. If you take out government spending, you know, we've had negative growth on a real basis for over a decade.

And that all trickles down to the man in the street. If you look at people's lives, and particularly millennials, look at people under 30 — people under 30, there's 50% really

underemployment of people in the United States, which is probably the most advanced economy in the West, and it gets worse in Europe.

I think in Spain it's something like 50 or 60% of the youth under 30 are underemployed. And that means the decade of their twenties, which is where you have to learn a skill, where you have to learn a craft, where you really start to get comfortable in your profession, you're taking that away from the entire generation. That's only going to fuel tribalism, that's only going to fuel [*unintelligible*]... That's why to me, it's incumbent upon freedom-loving people to make sure that we sort out these governments and make sure that we sort out particularly this crony capitalism so that the benefits become more of this entrepreneurial spirit and that can flow back to working-class and middle-class people. Because if not, we're going to pay a huge price for this. You can already start to see it.

Questioner: I have a question, because you worked on Wall Street. What is the opinion there on whether they think bank bailouts are justified? Is there a Christian-centered [*unintelligible*] that they think should be bailed out? The crisis starts earlier than 2008. What was the precedent then? What was the feeling on Wall Street when they bailed out the banks? How should Christians feel about advocating or being against that?

Bannon: I think one is about responsibility. For Christians, and particularly for those who believe in the underpinnings of the Judeo-Christian West, I don't believe that we should have a bailout. I think the bailouts in 2008 were wrong. And I think, you look in hindsight, it was a lot of misinformation that was presented about the bailouts of the banks in the West.

And look at the [*unintelligible*] it. Middle-class taxpayers, people that are working-class people, right, people making incomes under $50,000 and $60,000, it was the burden of those taxpayers, right, that bailed out the elites. And let's think about it for a second. Here's how capitalism metastasized, is that all the burdens put on the working-class people who get none of the upside. All of the upside goes to the crony capitalists.

The bailouts were absolutely outrageous, and here's why: It bailed out a group of shareholders and executives who were specifically accountable. The shareholders were accountable for one simple reason: They allowed this to go wrong without changing management. And the management team of this. And we know this now from congressional investigations, we know it from independent investigations, this is not some secret conspiracy. This is kind of in plain sight.

In fact, one of the committees in Congress said to the Justice Department 35 executives, I believe, that they should have criminal indictments against — not one of those has ever been followed up on. Because even with the Democrats, right, in power, there's a sense between the law firms, and the accounting firms, and the investment banks, and their stooges on Capitol Hill, they looked the other way.

So you can understand why middle-class people having a tough go of it making $50 or $60 thousand a year and see their taxes go up, and they see that their taxes are going to pay for

government sponsored bailouts, what you've created is really a free option. You say to this investment banking, create a free option for bad behavior. In otherwise all the upside goes to the hedge funds and the investment bank, and to the crony capitalist with stock increases and bonus increases. And their downside is limited, because middle-class people are going to come and bail them out with tax dollars.

And that's what I think is fueling this populist revolt. Whether that revolt is in the Midlands of England, or whether it's in Middle America. And I think people are fed up with it.

And I think that's why you're seeing — when you read the media says, "tea party is losing, losing elections," that is all BS. The elections we don't win, we're forcing those crony capitalists to come and admit that they're not going to do this again. The whole narrative in Washington has been changed by this populist revolt that we call the grassroots of the tea party movement.

And it's specifically because those bailouts were completely and totally unfair. It didn't make those financial institutions any stronger, and it bailed out a bunch of people — by the way, and these are people that have all gone to Yale, and Harvard, they went to the finest institutions in the West. They should have known better.

And by the way: It's all the institutions of the accounting firms, the law firms, the investment banks, the consulting firms, the elite of the elite, the educated elite, they understood what they were getting into, forcibly took all the benefits from it and then look to the government, went hat in hand to the government to be bailed out. And they've never been held accountable today. Trust me — they are going to be held accountable. You're seeing this populist movement called the tea party in the United States.

Harnwell: Okay, I think we've got time for just one or two more questions for Stephen K. Bannon, chairman of Breitbart Media, third-largest news organization in the States. I know you're a very, very busy man, so we're very grateful for the time that you've agreed to put aside for this, to close this conference.

"I certainly think secularism has sapped the strength of the Judeo-Christian West to defend its ideals, right?"

Bannon: I'm never too busy to share with a group that can do as much good as you guys

can.

Questioner: What do you think is the major threat today, to the Judeo-Christian Civilization? Secularism, or the Muslim world? In my humble opinion, they're just trying to defend themselves from our cultural invasion. Thank you.

[*Question restated by Harnwell*]

Bannon: It's a great question. I certainly think secularism has sapped the strength of the Judeo-Christian West to defend its ideals, right?

If you go back to your home countries and your proponent of the defense of the Judeo-Christian West and its tenets, oftentimes, particularly when you deal with the elites, you're looked at as someone who is quite odd. So it has kind of sapped the strength.

But I strongly believe that whatever the causes of the current drive to the caliphate was — and we can debate them, and people can try to deconstruct them — we have to face a very unpleasant fact. And that unpleasant fact is that there is a major war brewing, a war that's already global. It's going global in scale, and today's technology, today's media, today's access to weapons of mass destruction, it's going to lead to a global conflict that I believe has to be confronted today. Every day that we refuse to look at this as what it is, and the scale of it, and really the viciousness of it, will be a day where you will rue that we didn't act [*unintelligible*].

"The way that the people who ran the banks and ran the hedge funds have never really been held accountable for what they did has fueled much of the anger in the tea party movement in the United States."

Questioner: Thank you very much. I'm [*unintelligible*]. I come from Slovakia. This is actually the source of my two very quick questions. Thank you very much for the work that you do to promote the Judeo-Christian values in the world. I really appreciate it, and I also feel that the danger is very high. I have two minor questions, because you have mentioned, in terms of UKIP and Front National [*unintelligible*]. From the European perspective, listening to the language which has become more and more radical from these two parties, especially before the European Parliament elections, I'm just wondering what are your plans on how to help these partners from Europe to maybe focus on the value

issues and not with populist? And also it goes in terms — you have mentioned the involvement of state in capitalism as one of the big dangers. But these two parties you've mentioned, they actually have close ties with Putin, who is the promoter of this big danger, so I'd like to know your thoughts about this and how you're going to deal with it.

Bannon: Could you summarize that for me?

Harnwell: The first question was, you'd reference the Front National and UKIP as having elements that are tinged with the racial aspect amidst their voter profile, and the questioner was asking how you intend to deal with that aspect.

Bannon: I don't believe I said UKIP in that. I was really talking about the parties on the continent, Front National and other European parties.

I'm not an expert in this, but it seems that they have had some aspects that may be anti-Semitic or racial. By the way, even in the tea party, we have a broad movement like this, and we've been criticized, and they try to make the tea party as being racist, etc., which it's not. But there's always elements who turn up at these things, whether it's militia guys or whatever. Some that are fringe organizations. My point is that over time it all gets kind of washed out, right? People understand what pulls them together, and the people on the margins I think get marginalized more and more.

I believe that you'll see this in the center-right populist movement in continental Europe. I've spent quite a bit of time with UKIP, and I can say to you that I've never seen anything at all with UKIP that even comes close to that. I think they've done a very good job of policing themselves to really make sure that people including the British National Front and others were not included in the party, and I think you've seen that also with tea party groups, where some people would show up and were kind of marginal members of the tea party, and the tea party did a great job of policing themselves early on. And I think that's why when you hear charges of racism against the tea party, it doesn't stick with the American people, because they really understand.

I think when you look at any kind of revolution — and this is a revolution — you always have some groups that are disparate. I think that will all burn away over time and you'll see more of a mainstream center-right populist movement.

"Because at the end of the day, I think that Putin and his cronies are really a kleptocracy, that are really an imperialist power that want to expand."

Question: Obviously, before the European elections the two parties had a clear link to

Putin. If one of the representatives of the dangers of capitalism is the state involvement in capitalism, so, I see there, also Marine Le Pen campaigning in Moscow with Putin, and also UKIP strongly defending Russian positions in geopolitical terms.

[*Harnwell restates, but unintelligible*]

Harnwell: These two parties have both been cultivating President Putin [*unintelligible*].

Bannon: I think it's a little bit more complicated. When Vladimir Putin, when you really look at some of the underpinnings of some of his beliefs today, a lot of those come from what I call Eurasianism; he's got an adviser who harkens back to Julius Evola and different writers of the early 20th century who are really the supporters of what's called the traditionalist movement, which really eventually metastasized into Italian fascism. A lot of people that are traditionalists are attracted to that.

One of the reasons is that they believe that at least Putin is standing up for traditional institutions, and he's trying to do it in a form of nationalism — and I think that people, particularly in certain countries, want to see the sovereignty for their country, they want to see nationalism for their country. They don't believe in this kind of pan-European Union or they don't believe in the centralized government in the United States. They'd rather see more of a states-based entity that the founders originally set up where freedoms were controlled at the local level.

> "You're seeing a global reaction to centralized government, whether that government is in Beijing or that government is in Washington, DC, or that government is in Brussels. So we are the platform for the voice of that."

I'm not justifying Vladimir Putin and the kleptocracy that he represents, because he eventually is the state capitalist of kleptocracy. However, we the Judeo-Christian West really have to look at what he's talking about as far as traditionalism goes — particularly the sense of where it supports the underpinnings of nationalism — and I happen to think that the individual sovereignty of a country is a good thing and a strong thing. I think strong countries and strong nationalist movements in countries make strong neighbors, and that is really the building blocks that built Western Europe and the United States, and I think it's what can see us forward.

You know, Putin's been quite an interesting character. He's also very, very, very intelligent. I can see this in the United States where he's playing very strongly to social conservatives about his message about more traditional values, so I think it's something that we have to be very much on guard of. Because at the end of the day, I think that Putin and his cronies are really a kleptocracy, that are really an imperialist power that want to expand. However, I really believe that in this current environment, where you're facing a potential new caliphate that is very aggressive that is really a situation — I'm not saying we can put it on a back burner — but I think we have to deal with first things first.

Questioner: One of my questions has to do with how the West should be responding to radical Islam. How, specifically, should we as the West respond to jihadism without losing our own soul? Because we can win the war and lose ourselves at the same time. How should the West respond to radical Islam and not lose itself in the process?

Bannon: From a perspective — this may be a little more militant than others. I think definitely you're going to need an aspect that is [*unintelligible*]. I believe you should take a very, very, very aggressive stance against radical Islam. And I realize there are other aspects that are not as militant and not as aggressive and that's fine.

If you look back at the long history of the Judeo-Christian West struggle against Islam, I believe that our forefathers kept their stance, and I think they did the right thing. I think they kept it out of the world, whether it was at Vienna, or Tours, or other places... It bequeathed to use the great institution that is the church of the West.

And I would ask everybody in the audience today, because you really are the movers and drivers and shakers and thought leaders in the Catholic Church today, is to think, when people 500 years from now are going to think about today, think about the actions you've taken — and I believe everyone associated with the church and associated with the Judeo-Christian West that believes in the underpinnings of that and believes in the precepts of that and want to see that bequeathed to other generations down the road as it was bequeathed to us, particularly as you're in a city like Rome, and in a place like the Vatican, see what's been bequeathed to us — ask yourself, 500 years from today, what are they going to say about me? What are they going to say about what I did at the beginning stages of this crisis?

Because it is a crisis, and it's not going away. You don't have to take my word for it. All you have to do is read the news every day, see what's coming up, see what they're putting on Twitter, what they're putting on Facebook, see what's on CNN, what's on BBC. See what's happening, and you will see we're in a war of immense proportions. It's very easy to play to our baser instincts, and we can't do that. But our forefathers didn't do it either. And they were able to stave this off, and they were able to defeat it, and they were able to bequeath to us a church and a civilization that really is the flower of mankind, so I think it's incumbent on all of us to do what I call a gut check, to really think about what our role is in this battle that's before us.

Listen to the unedited audio of the event here:

CORRECTION

Bannon during his speech referred to Russia as an “imperialist power.” A transcription error in a previous version of this story had Bannon referring to Russia as a “perilous” power.

CORRECTION

Bannon and Harnwell refer to the Acton Institute, a free-market think tank based in the United States. This was mistakenly transcribed as Aspen Institute, a different think tank, in a previous version of this story.

CORRECTION

Bannon says in the recording that the West is in the “very beginning stages of a very brutal and bloody conflict.” A previous version of this story read “end stages,” due to a transcription error.

J. Lester Feder is a world correspondent for BuzzFeed News and is based in Washington, D.C. His secure PGP fingerprint is 2353 DB68 8AA6 92BD 67B8 94DF 37D8 0A6F D70B 7211
Contact J. Lester Feder at lester.feder@buzzfeed.com.

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The White House
Office of the Press Secretary

For Immediate Release March 15, 2017

Remarks by the President at Make America Great Again Rally

Nashville Municipal Auditorium
Nashville, Tennessee

7:06 P.M. CDT

THE PRESIDENT: Thank you very much, everybody. Thank you. (Applause.) So we're just going to let the other folks come in, fill it up. This is some crowd. You have to see what's outside, you wouldn't even believe it. (Applause.) Unbelievable.

So I'm thrilled to be here in Nashville, Tennessee, the home -- (applause) -- of country music, Southern hospitality, and the great President Andrew Jackson. (Applause.) I just came from a tour of Andrew Jackson's home to mark the 250th anniversary of his birth. Jackson's life was devoted to one very crucial principle -- he understood that real leadership means putting America first. (Applause.)

Before becoming President, Andrew Jackson served your state from the House of Representatives and in the United States Senate, and he also served as commander of the Tennessee militia. Tough cookie. Tough cookie. (Applause.)

So let's begin tonight by thanking all of the incredible men and women of the United States military and all of our wonderful veterans. The veterans. (Applause.)

AUDIENCE: USA! USA! USA!

THE PRESIDENT: Amazing. There's no place I'd rather be than with all of you here tonight, with the wonderful, hardworking citizens of our country. (Applause.) I would much rather spend time with you than any of the pundits, consultants, or special interests, certainly -- or reporters from Washington, D.C. (Applause.)

It's patriotic Americans like you who make this country run, and run well. You pay your taxes, follow our laws, support your communities, raise your children, love your country, and send your bravest to fight in our wars. (Applause.) All you want is a government that shows you the same loyalty in return. It's time that Washington heard your voice -- and believe me, on November 8th, they heard your voice. (Applause.) The forgotten men and women of our country will never be forgotten again, believe me. (Applause.)

I want to thank so many of your state leaders -- State Party Chairman Scott Golden; Congressman Scott DesJarlais; Congresswoman Marsha Blackburn; Congresswoman Diane Black; Congressman Jimmy Duncan -- right from the beginning. (Applause.) Governor Bill Haslam. (Applause.) A great friend of mine, Senator Bob Corker. (Applause.) An incredible guy, respected by all -- Senator Lamar Alexander. (Applause.) And so many more. Thank you all for being here.

We're going to be working closely together to deliver for you, the citizens of Tennessee, like you've never been delivered for before. Thank you. Thank you. (Applause.) Thank you. We're going to reduce your taxes -- big league. Big. (Applause.) Big. I want to start that process so quickly. Got to get the healthcare done. We got to start the tax reductions. (Applause.)

We are going to enforce our trade rules and bring back our jobs, which are scattered all over the world. They're coming back to our country. (Applause.) We're going to support the amazing -- absolutely amazing men and women of law enforcement. (Applause.) Protect your freedoms, and defend the Second Amendment. (Applause.) And we are going to restore respect for our country and for its great and very beautiful flag. (Applause.)

It's been a little over 50 days since my inauguration, and we've been putting our America First agenda very

much into action. You see what's happening. We're keeping our promises. In fact, they have signs -- "He's Kept His Promise." They're all over the place. I have. (Applause.) We have done far more -- I think maybe more than anybody's done in this office in 50 days, that I could tell you. (Applause.)

And we have just gotten started. Wait until you see what's coming, folks. We've appointed a Supreme Court justice to replace the late, great Antonin Scalia. His name is Judge Neil Gorsuch. (Applause.) He will uphold and defend the Constitution of the United States. We are proposing a budget that will shrink the bloated federal bureaucracy -- and I mean bloated -- while protecting our national security. You see what we're doing with our military -- bigger, better, stronger than ever before. You see what's happening. (Applause.) And you're already seeing the results. Our budget calls for one of the single largest increases in defense spending history in this country. (Applause.)

We believe -- especially the people in Tennessee, I know you people so well -- (applause) -- in peace through strength. That's what we're going to have. And we are taking steps to make sure that our allies pay their fair share. They have to pay. (Applause.) We've begun a dramatic effort to eliminate job-killing federal regulations like nobody has ever seen before -- slash, slash. We're going to protect the environment, we're going to protect people's safeties, but, let me tell you, the regulation business has become a terrible business, and we're going to bring it down to where it should be. (Applause.)

AUDIENCE: USA! USA! USA!

THE PRESIDENT: Okay, let's go. One person -- and they'll be the story tomorrow -- did you hear there was a protestor? (Applause.)

We're going to put our miners back to work. We're going to put our auto industry back to work. Already because of this new business climate, we are creating jobs that are starting to pour back into our country like we haven't seen in many, many decades. (Applause.)

In the first two job reports since I took the oath of office, we've already added nearly half a million new jobs, and believe me, it's just beginning. (Applause.) I've already authorized the construction of the long-stalled and delayed Keystone and Dakota Access pipelines. (Applause.) A lot of jobs.

I've also directed that new pipelines must be constructed with American steel. (Applause.) They want to build them here, they use our steel. We believe in two simple rules: Buy American and Hire American. (Applause.)

On trade, I've kept my promise to the American people, and withdrawn from the Trans-Pacific Partnership disaster. (Applause.) Tennessee has lost one third of its manufacturing jobs since the institution of NAFTA, one of the worst trade deals ever in history. Our nation has lost over 60,000 factories since China joined the World Trade Organization -- 60,000. Think of that. More than that.

We're not going to let it happen anymore. From now on, we are going to defend the American worker and our great American companies. (Applause.) And if America does what it says, and if your President does what I've been telling you, there is nobody anywhere in the world that can even come close to us, folks.

Not even close. (Applause.)

If a company wants to leave America, fire their workers, and then ship their new products back into our country, there will be consequences. (Applause.) That's what we have borders for. And by the way, aren't our borders getting extremely strong? (Applause.) Very strong.

AUDIENCE: USA! USA! USA!

THE PRESIDENT: Don't even think about it. We will build the wall. Don't even think about it. (Applause.) In fact, as you probably read, we went out to bid. We had hundreds of bidders. Everybody wants to build our wall. (Applause.) Usually, that means we're going to get a good price. We're going to get a good price, believe me. (Applause.) We're going to build the wall.

Some of the fake news said, I don't think Donald Trump wants to build the wall. Can you imagine if I said we're not going to build a wall? Fake news. Fake, fake news. Fake news, folks. A lot of fake.

No, the wall is way ahead of schedule in terms of where we are. It's under design, and you're going to see some very good things happening. But the border by itself right now is doing very well. It's becoming very strong. General Kelly has done a great job -- General Kelly.

My administration is also following through on our promise to secure, protect, and defend that border within our United States. Our southern border will be protected always. It will have the wall. Drugs will stop pouring in and poisoning our youth, and that will happen very, very soon. You're already seeing what's going on. The drugs are pouring into our country, folks. They are poisoning our youth and plenty of others, and we're going to stop it. We're not going to playing games. Not going to be playing games. (Applause.) Following my executive action -- and don't forget, we've only been here for like -- what? -- 50 days -- we've already experienced an unprecedented 40-percent reduction in illegal immigration on our Southern border; 61 percent since Inauguration Day -- 61 percent. Think about it.

And now people are saying, we're not going to go there anymore because we can't get in. So it's going to get better and better. We got to stop those drugs, though. We got to stop those drugs.

During the campaign, as I traveled all across this country, I met with many American families whose loved ones were viciously and violently killed by illegal immigrants because our government refused to enforce our already existing laws. These American victims were ignored by the media. They were ignored by Washington. But they were not ignored by me, and they're not ignored by you, and they never will be ignored certainly any longer. Not going to happen. (Applause.)

As we speak, we are finding the drug dealers, the robbers, thieves, gang members, killers and criminals preying on our citizens. One by one -- you're reading about it, right? They're being thrown out of our country. They're being thrown into prisons. And we will not let them back in. (Applause.)

We're also working, night and day, to keep our nation safe from terrorism. (Applause.) We have seen the devastation from 9/11 to Boston to San Bernardino -- hundreds upon hundreds of people from outside our

country have been convicted of terrorism-related offenses in the United States courts. Right now we have investigations going on all over -- hundreds of refugees are under federal investigation for terrorism and related reasons. We have entire regions of the world destabilized by terrorism and ISIS. For this reason, I issued an executive order to temporarily suspend immigration from places where it cannot safely occur. (Applause.)

But let me give you the bad news. We don't like bad news, right? I don't want to hear -- and I'll turn it into good. But let me give you the bad, the sad news. Moments ago, I learned that a district judge in Hawaii -- part of the much overturned 9th Circuit Court -- and I have to be nice; otherwise I'll get criticized for speaking poorly about our courts. I'll be criticized by these people, among the most dishonest people in the world -- I will be criticized -- I'll be criticized by them for speaking harshly about our courts. I would never want to do that. A judge has just blocked our executive order on travel and refugees coming into our country from certain countries.

AUDIENCE: Booo --

THE PRESIDENT: The order he blocked was a watered-version of the first order that was also blocked by another judge and should have never been blocked to start with. This new order was tailored to the dictates of the 9th Circuit's -- in my opinion -- flawed ruling. This is, the opinion of many, an unprecedented judicial overreach. The law and the Constitution give the President the power to suspend immigration when he deems -- or she -- or she. Fortunately, it will not be Hillary she. (Applause.) When he or she deems it to be in the national interest of our country.

So we have a lot of lawyers here. We also have a lot of smart people here. Let me read to you directly from the federal statute, 212F, of the immigration -- and you know what I'm talking about, right? Can I read this to you? Listen to this. Now, we're all smart people. We're all good students -- some are bad students, but even if you're a bad student this is a real easy one, let me tell you. Ready?

So here's the statute -- which they don't even want to quote when they overrule it. And it was put here for the security of our country. And this goes beyond me, because there will be other Presidents, and we need this. And sometimes we need it very badly for security -- security of our country.

It says -- now, listen how easy this is. "Whenever the President finds that the entry of any aliens or any class of aliens would be detrimental to the interests of the United States, he may, by proclamation, and for such period as he -- see, it wasn't politically correct, because it should say he or she. You know, today they'd say that. Actually, that's the only mistake they made. "as he shall deem necessary, suspending entry of all aliens, or any class of aliens, as immigrants or nonimmigrants, or pose on the entry of aliens any restrictions he may deems to be appropriate." In other words, if he thinks there's danger out there, he or she -- whoever is President -- can say, I'm sorry, folks, not now, please. We've got enough problems. (Applause.)

We're talking about the safety of our nation, the safety and security of our people. (Applause.) Now, I know you people aren't skeptical people because nobody would be that way in Tennessee. Right?

Nobody -- not Tennessee. You don't think this was done by a judge for political reasons, do you? No.

AUDIENCE: Booo --

THE PRESIDENT: This ruling makes us look weak -- which, by the way, we no longer are, believe me. (Applause.) Just look at our borders. We're going to fight this terrible ruling. We're going to take our case as far as it needs to go, including all the way up to the Supreme Court. (Applause.) We're going to win. We're going to keep our citizens safe. And regardless, we're going to keep our citizens safe, believe me. (Applause.) Even liberal Democratic lawyer, Alan Dershowitz ---- good lawyer -- just said that we would win this case before the Supreme Court of the United States. (Applause.)

Remember this, I wasn't thrilled, but the lawyers all said, let's tailor it. This is a watered--down version of the first one. This is a watered--down version. And let me tell you something, I think we ought to go back to the first one and go all the way, which is what I wanted to do in the first one. (Applause.)

The danger is clear, the law is clear, the need for my executive order is clear. I was elected to change our broken and dangerous system and thinking in government that has weakened and endangered our country and left our people defenseless. (Applause.) And I will not stop fighting for the safety of you and your families, believe me. Not today, not ever. We're going to win it. We're going to win it. (Applause.)

We're going to apply common sense. We're going to apply intelligence. And we're never quitting, and we're never going away, and we're never, ever giving up. The best way to keep foreign terrorists -- or, as some people would say in certain instances, radical Islamic terrorists -- from attacking our country is to stop them from entering our country in the first place. (Applause.)

We'll take it, but these are the problems we have. People are screaming, break up the 9th Circuit. And I'll tell you what, that 9th Circuit -- you have to see. Take a look at how many times they have been overturned with their terrible decisions. Take a look. And this is what we have to live with.

Finally, I want to get to taxes. I want to cut the hell out of taxes, but -- (applause) -- but before I can do that -- I would have loved to have put it first, I'll be honest -- there is one more very important thing that we have to do, and we are going to repeal and replace horrible, disastrous Obamacare. (Applause.)

If we leave Obamacare in place, millions and millions of people will be forced off their plans, and your senators just told me that in your state you're down to practically no insurers. You're going to have nobody. You're going to have nobody. And this is true all over. The insurers are fleeing. The insurers are fleeing. It's a catastrophic situation, and there's nothing to compare anything to because Obamacare won't be around for a year or two. It's gone. So it's not like, oh, gee, they have this. Obamacare is gone.

Premiums will continue to soar double digits and even triple digits in many cases. It will drain our budget and destroy our jobs. Remember all of the broken promises? You can keep your doctor, you can keep your plan. Remember the wise guy -- remember the wise guy that essentially said the American people -- the so--called architect -- the American people are stupid because they approved it? We're going to show them.

Those in Congress who made these promises have no credibility whatsoever on healthcare. (Applause.) And remember this -- remember this: If we took, because there's such divisiveness -- and I'm not just talking now, with me. There was with Obama. There was with Bush. The level of hatred and divisiveness with the politicians. I remember years ago, I'd go to Washington -- I* was always very politically active -- and Republicans and Democrats, they'd fight during the day and they go to dinner at night. Today, there's a level that nobody has seen before.

Just remember this: If we submitted the Democrats' plan, drawn everything perfect for the Democrats, we wouldn't get one vote from the Democrats. That's the way it is. That's how much divisiveness and other things there are. So it's a problem. But we're going to get it by.

So, I've met with so many victims of Obamacare ---- the people who have been so horribly hurt by this horrible legislation. At the very core of Obamacare was a fatal flaw -- the government forcing people to buy a government--approved product. There are very few people -- very few people.

AUDIENCE MEMBER: Booo --

THE PRESIDENT: By the way -- watch what happens. Now you just booed Obamacare. They will say, Trump got booed when he mentioned -- they're bad people, folks. They're bad people.

AUDIENCE: Booo --

THE PRESIDENT: Tonight, I'll go home, I'll turn on, I'll say -- listen, I'll turn on that television. My wife will say, darling, it's too bad you got booed. I said, I didn't get booed. This was a -- I said, no, no, they were booing Obamacare. Watch, a couple of them will actually do it, almost guaranteed. But when we call them out, it makes it harder for them to do it. So we'll see. It's the fake, fake media. We want Americans to be able to purchase the health insurance plans they want, not the plans forced on them by our government. (Applause.)

The House has put forward a plan to repeal and replace Obamacare based on the principles I outlined in my joint address, but let me tell you, we're going to arbitrate, we're going to all get together and we're going to get something done. Remember this -- if we didn't do it the way we're doing it, we need 60 votes so we have to get the Democrats involved. They won't vote, no matter what we do, they're not going to vote. So we're doing it a different way, a complex way. It's fine. The end result is when you have phase one, phase two, phase three -- it's going to be great. It's going to be great.

And then, we get on to tax reductions, which I like. (Applause.) The House legislation does so much for you. It gives the states Medicaid flexibility. And some of the states will take over their healthcare. Governor Rick Scott in Florida said, just send me the money -- they run a great plan. We have states that are doing great. It gives great flexibility.

Thank you, folks. Thank you. (Applause.) It repeals hundreds of billions of dollars in Obamacare taxes. It provides tax credits to purchase the care that is rightfully theirs. The bill that I will ultimately sign -- and that

will be a bill where everybody is going to get into the room and we're going to get it done -- we'll get rid of Obamacare and make healthcare better for you and for your family. (Applause.)

And once this is done, and a step further, we are going to try and put it in phase three -- I'm going to work on bringing down the cost of medicine by having a fair and competitive bidding process. (Applause.)

We welcome this healthcare debate and its negotiation, and we're going to carry it out, and have been carrying it out, in the full light of day -- unlike the way Obamacare was passed. Remember, folks, if we don't do anything, Obamacare is gone. It's not like, oh, gee, it's going to be wonderful in three years. It's gone. It's gone. It's gone. Not working. It's gone. What we cannot do is to be intimidated by the dishonest attacks from Democratic leaders in Congress who broke the system in the first place and who don't believe you should be able to make your own healthcare decisions. (Applause.)

I am very confident that if we empower the American people we will accomplish incredible things for our country -- not just on healthcare, but all across our government. We will unlock new frontiers in science and in medicine. We will give our children the right to attend the school of their choice, one where they will be taught to love this country and its values. (Applause.) We will create millions and millions of new jobs by lowering taxes on our businesses, and very importantly for our workers, we're going to lower taxes. (Applause.)

And we will fight for the right of every American child to grow up in a safe neighborhood, attend a great school, and to graduate with access to a high-paying job that they love doing. (Applause.)

No matter our background, no matter our income, no matter our geography, we all share the same home. We all salute the same flag. And we all are made by the same God. (Applause.)

AUDIENCE: USA! USA! USA!

THE PRESIDENT: It's time to embrace our glorious American destiny. Anything we can dream for our country we can achieve for our country. All we have to do is tap into that American pride that is swelling our hearts and stirring our souls. And we found that out very recently in our last election -- a lot of pride. (Applause.) We are all Americans, and the future truly belongs to us. The future belongs to all of you. This is your moment. This is your time. This is the hour when history is made. All we have to do is put our own citizens first, and together we will make America strong again. (Applause.) We will make America wealthy again. We will make America proud again. We will make America safe again. And we will make America great again. (Applause.)

Thank you. God bless you. Thank you. (Applause.) God bless you, everybody. (Applause.)

END
7:43 P.M. CDT

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AP

by NEIL MUNRO
30 Jan 2017

1285

Polls taken in 2016 show the American public strongly backs Donald Trump's dramatic immigration policy change, which says the United States will revive the traditional practice of excluding migrants hostile to Americans' civic society and constitutional traditions.

That's the dramatic policy change — not Trump's other curbs on Muslim refugee inflow — which has caused a dramatic wave of TV-magnified protests by left-wing, Islamic and Latino groups.

Trump is doing what American voters prefer. In June 2015, for example, a poll showed that 56 percent of Americans want to exclude migrants who believe in Islam's sharia law, which requires that democracy and civic norms by subordinated the Islamic scriptures. In contrast, only about 20 percent of Americans told the pollster that they did not oppose the immigration of people who believe in sharia law.

Trump's support for American culture is the centerpiece of his Friday order on immigration, but the policy's importance has been overlooked by the TV-magnified protests.

Trump's American-first declaration is a huge reform because it directly rejects the claim by globalist progressives — including former President Barack Obama — that foreign people have the same rights as Americans, including the right to live in the United States, regardless of who Americans prefer to invite into their home.

Here's the critical passage from Trump's Friday order:

> In order to protect Americans, the United States must ensure that those admitted to this country do not bear hostile attitudes toward it and its founding principles. The United States cannot, and should not, admit those who do not support the Constitution, or those who would place violent ideologies over American law. In addition, the United States should not admit those who engage in acts of bigotry or hatred (including "honor" killings, other forms of violence against women, or the persecution of those who practice religions different from their own) or those who would oppress Americans of any race, gender, or sexual orientation.

Obama described the prior globalist policy in a Nov. 2014 speech to Democratic supporters in Chicago:

> Sometimes we get attached to our particular tribe, our particular race, our particular religion, and then we start treating other folks differently. And that, sometimes, has been a bottleneck to how we think about immigration. If you look at the history of immigration in this country, each successive wave, there have been periods where the folks who were already here suddenly say, 'Well, I don't want those folks' — even though the only people who have the right to say that are some Native Americans.

Obama made the same diversity-first claim in September 2015:

> When I hear folks talking as if somehow these [foreign] kids are different than my kids or less worthy in the eyes of God, that somehow that they are less worthy of our respect and consideration and care, I think that's un-American. I don't believe that, I think it is wrong and I think we should do better, because that's how America was made.

Obama's outside policy is expressed more crudely by the alliance of Islamic and left-wing groups which is now protesting Trump's pro-America immigration policy at airports.

> #SFO: "No borders, no nations, fuck deportations" pic.twitter.com/pyIADfsr0x
>
> — Dieter Bohn (@backlon) January 29, 2017

On Sunday evening, a senior administration official briefed reporters on Trump's American-first migration policy.

"The reality, though, is that the situation [of large Islamic populations] that exists today in parts of France, in parts of Germany, in Belgium, etcetera, is not a situation we want replicated inside the United States," the official said.

> The kind of large and permanent domestic terror threat that becomes multi-dimensional and multi-generational and becomes sort of a permanent feature, in case this, becomes a permanent feature of American life. We don't want a situation where, 20 to 30 years from now, it's just like a given thing that on a fairly regular basis there is domestic terror strikes, stores are shut up or that airports have explosive devices planted, or people are mowed down in the street by cars and automobiles and things of that nature...

> The United States is sovereign country. It is under no obligation to admit any particular person and we have a right to develop a system in which we're selecting immigrants that we think will be able to make positive contributions to U.S. society.

This pro-American policy is a huge threat to many advocacy groups, such as the orthodox Islamist groups now pushing to increase the inflow of Muslims into Americans society, the Latino advocacy groups who want more Latino voters, and the elitist Democratic Party, which expects to win national power by collecting votes from diverse immigrant voters.

But Trump's huge shift to pro-American immigration policy was welcomed by opponents of political Islam, including Brian Thomas, a writer for the JihadWatch website. The new policy, he wrote:

> indicates that they know exactly what they're doing. This isn't something they put together in a week; this is evidence of their entire thinking on Islam and the defence of the west. They're going to treat Islam as a hostile political ideology. That is what has been needed for decades. It is the reversal of the "Islam is a religion of peace" doctrine set in place by Bush on September 17, 2001.

Many polls show that majorities of Americans are skeptical of immigrants' impact on American society, worry about imported jihad terrorism, oppose any increase above the current level of million immigrants per year — that is roughly one new immigrant for every four American births — and also oppose the continued inflow of cheap labor and unskilled refugees.

For example, a September 2015 poll by Ipsos showed that:

> only 22 percent of Ipsos' respondents want the United States to accept 10,000 or more migrants [per year]. That number includes 10 percent who want the country to accept 500,000 or more migrants. Another 26 percent of Americans said they would accept up to 10,000 refugees. The survey did not say that the country already accepts 70,000 refugees per year. Twenty-four percent said they want no additional refugees above the 1,500, and 29 percent declined to answer the poll, indicating quiet opposition to greater inflows.

An August 2016 poll of 2,061 adults showed that:

> three in ten Americans overall (36%) support taking in refugees from Syria. A majority of Democrats (56%) support admitting Syrian refugees; in contrast only minorities of Republicans (18%) and Independents (32%) agree.

These skeptical attitudes, however, are balanced with Americans' decent emotional welcome for most individual immigrants, and with their gratitude for the nation's generous history of immigration and support for constitutional rights. A December 2015 poll of 1,140 registered voters by Quinnipiac showed that:

> most voters said Syrian refugees should not be allowed to come to the U.S., [but] most voters opposed banning all Muslims from coming to the U.S., with 66 percent of voters opposing the idea and 27 percent supporting a ban. A majority of Republicans, however, 51 – 41 percent, approved of a ban on Muslims entering the U.S. Democrats largely opposed a ban, 79-18 percent, as did independent voters, 67-22 percent.

So the polling data suggests that Americans want their freedoms shared with Muslims now living in the United States — but they don't want more Muslims to come live in the United States.

A February 2016 poll of Republicans in South Carolina showed that:

> When the poll asked "Would you support or oppose banning Muslims from entering the United States?" 60 percent of the state's GOP

> voters said they would support a ban. But only 29 percent of respondents said they would "support ... shutting down mosques" in the United States, and only 25 percent said the disliked Islamic doctrines [of sharia] should be illegal.

In June 2016, a poll of 803 registered voters was conducted by OpinionSavvy, via telephone, using automated questions, and with a margin of error of 3.5 percent.

First, the poll asked whether tourists and immigrants should be screened to check for their possible support of Islamic sharia. Seventy percent of respondents approved of the screening. The poll then asked the 70 percent; "Do you believe that individuals who support the practice of [Islamic] Sharia law should be admitted into the United States?" No, responded four-fifths of the 70 percent. That translates into 56 percent of total respondents preferring to exclude additional sharia-supporting Muslims. The overall opposition to the exclusion of sharia supporters added up to just 20 percent, with the rest undecided.

The push and pull of these rival emotions, however, is overwhelmingly subordinated to Americans' lopsided desire that companies hire Americans first before importing more foreign immigrations or foreign contract workers. Polls show that roughly 80 percent of Americans say companies should hire of young Americans before hiring migrants.

A July 2016 poll shows that roughly three out of four voters— including nearly three out of four Democrat voters— believe that "instead of giving jobs and healthcare to millions of refugees from around the world, we should rebuild our inner cities and put Americans back to work." The view was shared by almost 90 percent of African-Americans and almost 70 percent of Hispanics.

In 2016, Trump's focus on jobs for Americans — instead of additional immigration championed by Hillary Clinton — helped him win a critical majority in the so-called "Blue Wall" states of Wisconsin Pennsylvania and Michigan. So now he is implementing the voters' preferences, amid a growing roar of protest from the elite-led coalition of immigrant and ethnic-minority political activists.

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In the Name of God, Most Compassionate, Most Merciful

CAIR
Council on American-Islamic Relations

CAIR Calls for Hate Crime Probes of Anti-Muslim Incidents in Wisconsin, Texas

Last Updated: April 12, 2017 | | Hits: 664

Twitter

Muslim civil rights group decries 'almost daily' attacks on Muslims, other minority groups

(WASHINGTON, D.C., 4/12/17) – The Council on American-Islamic Relations (CAIR), the nation's largest Muslims civil rights and advocacy organization, today called for hate crime investigations of apparently bias-motivated incidents targeting Muslims in Wisconsin and Texas.

CAIR said the incidents are part of "almost daily" attacks on American Muslims and other minority groups nationwide in recent months.

In Milwaukee, Wis., a Muslim woman was attacked Monday morning as she walked home from prayer. The victim says a car pulled up alongside her, and a man who jumped out of the vehicle proceeded to attempt to remove her Islamic head scarf, or hijab. "He said to take my hijab, my scarf. I tried to fight him. 'Don't take my hijab,' you know? So he threw me on the floor then he beat me like an animal," said the victim. She also said that the alleged attacker used a knife to cut her jacket and arm.

SEE: Muslim Woman Says Attacker Ripped Off Her Hijab, Cut Her with Knife

In Dallas, Texas, it was recently revealed that University of Texas student government senators found copies of the Quran, Islam's holy text, in the toilets of bathrooms after a March 28 student government meeting.

SEE: Qurans Found In SU Bathroom

In Northern Virginia, vandals spray-painted Nazi, anti-Semitic and anti-religious graffiti on a church and a Jewish community center.

SEE: Hate Graffiti Spray-Painted at Jewish Community Center, Church in Fairfax County

"We are concerned about the almost daily hate incidents targeting American Muslims and members of other minority and faith communities, and about the lack of a response from national political leaders," said **CAIR National Communications Director Ibrahim Hooper**. "Our leaders, and particularly those in policy-making positions, need to speak out against the exploitation of increasing divisions in American society that inevitably results in such incidents."

Hooper noted that CAIR recently called on state and national Republican Party leaders to repudiate Islamophobic comments made by a GOP lawmaker in Delaware following a Muslim invocation in that state's legislature.

SEE: CAIR Asks GOP to Repudiate Islamophobic Remarks of Delaware Lawmaker Who Walked Out Before Muslim Prayer

Last night, CAIR's San Diego chapter called for the resignation of a local official who posted anti-Muslim comments on social media.

SEE: Otay Water District Board Member Hector Gastelum Faces Calls for Resignation Over Racist Tweets

On Sunday, CAIR's Greater Los Angeles Area office called for hate crime charges to be considered following an alleged bias-motivated attack on a Muslim woman in downtown Los Angeles Saturday by a man who reportedly shouted racial slurs and beat her in the head.

SEE: CAIR-LA Seeks Hate Crime Charges for Attack on Muslim Woman in Los Angeles

CAIR recently decried what it termed the Trump administration's "deafening silence" on a growing number of anti-Muslim incidents in recent days, part of trend that began during the recent presidential campaign and accelerated following the November 8 election.

SEE: CAIR Decries Trump Administration's 'Deafening Silence' on Series of Anti-Muslim Incidents Nationwide

Since the beginning of the year, CAIR has called for investigations of possible bias motives for 35 incidents targeting mosques in Colorado, Florida, Ohio, Iowa, Kentucky, Georgia, Arizona, Virginia, New Jersey, New York, Maryland, Texas, and a number of other states. By comparison, in the January-March period in 2016, CAIR recorded 19 such incidents.

CAIR: This Map Shows How Many Mosques Have Been Targeted Just This Year (CNN)

In a soon-to-be-published report, CAIR will detail a more than 50 percent increase in anti-Muslim bias incidents in 2016 over 2015. That figure is accompanied by a more than 40 percent increase in anti-Muslim hate crimes in the same period.

CAIR is asking American Muslims and Islamic institutions to take extra security precautions and is offering Muslim community leaders free copies of its booklet, "Best Practices for Mosque and Community Safety." The booklet may

be requested through CAIR's website: http://www.cair.com/mosque-safety-guide.html

The Washington-based civil rights and advocacy organization urges community members to report any bias incidents to police and to CAIR's Civil Rights Department at 202-742-6420 or by filing a report at: http://www.cair.com/civil-rights/report-an-incident/view/form.html

CAIR is America's largest Muslim civil liberties and advocacy organization. Its mission is to enhance the understanding of Islam, encourage dialogue, protect civil liberties, empower American Muslims, and build coalitions that promote justice and mutual understanding.

La misión de CAIR es mejorar la comprensión del Islam, fomentar el diálogo, proteger las libertades civiles, capacitar a los musulmanes estadounidenses, y construir coaliciones que promuevan la justicia y la comprensión mutua.

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CONTACT: CAIR National Communications Director Ibrahim Hooper, 202-744-7726, ihooper@cair.com

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CERTIFICATE OF SERVICE

I hereby certify that on April 19, 2017, I electronically filed the foregoing with the Clerk of the Court for the United States Court of Appeals for the Ninth Circuit by using the appellate CM/ECF system. Participants in the case are registered CM/ECF users, and service will be accomplished by the appellate CM/ECF system.

/s/ Dan Jackson
Dan Jackson