

## Understanding The Threat: Radical Islam And The Age Of Terror

Thank you. It is great to be with you this afternoon.

Today we begin a conversation about how to Make America Safe Again.

In the 20<sup>th</sup> Century, the United States defeated Fascism, Nazism, and Communism.

Now, a different threat challenges our world: Radical Islamic Terrorism.

This summer, there has been an ISIS attack launched outside the war zones of the Middle East every 84 hours. <sup>1 2</sup>

Here, in America, we have seen one brutal attack after another.

13 were murdered, and 38 wounded, in the assault on Ft. Hood. <sup>3 4</sup>

The Boston Marathon Bombing wounded and maimed 264 people, <sup>5</sup> and ultimately left five dead – including 2 police officers. <sup>6</sup>

In Chattanooga, Tennessee, five unarmed marines were shot and killed at a military recruiting center. <sup>7</sup>

Last December, 14 innocent Americans were gunned down at an office party in San Bernardino, another 22 were injured. <sup>8</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> (Tim Lister, "One ISIS Attack Every 84 Hours' Spurs Dread And Anger In Europe," [CNN](#), 7/31/16)

<sup>2</sup> (Tim Lister, Ray Sanchez, Mark Bixler, Sean O'Key, Michael Hogenmiller and Mohammed Tawfeeq, "ISIS Goes Global: 143 Attacks In 29 Countries Have Killed 2,043," [CNN](#), 12/17/15)

<sup>3</sup> (Jim Garamone, "President, Top Leaders to Attend Fort Hood Service," [United States Department of Defense](#), 11/9/09)

<sup>4</sup> (Ted Rowlands and Michael Cary, "Army Honors Dead, Searches For Motive In Fort Hood Shootings," [CNN](#), 11/7/09)

<sup>5</sup> (Scott Malone, "Boston Officials Say 264 Injured In Marathon Bombing," [Reuters](#), 4/23/13)

<sup>6</sup> (Bob Salsberg, "Officer Who Died Year After Boston Marathon Shootout Honored," [Associated Press](#), 10/18/15)

<sup>7</sup> (Lindsay Ellis, Devlin Barrett And Arian Campo-Flores, "Navy Sailor Shot in Chattanooga Attack Dies, Bringing Death Toll to Five," [The Wall Street Journal](#), 7/22/15)

<sup>8</sup> ("San Bernardino Shooting: 22nd Injured Victim Steps Forward, FBI Says," [The Press Enterprise](#), 12/9/15)

In June, 49 Americans were executed at the Pulse Nightclub in Orlando, and another 53 were injured.<sup>9</sup> It was the worst mass shooting in our history, and the worst attack on the LGBTQ community in our history.

In Europe, we have seen the same carnage and bloodshed inflicted upon our closest allies.

In January of 2015, a French satirical newspaper, Charlie Hebdo, was attacked for publishing cartoons of the prophet Mohammed. Twelve were killed, including two police officers, and 11 were wounded.<sup>10</sup> Two days later, four were murdered in a Jewish Deli.<sup>11</sup>

In November of 2015, terrorists went on a shooting rampage in Paris that slaughtered 130 people, and wounded another 368.<sup>12</sup> France is suffering gravely, and the tourism industry is being massively affected in a most negative way.<sup>13</sup>

In March of this year, terrorists detonated a bomb in the Brussels airport, killing 32 and injuring 340.<sup>14</sup>

This July, in the South of France, an Islamic terrorist turned his truck into an instrument of mass murder, plowing down and killing 85 men, women and children<sup>15</sup> – and wounding another 308.<sup>16</sup> Among the dead were 2 Americans – a Texas father, and his 11-year-old son.<sup>17</sup>

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<sup>9</sup> (Lizette Alvarez, Richard Perez-Pena and Christine Hauser, “Orlando Gunman Was ‘Cool and Calm’ After Massacre, Police Say,” [The New York Times](#), 6/13/16)

<sup>10</sup> (Cassandra Vinograd, Alastair Jamieson, Florence Viala And Alexander Smith, “Charlie Hebdo Shooting: 12 Killed at Muhammad Cartoons Magazine in Paris,” [NBC News](#), 1/7/15)

<sup>11</sup> (Yamiche Alcindor and Elena Berton, “Four Killed At Paris Grocery Store Were All Jewish,” [USA Today](#), 1/11/15)

<sup>12</sup> (“France Attacks,” [Associated Press](#), Accessed 8/13/16)

<sup>13</sup> (Tara Patel, “French Tourism Slumps as Terror Attacks Spook Foreign Travelers,” [Bloomberg](#), 8/7/16)

<sup>14</sup> (Aurelien Breeden, “More Suspects in Brussels Attacks Arrested in Belgium,” [The New York Times](#), 4/8/16)

<sup>15</sup> (Steve Visser, “Death Toll Rises to 85 in Bastille Day Attack in Nice,” [CNN](#), 8/5/16)

<sup>16</sup> (Alissa J. Rubin and Lilia Blaise, “A Third of Nice Truck Attack’s Dead Were Muslim, Group Says,” [The New York Times](#), 7/19/16)

<sup>17</sup> (Mary Hui, Lindsey Bever and Cleve R. Wootson Jr, “Texas Father And His 11-Year-Old Son Among The Dead In Nice Attack; California Student Missing,” [The Washington Post](#), 7/15/16)

A few weeks ago, in Germany, a refugee armed with an axe wounded five people in a gruesome train attack. <sup>18</sup>

Only days ago, an ISIS killer invaded a Christian church in Normandy France, forced an 85-year-old priest to his knees, and slit his throat before his congregation. <sup>19</sup>

Overseas, ISIS has carried out one unthinkable atrocity after another.

Children slaughtered, <sup>20</sup> girls sold into slavery, <sup>21</sup> <sup>22</sup> men and women burned alive. <sup>23</sup> Crucifixions, <sup>24</sup> beheadings <sup>25</sup> and drownings. <sup>26</sup> Ethnic minorities targeted for mass execution. Holy sites desecrated.

Christians driven from their homes and hunted for extermination. ISIS rounding-up what it calls the “nation of the cross” in a campaign of genocide. <sup>27</sup> <sup>28</sup>

We cannot let this evil continue.

Nor can we let the hateful ideology of Radical Islam – its oppression of women, gays, children, and nonbelievers – be allowed to reside or spread within our own countries.

We will defeat Radical Islamic Terrorism, just as we have defeated every threat we have faced in every age before.

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<sup>18</sup> (Melissa Eddy, “Afghan Teenager Spoke of Friend’s Death Before Ax Attack in Germany,” [The New York Times](#), 7/19/16)

<sup>19</sup> (Noemie Olive, “Islamists Attack French Church, Slit Priest’s Throat,” [Reuters](#), 7/27/16)

<sup>20</sup> (Malia Zimmerman, “74 Children Executed By ISIS For ‘Crimes’ That Include Refusal To Fast, Report Says,” [FOX News](#), 7/2/15)

<sup>21</sup> (Arwa Damon, Hamdi Alkhshali, and Bryony Jones, “Meet The Man Saving Yazidi Slaves From ISIS,” [CNN](#), 6/2/16)

<sup>22</sup> (Rukmini Callimachi, “To Maintain Supply of Sex Slaves, ISIS Pushes Birth Control,” [The New York Times](#), 3/12/16)

<sup>23</sup> (“19 Yazidi Girls Burned Alive For Refusing To Have Sex With Their ISIS Captors,” [FOX News](#), 6/6/16)

<sup>24</sup> (Steve Almasy, “Group: ISIS ‘Crucifies’ Men In Public In Syrian Towns,” [CNN](#), 6/30/14)

<sup>25</sup> (Rukmini Callimachi, “The Horror Before the Beheadings,” [The New York Times](#), 10/25/14)

<sup>26</sup> (Joe Tacopino, “ISIS Slowly Drowns Prisoners In A Cage,” [New York Post](#), 6/24/15)

<sup>27</sup> (Jamie Dean, “The ISIS War Against ‘The People Of The Cross,’” [WNG](#), 2/17/15)

<sup>28</sup> (Michael Lipka, “Muslims and Islam: Key Findings In The U.S. And Around the World,” [PewResearchCenter](#), 7/22/16)

But we will not defeat it with closed eyes, or silenced voices.

Anyone who cannot name our enemy, is not fit to lead this country.  
Anyone who cannot condemn the hatred, oppression and violence of  
Radical Islam lacks the moral clarity to serve as our President.

## **The rise of ISIS is the direct result of policy decisions made by President Obama and Secretary Clinton**

Let's look back at the Middle East at the very beginning of 2009, before  
the Obama-Clinton Administration took over.

Libya was stable. <sup>29 30</sup>

Syria was under control. <sup>31 32</sup>

Egypt was ruled by a secular President and an ally of the United States.  
<sup>33 34 35</sup>

Iraq was experiencing a reduction in violence. <sup>36</sup> The group that would  
become what we now call ISIS was close to being extinguished. <sup>37 38 39</sup>

Iran was being choked off by economic sanctions. <sup>40 41</sup>

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<sup>29</sup> (Jeff Bachman, "Revisiting the "Humanitarian" Intervention in Libya," [The Huffington Post](#), 3/14/16)

<sup>30</sup> (Priyanka Boghani, "Regrets Of A Revolution? Libya After Qaddafi," [PBS](#), 11/29/15)

<sup>31</sup> (William R. Polk, "Understanding Syria: From Pre-Civil War To Post-Assad," [The Atlantic](#), 12/10/13)

<sup>32</sup> (Hassan M. Fattah And Graham Bowley, "Pelosi Meets With Syrian Leader," [The New York Times](#), 4/4/07)

<sup>33</sup> (Brad Plumer, "The U.S. Gives Egypt \$1.5 Billion A Year In Aid. Here's What It Does," [The Washington Post](#), 7/9/13)

<sup>34</sup> (Ashraf Khalil, "Mubarak Meets Obama To Patch Up US-Egypt Relationship," [The Christian Science Monitor](#), 8/18/09)

<sup>35</sup> (President George W. Bush, "Joint Press Conference At The President's Ranch In Texas," [White House](#), 4/12/04)

<sup>36</sup> (David Petraeus, "How We Won In Iraq," [Foreign Policy](#), 10/29/13)

<sup>37</sup> (Cameron Glenn, "Timeline: Rise and Spread of the Islamic State," [Wilson Center](#), 7/5/16)

<sup>38</sup> (Jennifer Griffin and Lucas Tomlinson, "Army Chief Odierno, In Exit Interview, Says US Could Have 'Prevented' ISIS Rise," [FOX News](#), 7/22/15)

<sup>39</sup> (David Ignatius, "How ISIS Spread in the Middle East," [The Atlantic](#), 10/29/15)

<sup>40</sup> (Uri Berliner, "Crippled By Sanctions, Iran's Economy Key In Nuclear Deal," [NPR](#), 11/25/13)

<sup>41</sup> (Michael Abramowitz and Robin Wright, "Iran Sanctions Are Meant to Prevent War, Bush Aides Say," [The Washington Post](#), 10/26/07)

Fast-forward to today. What have the decisions of Obama-Clinton produced?

Libya is in ruins,<sup>42</sup> our ambassador and three other brave Americans are dead,<sup>43</sup> and ISIS has gained a new base of operations.<sup>44 45</sup>

Syria is in the midst of a disastrous civil war.<sup>46</sup> ISIS controls large portions of territory.<sup>47</sup> A refugee crisis now threatens Europe and the United States.<sup>48</sup>

In Egypt, terrorists have gained a foothold in the Sinai desert, near the Suez Canal, one of the most essential waterways in the world.<sup>49</sup>

Iraq is in chaos, and ISIS is on the loose.<sup>50</sup>

ISIS has spread across the Middle East, and into the West. In 2014, ISIS was operating in some 7 nations. Today they are fully operational in 18 countries with aspiring branches in 6 more, for a total of 24<sup>51</sup> – and many believe it is even more than that. The situation is likely worse than the public knows: a new Congressional report reveals that the Administration has downplayed the growth of ISIS, with 40% of surveyed analysts saying they had experienced efforts to manipulate their findings.<sup>52 53</sup>

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<sup>42</sup> (Roula Khalaf, "Misplaced Nostalgia For Libya's Colonel Gaddafi," [Financial Times](#), 4/29/15)

<sup>43</sup> (David D. Kirkpatrick and Steven Lee Myers, "Libya Attack Brings Challenges For U.S.," [The New York Times](#), 9/12/12)

<sup>44</sup> (Ahmed Elumani And Aidan Lewis, "U.S. Air Raid Hits Islamic State In Libya, 43 Dead," [Reuters](#), 2/19/16)

<sup>45</sup> (Paul Cruickshank, Nic Robertson, Tim Lister and Jomana Karadsheh, "ISIS Comes To Libya," [CNN](#), 11/18/14)

<sup>46</sup> (Hugh Naylor, "Death By Siege In Syria's Civil War: Hundreds Of Thousands At Risk," [The Washington Post](#), 1/23/16)

<sup>47</sup> (Liam Stack, "How ISIS Expanded Its Threat," [The New York Times](#), 11/14/15)

<sup>48</sup> (AFP, "Kerry: Refugee Crisis 'A Near Existential' Threat To Europe," [The Times of Israel](#), 2/13/16)

<sup>49</sup> (Andrew Roth, "Russia Confirms Sinai Plane Crash Was The Work Of Terrorists," [The Washington Post](#), 11/17/15)

<sup>50</sup> (Tim Arango, "Days of Chaos in Baghdad: Protest or Meltdown?," [The New York Times](#), 5/2/16)

<sup>51</sup> (William Arkin, Robert Windrem, and Cynthia McFadden, "New Counterterrorism 'Heat Map' Shows ISIS Branches Spreading Worldwide," [NBC News](#), 8/3/16)

<sup>52</sup> (Barbara Starr, "House Intel Committee Blasts Pentagon Over ISIS Files," [CNN](#), 2/25/16)

<sup>53</sup> (Nacy A. Youssef, "House Probe: CENTCOM's ISIS Intel Cooked," [The Daily Beast](#), 8/11/16)

At the same time, ISIS is trying to infiltrate refugee flows into Europe and the United States.<sup>54</sup>

Iran, the world's largest state sponsor of terrorism, is now flush with \$150 billion in cash released by the United States – plus another \$400 million in ransom.<sup>55</sup> Worst of all, the Nuclear deal puts Iran, the number one state sponsor of Radical Islamic Terrorism, on a path to nuclear weapons.<sup>56 57</sup>

In short, the Obama-Clinton foreign policy has unleashed ISIS, destabilized the Middle East, and put the nation of Iran – which chants 'Death to America'<sup>58</sup> – in a dominant position of regional power and, in fact, aspiring to be a dominant world power.<sup>59</sup>

It all began in 2009 with what has become known as President Obama's global 'Apology Tour.'<sup>60</sup>

In a series of speeches, President Obama described America as "arrogant," "dismissive" "derisive"<sup>61</sup> and a "colonial power."<sup>62</sup> He informed other countries that he would be speaking up about America's "past errors."<sup>63</sup> He pledged that we would no longer be a "senior partner," that "sought to dictate our terms." He lectured CIA

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<sup>54</sup> (CIA Director Brennan, "Statement by Director Brennan as Prepared for Delivery Before the Senate Select Committee on Intelligence," [Central Intelligence Agency](#), 6/16/16)

<sup>55</sup> (Jay Solomon and Carol E. Lee, "U.S. Sent Cash to Iran as Americans Were Freed," [The Wall Street Journal](#), 8/3/16)

<sup>56</sup> (George Jahn, "AP Exclusive: Document Shows Less Limits On Iran Nuke Work," [Associated Press](#), 7/18/16)

<sup>57</sup> (Nasser Karimi, "Iran's FM Extolls Country's Ability To Restore Nuke Program," [Associated Press](#), 7/19/16)

<sup>58</sup> (Ali Arouzi, "Iran Marks Revolution With 'Death to America' Chants," [NBC News](#), 2/11/16)

<sup>59</sup> (Jay Solonon and Laura Meckler, "Hillary Clinton Opened Door to Key U.S. Shift Toward Iran Nuclear Deal," [The Wall Street Journal](#), 9/8/15)

<sup>60</sup> (Karl Rove, "The President's Apology Tour," [The Wall Street Journal](#), 4/23/09)

<sup>61</sup> (President Obama, "Remarks by President Obama at Strasbourg Town Hall," Strasbourg, France, [The White House](#), 4/3/09)

<sup>62</sup> (President Obama, "Obama's Interview With Al Arabiya," [Al Arabiya News](#), 1/27/09)

<sup>63</sup> (President Obama, "Remarks By The President At The Summit Of The Americas Opening Ceremony," Port of Spain, Trinidad and Tobago, [The White House](#), 4/17/09)

officers of the need to acknowledge their mistakes,<sup>64</sup> and described Guantanamo Bay as a “rallying cry for our enemies.”<sup>65</sup>

Perhaps no speech was more misguided than President Obama’s speech to the Muslim World delivered in Cairo, Egypt, in 2009.<sup>66</sup>

In winning the Cold War, President Ronald Reagan repeatedly touted the superiority of freedom over communism, and called the USSR the Evil Empire.<sup>67</sup>

Yet, when President Obama delivered his address in Cairo, no such moral courage could be found. Instead of condemning the oppression of women and gays in many Muslim nations, and the systematic violations of human rights, or the financing of global terrorism, President Obama tried to draw an equivalency between our human rights record and theirs.

His naïve words were followed by even more naïve actions.

The failure to establish a new Status of Forces Agreement in Iraq, and the election-driven timetable for withdrawal,<sup>68</sup> surrendered our gains in that country and led directly to the rise of ISIS.<sup>69</sup>

The failures in Iraq were compounded by Hillary Clinton’s disaster in Libya. President Obama has since said he regards Libya as his worst mistake.<sup>70</sup> According to then-Secretary of Defense Robert Gates, the

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<sup>64</sup> (President Obama, “Remarks By The President To CIA Employees At CIA Headquarters,” Langley, Virginia, [The White House](#), 4/20/09)

<sup>65</sup> (President Obama, “Remarks By The President On National Security,” Washington, D.C., [The White House](#), 5/21/09)

<sup>66</sup> (President Obama, “Remarks by the President at Cairo University,” Cairo, Egypt, [The White House](#), 6/4/09)

<sup>67</sup> (President Reagan, “Remarks at the Annual Convention of the National Association of Evangelicals,” [Orlando, Florida](#), 3/8/83)

<sup>68</sup> (Scott Wilson, “President Obama Took Credit In 2012 For Withdrawing All Troops From Iraq. Today He Said Something Different,” [The Washington Post](#), 6/19/14)

<sup>69</sup> (Mark Moyer, “Where We Went Wrong, From Afghanistan To ISIS,” [Newsweek](#), 2/21/16)

<sup>70</sup> (Alexander Mallin, “What Obama Says Is His 'Worst Mistake' as President,” [ABC News](#), 4/10/16)

invasion of Libya was nearly a split decision, but Hillary Clinton's forceful advocacy for the intervention was the deciding factor.<sup>71</sup>

With one episode of bad judgment after another, Hillary Clinton's policies launched ISIS onto the world.<sup>72</sup>

Yet, as she threw the Middle East into violent turmoil, things turned out well for her. The Clintons made almost \$60 million in gross income while she was Secretary of State.<sup>73 74 75 76</sup>

Incident after incident proves again and again: Hillary Clinton lacks the judgement, the temperament and the moral character to lead this nation. Importantly, she also lacks the mental and physical stamina to take on ISIS, and all the many adversaries we face – not only in terrorism, but in trade and every other challenge we must confront to turn this country around.

### **It is time for a new approach**

Our current strategy of nation-building and regime change is a proven failure. We have created the vacuums that allow terrorists to grow and thrive.<sup>77</sup>

I was an opponent of the Iraq war from the beginning – a major difference between me and my opponent.

Though I was a private citizen, whose personal opinions on such matters was not sought, I nonetheless publicly expressed my private doubts about the invasion. Three months before the invasion I said, in

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<sup>71</sup> (Jo Becker and Scott Shane, "Hillary Clinton, 'Smart Power' and a Dictator's Fall," [The New York Times](#), 2/27/16)

<sup>72</sup> (A Conversation With Hillary Rodham Clinton, "Hillary Rodham Clinton on Strategic Interests, Values, and Hard Choices," [Council on Foreign Relations](#), 6/12/14)

<sup>73</sup> (William J. Clinton & Hillary Rodham Clinton, [1040 U.S. Individual Income Tax Return, 2012](#))

<sup>74</sup> (William J. Clinton & Hillary Rodham Clinton, [1040 U.S. Individual Income Tax Return, 2011](#))

<sup>75</sup> (William J. Clinton & Hillary Rodham Clinton, [1040 U.S. Individual Income Tax Return, 2010](#))

<sup>76</sup> (William J. Clinton & Hillary Rodham Clinton, [1040 U.S. Individual Income Tax Return, 2009](#))

<sup>77</sup> (Nada Bakos, "Terrorist Group Fills Power Vacuum Among Syria Rebels," [CNN](#), 1/9/13)



an interview with Neil Cavuto, to whom I offer my best wishes for a speedy recovery, that “perhaps [we] shouldn't be doing it yet,” and that “the economy is a much bigger problem.”<sup>78</sup>

In August of 2004, very early in the conflict, I made a detailed statement to Esquire magazine.<sup>79</sup> Here is the quote in full:

"Look at the war in Iraq and the mess that we're in. I would never have handled it that way. Does anybody really believe that Iraq is going to be a wonderful democracy where people are going to run down to the voting box and gently put in their ballot and the winner is happily going to step up to lead the country? C'mon. Two minutes after we leave, there's going to be a revolution, and the meanest, toughest, smartest, most vicious guy will take over. And he'll have weapons of mass destruction, which Saddam didn't have.

"What was the purpose of this whole thing? Hundreds and hundreds of young people killed. And what about the people coming back with no arms and legs? Not to mention the other side. All those Iraqi kids who've been blown to pieces. And it turns out that all of the reasons for the war were blatantly wrong. All this for nothing."

So I have been clear for a long time that we should not have gone in. But I have been just as clear in saying what a catastrophic mistake Hillary Clinton and President Obama made with the reckless way in which they pulled out.

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<sup>78</sup> (Donald J. Trump, “Interview on Your World with Neil Cavuto,” [FOX News](#), 1/28/03)

<sup>79</sup> (Donald J. Trump, “Donald Trump: How I'd Run the Country (Better),” [Esquire Magazine](#), 8/04)

After we had made those hard-fought sacrifices and gains,<sup>80 81 82</sup> we should never have made such a sudden withdrawal – on a timetable advertised to our enemies.<sup>83</sup> Al Qaeda in Iraq had been decimated, and Obama and Clinton gave it new life and allowed it to spread across the world.

By that same token, President Obama and Hillary Clinton should never have attempted to build a Democracy in Libya,<sup>84</sup> to push for immediate regime change in Syria,<sup>85 86</sup> or to support the overthrow of Mubarak in Egypt.<sup>87</sup>

One more point on this: I have long said that we should have kept the oil in Iraq – another area where my judgement has been proven correct. According to CNN, ISIS made as much \$500 million in oil sales in 2014 alone, fueling and funding its reign of terror.<sup>88</sup> If we had controlled the oil, we could have prevented the rise of ISIS in Iraq – both by cutting off a major source of funding,<sup>89</sup> and through the presence of U.S. forces necessary to safeguard the oil and other vital infrastructure.<sup>90 91</sup> I was saying this constantly and to whoever would listen: keep the oil, keep the oil, keep the oil, I said – don't let someone else get it.

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<sup>80</sup> (Tom Bowman, "After 15 Years, The State Of The War In Afghanistan," [NPR](#), 7/5/16)

<sup>81</sup> (Daniel Trotta, "Iraq War Costs U.S. More Than \$2 Trillion: Study," [Reuters](#), 3/14/13)

<sup>82</sup> ("Conflict Casualties," [Defense Manpower Data Center](#), Accessed 7/20/16)

<sup>83</sup> (Mark Landler, "U.S. Troops to Leave Iraq by Year's End, Obama Says," [The New York Times](#), 10/21/11)

<sup>84</sup> (Corbett Daly, "Clinton on Qaddafi: 'We Came, We Saw, He Died,'" [CBS News](#), 10/20/11)

<sup>85</sup> (Rebecca Kaplan, "Hillary Clinton Still Wouldn't Give Up On Training Syrian Rebels," [CBS News](#), 9/22/15)

<sup>86</sup> (Michael D. Shear, Helene Cooper and Eric Schmitt, "Obama Administration Ends Effort to Train Syrians to Combat ISIS," [The New York Times](#), 10/9/15)

<sup>87</sup> (Tom Curry, "Clinton Urges 'Transition To A Democratic Regime' in Egypt," [NBC News](#), 1/30/11)

<sup>88</sup> (Jose Pagliery, "Inside The \$2 Billion ISIS War Machine," [CNN Money](#), 12/11/15)

<sup>89</sup> (Kellan Howell, "Islamic State Earns \$50 Million Per Month On Oil Sales," [The Washington Times](#), 10/24/15)

<sup>90</sup> (Erika Solomon, Robin Kwong and Steven Bernard, "Inside Isis Inc: The Journey Of A Barrel Of Oil," [Financial Times](#), Accessed 8/13/16)

<sup>91</sup> (Matthew Philips, "Islamic State Loses Its Oil Business," [Bloomberg](#), 10/14/14)

If they had listened to me then, we would have had the economic benefits of the oil, which I wanted to use to help take care of the wounded soldiers and families of those who died – and thousands of lives would have been saved.

This proposal, by its very nature, would have left soldiers in place to guard our assets. In the old days, when we won a war, to the victor belonged the spoils. Instead, all we got from Iraq – and our adventures in the Middle East – was death, destruction and tremendous financial loss.

But it is time to put the mistakes of the past behind us, and chart a new course.

If I become President, the era of nation-building will be ended. Our new approach, which must be shared by both parties in America, by our allies overseas, and by our friends in the Middle East, must be to halt the spread of Radical Islam.

All actions should be oriented around this goal, and any country which shares this goal will be our ally. We cannot always choose our friends, but we can never fail to recognize our enemies.

As President, I will call for an international conference focused on this goal. We will work side-by-side with our friends in the Middle East, including our greatest ally, Israel. We will partner with King Abdullah of Jordan, and President Sisi of Egypt, and all others who recognize this ideology of death that must be extinguished.

We will also work closely with NATO on this new mission. I had previously said that NATO was obsolete because it failed to deal adequately with terrorism; since my comments they have changed their policy and now have a new division focused on terror threats.

I also believe that we could find common ground with Russia in the fight against ISIS. They too have much at stake in the outcome in Syria, and have had their own battles with Islamic terrorism.

My Administration will aggressively pursue joint and coalition military operations to crush and destroy ISIS, international cooperation to cut-off their funding, expanded intelligence sharing, and cyberwarfare to disrupt and disable their propaganda and recruiting. We cannot allow the internet to be used as a recruiting tool, and for other purposes, by our enemy – we must shut down their access to this form of communication, and we must do so immediately.

Unlike Hillary Clinton, who has risked so many lives with her careless handling of sensitive information, my Administration will not telegraph exact military plans to the enemy. I have often said that General MacArthur and General Patton would be in a state of shock if they were alive today to see the way President Obama and Hillary Clinton try to recklessly announce their every move before it happens – like they did in Iraq – so that the enemy can prepare and adapt.

The fight will not be limited to ISIS. We will decimate Al Qaeda, and we will seek to starve funding for Iran-backed Hamas and Hezbollah. We can use existing UN Security Council resolutions to apply new sanctions.

Military, cyber and financial warfare will all be essential in dismantling Islamic terrorism.

**But we must use ideological warfare as well.**

Just as we won the Cold War, in part, by exposing the evils of communism and the virtues of free markets, so too must we take on the ideology of Radical Islam.

While my opponent accepted millions of dollars in Foundation donations from countries where being gay is an offense punishable by

prison or death,<sup>92 93</sup> my Administration will speak out against the oppression of women, gays and people of different faith.<sup>94 95</sup>

Our Administration will be a friend to all moderate Muslim reformers in the Middle East, and will amplify their voices.

This includes speaking out against the horrible practice of honor killings, where women are murdered by their relatives for dressing, marrying or acting in a way that violates fundamentalist teachings.<sup>96 97</sup>

Over 1,000 Pakistani girls are estimated to be the victims of honor killings by their relatives each year.<sup>98</sup> Recently, a prominent Pakistani social media star was strangled to death by her brother on the charge of dishonoring the family.<sup>99</sup> In his confession, the brother took pride in the murder and said: “Girls are born to stay home and follow traditions.”

Shockingly, this is a practice that has reached our own shores.

One such case involves an Iraqi immigrant who was sentenced to 34 years in jail for running over his own daughter claiming she had become “too Westernized.”<sup>100</sup>

To defeat Islamic terrorism, we must also speak out forcefully against a hateful ideology that provides the breeding ground for violence and terrorism to grow.

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<sup>92</sup> ([Clinton Foundation](#), Accessed 8/13/16)

<sup>93</sup> (“Stars Step Up Protest Against Anti-Gay Owner Of Beverly Hills Hotel,” [CBS News](#), 2/6/15)

<sup>94</sup> (“Country Reports On Human Rights Practices For 2012: Saudi Arabia,” [United States State Department](#), 4/19/13)

<sup>95</sup> (William La Jeunesse, “Rights Groups Silent As Clinton Foundation Takes Millions From Countries That Imprison Gays,” [FOX News](#), 6/17/16)

<sup>96</sup> (“Pregnant Pakistani Woman Stoned To Death By Family,” [Associated Press in Lahore](#), 5/28/14)

<sup>97</sup> (Perry Chiaramonte, “Texas 'Honor Killing' Suspect Yaser Said Could Be Hiding In Plain Sight As NYC Cabbie, Private Investigator Says,” [FOX News](#), 5/29/12)

<sup>98</sup> (“Pakistan Honour Killings On The Rise, Report Reveals,” [BBC](#), 4/1/16)

<sup>99</sup> (Juliet Perry and Sophia Saifi, “Brother Of Pakistan's Qandeel Baloch Charged With Crime Against State,” [CNN](#), 7/19/16)

<sup>100</sup> (“Iraqi Immigrant Gets 34 Years For Killing 'Too Westernized' Daughter,” [CNN](#), 4/16/11)

## **A new immigration policy is needed as well**

The common thread linking the major Islamic terrorist attacks that have recently occurred on our soil – 9/11, the Ft. Hood shooting,<sup>101</sup> the Boston Bombing,<sup>102</sup> the San Bernardino attack,<sup>103</sup> the Orlando attack<sup>104</sup> – is that they have involved immigrants or the children of immigrants.

Clearly, new screening procedures are needed.

A review by the U.S. Senate Immigration Subcommittee has identified 380 foreign-born individuals charged with terrorism or terrorism-related offenses between 9/11 and 2014, and many more since then.

<sup>105</sup>

We also know that ISIS recruits refugees after their entrance into the country – as we have seen with the Somali refugee population in Minnesota.<sup>106</sup>

Beyond terrorism, as we have seen in France, foreign populations have brought their anti-Semitic attitudes with them.<sup>107</sup>

In Cologne, Germany, on New Year's Eve, we have seen the reports of sexual violence and assault.<sup>108</sup>

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<sup>101</sup> ("Army Major Kills 13 People In Fort Hood Shooting Spree," [History](#), Accessed 8/13/16)

<sup>102</sup> (Peter Finn, Carol D. Leonnig and Will Englund, "Tsarnaev Brothers' Homeland Was War-Torn Chechnya," [The Washington Post](#), 4/19/13)

<sup>103</sup> (Salman Masood and Declan Walsh, "Tashfeen Malik, San Bernardino Suspect, Attended Conservative Religious School in Pakistan," [The New York Times](#), 12/7/15)

<sup>104</sup> (Jonathan Landay and Yeganeh Torbati, "Father Of Orlando Shooter Hosted Political Show On Afghan-Pakistan Issues," [Reuters](#), 6/13/16)

<sup>105</sup> (Subcommittee On Immigration And The National Interest, "At Least 580 Individuals Convicted In Terror Cases Since 9/11, At Least 380 Are Foreign-Born," [U.S. Senate Immigration Subcommittee](#), 6/22/16)

<sup>106</sup> (Jamie Yuccas, "Minneapolis Community Struggles With ISIS Recruiting Tactics," [CBS News](#), 9/19/15)

<sup>107</sup> (Matt Hadro, "Anti-Semitism Threatens France's Jewish Communities," [The Washington Times](#), 1/18/16)

<sup>108</sup> (Jessica Durando, "Report: 1,200 Women Assaulted On New Year's Eve In German Cities," [USA Today](#), 7/11/16)

Pew polling shows that in many of the countries from which we draw large numbers of immigrants, extreme views about religion – such as the death penalty for those who leave the faith – are commonplace.<sup>109</sup>

A Trump Administration will establish a clear principle that will govern all decisions pertaining to immigration: we should only admit into this country those who share our values and respect our people.

In the Cold War, we had an ideological screening test.<sup>110</sup> The time is overdue to develop a new screening test for the threats we face today.

In addition to screening out all members or sympathizers of terrorist groups, we must also screen out any who have hostile attitudes towards our country or its principles – or who believe that Sharia law should supplant American law.

Those who do not believe in our Constitution, or who support bigotry and hatred, will not be admitted for immigration into the country.

Only those who we expect to flourish in our country – and to embrace a tolerant American society – should be issued immigrant visas.

To put these new procedures in place, we will have to temporarily suspend immigration from some of the most dangerous and volatile regions of the world that have a history of exporting terrorism.

As soon as I take office, I will ask the State Department and the Department of Homeland Security to identify a list of regions where adequate screening cannot take place. We will stop processing visas from those areas until such time as it is deemed safe to resume based on new circumstances or new procedures.

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<sup>109</sup> (“The World’s Muslims: Religion, Politics and Society,” [PewResearchCenter](#), 4/30/13)

<sup>110</sup> (James R. Edwards Jr., “Keeping Extremists Out: The History of Ideological Exclusion and the Need for Its Revival,” [Center for Immigration Studies](#), 9/05)

The size of current immigration flows are simply too large to perform adequate screening. <sup>111</sup>

We admit about 100,000 permanent immigrants from the Middle East every year. <sup>112</sup> Beyond that, we admit hundreds of thousands of temporary workers and visitors from the same regions. <sup>113</sup> If we don't control the numbers, we can't perform adequate screening.

By contrast, my opponent wants to increase the flow of Syrian refugees by 550% percent. <sup>114</sup>

The United States Senate Subcommittee on Immigration estimates that Hillary Clinton's plan would mean roughly 620,000 refugees from all current refugee-sending nations in her first term, assuming no cuts to other refugee programs. This would be additional to all other non-refugee immigration. <sup>115</sup>

The Subcommittee estimates her plan would impose a lifetime cost of roughly \$400 billion when you include the costs of healthcare, welfare, housing, schooling, and all other entitlement benefits that are excluded from the State Department's placement figures.

In short, Hillary Clinton wants to be America's Angela Merkel, and you know what a disaster this massive immigration has been to Germany and the people of Germany – crime has risen to levels that no one

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<sup>111</sup> ("Nation's Top Security Officials' Concerns On Refugee Vetting," [Homeland Security Committee](#), 11/19/15)

<sup>112</sup> (Caroline May, "Since 9/11 U.S. Has Accepted Over 2 Million Migrants from Majority Muslim Nations," [Breitbart](#), 11/16/15)

<sup>113</sup> (Julia Hahn, "Congress Votes To Fund Nearly 300,000 Visas For Muslim Migrants In One Year," [Breitbart](#), 12/18/15)

<sup>114</sup> (C. Eugene Emery Jr. "Donald Trump Says Hillary Clinton Wants To Let 500 Percent More Syrians Into The U.S.," [Politifact](#), 6/13/16)

<sup>115</sup> (Subcommittee On Immigration And The National Interest, "Clinton Refugee Plan Could Bring In 620,000 Refugees In First Term At Lifetime Cost Of Over \$400 Billion," [U.S. Senate Immigration Subcommittee](#), 6/27/16)



thought would they would ever see.<sup>116</sup> We have enough problems in our country, we don't need another one.

***Finally, we will need to restore common sense to our security procedures***

Another common feature of the past attacks that have occurred on our soil is that warning signs were ignored.

The 9/11 hijackers had fraud all over their visa applications.<sup>117</sup>

The Russians warned us about the Boston Bombers,<sup>118</sup> here on political asylum,<sup>119</sup> and the attackers were even twice interviewed by the FBI.

<sup>120</sup> <sup>121</sup>

The female San Bernardino shooter, here on a fiancé visa from Saudi Arabia,<sup>122</sup> wrote of her support for Jihad online.<sup>123</sup> <sup>124</sup> A neighbor saw suspicious behavior but didn't warn authorities, because said they didn't want to be accused of racially profiling<sup>125</sup> – now many are dead and gravely wounded.

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<sup>116</sup> (Michelle Martin, "Migrants Linked To 69,000 Would-Be Or Actual Crimes In Germany In First Three Months Of 2016: Police," [Reuters](#), 6/8/16)

<sup>117</sup> (Martha Raddatz, "State Dept. Lapses Aided 9/11 Hijackers," [ABC News](#), 10/23/02)

<sup>118</sup> (Josh Gerstein, "FBI Knew Earlier Of Boston Bombing Suspect," [Politico](#), 6/15/13)

<sup>119</sup> (Phil Marringly, Mike Dorning, and Julie Bykowica, "Boston Bombing Suspect Apprehended at Watertown Home," [Bloomberg](#), 4/20/13)

<sup>120</sup> "In January 2011, two counterterrorism agents from the bureau's Boston field office interviewed Tamerlan and family members.." (Eric Schmitt, Michael S. Schmidt and Ellen Barry, "Bombing Inquiry Turns to Motive and Russian Trip," [The New York Times](#), 4/20/13)

<sup>121</sup> "In response to this [March] 2011 request, the FBI checked U.S. government databases and other information to look for such things as derogatory telephone communications, possible use of online sites associated with the promotion of radical activity, associations with other persons of interest, travel history and plans, and education history. The FBI also interviewed Tamerlan Tsarnaev and family member." (FBI National Press Office, "2011 Request for Information on Tamerlan Tsarnaev from Foreign Government," [FBI](#), 4/19/13)

<sup>122</sup> (Brian Bennett and Richard A. Serrano, "Scrutiny Of Tashfeen Malik's Fiancee Visa Fell Short, Congressional Investigators Say," [The Los Angeles Times](#), 12/18/15)

<sup>123</sup> (Evan Perez and Dana Ford, "San Bernardino Shooter's Social Media Posts on Jihad Were Obscured," [CNN](#), 12/14/15)

<sup>124</sup> (Richard A. Serrano, "Tashfeen Malik Messaged Facebook Friends About Her Support For Jihad," [Los Angeles Times](#), 12/14/15)

<sup>125</sup> (Christian Datoc, "Shooter's Neighbor Didn't Report 'Suspicious Activity' For Fear of Being Labeled Racist," [The Daily Caller](#), 12/3/15)

The shooter in Orlando reportedly celebrated in his classroom after 9/11.<sup>126</sup> He too was interviewed by the FBI.<sup>127</sup> His father, a native of Afghanistan,<sup>128</sup> supported the oppressive Taliban regime,<sup>129</sup> and expressed anti-American views<sup>130</sup> – and by the way, was just seen sitting behind Hillary Clinton with a big smile on his face all the way through her speech. He obviously liked what she had to say.

The Ft. Hood Shooter delivered a presentation to a room full of mental health experts before the attacks in which he threw out one red flag after another.<sup>131</sup> He even proclaimed that “we love death more than you love life!”

These warnings signs were ignored because political correctness has replaced common sense in our society

That is why one of my first acts as President will be to establish a Commission on Radical Islam – which will include reformist voices in the Muslim community who will hopefully work with us. We want to build bridges and erase divisions.

The goal of the commission will be to identify and explain to the American public the core convictions and beliefs of Radical Islam, to identify the warning signs of radicalization, and to expose the networks in our society that support radicalization.

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<sup>126</sup> (Hunter Walker and Jason Sickles, “Orlando Shooter Omar Mateen Was Suspended For Cheering 9/11 And Beating Another Student In High School,” [Yahoo](#), 6/16/16)

<sup>127</sup> (Mark Mazzetti, Eric Lichtblau and Alan Blinder, “Omar Mateen, Twice Scrutinized by F.B.I., Shows Threat of Lone Terrorists,” [The New York Times](#), 6/13/16)

<sup>128</sup> (Jonathan Landay and Yeganeh Torbati, “Father of Orlando Shooter Hosted Political Show on Afghan-Pakistan Issues,” [Reuters](#), 6/13/16)

<sup>129</sup> (Tim Craig, Max Bearak and Lee Powell, “Shooter Omar Mateen’s Father Says He’s Saddened By Massacre, Calls Gunman ‘A Good Son’,” [The Washington Post](#), 6/13/16)

<sup>130</sup> (Tucker Reals, “What Has the Orlando Gunman’s Father Said?,” [CBS News](#), 6/13/16)

<sup>131</sup> (Dana Priest, “Fort Hood Suspect Warned Of Threats Within The Ranks,” [The Washington Post](#), 11/10/09)

This commission will be used to develop new protocols for local police officers, federal investigators, and immigration screeners.

We will also keep open Guantanamo Bay, and place a renewed emphasis on human intelligence. Drone strikes will remain part of our strategy, but we will also seek to capture high-value targets to gain needed information to dismantle their organizations. Foreign combatants will be tried in military commissions.

Finally, we will pursue aggressive criminal or immigration charges against anyone who lends material support to terrorism. Similar to the effort to take down the mafia, this will be the understood mission of every federal investigator and prosecutor in the country.

To accomplish a goal, you must state a mission: the support networks for Radical Islam in this country will be stripped out and removed one by one.

Immigration officers will also have their powers restored: those who are guests in our country that are preaching hate will be asked to return home.

### **To Make America Safe Again, We Must Work Together Again**

Our victory in the Cold War relied on a bipartisan and international consensus. That is what we must have to defeat Radical Islamic terrorism.

But just like we couldn't defeat communism without acknowledging that communism exists – or explaining its evils – we can't defeat Radical Islamic Terrorism unless we do the same.

This also means we have to promote the exceptional virtues of our own way of life – and expecting that newcomers to our society do the same.

Pride in our institutions, our history and our values should be taught by parents and teachers, and impressed upon all who join our society.

Assimilation is not an act of hostility, but an expression of compassion. Our system of government, and our American culture, is the best in the world and will produce the best outcomes for all who adopt it.

This approach will not only make us safer, but bring us closer together as a country.

Renewing this spirit of Americanism will help heal the divisions in our country. It will do so by emphasizing what we have in common – not what pulls us apart.

This is my pledge to the American people: as your President I will be your greatest champion. I will fight to ensure that every American is treated equally, protected equally, and honored equally. We will reject bigotry and oppression in all its forms, and seek a new future built on our common culture and values as one American people.

Only this way, will we make America Great Again and Safe Again – For Everyone.

Thank you.