

<a href="#"><u>Armenia</u></a> <a href="#"><u>(../geos/am.html)</u></a>	Armenian Apostolic 92.6%, Evangelical 1%, other 2.4%, none 1.1%, unspecified 2.9% (2011 est.)
<a href="#"><u>Aruba</u></a> <a href="#"><u>(../geos/aa.html)</u></a>	Roman Catholic 75.3%, Protestant 4.9% (includes Methodist 0.9%, Adventist 0.9%, Anglican 0.4%, other Protestant 2.7%), Jehovah's Witness 1.7%, other 12%, none 5.5%, unspecified 0.5% (2010 est.)
<a href="#"><u>Australia</u></a> <a href="#"><u>(../geos/as.html)</u></a>	Protestant 30.1% (Anglican 17.1%, Uniting Church 5.0%, Presbyterian and Reformed 2.8%, Baptist, 1.6%, Lutheran 1.2%, Pentecostal 1.1%, other Protestant 1.3%), Catholic 25.3% (Roman Catholic 25.1%, other Catholic 0.2%), other Christian 2.9%, Orthodox 2.8%, Buddhist 2.5%, Muslim 2.2%, Hindu 1.3%, other 1.3%, none 22.3%, unspecified 9.3% (2011 est.)
<a href="#"><u>Austria</u></a> <a href="#"><u>(../geos/au.html)</u></a>	Catholic 73.8% (includes Roman Catholic 73.6%, other Catholic 0.2%), Protestant 4.9%, Muslim 4.2%, Orthodox 2.2%, other 0.8% (includes other Christian), none 12%, unspecified 2% (2001 est.)
<a href="#"><u>Azerbaijan</u></a> <a href="#"><u>(../geos/aj.html)</u></a>	Muslim 96.9% (predominantly Shia), Christian 3%, other <0.1, unaffiliated <0.1 (2010 est.) <b>note:</b> religious affiliation is still nominal in Azerbaijan; percentages for actual practicing adherents are much lower
<a href="#"><u>Bahamas, The</u></a> <a href="#"><u>(../geos/bf.html)</u></a>	Protestant 69.9% (includes Baptist 34.9%, Anglican 13.7%, Pentecostal 8.9% Seventh Day Adventist 4.4%, Methodist 3.6%, Church of God 1.9%, Brethren 1.6%), Roman Catholic 12%, other Christian 13% (includes Jehovah's Witness 1.1%), other 0.6%, none 1.9%, unspecified 2.6% (2010 est.)
<a href="#"><u>Bahrain</u></a> <a href="#"><u>(../geos/ba.html)</u></a>	Muslim 70.3%, Christian 14.5%, Hindu 9.8%, Buddhist 2.5%, Jewish 0.6%, folk religion <.1, unaffiliated 1.9%, other 0.2% (2010 est.)
<a href="#"><u>Bangladesh</u></a> <a href="#"><u>(../geos/bg.html)</u></a>	Muslim 89.1%, Hindu 10%, other 0.9% (includes Buddhist, Christian) (2013 est.)
<a href="#"><u>Barbados</u></a> <a href="#"><u>(../geos/bb.html)</u></a>	Protestant 66.4% (includes Anglican 23.9%, other Pentecostal 19.5%, Adventist 5.9%, Methodist 4.2%, Wesleyan 3.4%, Nazarene 3.2%, Church of God 2.4%, Baptist 1.8%, Moravian 1.2%, other Protestant 0.9%), Roman Catholic 3.8%, other Christian 5.4% (includes Jehovah's Witness 2.0%, other 3.4%), Rastafarian 1%, other 1.5%, none 20.6%, unspecified 1.2% (2010 est.)
<a href="#"><u>Belarus</u></a> <a href="#"><u>(../geos/bo.html)</u></a>	Orthodox 48.3%, Catholic 7.1%, other 3.5%, non-believers 41.1% (2011 est.)
<a href="#"><u>Belgium</u></a> <a href="#"><u>(../geos/be.html)</u></a>	Roman Catholic 75%, other (includes Protestant) 25%
<a href="#"><u>Belize</u></a> <a href="#"><u>(../geos/bh.html)</u></a>	Roman Catholic 40.1%, Protestant 31.5% (includes Pentecostal 8.4%, Seventh Day Adventist 5.4%, Anglican 4.7%, Mennonite 3.7%, Baptist 3.6%, Methodist 2.9%, Nazarene 2.8%), Jehovah's Witness 1.7%, other 10.5% (includes Baha'i, Buddhist, Hindu, Morman, Muslim, Rastafarian), unknown 0.6%, none 15.5% (2010 est.)
<a href="#"><u>Benin</u></a> <a href="#"><u>(../geos/bn.html)</u></a>	Muslim 27.7%, Catholic 25.5%, Protestant 13.5% (Celestial 6.7%, Methodist 3.4%, other Protestant 3.4%), Vodoun 11.6%, other Christian 9.5%, other traditional religions 2.6%, other 2.6%, none 5.8% (2013 est.)
<a href="#"><u>Bermuda</u></a> <a href="#"><u>(../geos/bd.html)</u></a>	Protestant 46.2% (includes Anglican 15.8%, African Methodist Episcopal 8.6%, Seventh Day Adventist 6.7, Pentecostal 3.5%, Methodist 2.7%, Presbyterian 2.0%, Church of God 1.6%, Baptist 1.2%, Salvation Army 1.1%, Brethren 1.0%, other Protestant 2.0%), Roman Catholic 14.5%, Jehovah's Witness 1.3%, other Christian 9.1%, Muslim 1%, other 3.9%, none 17.8%, unspecified 6.2% (2010 est.)
<a href="#"><u>Bhutan</u></a> <a href="#"><u>(../geos/bt.html)</u></a>	Lamaistic Buddhist 75.3%, Indian- and Nepalese-influenced Hinduism 22.1%, other 2.6% (2005 est.)

<a href="#"><u>Bolivia (../geos/bl.html)</u></a>	Roman Catholic 76.8%, Evangelical and Pentecostal 8.1%, Protestant 7.9%, other 1.7%, none 5.5% (2012 est.)
<a href="#"><u>Bosnia and Herzegovina (../geos/bk.html)</u></a>	Muslim 50.7%, Orthodox 30.7%, Roman Catholic 15.2%, atheist 0.8%, agnostic 0.3%, other 1.2%, undeclared/no answer 1.1% (2013 est.)
<a href="#"><u>Botswana (../geos/bc.html)</u></a>	Christian 79.1%, Badimo 4.1%, other 1.4% (includes Baha'i, Hindu, Muslim, Rastafarian), none 15.2%, unspecified 0.3% (2011 est.)
<a href="#"><u>Brazil (../geos/br.html)</u></a>	Roman Catholic 64.6%, other Catholic 0.4%, Protestant 22.2% (includes Adventist 6.5%, Assembly of God 2.0%, Christian Congregation of Brazil 1.2%, Universal Kingdom of God 1.0%, other Protestant 11.5%), other Christian 0.7%, Spiritist 2.2%, other 1.4%, none 8%, unspecified 0.4% (2010 est.)
<a href="#"><u>British Virgin Islands (../geos/vi.html)</u></a>	Protestant 70.2% (Methodist 17.6%, Church of God 10.4%, Anglican 9.5%, Seventh Day Adventist 9.0%, Pentecostal 8.2%, Baptist 7.4%, New Testament Church of God 6.9%, other Protestant 1.2%), Roman Catholic 8.9%, Jehovah's Witness 2.5%, Hindu 1.9%, other 6.2%, none 7.9%, unspecified 2.4% (2010 est.)
<a href="#"><u>Brunei (../geos/bx.html)</u></a>	Muslim (official) 78.8%, Christian 8.7%, Buddhist 7.8%, other (includes indigenous beliefs) 4.7% (2011 est.)
<a href="#"><u>Bulgaria (../geos/bu.html)</u></a>	Eastern Orthodox 59.4%, Muslim 7.8%, other (including Catholic, Protestant, Armenian Apostolic Orthodox, and Jewish) 1.7%, none 3.7%, unspecified 27.4% (2011 est.)
<a href="#"><u>Burkina Faso (../geos/uv.html)</u></a>	Muslim 61.6%, Catholic 23.2%, traditional/animist 7.3%, Protestant 6.7%, other/no answer 0.2%, none 0.9% (2010 est.)
<a href="#"><u>Burma (../geos/bm.html)</u></a>	Buddhist 87.9%, Christian 6.2%, Muslim 4.3%, Animist 0.8%, Hindu 0.5%, other 0.2%, none 0.1% <b>note:</b> religion estimate is based on the 2014 national census, including an estimate for the non-enumerated population of Rakhine State, which is assumed to mainly affiliate with the Islamic faith (2014 est.)
<a href="#"><u>Burundi (../geos/by.html)</u></a>	Catholic 62.1%, Protestant 23.9% (includes Adventist 2.3% and other Protestant 21.6%), Muslim 2.5%, other 3.6%, unspecified 7.9% (2008 est.)
<a href="#"><u>Cabo Verde (../geos/cv.html)</u></a>	Roman Catholic 77.3%, Protestant 4.6% (includes Church of the Nazarene 1.7%, Adventist 1.5%, Assembly of God 0.9%, Universal Kingdom of God 0.4%, and God and Love 0.1%), other Christian 3.4% (includes Christian Rationalism 1.9%, Jehovah's Witness 1%, and New Apostolic 0.5%), Muslim 1.8%, other 1.3%, none 10.8%, unspecified 0.7% (2010 est.)
<a href="#"><u>Cambodia (../geos/cb.html)</u></a>	Buddhist (official) 96.9%, Muslim 1.9%, Christian 0.4%, other 0.8% (2008 est.)
<a href="#"><u>Cameroon (../geos/cm.html)</u></a>	Catholic 38.4%, Protestant 26.3%, other Christian 4.5%, Muslim 20.9%, animist 5.6%, other 1%, non-believer 3.2% (2005 est.)
<a href="#"><u>Canada (../geos/ca.html)</u></a>	Catholic 39% (includes Roman Catholic 38.8%, other Catholic .2%), Protestant 20.3% (includes United Church 6.1%, Anglican 5%, Baptist 1.9%, Lutheran 1.5%, Pentecostal 1.5%, Presbyterian 1.4%, other Protestant 2.9%), Orthodox 1.6%, other Christian 6.3%, Muslim 3.2%, Hindu 1.5%, Sikh 1.4%, Buddhist 1.1%, Jewish 1%, other 0.6%, none 23.9% (2011 est.)
<a href="#"><u>Cayman Islands (../geos/cj.html)</u></a>	Protestant 67.8% (includes Church of God 22.6%, Seventh Day Adventist 9.4%, Presbyterian/United Church 8.6%, Baptist 8.3%, Pentecostal 7.1%, non-denominational 5.3%, Anglican 4.1%, Wesleyan Holiness 2.4%), Roman Catholic 14.1%, Jehovah's Witness 1.1%, other 7%, none 9.3%, unspecified 0.7% (2010 est.)
<a href="#"><u>Central African Republic (../geos/ct.html)</u></a>	indigenous beliefs 35%, Protestant 25%, Roman Catholic 25%, Muslim 15% <b>note:</b> animistic beliefs and practices strongly influence the Christian majority

<a href="#"><u>Chad (../geos/cd.html)</u></a>	Muslim 58.4%, Catholic 18.5%, Protestant 16.1%, animist 4%, other 0.5%, none 2.4% (2009 est.)
<a href="#"><u>Chile (../geos/ci.html)</u></a>	Roman Catholic 66.7%, Evangelical or Protestant 16.4%, Jehovah's Witnesses 1%, other 3.4%, none 11.5%, unspecified 1.1% (2012 est.)
<a href="#"><u>China (../geos/ch.html)</u></a>	Buddhist 18.2%, Christian 5.1%, Muslim 1.8%, folk religion 21.9%, Hindu < 0.1%, Jewish < 0.1%, other 0.7% (includes Daoist (Taoist)), unaffiliated 52.2% <b>note:</b> officially atheist (2010 est.)
<a href="#"><u>Christmas Island (../geos/kt.html)</u></a>	Buddhist 16.9%, Christian 16.4%, Muslim 14.8%, other 1.3%, none 9.2%, unspecified 41.5% (2011 est.)
<a href="#"><u>Cocos (Keeling) Islands (../geos/ck.html)</u></a>	Sunni Muslim 80%, other 20% (2002 est.)
<a href="#"><u>Colombia (../geos/co.html)</u></a>	Roman Catholic 90%, other 10%
<a href="#"><u>Comoros (../geos/cn.html)</u></a>	Sunni Muslim 98%, Roman Catholic 2% <b>note:</b> Islam is the state religion
<a href="#"><u>Congo, Democratic Republic of the (../geos/cg.html)</u></a>	Roman Catholic 50%, Protestant 20%, Kimbanguist 10%, Muslim 10%, other (includes syncretic sects and indigenous beliefs) 10%
<a href="#"><u>Congo, Republic of the (../geos/cf.html)</u></a>	Roman Catholic 33.1%, Awakening Churches/Christian Revival 22.3%, Protestant 19.9%, Salutiste 2.2%, Muslim 1.6%, Kimbanguiste 1.5%, other 8.1%, none 11.3% (2010 est.)
<a href="#"><u>Cook Islands (../geos/cw.html)</u></a>	Protestant 62.8% (Cook Islands Christian Church 49.1%, Seventh Day Adventist 7.9%, Assemblies of God 3.7%, Apostolic Church 2.1%), Roman Catholic 17%, Mormon 4.4%, other 8%, none 5.6%, no response 2.2% (2011 est.)
<a href="#"><u>Costa Rica (../geos/cs.html)</u></a>	Roman Catholic 76.3%, Evangelical 13.7%, Jehovah's Witness 1.3%, other Protestant 0.7%, other 4.8%, none 3.2%
<a href="#"><u>Cote d'Ivoire (../geos/iv.html)</u></a>	Muslim 40.2%, Catholic 19.4%, Evangelical 19.3%, Methodist 2.5%, other Christian 4.5%, animist or no religion 12.8%, other religion/unspecified 1.4% (2011-12 est.) <b>note:</b> the majority of foreign migrant workers are Muslim (72%) and Christian (18%) (2014 est.)
<a href="#"><u>Croatia (../geos/hr.html)</u></a>	Roman Catholic 86.3%, Orthodox 4.4%, Muslim 1.5%, other 1.5%, unspecified 2.5%, not religious or atheist 3.8% (2011 est.)
<a href="#"><u>Cuba (../geos/cu.html)</u></a>	nominally Roman Catholic 85%, Protestant, Jehovah's Witnesses, Jewish, Santeria <b>note:</b> prior to CASTRO assuming power
<a href="#"><u>Curacao (../geos/cc.html)</u></a>	Roman Catholic 72.8%, Pentecostal 6.6%, Protestant 3.2%, Adventist 3%, Jehovah's Witness 2%, Evangelical 1.9%, other 3.8%, none 6%, unspecified 0.6% (2011 est.)
<a href="#"><u>Cyprus (../geos/cy.html)</u></a>	Orthodox Christian 89.1%, Roman Catholic 2.9%, Protestant/Anglican 2%, Muslim 1.8%, Buddhist 1%, other (includes Maronite, Armenian Church, Hindu) 1.4%, unknown 1.1%, none/atheist 0.6% <b>note:</b> data represent only the government-controlled area of Cyprus (2011 est.)
<a href="#"><u>Czechia (../geos/ez.html)</u></a>	Roman Catholic 10.4%, Protestant (includes Czech Brethren and Hussite) 1.1%, other and unspecified 54%, none 34.5% (2011 est.)
<a href="#"><u>Denmark (../geos/da.html)</u></a>	Evangelical Lutheran (official) 80%, Muslim 4%, other (denominations of less than 1% each, includes Roman Catholic, Jehovah's Witness, Serbian Orthodox Christian, Jewish, Baptist, and Buddhist) 16% (2012 est.)
<a href="#"><u>Djibouti (../geos/dj.html)</u></a>	Muslim 94%, Christian 6%

<a href="#"><u>Dominica</u></a> <a href="#">(..../geos/do.html)</a>	Roman Catholic 61.4%, Protestant 28.6% (includes Evangelical 6.7%, Seventh Day Adventist 6.1%, Pentecostal 5.6%, Baptist 4.1%, Methodist 3.7%, Church of God 1.2%, other 1.2%), Rastafarian 1.3%, Jehovah's Witness 1.2%, other 0.3%, none 6.1%, unspecified 1.1% (2001 est.)
<a href="#"><u>Dominican Republic</u></a> <a href="#">(..../geos/dr.html)</a>	Roman Catholic 95%, other 5%
<a href="#"><u>Ecuador</u></a> <a href="#">(..../geos/ec.html)</a>	Roman Catholic 74%, Evangelical 10.4%, Jehovah's Witness 1.2%, other 6.4% (includes Mormon Buddhist, Jewish, Spiritualist, Muslim, Hindu, indigenous religions, African American religions, Pentecostal), atheist 7.9%, agnostic 0.1% <b>note:</b> data represents persons at least 16 years of age from five Ecuadoran cities (2012 est.)
<a href="#"><u>Egypt</u></a> <a href="#">(..../geos/eg.html)</a>	Muslim (predominantly Sunni) 90%, Christian (majority Coptic Orthodox, other Christians include Armenian Apostolic, Catholic, Maronite, Orthodox, and Anglican) 10% (2012 est.)
<a href="#"><u>El Salvador</u></a> <a href="#">(..../geos/es.html)</a>	Roman Catholic 57.1%, Protestant 21.2%, Jehovah's Witnesses 1.9%, Mormon 0.7%, other religions 2.3%, none 16.8% (2003 est.)
<a href="#"><u>Equatorial Guinea</u></a> <a href="#">(..../geos/ek.html)</a>	nominally Christian and predominantly Roman Catholic, pagan practices
<a href="#"><u>Eritrea</u></a> <a href="#">(..../geos/er.html)</a>	Muslim, Coptic Christian, Roman Catholic, Protestant
<a href="#"><u>Estonia</u></a> <a href="#">(..../geos/en.html)</a>	Lutheran 9.9%, Orthodox 16.2%, other Christian (including Methodist, Seventh-Day Adventist, Roman Catholic, Pentecostal) 2.2%, other 0.9%, none 54.1%, unspecified 16.7% (2011 est.)
<a href="#"><u>Ethiopia</u></a> <a href="#">(..../geos/et.html)</a>	Ethiopian Orthodox 43.5%, Muslim 33.9%, Protestant 18.5%, traditional 2.7%, Catholic 0.7%, other 0.6% (2007 est.)
<a href="#"><u>European Union</u></a> <a href="#">(..../geos/ee.html)</a>	Roman Catholic 48%, Protestant 12%, Orthodox 8%, other Christian 4%, Muslim 2%, other 1% (includes Jewish, Sikh, Buddhist, Hindu), atheist 7%, non-believer/agnostic 16%, unspecified 2% (2012 est.)
<a href="#"><u>Falkland Islands (Islas Malvinas)</u></a> <a href="#">(..../geos/fk.html)</a>	Christian 66%, none 32%, other 2% (2012 est.)
<a href="#"><u>Faroe Islands</u></a> <a href="#">(..../geos/fo.html)</a>	Christian 89.3% (predominantly Evangelical Lutheran), other 0.7%, more than one religion 0.2%, none 3.8%, unspecified 6% (2011 est.)
<a href="#"><u>Fiji</u></a> <a href="#">(..../geos/fj.html)</a>	Protestant 45% (Methodist 34.6%, Assembly of God 5.7%, Seventh Day Adventist 3.9%, and Anglican 0.8%), Hindu 27.9%, other Christian 10.4%, Roman Catholic 9.1%, Muslim 6.3%, Sikh 0.3%, other 0.3%, none 0.8% (2007 est.)
<a href="#"><u>Finland</u></a> <a href="#">(..../geos/fi.html)</a>	Lutheran 73.8%, Orthodox 1.1%, other or none 25.1% (2014 est.)
<a href="#"><u>France</u></a> <a href="#">(..../geos/fr.html)</a>	Christian (overwhelmingly Roman Catholic) 63-66%, Muslim 7-9%, Buddhist 0.5-0.75%, Jewish 0.5-0.75%, other 0.5-1.0%, none 23-28% <b>note:</b> France maintains a tradition of secularism and has not officially collected data on religious affiliation since the 1872 national census, which complicates assessments of France's religious composition; an 1872 law prohibiting state authorities from collecting data on individuals' ethnicity or religious beliefs was reaffirmed by a 1978 law emphasizing the prohibition of the collection or exploitation of personal data revealing an individual's race, ethnicity, or political, philosophical, or religious opinions; a 1905 law codified France's separation of church and state (2015 est.)
<a href="#"><u>French Polynesia</u></a> <a href="#">(..../geos/fp.html)</a>	Protestant 54%, Roman Catholic 30%, other 10%, no religion 6%

<a href="#"><u>Gabon (../geos/gb.html)</u></a>	Catholic 41.9%, Protestant 13.7%, other Christian 32.4%, Muslim 6.4%, animist 0.3%, other 0.3%, none/no answer 5% (2012 est.)
<a href="#"><u>Gambia, The (../geos/ga.html)</u></a>	Muslim 95.7%, Christian 4.2%, none 0.1%, no answer 0.1% (2013 est.)
<a href="#"><u>Gaza Strip (../geos/gz.html)</u></a>	Muslim 98.0 - 99.0% (predominantly Sunni), Christian <1.0%, other, unaffiliated, unspecified <1.0% <b>note:</b> dismantlement of Israeli settlements was completed in September 2005; Gaza has had no Jewish population since then (2012 est.)
<a href="#"><u>Georgia (../geos/gg.html)</u></a>	Orthodox (official) 83.4%, Muslim 10.7%, Armenian Apostolic 2.9%, other 1.2% (includes Catholic, Jehovah's Witness, Yazidi, Protestant, Jewish), none 0.5%, unspecified/no answer 1.2% (2014 est.)
<a href="#"><u>Germany (../geos/gm.html)</u></a>	Protestant 34%, Roman Catholic 34%, Muslim 3.7%, unaffiliated or other 28.3%
<a href="#"><u>Ghana (../geos/gh.html)</u></a>	Christian 71.2% (Pentecostal/Charismatic 28.3%, Protestant 18.4%, Catholic 13.1%, other 11.4%), Muslim 17.6%, traditional 5.2%, other 0.8%, none 5.2% (2010 est.)
<a href="#"><u>Gibraltar (../geos/gi.html)</u></a>	Roman Catholic 78.1%, Church of England 7%, Muslim 4%, other Christian 3.2%, Jewish 2.1%, Hindu 1.8%, other 0.9%, none 2.9% (2001 est.)
<a href="#"><u>Greece (../geos/gr.html)</u></a>	Greek Orthodox (official) 98%, Muslim 1.3%, other 0.7%
<a href="#"><u>Greenland (../geos/gl.html)</u></a>	Evangelical Lutheran, traditional Inuit spiritual beliefs
<a href="#"><u>Grenada (../geos/gj.html)</u></a>	Roman Catholic 44.6%, Protestant 43.5% (includes Anglican 11.5%, Pentecostal 11.3%, Seventh Day Adventist 10.5%, Baptist 2.9%, Church of God 2.6%, Methodist 1.8%, Evangelical 1.6%, other 1.3%), Jehovah's Witness 1.1%, Rastafarian 1.1%, other 6.2%, none 3.6%
<a href="#"><u>Guam (../geos/gq.html)</u></a>	Roman Catholic 85%, other 15% (1999 est.)
<a href="#"><u>Guatemala (../geos/gt.html)</u></a>	Roman Catholic, Protestant, indigenous Mayan beliefs
<a href="#"><u>Guernsey (../geos/gk.html)</u></a>	Protestant (Anglican, Presbyterian, Baptist, Congregational, Methodist), Roman Catholic
<a href="#"><u>Guinea-Bissau (../geos/pu.html)</u></a>	Muslim 45.1%, Christian 22.1%, animist 14.9%, none 2%, unspecified 15.9% (2008 est.)
<a href="#"><u>Guinea (../geos/gv.html)</u></a>	Muslim 86.7%, Christian 8.9%, animist/other/none 4.4% (2012 est.)
<a href="#"><u>Guyana (../geos/gy.html)</u></a>	Protestant 30.5% (Pentecostal 16.9%, Anglican 6.9%, Seventh Day Adventist 5%, Methodist 1.7%), Hindu 28.4%, Roman Catholic 8.1%, Muslim 7.2%, Jehovah's Witness 1.1%, other Christian 17.7%, other 1.9%, none 4.3%, unspecified 0.9% (2002 est.)
<a href="#"><u>Haiti (../geos/ha.html)</u></a>	Roman Catholic (official) 54.7%, Protestant 28.5% (Baptist 15.4%, Pentecostal 7.9%, Adventist 3%, Methodist 1.5%, other 0.7%), voodoo (official) 2.1%, other 4.6%, none 10.2% <b>note:</b> many Haitians practice elements of voodoo in addition to another religion, most often Roman Catholicism; voodoo was recognized as an official religion in 2003
<a href="#"><u>Holy See (Vatican City) (../geos/vt.html)</u></a>	Roman Catholic
<a href="#"><u>Honduras (../geos/ho.html)</u></a>	Roman Catholic 97%, Protestant 3%
<a href="#"><u>Hong Kong (../geos/hk.html)</u></a>	eclectic mixture of local religions 90%, Christian 10%

<a href="#"><u>Hungary</u></a> <a href="#"><u>(../geos/hu.html)</u></a>	Roman Catholic 37.2%, Calvinist 11.6%, Lutheran 2.2%, Greek Catholic 1.8%, other 1.9%, none 18.2%, unspecified 27.2% (2011 est.)
<a href="#"><u>Iceland</u></a> <a href="#"><u>(../geos/ic.html)</u></a>	Evangelical Lutheran Church of Iceland (official) 73.8%, Roman Catholic 3.6%, Reykjavik Free Church 2.9%, Hafnarfjorour Free Church 2%, The Independent Congregation 1%, other religions 3.9% (includes Pentecostal and Asatru Association), none 5.6%, other or unspecified 7.2% (2015 est.)
<a href="#"><u>India</u></a> <a href="#"><u>(../geos/in.html)</u></a>	Hindu 79.8%, Muslim 14.2%, Christian 2.3%, Sikh 1.7%, other and unspecified 2% (2011 est.)
<a href="#"><u>Indonesia</u></a> <a href="#"><u>(../geos/id.html)</u></a>	Muslim 87.2%, Christian 7%, Roman Catholic 2.9%, Hindu 1.7%, other 0.9% (includes Buddhist and Confucian), unspecified 0.4% (2010 est.)
<a href="#"><u>Iran</u></a> <a href="#"><u>(../geos/ir.html)</u></a>	Muslim (official) 99.4% (Shia 90-95%, Sunni 5-10%), other (includes Zoroastrian, Jewish, and Christian) 0.3%, unspecified 0.4% (2011 est.)
<a href="#"><u>Iraq</u></a> <a href="#"><u>(../geos/iz.html)</u></a>	Muslim (official) 99% (Shia 60%-65%, Sunni 32%-37%), Christian 0.8%, Hindu <0.1, Buddhist <0.1, Jewish <0.1, folk religion <0.1, unaffiliated 0.1, other <0.1 <b>note:</b> while there has been voluntary relocation of many Christian families to northern Iraq, recent reporting indicates that the overall Christian population may have dropped by as much as 50 percent since the fall of the SADDAM Husayn regime in 2003, with many fleeing to Syria, Jordan, and Lebanon (2010 est.)
<a href="#"><u>Ireland</u></a> <a href="#"><u>(../geos/ei.html)</u></a>	Roman Catholic 84.7%, Church of Ireland 2.7%, other Christian 2.7%, Muslim 1.1%, other 1.7%, unspecified 1.5%, none 5.7% (2011 est.)
<a href="#"><u>Isle of Man</u></a> <a href="#"><u>(../geos/im.html)</u></a>	Protestant (Anglican, Methodist, Baptist, Presbyterian, Society of Friends), Roman Catholic
<a href="#"><u>Israel</u></a> <a href="#"><u>(../geos/is.html)</u></a>	Jewish 74.8%, Muslim 17.6%, Christian 2%, Druze 1.6%, other 4% (2015 est.)
<a href="#"><u>Italy</u></a> <a href="#"><u>(../geos/it.html)</u></a>	Christian 80% (overwhelmingly Roman Catholic with very small groups of Jehovah's Witnesses and Protestants), Muslim (about 800,000 to 1 million), atheist and agnostic 20%
<a href="#"><u>Jamaica</u></a> <a href="#"><u>(../geos/jm.html)</u></a>	Protestant 64.8% (includes Seventh Day Adventist 12.0%, Pentecostal 11.0%, Other Church of God 9.2%, New Testament Church of God 7.2%, Baptist 6.7%, Church of God in Jamaica 4.8%, Church of God of Prophecy 4.5%, Anglican 2.8%, United Church 2.1%, Methodist 1.6%, Revived 1.4%, Brethren 0.9%, and Moravian 0.7%), Roman Catholic 2.2%, Jehovah's Witness 1.9%, Rastafarian 1.1%, other 6.5%, none 21.3%, unspecified 2.3% (2011 est.)
<a href="#"><u>Japan</u></a> <a href="#"><u>(../geos/ja.html)</u></a>	Shintoism 79.2%, Buddhism 66.8%, Christianity 1.5%, other 7.1% <b>note:</b> total adherents exceeds 100% because many people practice both Shintoism and Buddhism (2012 est.)
<a href="#"><u>Jersey</u></a> <a href="#"><u>(../geos/je.html)</u></a>	Protestant (Anglican, Baptist, Congregational New Church, Methodist, Presbyterian), Roman Catholic
<a href="#"><u>Jordan</u></a> <a href="#"><u>(../geos/jo.html)</u></a>	Muslim 97.2% (official; predominantly Sunni), Christian 2.2% (majority Greek Orthodox, but some Greek and Roman Catholics, Syrian Orthodox, Coptic Orthodox, Armenian Orthodox, and Protestant denominations), Buddhist 0.4%, Hindu 0.1%, Jewish <0.1, folk religionist <0.1, unaffiliated <0.1, other <0.1 (2010 est.)
<a href="#"><u>Kazakhstan</u></a> <a href="#"><u>(../geos/kz.html)</u></a>	Muslim 70.2%, Christian 26.2% (mainly Russian Orthodox), other 0.2%, atheist 2.8%, unspecified 0.5% (2009 est.)
<a href="#"><u>Kenya</u></a> <a href="#"><u>(../geos/ke.html)</u></a>	Christian 83% (Protestant 47.7%, Catholic 23.4%, other Christian 11.9%), Muslim 11.2%, Traditionalists 1.7%, other 1.6%, none 2.4%, unspecified 0.2% (2009 est.)

<a href="#"><u>Kiribati (../geos/kr.html)</u></a>	Roman Catholic 55.8%, Kempsville Presbyterian Church 33.5%, Mormon 4.7%, Baha'i 2.3%, Seventh Day Adventist 2%, other 1.5%, none 0.2%, unspecified 0.05% (2010 est.)
<a href="#"><u>Korea, North (../geos/kn.html)</u></a>	traditionally Buddhist and Confucianist, some Christian and syncretic Chondogyo (Religion of the Heavenly Way) <b>note:</b> autonomous religious activities now almost nonexistent; government-sponsored religious groups exist to provide illusion of religious freedom
<a href="#"><u>Korea, South (../geos/ks.html)</u></a>	Christian 31.6% (Protestant 24.0%, Catholic 7.6%), Buddhist 24.2%, other or unknown 0.9%, none 43.3% (2010 est.)
<a href="#"><u>Kosovo (../geos/kv.html)</u></a>	Muslim 95.6%, Roman Catholic 2.2%, Orthodox 1.5%, other 0.07%, none 0.07%, unspecified 0.6% (2011 est.)
<a href="#"><u>Kuwait (../geos/ku.html)</u></a>	Muslim (official) 76.7%, Christian 17.3%, other and unspecified 5.9% <b>note:</b> represents the total population; about 69% of the population consists of immigrants (2013 est.)
<a href="#"><u>Kyrgyzstan (../geos/kg.html)</u></a>	Muslim 75%, Russian Orthodox 20%, other 5%
<a href="#"><u>Laos (../geos/la.html)</u></a>	Buddhist 66.8%, Christian 1.5%, other 31%, unspecified 0.7% (2005 est.)
<a href="#"><u>Latvia (../geos/lg.html)</u></a>	Lutheran 19.6%, Orthodox 15.3%, other Christian 1%, other 0.4%, unspecified 63.7% (2006)
<a href="#"><u>Lebanon (../geos/le.html)</u></a>	Muslim 54% (27% Sunni, 27% Shia), Christian 40.5% (includes 21% Maronite Catholic, 8% Greek Orthodox, 5% Greek Catholic, 6.5% other Christian), Druze 5.6%, very small numbers of Jews, Baha'is, Buddhists, Hindus, and Mormons <b>note:</b> 18 religious sects recognized (2012 est.)
<a href="#"><u>Lesotho (../geos/lt.html)</u></a>	Christian 80%, indigenous beliefs 20%
<a href="#"><u>Liberia (../geos/li.html)</u></a>	Christian 85.6%, Muslim 12.2%, Traditional 0.6%, other 0.2%, none 1.4% (2008 Census)
<a href="#"><u>Libya (../geos/ly.html)</u></a>	Muslim (official; virtually all Sunni) 96.6%, Christian 2.7%, Buddhist 0.3%, Hindu <0.1, Jewish <0.1, folk religion <0.1, unaffiliated 0.2%, other <0.1 <b>note:</b> non-Sunni Muslims include native Ibadhi Muslims (<1% of the population) and foreign Muslims (2010 est.)
<a href="#"><u>Liechtenstein (../geos/ls.html)</u></a>	Roman Catholic (official) 75.9%, Protestant Reformed 6.5%, Muslim 5.4%, Lutheran 1.3%, other 2.9%, none 5.4%, unspecified 2.6% (2010 est.)
<a href="#"><u>Lithuania (../geos/lh.html)</u></a>	Roman Catholic 77.2%, Russian Orthodox 4.1%, Old Believer 0.8%, Evangelical Lutheran 0.6%, Evangelical Reformist 0.2%, other (including Sunni Muslim, Jewish, Greek Catholic, and Karaite) 0.8%, none 6.1%, unspecified 10.1% (2011 est.)
<a href="#"><u>Luxembourg (../geos/lu.html)</u></a>	Roman Catholic 87%, other (includes Protestant, Jewish, and Muslim) 13% (2000)
<a href="#"><u>Macau (../geos/mc.html)</u></a>	Buddhist 50%, Roman Catholic 15%, none or other 35% (1997 est.)
<a href="#"><u>Macedonia (../geos/mk.html)</u></a>	Macedonian Orthodox 64.8%, Muslim 33.3%, other Christian 0.4%, other and unspecified 1.5% (2002 est.)
<a href="#"><u>Madagascar (../geos/ma.html)</u></a>	Christian, indigenous believer, Muslim <b>note:</b> population largely practices Christianity or an indigenous religion; small share of population is Muslim
<a href="#"><u>Malawi (../geos/mi.html)</u></a>	Christian 82.6%, Muslim 13%, other 1.9%, none 2.5% (2008 est.)

<a href="#"><u>Malaysia</u></a> <a href="#"><u>(../geos/my.html)</u></a>	Muslim (official) 61.3%, Buddhist 19.8%, Christian 9.2%, Hindu 6.3%, Confucianism, Taoism, other traditional Chinese religions 1.3%, other 0.4%, none 0.8%, unspecified 1% (2010 est.)
<a href="#"><u>Maldives</u></a> <a href="#"><u>(../geos/mv.html)</u></a>	Sunni Muslim (official)
<a href="#"><u>Mali</u></a> ( <a href="#"><u>../geos/ml.html</u></a> )	Muslim 94.8%, Christian 2.4%, Animist 2%, none 0.5%, unspecified 0.3% (2009 est.)
<a href="#"><u>Malta</u></a> ( <a href="#"><u>../geos/mt.html</u></a> )	Roman Catholic (official) more than 90% (2011 est.)
<a href="#"><u>Marshall Islands</u></a> <a href="#"><u>(../geos/rm.html)</u></a>	Protestant 54.8%, Assembly of God 25.8%, Roman Catholic 8.4%, Bukot nan Jesus 2.8%, Mormon 2.1%, other Christian 3.6%, other 1%, none 1.5% (1999 census)
<a href="#"><u>Mauritania</u></a> <a href="#"><u>(../geos/mr.html)</u></a>	Muslim (official) 100%
<a href="#"><u>Mauritius</u></a> <a href="#"><u>(../geos/mp.html)</u></a>	Hindu 48.5%, Roman Catholic 26.3%, Muslim 17.3%, other Christian 6.4%, other 0.6%, none 0.7%, unspecified 0.1% (2011 est.)
<a href="#"><u>Mexico</u></a> ( <a href="#"><u>../geos/mx.html</u></a> )	Roman Catholic 82.7%, Pentecostal 1.6%, Jehovah's Witness 1.4%, other Evangelical Churches 5%, other 1.9%, none 4.7%, unspecified 2.7% (2010 est.)
<a href="#"><u>Micronesia, Federated States of</u></a> <a href="#"><u>(../geos/fm.html)</u></a>	Roman Catholic 54.7%, Protestant 41.1% (includes Congregational 38.5%, Baptist 1.1%, Seventh Day Adventist 0.8%, Assembly of God 0.7%), Mormon 1.5%, other 1.9%, none 0.7%, unspecified 0.1% (2010 est.)
<a href="#"><u>Moldova</u></a> <a href="#"><u>(../geos/md.html)</u></a>	Orthodox 93.3%, Baptist 1%, other Christian 1.2%, other 0.9%, atheist 0.4%, none 1%, unspecified 2.2% (2004 est.)
<a href="#"><u>Monaco</u></a> <a href="#"><u>(../geos/mn.html)</u></a>	Roman Catholic 90% (official), other 10%
<a href="#"><u>Mongolia</u></a> <a href="#"><u>(../geos/mg.html)</u></a>	Buddhist 53%, Muslim 3%, Christian 2.2%, Shamanist 2.9%, other 0.4%, none 38.6% (2010 est.)
<a href="#"><u>Montenegro</u></a> <a href="#"><u>(../geos/mj.html)</u></a>	Orthodox 72.1%, Muslim 19.1%, Catholic 3.4%, atheist 1.2%, other 1.5%, unspecified 2.6% (2011 est.)
<a href="#"><u>Montserrat</u></a> <a href="#"><u>(../geos/mh.html)</u></a>	Protestant 67.1% (includes Anglican 21.8%, Methodist 17%, Pentecostal 14.1%, Seventh Day Adventist 10.5%, and Church of God 3.7%), Roman Catholic 11.6%, Rastafarian 1.4%, other 6.5%, none 2.6%, unspecified 10.8% (2001 est.)
<a href="#"><u>Morocco</u></a> <a href="#"><u>(../geos/mo.html)</u></a>	Muslim 99% (official; virtually all Sunni, <0.1% Shia), other 1% (includes Christian, Jewish, and Baha'i); note - Jewish about 6,000 (2010 est.)
<a href="#"><u>Mozambique</u></a> <a href="#"><u>(../geos/mz.html)</u></a>	Roman Catholic 28.4%, Muslim 17.9%, Zionist Christian 15.5%, Protestant 12.2% (includes Pentecostal 10.9% and Anglican 1.3%), other 6.7%, none 18.7%, unspecified 0.7% (2007 est.)
<a href="#"><u>Namibia</u></a> <a href="#"><u>(../geos/wa.html)</u></a>	Christian 80% to 90% (at least 50% Lutheran), indigenous beliefs 10% to 20%
<a href="#"><u>Nauru</u></a> ( <a href="#"><u>../geos/nr.html</u></a> )	Protestant 60.4% (includes Nauru Congregational 35.7%, Assembly of God 13%, Nauru Independent Church 9.5%, Baptist 1.5%, and Seventh Day Adventist 0.7%), Roman Catholic 33%, other 3.7%, none 1.8%, unspecified 1.1% (2011 est.)
<a href="#"><u>Nepal</u></a> ( <a href="#"><u>../geos/np.html</u></a> )	Hindu 81.3%, Buddhist 9%, Muslim 4.4%, Kirant 3.1%, Christian 1.4%, other 0.5%, unspecified 0.2% (2011 est.)
<a href="#"><u>Netherlands</u></a> <a href="#"><u>(../geos/nl.html)</u></a>	Roman Catholic 28%, Protestant 19% (includes Dutch Reformed 9%, Protestant Church of The Netherlands, 7%, Calvinist 3%), other 11% (includes about 5% Muslim and fewer numbers of Hindu, Buddhist, Jehovah's Witness, and Orthodox), none 42% (2009 est.)



<a href="#"><u>New Caledonia</u></a> <a href="#"><u>(../geos/nc.html)</u></a>	Roman Catholic 60%, Protestant 30%, other 10%
<a href="#"><u>New Zealand</u></a> <a href="#"><u>(../geos/nz.html)</u></a>	Christian 44.3% (Catholic 11.6%, Anglican 10.8%, Presbyterian and Congregational 7.8%, Methodist, 2.4%, Pentecostal 1.8%, other 9.9%), Hindu 2.1%, Buddhist 1.4%, Maori Christian 1.3%, Islam 1.1%, other religion 1.4% (includes Judaism, Spiritualism and New Age religions, Baha'i, Asian religions other than Buddhism), no religion 38.5%, not stated or unidentified 8.2%, objected to answering 4.1% <b>note:</b> based on the 2013 census of the usually resident population; percentages add up to more than 100% because people were able to identify more than one religion (2013 est.)
<a href="#"><u>Nicaragua</u></a> <a href="#"><u>(../geos/nu.html)</u></a>	Roman Catholic 58.5%, Protestant 23.2% (Evangelical 21.6%, Moravian 1.6%), Jehovah's Witnesses 0.9%, other 1.6%, none 15.7% (2005 est.)
<a href="#"><u>Nigeria</u></a> <a href="#"><u>(../geos/ni.html)</u></a>	Muslim 50%, Christian 40%, indigenous beliefs 10%
<a href="#"><u>Niger</u></a> <a href="#"><u>(../geos/ng.html)</u></a>	Muslim 80%, other (includes indigenous beliefs and Christian) 20%
<a href="#"><u>Niue</u></a> <a href="#"><u>(../geos/ne.html)</u></a>	Ekalesia Niue (Congregational Christian Church of Niue - a Protestant church founded by missionaries from the London Missionary Society) 67%, other Protestant 3% (includes Seventh Day Adventist 1%, Presbyterian 1%, and Methodist 1%), Mormon 10%, Roman Catholic 10%, Jehovah's Witnesses 2%, other 6%, none 2% (2011 est.)
<a href="#"><u>Norfolk Island</u></a> <a href="#"><u>(../geos/nf.html)</u></a>	Protestant 49.6% (Anglican 31.8%, Uniting Church in Australia 10.6%, Seventh Day Adventist 3.2%), Roman Catholic 11.7%, other 8.6%, none 23.5%, unspecified 6.6% (2011 est.)
<a href="#"><u>Northern Mariana Islands</u></a> <a href="#"><u>(../geos/cq.html)</u></a>	Christian (Roman Catholic majority, although traditional beliefs and taboos may still be found)
<a href="#"><u>Norway</u></a> <a href="#"><u>(../geos/no.html)</u></a>	Church of Norway (Evangelical Lutheran - official) 82.1%, other Christian 3.9%, Muslim 2.3%, Roman Catholic 1.8%, other 2.4%, unspecified 7.5% (2011 est.)
<a href="#"><u>Oman</u></a> <a href="#"><u>(../geos/mu.html)</u></a>	Muslim (official; majority are Ibadhi, lesser numbers of Sunni and Shia) 85.9%, Christian 6.5%, Hindu 5.5%, Buddhist 0.8%, Jewish <0.1%, other 1%, unaffiliated 0.2% (2010 est.) <b>note:</b> approximately 75% of Omani citizens, who compose almost 70% of the country's total population, are Ibadhi Muslims; the Omani government does not keep statistics on religious affiliation (2013)
<a href="#"><u>Pakistan</u></a> <a href="#"><u>(../geos/pk.html)</u></a>	Muslim (official) 96.4% (Sunni 85-90%, Shia 10-15%), other (includes Christian and Hindu) 3.6% (2010 est.)
<a href="#"><u>Palau</u></a> <a href="#"><u>(../geos/ps.html)</u></a>	Roman Catholic 49.4%, Protestant 30.9% (includes Protestant (general) 23.1%, Seventh Day Adventist 5.3%, and other Protestant 2.5%), Modekngai 8.7% (indigenous to Palau), Jehovah's Witnesses 1.1%, other 8.8%, none or unspecified 1.1% (2005 est.)
<a href="#"><u>Panama</u></a> <a href="#"><u>(../geos/pm.html)</u></a>	Roman Catholic 85%, Protestant 15%
<a href="#"><u>Papua New Guinea</u></a> <a href="#"><u>(../geos/pp.html)</u></a>	Roman Catholic 27%, Protestant 69.4% (Evangelical Lutheran 19.5%, United Church 11.5%, Seventh-Day Adventist 10%, Pentecostal 8.6%, Evangelical Alliance 5.2%, Anglican 3.2%, Baptist 2.5%, other Protestant 8.9%), Baha'i 0.3%, indigenous beliefs and other 3.3% (2000 census)
<a href="#"><u>Paraguay</u></a> <a href="#"><u>(../geos/pa.html)</u></a>	Roman Catholic 89.6%, Protestant 6.2%, other Christian 1.1%, other or unspecified 1.9%, none 1.1% (2002 census)
<a href="#"><u>Peru</u></a> <a href="#"><u>(../geos/pe.html)</u></a>	Roman Catholic 81.3%, Evangelical 12.5%, other 3.3%, none 2.9% (2007 est.)

<a href="#"><u>Philippines</u></a> <a href="#"><u>(../geos/rp.html)</u></a>	Catholic 82.9% (Roman Catholic 80.9%, Aglipayan 2%), Muslim 5%, Evangelical 2.8%, Iglesia ni Kristo 2.3%, other Christian 4.5%, other 1.8%, unspecified 0.6%, none 0.1% (2000 census)
<a href="#"><u>Pitcairn Islands</u></a> <a href="#"><u>(../geos/pc.html)</u></a>	Seventh-Day Adventist 100%
<a href="#"><u>Poland</u></a> <a href="#"><u>(../geos/pl.html)</u></a>	Catholic 87.2% (includes Roman Catholic 86.9% and Greek Catholic, Armenian Catholic, and Byzantine-Slavic Catholic .3%), Orthodox 1.3% (almost all are Polish Autocephalous Orthodox), Protestant 0.4% (mainly Augsburg Evangelical and Pentacostal), other 0.4% (includes Jehovah's Witness, Buddhist, Hare Krishna, Gaudiya Vaishnavism, Muslim, Jewish, Mormon), unspecified 10.8% (2012 est.)
<a href="#"><u>Portugal</u></a> <a href="#"><u>(../geos/po.html)</u></a>	Roman Catholic 81%, other Christian 3.3%, other (includes Jewish, Muslim, other) 0.6%, none 6.8%, unspecified 8.3% <b>note:</b> represents population 15 years of age and older (2011 est.)
<a href="#"><u>Puerto Rico</u></a> <a href="#"><u>(../geos/rq.html)</u></a>	Roman Catholic 85%, Protestant and other 15%
<a href="#"><u>Qatar</u></a> <a href="#"><u>(../geos/qa.html)</u></a>	Muslim 77.5%, Christian 8.5%, other (includes mainly Hindu and other Indian religions) 14% (2004 est.)
<a href="#"><u>Romania</u></a> <a href="#"><u>(../geos/ro.html)</u></a>	Eastern Orthodox (including all sub-denominations) 81.9%, Protestant (various denominations including Reformed and Pentecostal) 6.4%, Roman Catholic 4.3%, other (includes Muslim) 0.9%, none or atheist 0.2%, unspecified 6.3% (2011 est.)
<a href="#"><u>Russia</u></a> <a href="#"><u>(../geos/rs.html)</u></a>	Russian Orthodox 15-20%, Muslim 10-15%, other Christian 2% (2006 est.) <b>note:</b> estimates are of practicing worshipers; Russia has large populations of non-practicing believers and non-believers, a legacy of over seven decades of Soviet rule; Russia officially recognizes Orthodox Christianity, Islam, Judaism, and Buddhism as traditional religions
<a href="#"><u>Rwanda</u></a> <a href="#"><u>(../geos/rw.html)</u></a>	Roman Catholic 49.5%, Protestant 39.4% (includes Adventist 12.2% and other Protestant 27.2%), other Christian 4.5%, Muslim 1.8%, animist 0.1%, other 0.6%, none 3.6% (2001), unspecified 0.5% (2002 est.)
<a href="#"><u>Saint Barthelemy</u></a> <a href="#"><u>(../geos/tb.html)</u></a>	Roman Catholic, Protestant, Jehovah's Witnesses
<a href="#"><u>Saint Helena, Ascension, and Tristan da Cunha</u></a> <a href="#"><u>(../geos/sh.html)</u></a>	Protestant 75.9% (includes Anglican 68.9, Baptist 2.1%, Seventh Day Adventist 1.8%, Salvation Army 1.7%, New Apostolic 1.4%), Jehovah's Witness 4.1%, Roman Catholic 1.2%, other 2.5% (includes Baha'i), unspecified 0.8%, none 6.1%, no response 9.4% <b>note:</b> data represent Saint Helena only (2016 est.)
<a href="#"><u>Saint Kitts and Nevis</u></a> <a href="#"><u>(../geos/sc.html)</u></a>	Anglican, other Protestant, Roman Catholic
<a href="#"><u>Saint Lucia</u></a> <a href="#"><u>(../geos/st.html)</u></a>	Roman Catholic 61.5%, Protestant 25.5% (includes Seventh Day Adventist 10.4%, Pentecostal 8.9%, Baptist 2.2%, Anglican 1.6%, Church of God 1.5%, other Protestant 0.9%), other Christian 3.4% (includes Evangelical 2.3% and Jehovah's Witness 1.1%), Rastafarian 1.9%, other 0.4%, none 5.9%, unspecified 1.4% (2010 est.)
<a href="#"><u>Saint Martin</u></a> <a href="#"><u>(../geos/rn.html)</u></a>	Roman Catholic, Jehovah's Witnesses, Protestant, Hindu
<a href="#"><u>Saint Pierre and Miquelon</u></a> <a href="#"><u>(../geos/sb.html)</u></a>	Roman Catholic 99%, other 1%
<a href="#"><u>Saint Vincent and the Grenadines</u></a> <a href="#"><u>(../geos/vc.html)</u></a>	Protestant 75% (Anglican 47%, Methodist 28%), Roman Catholic 13%, other (includes Hindu, Seventh-Day Adventist, other Protestant) 12%

<a href="#"><u>Samoa (../geos/ws.html)</u></a>	Protestant 57.4% (Congregationalist 31.8%, Methodist 13.7%, Assembly of God 8%, Seventh-Day Adventist 3.9%), Roman Catholic 19.4%, Mormon 15.2%, Worship Centre 1.7%, other Christian 5.5%, other 0.7%, none 0.1%, unspecified 0.1% (2011 est.)
<a href="#"><u>San Marino (../geos/sm.html)</u></a>	Roman Catholic
<a href="#"><u>Sao Tome and Principe (../geos/tp.html)</u></a>	Catholic 55.7%, Adventist 4.1%, Assembly of God 3.4%, New Apostolic 2.9%, Mana 2.3%, Universal Kingdom of God 2%, Jehovah's Witness 1.2%, other 6.2%, none 21.2%, unspecified 1% (2012 est.)
<a href="#"><u>Saudi Arabia (../geos/sa.html)</u></a>	Muslim (official; citizens are 85-90% Sunni and 10-15% Shia), other (includes Eastern Orthodox, Protestant, Roman Catholic, Jewish, Hindu, Buddhist, and Sikh) (2012 est.) <b>note:</b> despite having a large expatriate community of various faiths (more than 30% of the population), most forms of public religious expression inconsistent with the government-sanctioned interpretation of Sunni Islam are restricted; non-Muslims are not allowed to have Saudi citizenship and non-Muslim places of worship are not permitted (2013)
<a href="#"><u>Senegal (../geos/sg.html)</u></a>	Muslim 95.4% (most adhere to one of the four main Sufi brotherhoods), Christian 4.2% (mostly Roman Catholic), animist 0.4% (2010-11 est.)
<a href="#"><u>Serbia (../geos/ri.html)</u></a>	Serbian Orthodox 84.6%, Catholic 5%, Muslim 3.1%, Protestant 1%, atheist 1.1%, other 0.8%, undeclared or unknown 4.5% (2011 est.)
<a href="#"><u>Seychelles (../geos/se.html)</u></a>	Roman Catholic 76.2%, Protestant 10.6% (Anglican 6.1%, Pentecostal Assembly 1.5%, Seventh-Day Adventist 1.2%, other Protestant 1.6), other Christian 2.4%, Hindu 2.4%, Muslim 1.6%, other non-Christian 1.1%, unspecified 4.8%, none 0.9% (2010 est.)
<a href="#"><u>Sierra Leone (../geos/sl.html)</u></a>	Muslim 60%, Christian 10%, indigenous beliefs 30%
<a href="#"><u>Singapore (../geos/sn.html)</u></a>	Buddhist 33.9%, Muslim 14.3%, Taoist 11.3%, Catholic 7.1%, Hindu 5.2%, other Christian 11%, other 0.7%, none 16.4% (2010 est.)
<a href="#"><u>Sint Maarten (../geos/sk.html)</u></a>	Protestant 41.9% (Pentecostal 14.7%, Methodist 10.0%, Seventh Day Adventist 6.6%, Baptist 4.7%, Anglican 3.1%, other Protestant 2.8%), Roman Catholic 33.1%, Hindu 5.2%, Christian 4.1%, Jehovah's Witness 1.7%, Evangelical 1.4%, Muslim/Jewish 1.1%, other 1.3% (includes Buddhist, Sikh, Rastafarian), none 7.9%, no response 2.4% (2011 est.)
<a href="#"><u>Slovakia (../geos/lo.html)</u></a>	Roman Catholic 62%, Protestant 8.2%, Greek Catholic 3.8%, other or unspecified 12.5%, none 13.4% (2011 est.)
<a href="#"><u>Slovenia (../geos/si.html)</u></a>	Catholic 57.8%, Muslim 2.4%, Orthodox 2.3%, other Christian 0.9%, unaffiliated 3.5%, other or unspecified 23%, none 10.1% (2002 census)
<a href="#"><u>Solomon Islands (../geos/bp.html)</u></a>	Protestant 73.4% (Church of Melanesia 31.9%, South Sea Evangelical 17.1%, Seventh Day Adventist 11.7%, United Church 10.1%, Christian Fellowship Church 2.5%), Roman Catholic 19.6%, other Christian 2.9%, other 4%, none 0.03%, unspecified 0.1% (2009 est.)
<a href="#"><u>Somalia (../geos/so.html)</u></a>	Sunni Muslim (Islam) (official, according to the Transitional Federal Charter)
<a href="#"><u>South Africa (../geos/sf.html)</u></a>	Protestant 36.6% (Zionist Christian 11.1%, Pentecostal/Charismatic 8.2%, Methodist 6.8%, Dutch Reformed 6.7%, Anglican 3.8%), Catholic 7.1%, Muslim 1.5%, other Christian 36%, other 2.3%, unspecified 1.4%, none 15.1% (2001 census)
<a href="#"><u>South Sudan (../geos/od.html)</u></a>	animist, Christian
<a href="#"><u>Spain (../geos/sp.html)</u></a>	Roman Catholic 94%, other 6%

<a href="#"><u>Sri Lanka</u></a> <a href="#"><u>(../geos/ce.html)</u></a>	Buddhist (official) 70.2%, Hindu 12.6%, Muslim 9.7%, Roman Catholic 6.1%, other Christian 1.3%, other 0.05% (2012 est.)
<a href="#"><u>Sudan</u></a> <a href="#"><u>(../geos/su.html)</u></a>	Sunni Muslim, small Christian minority
<a href="#"><u>Suriname</u></a> <a href="#"><u>(../geos/ns.html)</u></a>	Hindu 27.4%, Protestant 25.2% (predominantly Moravian), Roman Catholic 22.8%, Muslim 19.6%, indigenous beliefs 5%
<a href="#"><u>Swaziland</u></a> <a href="#"><u>(../geos/wz.html)</u></a>	Zionist 40% (a blend of Christianity and indigenous ancestral worship), Roman Catholic 20%, Muslim 10%, other 30% (includes Anglican, Baha'i, Methodist, Mormon, Jewish)
<a href="#"><u>Sweden</u></a> <a href="#"><u>(../geos/sw.html)</u></a>	Lutheran 87%, other (includes Roman Catholic, Orthodox, Baptist, Muslim, Jewish, and Buddhist) 13%
<a href="#"><u>Switzerland</u></a> <a href="#"><u>(../geos/sz.html)</u></a>	Roman Catholic 38.2%, Protestant 26.9%, other Christian 5.6%, Muslim 5%, other 1.6%, none 21.4%, unspecified 1.3% (2013 est.)
<a href="#"><u>Syria</u></a> <a href="#"><u>(../geos/sy.html)</u></a>	Muslim 87% (official; includes Sunni 74% and Alawi, Ismaili, and Shia 13%), Christian 10% (includes Orthodox, Uniate, and Nestorian), Druze 3%, Jewish (few remaining in Damascus and Aleppo)
<a href="#"><u>Taiwan</u></a> <a href="#"><u>(../geos/tw.html)</u></a>	mixture of Buddhist and Taoist 93%, Christian 4.5%, other 2.5%
<a href="#"><u>Tajikistan</u></a> <a href="#"><u>(../geos/ti.html)</u></a>	Sunni Muslim 85%, Shia Muslim 5%, other 10% (2003 est.)
<a href="#"><u>Tanzania</u></a> <a href="#"><u>(../geos/tz.html)</u></a>	Christian 61.4%, Muslim 35.2%, folk religion 1.8%, other 0.2%, unaffiliated 1.4% <b>note:</b> Zanzibar is almost entirely Muslim (2010 est.)
<a href="#"><u>Thailand</u></a> <a href="#"><u>(../geos/th.html)</u></a>	Buddhist (official) 93.6%, Muslim 4.9%, Christian 1.2%, other 0.2%, none 0.1% (2010 est.)
<a href="#"><u>Timor-Leste</u></a> <a href="#"><u>(../geos/tt.html)</u></a>	Roman Catholic 96.9%, Protestant/Evangelical 2.2%, Muslim 0.3%, other 0.6% (2005)
<a href="#"><u>Togo</u></a> <a href="#"><u>(../geos/to.html)</u></a>	Christian 29%, Muslim 20%, indigenous beliefs 51%
<a href="#"><u>Tokelau</u></a> <a href="#"><u>(../geos/tl.html)</u></a>	Congregational Christian Church 58.2%, Roman Catholic 36.6%, Presbyterian 1.8%, other Christian 2.8%, Spiritualism and New Age 0.1%, unspecified 0.5% (2011 est.)
<a href="#"><u>Tonga</u></a> <a href="#"><u>(../geos/tn.html)</u></a>	Protestant 64.9% (includes Free Wesleyan Church 37.3%, Free Church of Tonga 11.4%, Church of Tonga 7.2%, Tokaikolo Christian Church 2.6%, Assembly of God 2.3%, Seventh Day Adventist 2.2%, Constitutional Church of Tonga 0.9%, Anglican 0.8% and Full Gospel Church 0.2%), Mormon 16.8%, Roman Catholic 15.6%, other 1.1%, none 0.03%, unspecified 1.7% (2006 est.)
<a href="#"><u>Trinidad and Tobago</u></a> <a href="#"><u>(../geos/td.html)</u></a>	Protestant 32.1% (Pentecostal/Evangelical/Full Gospel 12%, Baptist 6.9%, Anglican 5.7%, Seventh-Day Adventist 4.1%, Presbyterian/Congregational 2.5%, other Protestant 0.9%), Roman Catholic 21.6%, Hindu 18.2%, Muslim 5%, Jehovah's Witness 1.5%, other 8.4%, none 2.2%, unspecified 11.1% (2011 est.)
<a href="#"><u>Tunisia</u></a> <a href="#"><u>(../geos/ts.html)</u></a>	Muslim (official; Sunni) 99.1%, other (includes Christian, Jewish, Shia Muslim, and Baha'i) 1%
<a href="#"><u>Turkey</u></a> <a href="#"><u>(../geos/tu.html)</u></a>	Muslim 99.8% (mostly Sunni), other 0.2% (mostly Christians and Jews)
<a href="#"><u>Turkmenistan</u></a> <a href="#"><u>(../geos/tx.html)</u></a>	Muslim 89%, Eastern Orthodox 9%, unknown 2%
<a href="#"><u>Turks and Caicos Islands</u></a> <a href="#"><u>(../geos/tk.html)</u></a>	Protestant 72.8% (Baptist 35.8%, Church of God 11.7%, Anglican 10%, Methodist 9.3%, Seventh-Day Adventist 6%), Roman Catholic 11.4%, Jehovah's Witnesses 1.8%, other 14%
<a href="#"><u>Tuvalu</u></a> <a href="#"><u>(../geos/tv.html)</u></a>	Protestant 98.4% (Church of Tuvalu (Congregationalist) 97%, Seventh-Day Adventist 1.4%), Baha'i 1%, other 0.6%

<a href="#"><u>Uganda (../geos/ug.html)</u></a>	Protestant 45.1% (Anglican 32.0%, Pentecostal/Born Again/Evangelical 11.1%, Seventh Day Adventist 1.7%, Baptist .3%), Roman Catholic 39.3%, Muslim 13.7%, other 1.6%, none 0.2% (2014 est.)
<a href="#"><u>Ukraine (../geos/up.html)</u></a>	Orthodox (includes Ukrainian Autocephalous Orthodox (UAOC), Ukrainian Orthodox - Kyiv Patriarchate (UOC-KP), Ukrainian Orthodox - Moscow Patriarchate (UOC-MP), Ukrainian Greek Catholic, Roman Catholic, Protestant, Muslim, Jewish <b>note:</b> Ukraine's population is overwhelmingly Christian; the vast majority - up to two-thirds - identify themselves as Orthodox, but many do not specify a particular branch; the UOC-KP and the UOC-MP each represent less than a quarter of the country's population, the Ukrainian Greek Catholic Church accounts for 8-10%, and the UAOC accounts for 1-2%; Muslim and Jewish adherents each compose less than 1% of the total population (2013 est.)
<a href="#"><u>United Arab Emirates (../geos/ae.html)</u></a>	Muslim (official) 76%, Christian 9%, other (primarily Hindu and Buddhist, less than 5% of the population consists of Parsi, Baha'i, Druze, Sikh, Ahmadi, Ismaili, Dawoodi Bohra Muslim, and Jewish) 15% <b>note:</b> represents the total population; about 85% of the population consists of noncitizens (2005 est.)
<a href="#"><u>United Kingdom (../geos/uk.html)</u></a>	Christian (includes Anglican, Roman Catholic, Presbyterian, Methodist) 59.5%, Muslim 4.4%, Hindu 1.3%, other 2%, unspecified 7.2%, none 25.7% (2011 est.)
<a href="#"><u>United States (../geos/us.html)</u></a>	Protestant 46.5%, Roman Catholic 20.8%, Mormon 1.6%, Jehovah's Witness 0.8%, other Christian 0.9%, Jewish 1.9%, Muslim 0.9%, Buddhist 0.7%, Hindu 0.7%, other 1.8%, unaffiliated 22.8%, don't know/refused 0.6% (2014 est.)
<a href="#"><u>Uruguay (../geos/uy.html)</u></a>	Roman Catholic 47.1%, non-Catholic Christians 11.1%, nondenominational 23.2%, Jewish 0.3%, atheist or agnostic 17.2%, other 1.1% (2006)
<a href="#"><u>Uzbekistan (../geos/uz.html)</u></a>	Muslim 88% (mostly Sunni), Eastern Orthodox 9%, other 3%
<a href="#"><u>Vanuatu (../geos/nh.html)</u></a>	Protestant 70% (includes Presbyterian 27.9%, Anglican 15.1%, Seventh Day Adventist 12.5%, Assemblies of God 4.7%, Church of Christ 4.5%, Neil Thomas Ministry 3.1%, and Apostolic 2.2%), Roman Catholic 12.4%, customary beliefs 3.7% (including Jon Frum cargo cult), other 12.6%, none 1.1%, unspecified 0.2% (2009 est.)
<a href="#"><u>Venezuela (../geos/ve.html)</u></a>	nominally Roman Catholic 96%, Protestant 2%, other 2%
<a href="#"><u>Vietnam (../geos/vm.html)</u></a>	Buddhist 7.9%, Catholic 6.6%, Hoa Hao 1.7%, Cao Dai 0.9%, Protestant 0.9%, Muslim 0.1%, none 81.8% (2009 est.)
<a href="#"><u>Virgin Islands (../geos/vq.html)</u></a>	Protestant 59% (Baptist 42%, Episcopalian 17%), Roman Catholic 34%, other 7%
<a href="#"><u>Wallis and Futuna (../geos/wf.html)</u></a>	Roman Catholic 99%, other 1%
<a href="#"><u>West Bank (../geos/we.html)</u></a>	Muslim 80-85% (predominantly Sunni), Jewish 12-14%, Christian 1-2.5% (mainly Greek Orthodox), other, unaffiliated, unspecified <1% <b>note:</b> the proportion of Christians continues to fall mainly as a result of the growth of the Muslim population but also because of migration and the declining birth rate of the Christian population (2012 est.)
<a href="#"><u>Western Sahara (../geos/wi.html)</u></a>	Muslim
<a href="#"><u>World (../geos/xx.html)</u></a>	Christian 31.4%, Muslim 23.2%, Hindu 15%, Buddhist 7.1%, folk religions 5.9%, Jewish 0.2%, other 0.8%, unaffiliated 16.4% (2010 est.)

[Yemen \(../geos/ym.html\)](#) Muslim 99.1% (official; virtually all are citizens, an estimated 65% are Sunni and 35% are Shia), other 0.9% (includes Jewish, Baha'i, Hindu, and Christian; many are refugees or temporary foreign residents) (2010 est.)

[Zambia \(../geos/za.html\)](#) Protestant 75.3%, Roman Catholic 20.2%, other 2.7% (includes Muslim Buddhist, Hindu, and Baha'i), none 1.8% (2010 est.)

[Zimbabwe \(../geos/zi.html\)](#) Protestant 75.9% (includes Apostolic 38%, Pentecostal 21.1%, other 16.8%), Roman Catholic 8.4%, other Christian 8.4%, other 1.2% (includes traditional, Muslim), none 6.1% (2011 est.)

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# **Exhibit S**

# CBN NEWS

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### Brody File Exclusive: President Trump Says Persecuted Christians Will Be Given Priority As Refugees

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### Brody File Exclusive: President Trump Says Persecuted Christians Will Be Given Priority As Refugees

01-27-2017

[David Brody](#)

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In an exclusive interview with The Brody File, President Donald Trump says persecuted Christians will be given priority when it comes to applying for refugee status in the United States. "We are going to help them," President Trump tells CBN News. "They've been horribly treated. Do you know if you were a Christian in Syria it was impossible, at least very tough to get into the United States? If you were a Muslim you could come in, but if you were a Christian, it was almost impossible and the reason that was so unfair, everybody was persecuted in all fairness, but they were chopping off the heads of everybody but more so the Christians. And I thought it was very, very unfair."



The Brody File conducted the interview Friday morning in the Blue Room at The White House. More newsworthy clips are coming soon. The entire interview can be seen this Sunday at 11pm on Freeform (cable TV, formerly ABC Family Channel) during our special CBN News show. This is just the third interview President Trump has done from The White House and it will be the only interview that will air in its' entirety this weekend.

**MANDATORY VIDEO AND COURTESY: CBN NEWS/THE BRODY FILE**

**DAVID BRODY:** "Persecuted Christians, we've talked about this, the refugees overseas. The refugee program, or the refugee changes you're looking to make. As it relates to persecuted Christians, do you see them as kind of a priority here?"

**PRESIDENT TRUMP:** "Yes."

**DAVID BRODY:** "You do?"

**PRESIDENT TRUMP:** "They've been horribly treated. Do you know if you were a Christian in Syria it was impossible, at least very tough to get into the United States? If you were a Muslim you could come in, but if you were a Christian, it was almost impossible and the reason that was so unfair, everybody was persecuted in all fairness, but they were chopping off the heads of everybody but more so the Christians. And I thought it was very, very unfair. So we are going to help them."

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 **Steve** 12 days ago  
Christian persecution is running at about 100,000 deaths per month. I'm so glad that our President is cognizant of this and willing to alleviate some of the pain and suffering of these people.  
Like Reply Share 0

 **Israel Friend Di** 13 days ago  
Our President Donald Trump is doing his Christian duty by banning terrorists Muslims and illegals into the USA that want to promote Sharia laws upon us and terrorize this country. Isis and Hamas chop off the heads of their own people if they are found to be worshipping the GOD OF ISRAEL, our GOD, KING JESUS. This has to be stopped before they completely destroy the entire USA and all Christians and Jews, including ISRAEL. The Muslim religion is a hate religion unlike our Judea, Christianity. We love all people of every race and don't kill to please our GOD. Our GOD died, shed HIS innocent blood as the final Lamb of GOD sacrifice and was resurrected to save us from our sins.  
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# **Exhibit T**

The Washington Post

Acts of Faith

# Trump signs order limiting refugee entry, says he will prioritize Christian refugees

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By Sarah Pulliam Bailey January 27

President Trump signed an executive order Friday instituting “extreme vetting” of refugees, aimed at keeping out “radical Islamic terrorists.”

“I’m establishing a new vetting measure to keep radical Islamic terrorists out of the United States of America,” Trump said during his signing of the order. “We don’t want them here. We want to make sure we are not admitting into our country the very threats our soldiers are fighting overseas.”

According to drafts of the executive action, the order bars people from the Muslim-majority countries of Iraq, Syria, Iran, Sudan, Libya, Somalia or Yemen from entering the United States for 30 days and suspends the U.S. Refugee Admissions Program for 120 days. The program will be reinstated “only for nationals of countries for whom” members are vetted by Trump’s administration.

In an interview Friday with the Christian Broadcast Network, Trump said he plans to help persecuted Christians.

“Do you know if you were a Christian in Syria it was impossible, at least very tough, to get into the United States?” Trump said. “If you were a Muslim you could come in, but if you were a Christian, it was almost impossible and the reason that was so unfair, everybody was persecuted in all fairness, but they were chopping off the heads of everybody but more so the Christians. And I thought it was very, very unfair.”

In a statement, the American Civil Liberties Union declared Trump's action "just a euphemism for discrimination against Muslims."

From both legal and historical perspectives, the plan to ban refugees from specific countries is within the powers granted to the president under current law and historical precedent, according to Charles Haynes, vice president of the Newseum Institute's Religious Freedom Center. However, whether the president can limit the ban to one religious group is another question.

Many Muslims, especially Shiites, are among the religious minorities under attack, Haynes said. This "raises moral and humanitarian concerns about excluding them from entrance to the U.S. while permitting people of other faiths," he said. "Whether this policy rises to the level of a constitutional violation is uncertain and will be debated by constitutional scholars in the coming weeks."

Issues related to the Constitution and religion are usually associated with matters of sex, such as contraceptives and LGBT discrimination, but some observers said they expect Trump's actions on immigration to raise new challenges for religious freedom, according to Chelsea Langston Bombino of the Institutional Religious Freedom Alliance at the Center for Public Justice. Several organizations, she noted, are speaking out against orders that "will hurt the very people that their organizations were established, out of a religious calling, to serve," she said.

Trump's actions have been decried by several religious groups this week. "The expected cutbacks to U.S. refugee programs and funding will compromise our ability to do this work and the infrastructure needed to serve refugees in the years to come," evangelical ministry World Relief said in a statement.

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## Acts of Faith newsletter

Conversations about faith and values.

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And in a strongly worded statement, Rabbi Jack Moline, the Interfaith Alliance president, noted that this decision was announced on International Holocaust Remembrance Day.

"For decades, the United States has prided itself as a safe bastion for refugees around the globe escaping war and persecution," he said. "President Trump is poised to trample upon that great legacy with a de facto Muslim ban."

The Council on American-Islamic Relations will on Monday announce a federal lawsuit on behalf of more than 20 people challenging the constitutionality of the executive order.

“There is no evidence that refugees – the most thoroughly vetted of all people entering our nation – are a threat to national security,” said CAIR national litigation director Lena F. Masri. “This is an order that is based on bigotry, not reality.”

*This post has been updated.*

Sarah Pulliam Bailey is a religion reporter, covering how faith intersects with politics, culture and...everything. 🐦 Follow @spulliam

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## **An ‘America first’ philosophy? During May’s visit, it’s more like ‘Trump first.’**

The new president’s view of the world seems to revolve around him and his personal relationships.

## **Facing criticism, Trump administration has no regrets about leaving out Jews in Holocaust statement**

What might have been seen as an oversight was confirmed by White House spokeswoman Hope Hicks to have been an intentional decision.

## **Trump orders Pentagon to draft ISIS strategy, restructuring of security council**

New rules concerning lobbying are also among executive orders signed Saturday.

### **PAID PROMOTED STORIES**

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# **Exhibit U**



- 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*

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# **Exhibit V**





**Donald J. Trump**   
@realDonaldTrump

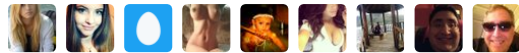
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Just put out a very important policy statement on the extraordinary influx of hatred & danger coming into our country. We must be vigilant!

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# **Exhibit W**

12/7/15 WashingtonPost.com (Pg. Unavail. Online)  
2015 WLNR 36216212

WashingtonPost.com  
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December 7, 2015

Section: post-politics

Trump calls for 'total and complete shutdown of Muslims entering the United States'  
"We have no choice. We have no choice," Trump said Monday. "We have no choice."

Jenna Johnson

Updated at 7:43 p.m.

Donald Trump called Monday for a "total and complete shutdown" of the entry of Muslims to the United States "until our country's representatives can figure out what is going on."

In a statement released by his campaign Monday afternoon, Trump included recent poll findings that he says show that a sizable segment of the Muslim population has "great hatred towards Americans."

"Without looking at the various polling data, it is obvious to anybody the hatred is beyond comprehension," Trump is quoted as saying in the statement. "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."

At a rally in Mount Pleasant, South Carolina on Monday evening, Trump pointed to the statement he released earlier in the day.

"Should I read you the statement?" he asked.

The crowd enthusiastically agreed that he should.

"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 the hell is going on," he said, adding the word "hell" for emphasis this time.

Supporters erupted in applause.

"We have no choice. We have no choice," Trump said. "We have no choice."

Earlier in the rally, which was interrupted by protests, Trump said, "I have friends that are Muslims. They are great people -- but they know we have a problem."

Trump campaign manager Corey Lewandowski told the Associated Press that the ban would apply to "everybody," including both immigrants and tourists. Soon after the statement was released, Trump tweeted that he had "just put out a very important policy statement on the extraordinary influx of hatred and danger coming into our country." He added in the tweet: "We must be vigilant!"

In an interview on Fox News Channel shortly ahead of his campaign rally, Trump was asked whether his policy would apply to Muslim military personnel stationed overseas who want to come home.

"They will come home. We have to be vigilant," he responded. "We have to take care of the Muslims that are living here. But we have to be vigilant."

He later added: "Anybody here stays, but we have to be very vigilant... This does not apply to people living in the country except that we have to be vigilant."

In the past month, particularly following the recent mass shooting in Southern California that is believed to have been inspired by the Islamic State terrorist group, Trump has called for greater scrutiny of Muslims -- including Muslim Americans who are legal residents of the country. He has said he would support heavy surveillance of mosques, bar Syrian refugees of all religions from entering the country and would consider establishing a database to track all Muslims in the country. But Trump's statement on Monday was his most controversial proposal yet.

Trump typically announces major positions like this in media interviews or at rallies, rarely issuing formal statements. The statement immediately sparked rounds of questions about how such a policy would work, along with strong criticism.

"Oh, my goodness," said Ibrahim Hooper, national communications director at the Council on American-Islamic Relations. "One has to wonder what Donald Trump will say next as he ramps up his anti-Muslim bigotry. Where is there left for him to go? Are we talking internment camps? Are we talking the final solution to the Muslim question? I feel like I'm back in the 1930s."

What worried Hooper, he said, was the premeditated nature of Trump's statement.

"He feels perfectly okay saying this," said Hooper. "It's not an open mic moment, where he has to walk something back. This was a statement from his campaign. They had to believe that this would be well received by his supporters. We've always had anti-Muslim bigots, but they've always been at the fringes of society. Now they want to lead it. In saner times, his campaign would be over. In insane times, his campaign can gain support. And that's why he put it out."

David Weigel and Sean Sullivan contributed to this report.

#### ---- Index References ----

News Subject: (Civil Rights Law (1CI34); Intellectual Freedoms & Civil Liberties (1IN08); International Terrorism (1IN37); Legal (1LE33); Minority & Ethnic Groups (1MI43); Race Relations (1RA49); Social Issues (1SO05); Top World News (1WO62))

Industry: (Celebrities (1CE65); Entertainment (1EN08))

Region: (Americas (1AM92); North America (1NO39))

Language: EN

Other Indexing: (Donald Trump; Ibrahim Hooper; David Weigel; Sean Sullivan; Donald Trump; Corey Lewandowski)

Word Count: 719

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**NewsRoom**

# **Exhibit X**

MEET THE PRESS JUL 24 2016, 11:47 AM ET

# Meet the Press - July 24, 2016

Meet the Press - July 24, 2016

CHUCK TODD:

This Sunday, the Democratic National Convention gets underway here in Philadelphia, after a raucous and unpredictable Republican convention. That ended with the nomination of Donald Trump.

DONALD TRUMP:

I am with you, I will fight for you, and I will win for you.

CHUCK TODD:

This morning, my sit-down with Donald Trump on his convention speech.

DONALD TRUMP:

The only negative reviews were a little dark.

CHUCK TODD:

On whether he's backing off on his Muslim ban.

DONALD TRUMP:

I actually don't think it's a pull-back. In fact, you could say it's an expansion.

CHUCK TODD:

And on Hillary Clinton's choice of Tim Kaine.

DONALD TRUMP:

Tim Kaine was a slap in the face to Bernie Sanders.

CHUCK TODD:

Plus Hillary Clinton and Tim Kaine hit the road in Florida.

HILLARY CLINTON:

Tim Kaine is everything Donald Trump and Mike Pence are not.

CHUCK TODD:

But some Bernie Sanders supporters are criticizing the Kaine pick as a sellout to moderates. I'll talk to Sanders and get his reaction to that and to the DNC Wikileaks e-mail release. Joining me for insight and analysis are MSNBC's Rachel Maddow, former chairman of the RNC, Michael Steele, NBC News Chief Foreign Affairs Correspondent, Andrea Mitchell, and host of Hardball and Philadelphia hometown boy, Chris Matthews. Trump, Sanders and reactions to the new Democratic ticket. Welcome to Sunday, in a special edition of Meet the Press at the Democratic National Convention.

CHUCK TODD:

Good Sunday morning. We are at the Wells Fargo Center here in South Philadelphia, home of the NBA 76ers and the NHL Broad Street Bullies, the Flyers. Democrats have begun to arrive, along with a pretty bad heat wave. And beginning tomorrow, they will gather to officially nominate Hillary Clinton as their presidential candidate.

Yesterday in Miami, Clinton was joined by her new running mate, Senator Tim Kaine of Virginia, in an upbeat event that was notable simply by the contrast to the disorganized rollout of Donald Trump's running mate a week earlier, Mike Pence.

(BEGIN TAPE)

SEN. TIM KAINE:

Hillary Clinton, she doesn't insult people, she listens to them. What a novel concept, right? She doesn't trash our allies, she respects them. And she'll always have our backs, that is something I am rock solid sure of.

(END TAPE)

CHUCK TODD:

We will get to reaction to the new Democratic ticket later in the show, including my interview with Senator Bernie Sanders of Vermont in a moment. But first, we're going to talk also about Sanders, about those Wikileaks emails and what they may say about DNC favoritism towards Hillary Clinton. But we begin with the man who has now taken control of the Republican Party. It's nominee Donald Trump.

I traveled to Trump National Golf Club in Bedminster, New Jersey, sort of his weekend getaway, last night for a face-to-face interview since dropping the word "presumptive," it's his first one, from the nominee title. We touched on so much: Tim Kaine, Trump's tax returns, his proposed restrictions on Muslim immigration and why he says he alone can fix the country's problems. But I began by asking him how it feels to be the Republican nominee for president of the United States.

(BEGIN TAPE)

DONALD TRUMP:

Well, it really feels great. And we really have a very unified party, other than a very small group of people that, frankly, lost. And we have a very unified party. You saw that the other night with the love in the room, and the enthusiasm in the room. The enthusiasm, there are people that say they have never seen anything like what was going on in that room, especially Thursday night.

CHUCK TODD:

Let me tell you, you bring up Thursday night, I've got to ask you about your entrance. Before we get serious here. That Monday night entrance was something else. I know you've gotten a lot of feedback on it. How'd you come up with it?

DONALD TRUMP:

I think I'm a little bit lucky, and a couple of people had that idea and I went along with the idea. And everything just worked right. And it was so good that they wanted to do it on Thursday night. I said, "Never in a million years, because you'll never get it that way again."

CHUCK TODD:

I don't think I've seen that even on WWE.

DONALD TRUMP:

Yeah, I know. Well, Vince is a good friend of mine. He called me, he said, "That was a very, very good entrance." But I didn't want to do it a second time, because, you know, it never works out the second time.

CHUCK TODD:

All right, let's go into the speech. I want to put some meat on the bones. But first, let's talk about, you've seen some of the positive reviews, some of the negative reviews. Some of the negative has been that it was a little dark--

DONALD TRUMP:

That's the only thing that--



CHUCK TODD:

--that there wasn't enough optimism in it. What would you say? It's not Morning in America.

DONALD TRUMP:

Yeah.

CHUCK TODD:

What would you say to that?

DONALD TRUMP:

Well, I think the only negativity, and, you know, the hate, I call them the haters, and that's fine. But the only negative reviews were, "A little dark." And the following day, they had another attack, and then today you see what happened in Afghanistan with many, many people killed.

They have no idea how many, so many killed. Yesterday it was Munich. And you know, I know they're saying, "Maybe it wasn't terrorism. Maybe it was just a crazy guy." But in the meantime he's screaming, "Allahu Akbar," as he's shooting people, so, you know, we'll see how that turns out. And all of a sudden people are saying, "Maybe it wasn't dark at all." But the only thing that some people said, "It was a little dark. It was a little bit tough."

CHUCK TODD:

Do you think it was a little dark?

DONALD TRUMP:

No, oh, I thought it was very optimistic. To me, it was an optimistic speech, because--

CHUCK TODD:

What makes it optimistic in your view?

DONALD TRUMP:

Because we're going to stop the problems. We're going to stop the problems. In other words, sure, I talk about the problems, but we're going to solve the problems.

CHUCK TODD:

One of the phrases you used, "I alone can fix it." And to some people, that sounded almost too strong-mannish for them. Do you understand that criticism and what do you make of it?

DONALD TRUMP:

I'll tell you, part of it was I'm comparing myself to Hillary. And we know Hillary, and we look at her record. Her record has been a disaster. And I am running against Hillary. It's not like I'm running against the rest of the world. I know people that are very, very capable that could do a very good job, but they could never get elected.

I can tell you right now. I can give you ten names of people that would do an extraordinary job, but there's no way they could ever get elected. They wouldn't know where to begin. It wouldn't be for them. But for governing, they would be good. I'm running and, you know, against one person.

CHUCK TODD:

You said there would be consequences for any company that tried to move a factory out. What--

DONALD TRUMP:

Absolutely, so simple--

CHUCK TODD:

--what is the consequence? Let's start with, you bring up Carrier a lot.

DONALD TRUMP:

It's so simple--

(OVERTALK)

CHUCK TODD:

Right, I understand that. But explain the consequences--

DONALD TRUMP:

Okay, here's the consequence--

CHUCK TODD:

What would it be?

DONALD TRUMP:

So Carrier comes in, they announce they're moving to Mexico, they fire all their people in Indiana, and they say, "Hi, well, here we are in Mexico, you know, enjoy your plant, enjoy the rest of your life," and you hire people from Mexico, okay? Now they make their product and they put it into the United States.

Well, we will have a very strong border, by the way, but they put it into the United States and we don't charge them tax. There will be a tax to be paid. If they're going to fire all their people, move their plant to Mexico, build air conditioners, and think they're going to sell those air conditioners to the United States, there's going to be a tax.

CHUCK TODD:

What kind of tax are you thinking?

DONALD TRUMP:

It could be 25 percent. It could be 35 percent. It could be 15 percent. I haven't determined. And it could be different for different companies. We have been working on trying to stop this government, because we don't know what we're doing. And not only Obama, they've been trying to stop this from before Obama. But they don't know. You know, they've done, they've tried lower interest loans, they've tried zero interest loans, these guys--

CHUCK TODD:

Well, some of these things aren't going to get through the World Trade Organization. There's--

DONALD TRUMP:

It doesn't matter. Then we're going to renegotiate or we're going to pull out. These trade deals are a disaster, Chuck. World Trade Organization is a disaster.

CHUCK TODD:

You know the concern on some of this--

DONALD TRUMP:

NAFTA is a disaster--

CHUCK TODD:

-- is that it would rattle the world economy. Look what Brexit did to the world economy. Investors got rattled.

DONALD TRUMP:

What did it do? What did it do?

CHUCK TODD:

Now you--

DONALD TRUMP:

The stock market's higher now than it was when it happened. And by the way, I'm the only one of all of these people at the higher level of the wonderful world of politics, I'm the only one that said, "Brexit's going to happen." Remember, I was asked the question. I said, "Yeah, I think they're going to approve it. I think they want independence. I don't think they want people pouring into their country." And I was--

CHUCK TODD:

You're not worried about, you think a fractured Europe is good for America?

DONALD TRUMP:

No, no. But we're spending a lot of money on Europe. Don't forget, Europe got together, why, primarily did they get together? So that they could beat the United States when it comes to making money, in other words, foreign trade--

CHUCK TODD:

Economic--

DONALD TRUMP:

Okay? And now we talk about Europe like it's so wonderful. Hey, I love Europe, I have property in Europe. I'm just saying, the reason that it got together was like a consortium so that it could compete with the United States--

CHUCK TODD:

So what you're saying is all this stuff is good for America, even if it's not good for Europe?

DONALD TRUMP:

Look, you take a look at Airbus. They make more planes now than Boeing, okay? They got together, all of these countries got together so that they could beat the United States. Okay, so we're in competition. So you know, we're in competition in one way, we're helping them in another way. It is so messed up.

CHUCK TODD:

The Muslim ban. I think you've pulled back from it, but you tell me.

(BEGIN TAPE)

DONALD TRUMP:

We must immediately suspend immigration from any nation that has been compromised by terrorism until such time as proven vetting mechanisms have been put in place.

(END TAPE)

CHUCK TODD:

This feels like a slight rollback--

DONALD TRUMP:

I don't think that's--

CHUCK TODD:

Should it be interpreted--

DONALD TRUMP:

I don't think so. I actually don't think it's a rollback. In fact, you could say it's an expansion. I'm looking now at territories. People were so upset when I used the word Muslim. Oh, you can't use the word Muslim. Remember this. And I'm okay with that, because I'm talking territory instead of Muslim.

But just remember this: Our Constitution is great. But it doesn't necessarily give us the right to commit suicide, okay? Now, we have a religious, you know, everybody wants to be protected. And that's great. And that's the wonderful part of our Constitution. I view it differently.

Why are we committing suicide? Why are we doing that? But you know what? I live with our Constitution. I love our Constitution. I cherish our Constitution. We're making it territorial. We have nations and we'll come out, I'm going to be coming out over the next few weeks with a number of the places. And it's very complex--

CHUCK TODD:

Well I was just going to say--

DONALD TRUMP:

--we have problems in Germany and we have problems with France--

CHUCK TODD:

I was just going to ask that. Will this limit--

DONALD TRUMP:

You know, so it's not just the countries with--

CHUCK TODD:

--would this limit immigration from France?

DONALD TRUMP:

What we're going to have is a thing called--

CHUCK TODD:

They've been compromised by terrorism.

DONALD TRUMP:

They have totally been. And you know why? It's their own fault. Because they allowed people to come into their territory--

CHUCK TODD:

So you would toughen up. You're basically saying, "Hey, if the French want to come over here, you've got to go through an extra check."

DONALD TRUMP:

It's their own fault, because they've allowed people over years to come into their territory. And that's why Brexit happened, okay? Because the U.K. is saying, "We're tired of this stuff, what's going on, we're tired of." But listen to this--

CHUCK TODD:

You could get to the point where you're not allowing a lot of people to come into this country from a lot of places.

DONALD TRUMP:

Maybe we get to that point. Chuck, look what's happening. Look at what just took place in Afghanistan, where they blow up a whole shopping center with people, they have no idea how many people were even killed. Happened today. So we have to be smart and we have to be vigilant and we have to be strong. We can't be the stupid people--

CHUCK TODD:

So France, Germany, Spain--

DONALD TRUMP:

Here's my plan--

CHUCK TODD:

--places that have been compromised?

DONALD TRUMP:

--here is what I want: Extreme vetting. Tough word. Extreme vetting.

CHUCK TODD:

What does that look like?

DONALD TRUMP:

Tough. We're going to have tough standards. And if a person can't prove--

CHUCK TODD:

Give me one.

DONALD TRUMP:

--that they're from an area, and if a person can't prove what they have to be able to prove, they're not coming into this country. And I would stop the Syrian migration and the Syrian from coming into this country in two seconds. Hillary Clinton wants to take 550 percent more people coming in from that area than Barack Obama. I think she's crazy. I think she's crazy. We have no idea who these people are for the most part, and you know, because I've seen them on different shows--

CHUCK TODD:

All right.

DONALD TRUMP:

--but more importantly, I've read about it. I study it. There is no way that you can vet some of these people. There is no way. Law enforcement officials, I've had them in my office. I've talked to them.

CHUCK TODD:

You realize some of these folks have nowhere to go? They're truly victims of this civil war, what do you do with them?

DONALD TRUMP:

We will help them and we will build safe havens over in Syria, and we will get Gulf States--

CHUCK TODD:

We, the United States are going to build these safe havens?

DONALD TRUMP:

We, the United States, we'll get Gulf States to pay for it, because we right now, we're going to have \$21 trillion very soon, trillion, in debt. We will do safe havens and safe zones in Syria and we will get nations that are so wealthy that are not doing anything. They're not doing much. They have nothing but money. And you know who I'm talking about, the Gulf States. And we will get them to pay for it. We would lead it. I don't want to pay because our country is going down the tubes. We owe too much money.

CHUCK TODD:

All right. Let me move to something with NATO. Mitch McConnell said this about your NATO remarks in the New York Times. He said it was a rookie mistake, and that once you, let me finish the comment here. "It's a rookie mistake, and it proves that Trump needs people like us around to help steer him in the right direction on some basic things."

DONALD TRUMP:

He's 100 percent wrong. Okay? He's 100 percent wrong if he said that. I didn't hear he said that--

CHUCK TODD:

He did say it.

DONALD TRUMP:

Okay, fine, fine--

CHUCK TODD:

New York Times--

DONALD TRUMP:

If he said that, he's 100 percent wrong. And frankly it's sad. We have NATO, and we have many countries that aren't paying for what they're supposed to be paying, which is already too little, but they're not paying anyway. And we're giving them a free ride or giving them a ride where they owe us tremendous amounts of money. And they have the money. But they're not paying it. You know why? Because they think we're stupid--

CHUCK TODD:

So Estonia is paying, and if they get invaded by Russia, you're there?

DONALD TRUMP:

I feel differently. I feel very differently--

CHUCK TODD:

But if a country's not doing -- Britain hasn't done the two percent.

DONALD TRUMP:

We have countries that aren't paying. Now, this goes beyond NATO, because we take care of-- we take care of Japan, we take care of Germany, we take care of South Korea, we take care of Saudi Arabia, and we lose on everything. We lose on everything. If Mitch McConnell says that, then he's wrong.

So all I'm saying is they have to pay. Now, a country gets invaded, they haven't paid, everyone says, "Oh, but we have a treaty." Well, they have a treaty too. They're supposed to be paying. We have countries within NATO that are taking advantage of us. With me, I believe they're going to pay. And when they pay, I'm a big believer in NATO.

But if they don't pay, we don't have, you know, Chuck, this isn't 40 years ago. This isn't 50 years ago. It's not 30 years ago. We're a different country today. We're much weaker, our military is depleted, we owe tremendous amounts of money. We have to be reimbursed. We can no longer be the stupid country.

(END TAPE)

CHUCK TODD:

When we come back, what Donald Trump says about David Duke, Bernie Sanders, and whether he really plans to spend millions for the sole purpose of defeating Ted Cruz and John Kasich. Sanders about Trump and about his reaction to Tim Kaine becoming Hillary Clinton's running mate. We're in Philadelphia, site of the Democratic National Convention. Stay with us.

\*\*\*COMMERCIAL BREAK\*\*\*

CHUCK TODD:

Such a beautiful city here. Welcome back. More now of my interview with Donald Trump at The Trump National Golf Club in Bedminster, New Jersey. And since we had a limited amount of time, I ended up speeding things up by asking Trump for some quick reaction to simply some very prominent names in the news.

(BEGIN TAPE)

CHUCK TODD:

I'm just going to literally throw out a name and you'll know the question I'm asking. Bernie Sanders.

DONALD TRUMP:

Great respect for what he's done. He is being taken advantage of, and frankly, the system was rigged, and I'm the first one to say it was rigged against him. And by the way--

CHUCK TODD:

You took after him. You took after him. You said for supporting Hillary Clinton, you think he needs to--

DONALD TRUMP:

Well, I'm not a fan of Bernie Sanders. But I am a fan of one thing that he talks about: Trade. He is the only one on that side that understands trade. Now, he can't do anything about it because that's not his thing. But he has been gamed. He has been, it's a rigged system against him. And what happened with the choice of Tim Kaine was a slap in the face to Bernie Sanders and everybody. I was shocked. I love it from my standpoint, I love--

CHUCK TODD:

Why do you love the Kaine pick?

DONALD TRUMP:

Well, first of all, he took over \$160,000 of gifts. And they said, "Well, they weren't really gifts, they were suits and trips and lots of different things," all for 160--

CHUCK TODD:

Legal, legal in the state of Virginia.

DONALD TRUMP:

Bob McDonnell-- I believe it was Bob McDonnell, in the meantime, he had to go to the United States Supreme Court to get out of going to jail--

CHUCK TODD:

Well, they proved to quid pro quo--

DONALD TRUMP:

--for taking a fraction of what--

CHUCK TODD:

They proved quid pro quo on that one.

DONALD TRUMP:

Excuse me, Bob McDonnell took a fraction of what Kaine took. And I think, to me, it's a big problem. Now, how do you take all these gifts? Hundreds of thousands of dollars. The other thing about him, he's bought and owned by the banks. And the third thing, he's in favor of TPP and every other trade deal that he's ever looked at. And that means he wants people not to work.

Now, he's going to change his tune. And I understand he's now going to say, "I'm against TPP." Hillary Clinton was totally in favor of TPP, which is the job killer, right? So was he. When she watched me on your show and other shows, all of a sudden she changed, because she knows she can't win that in a debate.

CHUCK TODD:

All right. Ted Cruz, I'm going to amend it, are you really going to fund a super PAC to help defeat him--

DONALD TRUMP:

Well, it's not the number one thing on my mind. Look, what's on my mind is beating Hillary Clinton. What's on my mind is winning for the Republican Party. With that being said, yeah, I'll probably do a super PAC, you know, when they run against Kasich, for \$10 million to \$20 million, against Ted Cruz. And maybe one other person that I'm thinking about--

CHUCK TODD:

Who's that other one person?

DONALD TRUMP:

--but I won't tell you that. I mean, he's actually such a small person, I hate to give him the publicity. But yes, I will probably do that at the appropriate at time. But I'm not going to do that until--

CHUCK TODD:

Oh, give me the small person here.

DONALD TRUMP:

No, no, don't worry about it. We'll give it to you another time.

CHUCK TODD:

All right, let me ask you about this one. David Duke announced his Senate candidacy claiming your agenda for his own, or essentially saying, "Glad that you spoke out."



DONALD TRUMP:

Are you ready, before you ask the question?

CHUCK TODD:

Newt Gingrich said, "Every Republican should repudiate this guy no matter what it takes"--

DONALD TRUMP:

I did. And I do. Are you ready? I want--

CHUCK TODD:

Would you support a Democrat over David Duke if that was what was necessary to defeat him?

DONALD TRUMP:

I guess, depending on who the Democrat, but the answer would be yes. Look, the answer is, as quick as you can say it. In fact, I went to answer you before you--

DONALD TRUMP:

Because last time with another person in your position, I did it very quickly. And they said, "He didn't do it fast enough." Rebuked. Is that okay? Rebuked, done--

CHUCK TODD:

Rebuked, done. Okay. Tax returns. A lot of conspiracy theories are being out there about why-- what's in your tax returns. You would get rid of all these conspiracy theories tomorrow--

DONALD TRUMP:

Let me tell you--

CHUCK TODD:

Probably make people look silly--

DONALD TRUMP:

Let me tell you. Let me give you a little lesson on tax returns. First of all, you don't learn very much from a tax return. I put in to the federal elections group 100 and some-odd pages of my financials. It showed, as you know, that I'm much wealthier than anybody even understood, okay? Tremendous cash, tremendous assets, tremendous all that stuff. Okay, that's it. I'm going through a routine audit. Just a routine audit, and I've had it for I think 14 years, 13 years--

CHUCK TODD:

Why?

DONALD TRUMP:

Every year they audit me. It's routine government. I would never give my tax returns until the audit's finished. But remember this: Mitt Romney, four years ago, was under tremendous pressure to give his tax returns. And he held it and held it and held it, and he fought it, and he, you know, he didn't do too well, okay? But he didn't do anything wrong on his taxes. When he gave his tax returns, people forget, not now. He gave them in September, before the election--

CHUCK TODD:

So you still might release them--

DONALD TRUMP:

No, wait a minute, wait a minute. When he did, and his tax returns are a tiny peanut compared to mine, they went through his tax returns. And they found one little sentence, another little-- there was nothing wrong. And they made him look bad. In fact I think he lost his election because of that.

CHUCK TODD:

Because of the tax returns?

DONALD TRUMP:

I think he lost. And I'll tell you why: He didn't do anything wrong. Mitt Romney did nothing wrong. But they would take out of, his weren't too big. Have you ever seen mine with the picture, they're like this high?

CHUCK TODD:

I have seen that picture, yes.

DONALD TRUMP:

Okay, so they took his tax return and they found a couple of little things. Nothing wrong, just standard. And they made him look very bad, very unfair. But with all that said, I'd love to give them, but I'm under audit. When the audit's finished I'll give them.

CHUCK TODD:

Finally, Roger Ailes. Is he helping you? Is he advising you?

DONALD TRUMP:

Well, I don't want to comment. But he's been a friend of mine for a long time, and I can tell you that some of the women that are complaining, I know how much he's helped them. And even recently, and when they write books that are fairly recently released, and they say wonderful things about him.

And now all of a sudden they're saying these horrible things about him. It's very sad. Because he's a very good person. I've always found him to be just a very, very good person. And by the way, a very, very talented person. Look what he's done. So I feel very badly. But a lot of people are thinking he's going to run my campaign.

CHUCK TODD:

Yeah, well--

DONALD TRUMP:

My campaign's doing pretty well.

CHUCK TODD:

Mr. Trump, until we meet again.

DONALD TRUMP:

Thank you very much--

CHUCK TODD:

Thank you for your time, sir, appreciate it.

(END TAPE)

CHUCK TODD:

Up next, the man who had hoped to be the candidate being nominated by Democrats right here in Philadelphia this week, Senator Bernie Sanders of Vermont. What does he think of those leaked DNC e-mails? We'll get his first comments since it happened. We're going to be right back in just a minute.

\*\*\*COMMERCIAL BREAK\*\*\*

(BEGIN TAPE)

CHUCK TODD:

Tremendous shots there of a beautiful city. Welcome back. It's not the kind of thing you want happening days before your convention. This weekend, Wikileaks released nearly 20,000 emails sent and received by members of the Democratic National Committee, some of which seem to confirm what a lot of people had suspected, that the DNC was playing favorites with Hillary Clinton over Bernie Sanders.

It appears Wikileaks either stole these emails or got them from a source. Remember, the DNC was hacked a few months ago. Among the emails was one from the DNC's Chief Financial Officer Brad Marshall that was looking ahead to the contests in Kentucky and West Virginia in early May. While not mentioning Sanders specifically by name, the email appeared to question Sanders' faith.

He wrote this, quote: "Does he believe in a god? I think I read he is an atheist. This could make several points difference with my peeps. My Southern Baptist peeps would draw a big difference between a Jew and an atheist." Well, Sanders has long believed that DNC Chair Debbie Wasserman Schultz was in Clinton's corner the whole campaign. Well, he joins me now. Senator Sanders, welcome back to Meet the Press.

And I should note that you talked about your belief in God last fall in an interview, I think, with your hometown paper there, so want to get that out of the way. So let me start with this question questioning your faith. Brad Marshall apologized on Facebook. Has anyone apologized to you personally? And what is your response to this entire discussion?

BERNIE SANDERS:

Well, no, nobody has apologized to me. And as you just mentioned, this really does not come as a shock to me or my supporters. There is no question but the DNC was on Secretary Clinton's side from day one. We all know that. And I think, as I have said a long time ago, that the time is now for Debbie Wasserman Schultz to step aside, not only for these issues.

We need a Democratic Party that is open, that's going to bring young people and working people into it, that is going to stand up and take on the big money interests and fight for working families. I don't think Debbie has been that type of leader. So I would hope, and I said this many months ago, that she would--

CHUCK TODD:

Right.

BERNIE SANDERS:

--step aside, we would have new leadership.

CHUCK TODD:

And do you think it needs to happen now, today, before the start of the convention?

BERNIE SANDERS:

Well--

CHUCK TODD:

Would that help calm some of your supporters down?

BERNIE SANDERS:

Well, I think what is already happening is that it's clear she is not going to be speaking to the convention. That is the right thing. I think right now what we have got to focus on as Democrats is defeating perhaps the worst Republican candidate that I have seen in my lifetime. Donald Trump would be a disaster for this country. He must be defeated.

We've got to elect Secretary Clinton on every single issue: fighting for the middle class on health care, on climate change, is a far, far superior candidate to Trump. That's where I think the focus has got to be.

CHUCK TODD:

Do you believe that the DNC's apparent favoritism cost you this race?

BERNIE SANDERS:

Well, I think you-- there are a lot of reasons why one loses. We started off 50 points behind Secretary Clinton. We had the opposition of virtually the entire Democratic leadership in every state in this country. And by the way, in terms of media, we did not get the kind of media attention that somebody like a Donald Trump got, because media is not necessarily interested in the issues facing the middle class, more interested in attacks in personality. So I think there were a lot of reasons.

But I will tell you this, Chuck, from the bottom of my heart, I am extraordinarily proud of the campaign that we ran. The issues that we raised, the fact that we got 13 million Americans to vote for a political revolution. People who know the economy is rigged in favor of big money, people who know that our middle class continues to decline and we have to go outside of establishment politics and economics, people who know that we need to reform a broken criminal justice system and we need comprehensive immigration reform.

The people-- what we did in our campaign is bring people together to say, "You know what? This country, our government, belongs to all of us and not just a few." So I am very proud of the campaign we ran and the supporters that came on board.

CHUCK TODD:

So just to sum up here, these leaks, these emails, it hasn't given you any pause about your support for Hillary Clinton?

BERNIE SANDERS:

No, no, no. We are going to do everything that we can to protect working families in this country. And again, Chuck, I know media is not necessarily focused on these things. But what a campaign is about is not Hillary Clinton, it's not Donald Trump. It is the people of this country, people who are working longer hours for lower wages, people who do not have health care or are underinsured.

Hillary Clinton and I have worked together on a higher education proposal which will guarantee free tuition in public colleges and universities for every family in this country making \$125,000 a year or less. We're going to fight for paid family and medical leave. Those are the issues that the American people want to hear discussed, and I'm going to go around the country discussing them and making sure that Hillary Clinton is elected president.

CHUCK TODD:

You know, The Green Party presumptive nominee, Jill Stein, put out a release yesterday about the emails. And she said this: "Democratic Party elites have been caught red-handed, sabotaging a grassroots campaign that tried to bring huge numbers of young people, independents and non-voters into their party. Instead, they have shown exactly why America needs a new major party, a truly democratic party for the people." Are you going to urge your supporters not to support Jill Stein and try to thwart her efforts to recruit your supporters?

BERNIE SANDERS:

Well, you know, let me just say this. As the longest serving Independent in the history of the United States Congress, as somebody who came into office by defeating an incumbent Democratic mayor in Burlington, Vermont, I know something about third party politics. And I respect Jill.

But right now, the focus, to my mind, is to make sure that Donald Trump does not become president of the United States. I think by temperament he is unqualified to be president. I think his views-- you have a guy who's running for president who rejects science, doesn't even believe climate change is real, let alone wants to do something about it, wants to give hundreds of billions of dollars in tax breaks to the top two-tenths of one percent.

CHUCK TODD:

Let me ask you--

BERNIE SANDERS:

So my job right now is to see that Donald Trump is defeated, Hillary Clinton is elected.

CHUCK TODD:

You know, he makes a big deal out of the fact that you and he agree on one big issue, and that is trade deals, that these trade deals have been bad for the country. And he basically says that Clinton and Kaine, as a ticket, aren't-- that their opposition, for instance, the TPP as sort of Johnny-come-lately, that it can't be trusted, and that Sanders supporters should support Trump if they care about trade. What do you say to that?

BERNIE SANDERS:

Well, I think in terms of who can be trusted, I think the evidence is clear that there has been no candidate that I have ever seen who lies more often than does Donald Trump. I mean and that's just not me saying it, that's what any independent media analysis has shown. So in terms of trust, you really can't trust a word, I think, that Mr. Trump has to say.

In terms of the TPP, it is no secret. I think our trade policies, for many, many years, have been a disaster. They have benefited corporate America at the expense of working people. Secretary Clinton has come out in opposition to the TPP, does not want to see it-

CHUCK TODD:

Right.

BERNIE SANDERS:

--appear in the lame duck Congress. That's my view, as well.

CHUCK TODD:

You know, some of your supporters are disappointed in the pick of Tim Kaine, that he's not progressive enough. I know Tim Kaine called you after he was picked. Do you consider Tim Kaine a progressive? And are you happy with this pick?

BERNIE SANDERS:

Look, you know, the pick is Secretary Clinton's. I've known Tim Kaine for a number of years. We've served in the Senate together, obviously. Tim is a very, very smart guy. He's a very nice guy. His political views are not my political views. He is more conservative than I am. Would I have preferred to see somebody like an Elizabeth Warren selected by Secretary Clinton? Yes, I would have.

CHUCK TODD:

And then finally, do you feel as if, that you, when you got Glass-Steagall, I wanted to ask about this, because it looks like the one thing that both parties may agree on in their platforms is putting-- is being in favor of reinstating Glass-Steagall. Does this mean we will see that happen in the next Congress?

BERNIE SANDERS:

Well, I'm going to do everything that I can to make it happen. You know, when we talk about our campaign, one of the things that we have been able to do, Chuck, is create the most progressive Democratic platform in the history of the Democratic Party, and that includes breaking up the large Wall Street banks and reestablishing Glass-Steagall.

I think the American people understand that we cannot continue to have a handful of reckless, irresponsible banks often acting illegally, that something has to happen. They have to be broken up.

CHUCK TODD:

All right, Senator Bernie Sanders. The big speech is tomorrow night. We'll be waiting for you here in a very, very hot Philadelphia, over 100 degrees.

BERNIE SANDERS:

Okay.

CHUCK TODD:

Senator Sanders, thanks for coming on. Good to see you, sir.

BERNIE SANDERS:

Thank you very much.

CHUCK TODD:

When we come back, reaction to Hillary Clinton's choice of Tim Kaine as a running mate, who showed why he might have appeal, unique appeal, to a very important voting bloc.

(BEGIN TAPE)

SEN. TIM KAINE:

Aprendilo valores de mi pueblo--faith, familia, y trabajo.

(END TAPE)

CHUCK TODD

And we'll be back in a moment from Philadelphia with this great panel. Rachel Maddow, Michael Steele, Andrea Mitchell, and Chris Matthews. Stay tuned.

(END TAPE)

CHUCK TODD:

And we'll be back in a moment from Philadelphia with this great panel, Rachel Maddow, Michael Steele, Andrea Mitchell, and Chris Matthews. Stay tuned.

\*\*\*COMMERCIAL TAPE\*\*\*

CHUCK TODD:

We are back. So much to talk about already. Our panel is here, Rachel Maddow, host of The Rachel Maddow Show on MSNBC, former chairman of the Republican National Committee, Michael Steele, he's sort of the fish out of water here in Philadelphia. Andrea Mitchell, NBC News, Chief Foreign Affairs Correspondent, host, of course, of Andrea Mitchell Reports on MSNBC. And a Philadelphia native himself, Mr. Brotherly Love Chris Matthews, host of Hardball--

RACHEL MADDOW:

Mr. Brotherly Love?

CHRIS MATTHEWS:

And sisterly affection.

CHUCK TODD:

--Sisterly affection here for the Penn grad.

CHUCK TODD:

And-- this morning by the way we have new pictures of Tim Kaine walking into church this morning in Richmond, Virginia. He now realizes, and now his parish is realizing, what it's like to have Secret Service following around a member of the parish there. All right.

RACHEL MADDOW:

Know what his Secret Service name is going to be yet?

CHUCK TODD:

What do we think the code name should be?

ANDREA MITCHELL:

But we're not sure--

RACHEL MADDOW:

Well, the big joke was that if you're boring enough, your Secret Service name is Tim Kaine.

CHUCK TODD:

Ooh.

RACHEL MADDOW:

Right? That--

CHUCK TODD:

Those are old Johnny Carson and Jay Leno, Al Gore jokes--

CHUCK TODD:

All right, you guys are having already too much fun.

RACHEL MADDOW:

Sorry, sorry.

CHUCK TODD:

Let me just throw it out here. We heard what Bernie Sanders said about Tim Kaine. It was, that was tougher than I expected.

RACHEL MADDOW:

"His politics are not my politics."

ANDREA MITCHELL:

That's really --

RACHEL MADDOW:

"He does not share my political views." That's an aggressive take from Bernie. I'm not surprised. Bernie's an aggressive politician. And I think when Senator Sanders speaks at the DNC, I think everybody's going to be on the edge of their seat. I think that he is not going to pull a Ted Cruz because he's already made an endorsement.

CHUCK TODD:

Well, he said, "I'm for Hillary," and he was tough on Trump.

RACHEL MADDOW:

Yeah. And but he doesn't relish going after Trump. He likes going after the Democratic Party to try to move the Democratic Party. That's his target, always has been.

MICHAEL STEELE:

It's still obvious, he's not 'Feeling the Bern' for Hillary. And that was very obvious. And when you asked about the trust question, he didn't say he trusted Hillary Clinton. He said he didn't trust Donald Trump. So the reality of it is there's still some tension there that Bernie is reflecting among his supporters. And it was evident there. I mean--

RACHEL MADDOW:

He's got a mission that's bigger than one election. He always has.

MICHAEL STEELE:

That's true.

ANDREA MITCHELL:

And in fact, he could quiet the march that is planned to go from the center of Center City, and Rittenhouse Square all the way down at Independence Hall. This march is going to disrupt the city today, no matter how peaceful, because this is a city, in 100-degree heat, that is planning for a convention. And it's going to be a very large outpouring. He also said--

CHUCK TODD:

And by the way, the hotter it is, the crankier people will be.

ANDREA MITCHELL:

Yeah. And he also says that Tim Kaine doesn't share his politics, not only that, but that he would have preferred Elizabeth Warren. He made it very clear; Tim Kaine is a nice guy, but he's not endorsing or embracing someone who Hillary Clinton --

CHUCK TODD:

There's a painful look in your face, Chris.

ANDREA MITCHELL:

--called Tim Kaine a progressive.

CHRIS MATTHEWS:

He didn't get to pick. Hillary Clinton did. And I've watched Hillary Clinton. I've watched a lot of politicians over the years. You can tell when they're actually happy, not when they fake the laugh or anything else. She looked delighted during his speech yesterday. And I haven't seen her that delighted in a long time. She had found her guy to be her running mate. I think she loved it.

And I think one thing we're getting all excited about, I understand why the progressives are upset. But one thing historically we all know is the selection of a vice president is a poor predictor of the direction of that administration.

RACHEL MADDOW:

Yeah.

CHRIS MATTHEWS:



FDR picked John Nance Garner--

RACHEL MADDOW:

It's not a policy pick.

CHRIS MATTHEWS:

Kennedy picked another conservative from the south, Lyndon Johnson, relatively conservative. And then we got the New Deal out of that and we got the Great Society we got the New Frontier. It's a poor predictor. Now, if this is about spoils, they've got an argument. They wanted a piece of the action. But there's differences between spoils and direction.

CHUCK TODD:

I want to throw out the one thing that Trump's trying to hit Kaine on, well, two things. But the one big one is the gifts in Virginia.

RACHEL MADDOW:

Yeah.

CHUCK TODD:

I only throw it out there is that I heard Ed Rendell ask to defend it. And he struggled, Andrea. He said, "Well, it's illegal in Pennsylvania."

ANDREA MITCHELL:

Virginia--

CHUCK TODD:

Okay. And it's legal in Virginia. That wasn't exactly a resounding defense.

ANDREA MITCHELL:

Yeah. Virginia has a very strange, let's face it, strange gift law. The difference with Bob McDonnell, who was convicted, and then the Supreme Court overturned it, is there was no quid pro quo. He declared it. That was the main thing. He declared everything, put it down, in fact, computed higher numbers to staying in friends' houses. He put everything down. He was meticulous about it.

So they don't think there's a big ethics thing. Just on his progressivity or lack of it, he has this civil rights background. I mean I was in the room. And what you saw on T.V. yesterday in Miami, in that largely Hispanic campus, that wonderful campus in Miami, it was extraordinary. The enthusiasm for him and the affection. And having watched her all of these years, you're absolutely right, Chris--

CHUCK TODD:

You know--

ANDREA MITCHELL:

--she found her guy. She was a happy camper.

RACHEL MADDOW:

He's not a progressive, but they will tell a very progressive story about his history. The party has moved to the left while he sort of always been a solid liberal.

CHUCK TODD:

Both of them are trying to--

ANDREA MITCHELL:

Yeah.

CHUCK TODD:

I feel like both Clinton and Kaine are trying to catch up to the party's movement.

CHRIS MATTHEWS:

That's so true.

ANDREA MITCHELL:

Well, on guns he was always there. He was heroic in Virginia on gun laws.

CHUCK TODD:

That they're moving-- and Michael, let me ask you this. The Trump camping says, "We love the Kaine pick." And here's their reasoning. They love the Kaine pick because it reinforces that they're the political professionals, that here's Tim Kaine, and all he's done in life, is been in office for the last 25 years.

MICHAEL STEELE:

Right.

CHUCK TODD:

And the whole point of Trump is Trump's Mr. "I'm the total outsider." If they want to double down on that, fine, go ahead. What do you say?

RACHEL MADDOW:

Except Mike Pence

MICHAEL STEELE:

Right, right, right.

CHUCK TODD:

They pay no attention to that. I brought that brought to them. I said, "What about Pence?" And they're like, "Well, it's the top of the ticket."

MICHAEL STEELE:

"Ignore that man behind the curtain."

CHUCK TODD:

What do you say to that? Did they have a point or not?

MICHAEL STEELE:

Well, they'll have a-- I think the broader point, is an interesting one. Because what he's comparing himself-- he's comparing himself, Trump, to Kaine--

CHUCK TODD:

Right.

MICHAEL STEELE:

--and Clinton. So it's me and against them.

CHUCK TODD:

Yeah.

MICHAEL STEELE:

Pence is not a part of that equation, necessarily.

RACHEL MADDOW:

Yeah.

MICHAEL STEELE:

So when he's talking about the maverick, the outsider, he's-- he's assuming his ticket is total that.

ANDREA MITCHELL:

Well, Pence wasn't even a part of his own rollout.

MICHAEL STEELE:

Right.

ANDREA MITCHELL:

If you remember. And that was--

RACHEL MADDOW:

He couldn't get a word in edgewise.

ANDREA MITCHELL:

Hillary Clinton spoke about Tim Kaine--

MICHAEL STEELE:

I think their strength, Chuck, is gonna be on the argument-- this notion that Tim Kaine is progressive is just not believable. And for a whole host of reasons. I think that's an opening for a lot of folks on Trump's side.

RACHEL MADDOW:

You can, there are element of his record that are not progressive, but on balance, I would argue that he is.

ANDREA MITCHELL:

I would argue that too.

CHRIS MATTHEWS:

But one thing, the guy's two doors from you, if you're president. Look at the structure of the West Wing now. It's not some guy that goes back to Maine like Lincoln's first vice president. He or she is right with you.

MICHAEL STEELE:

Right.

CHRIS MATTHEWS:

You want a good person two doors for you, somebody who has values. And it's not just smart politics. I think what Hillary Clinton's going to love having is a guy who's a true blue good guy. And I think he is a progressive on all the moral issues--

CHUCK TODD:

Let's sneak in a break here. When we come back, I want to get into the DNC e-mail situation. And I also want to get your guys' reaction to some interesting comments from Donald Trump. Yeah, you know that guy that was at the start of the show. We'll be right back.

\*\*\*COMMERCIAL BREAK\*\*\*

CHUCK TODD:

Welcome back, panelists here. Before we jump to Trump, the DNC email leaks, Cleveland, we expected rowdiness, Never Trumpsters, and all that stuff. We expect order here. But I wonder, Rachel, if-- look, I'm hearing from the Bernie bros. I'm in one of the emails just-- I'm the complaint department here sometimes at NBC. Somebody was complaining about coverage. And I said, "Okay, let's talk on the phone," or whatever. But we didn't do anything about it, because I get complaints about coverage every hour, every day.

RACHEL MADDOW:

Yeah.

CHUCK TODD:

But I think Bernie supporters may like this place, at least outside. They may be upset, and they may do something about it.

RACHEL MADDOW:

Yeah. I mean and, you know, there will be that big protest that Andrea was talking about today, to start things off. And there will be a lot, there will be hundreds of Bernie delegates inside the room. Now honestly, from the top, down, he said, "We've got to elect Hillary Clinton." He's been unequivocal about that, that's the most important thing.

It'll be interesting to see whether the rules fights and the platform fights end up, in the end, when there's need to get nailed down with those votes, there is some dissent and chaos there. There might be.

CHRIS MATTHEWS:

One thing is--

CHUCK TODD:

Do you think Debbie Wasserman Schultz needs to get out now?

CHRIS MATTHEWS:

Well, look--

CHUCK TODD:

Not even gavel it in?

CHRIS MATTHEWS:

This is not a mystery story. This isn't Colombo.

CHUCK TODD:

Yeah.

CHRIS MATTHEWS:

We knew from the beginning, watching the debate schedule, put together by the DNC--

CHUCK TODD:

Sure.

CHRIS MATTHEWS:

--that they were tilting the scales to Hillary Clinton. Middle of the night debates, Sunday morning -- it was an absurd debate schedule. And it just said, "We're for Hillary, we don't want the new guy to get all the attention."

ANDREA MITCHELL:

And what Bernie said to you is that she's not going to be giving a speech. When does the party chair not give a speech at the convention? And apparently that is the case.

CHUCK TODD:

And then right now, though, they will gavel in.

RACHEL MADDOW:

Thank god we haven't-- her quitting right now before -- I mean, the DNC's gonna be running a big part of the ground game for the whole--

CHRIS MATTHEWS:

Yeah.

RACHEL MADDOW:

You know, you don't--

CHUCK TODD:

But I tell you, this--

RACHEL MADDOW:

It would be suicide for the chair to jump out now--

CHUCK TODD:

This doesn't help her own fight for reelection, which I still think she's going to be okay.

RACHEL MADDOW:

No, but--

CHUCK TODD:

It's a district that she knows very well. But--

ANDREA MITCHELL:

But Bernie endorsed her opponent.

RACHEL MADDOW:

But her reelection fight is in her district.

CHRIS MATTHEWS:

Right.

RACHEL MADDOW:

It's not to be the chair of the DNC, that's next year.

CHUCK TODD:

All right. Michael Steele, what'd you hear from Donald Trump? Did it make you feel better or worse about his chances?

MICHAEL STEELE:

Well, I think Donald Trump did a couple of things he needed to do. One was, and you could see it in the room that night, people began to say, "Okay, I can get there." The speech that he gave, when you read it, seemed a lot darker and harsher than when he delivered it. He delivered it in a way--

RACHEL MADDOW:

I thought the opposite.

MICHAEL STEELE:

Yeah, yeah.

RACHEL MADDOW:

When reading it, I wasn't freaked out.

MICHAEL STEELE:

Yeah.

RACHEL MADDOW:

And then, when I saw him give it, I pulled the covers up.

MICHAEL STEELE:

No, for me, it was the reverse. Because the reaction. I'm sitting in the room and I'm getting the reaction from the crowd.

RACHEL MADDOW:

Mmm.

MICHAEL STEELE:

And the reaction from the crowd was, "This guy is going to be a fighter." And I think that's a strong message for him coming out of this convention.

CHRIS MATTHEWS:

Rachel, you have never pulled the covers up.

RACHEL MADDOW: Oh no, I meant proverbially

CHUCK TODD: There's a lot of personal information here. Woah, it's Sunday morning, guys.

MICHAEL STEELE:

I thought he did what he needed to do, Chuck. I do.

RACHEL MADDOW:

Standing under those 15-foot-tall letters with Trump, and then his head comes up there. And then he spent 76 minutes screaming, red faced, about terrorism and death and destruction and "I'm the only one who can fix it"--

CHRIS MATTHEWS:

I think that was technical. I don't think he knew how to read a script like that. I don't think he had the ability to-- his daughter knew how to do it. It's tough to read a script in a conversational manner. So you end up doing this sort of scream thing.

RACHEL MADDOW:

But it takes an ego to turn a 30 minute script into a 78 minute rant.

ANDREA MITCHELL:

But he said that he was the person who would fix everything. And they're focusing on that. But, you know, Kaine was focusing on that. You know, it is the "we" not the I. They're comparing him to a dictator.

MICHAEL STEELE:

But the--

ANDREA MITCHELL:

It is the language and the delivery, Michael--

MICHAEL STEELE:

Don't lose sight of the fact that a lot of Americans out there are saying it is the "we" who screwed us up to this point.

CHRIS MATTHEWS:

Yeah.

MICHAEL STEELE:

It is the we who've gotten us into this mess.

ANDREA MITCHELL:

It's a different way of defining democracy, Michael.

MICHAEL STEELE:

So they're looking for the I, someone who's going to step forward as a leader, to get us through this mess. This is the bifurcation of the of the population, the voting population right now. And it's going to be interesting to see which one of these arguments win--

RACHEL MADDOW:

Is this about the hunger for a strong man, is that what you're talking about?

MICHAEL STEELE: Yeah no, there really is Rachel.

RACHEL MADDOW: We've seen this around the world, it's not supposed to be us.

CHRIS MATTHEWS:

I've heard Bernie make your point.

MICHAEL STEELE:

Yes!

CHRIS MATTHEWS:

It's that we have to reach outside the establishment to get the solution to these really bad economic problems affecting the working

people of this country.

MICHAEL STEELE:

Right.

CHRIS MATTHEWS:

Same message. Different sides.

MICHAEL STEELE: Same message.

RACHEL MADDOW:

Same message. The question is whether or not one man is supposed to deliver salvation for the country. We're not supposed to be that kind of country.

CHUCK TODD:

I want to throw one more. He seemed, at least in the interview with me, he goes after Mitch McConnell, goes after Ted Cruz, goes after John Kasich.

ANDREA MITCHELL:

He is fearless in that regard.

CHUCK TODD: He really is.

ANDREA MITCHELL:

He is not going to moderate himself.

RACHEL MADDOW:

You didn't even ask about Kasich. And he's bringing it up

CHUCK TODD:

No, exactly. He brought Kasich up himself.

ANDREA MITCHELL:

And another player to be named player, who, you know, remain -- could be one of the senators like Jeff Flake. Look, the fact is that he is not playing by anybody's ground rules except Donald Trump's. What he said about N.A.T.O. was extraordinary because he doubled down on that. And the whole system of collect your security in Europe, if you're in Poland today, you are not reassured--

CHUCK TODD:

What's amazing is the Trump campaign tried to walk it back all last week on the N.A.T.O. stuff. And he's basically saying, "Don't walk it back."

RACHEL MADDOW:

Even beyond N.A.T.O. to talk about Europe as a threat to America is what's good for Europe is bad for America and we have an interest in Europe being weak and divided, they only got together to screw us? Like, hold on a second.

CHRIS MATTHEWS:

Yeah, it'll play in Scranton. It'll play up there in the Eerie, Pennsylvania it'll play.

RACHEL MADDOW:



The European Union-- came out of the way to try to not have World War III.

CHRIS MATTHEWS:

Because people think we're being shoved around and exploited and he's saying, "I'm going to shove back."

ANDREA MITCHELL:

They are our markets-- markets, allies--

CHUCK TODD:

You guys great. I'm going to try to get another half hour. But let me sneak in this. We'll be back in a moment with our-- we'll call it halftime segment. No, it's Endgame Segment. And we'll look at Hillary Clinton's popularity compared to other Democratic nominees on the eve of their conventions.

\*\*\*COMMERCIAL BREAK\*\*\*

CHUCK TODD:

The panel never stops interacting here. Seriously we just went to a commercial break--

RACHEL MADDOW:

--wants more with France!

CHUCK TODD:

It's endgame time. Look, I want to show you here very quickly some numbers, because it will help us judge whether this is a successful convention for Hillary Clinton. These are favorable ratings, personal favorable ratings, whether you're right side up or upside down, from our NBC Wall Street Journal poll, for every Democrat going back to '92. And as you can see, Hillary Clinton in the worst shape of any presumptive nominee going into their convention.

Now, let me show you what everybody else came through after their convention. So successful convention for Bill Clinton, successful one for Al Gore. Flat for John Kerry, successful, Barack Obama. Obviously, we'll find out, for Hillary Clinton, what does she need to--

ANDREA MITCHELL:

Well, what they are going to do is they're going to have gauzy films, the same kind of films you saw in 1992, the same producers--

CHUCK TODD:

And JFK?

ANDREA MITCHELL:

They're going to have all of these films, biography, résumé. They know that her résumé is not resonating with millennials. People know what she did, they don't know-- they know the list of what she was. They don't know what she actually did, what she accomplished.

CHRIS MATTHEWS:

Yeah.

ANDREA MITCHELL:

They're going to do all of that. The balance is going to be very different.

RACHEL MADDOW:

--because T.V. networks don't always take the movies anymore--

ANDREA MITCHELL:

Well, they're going to have to validators.

RACHEL MADDOW:

Yeah.

ANDREA MITCHELL:

They're going to have people on that podium behind it who are going to talk about things she has done for them. And it's going to be very much all about her and much less about taking down Trump

CHRIS MATTHEWS:

I think the magic moment in this convention's going to be Thursday night. And a lot of women, and a lot of men, too, are going to see Hillary Clinton as the first party nominee, who's probably going to be like the president. She has the advantage right now. And there are going to be misty eyes all across the country.

And any men at that moment who make a wisecrack are going to be guaranteeing another vote for Hillary Clinton. I think it's a very emotional moment for people. They've haven't quite got to it because of all is mishegas that's gone on this year. I think it's going to be magical. And if Hillary Clinton just stands there with a little emotion, this is an amazing historic moment.

CHUCK TODD:

Michael was the Republican convention too anti-Clinton and not enough pro-Trump?

MICHAEL STEELE:

No. The Republican convention had to go anti-Clinton--

CHUCK TODD:

Had to do that?

MICHAEL STEELE:

--because of the Trump issues.

CHUCK TODD:

What about this one?

MICHAEL STEELE:

This one? I was thinking, as you guys were talking about Barack Obama and talking about Hillary Clinton being likable enough, this is going to be a convention in which they're going to showcase her so you can like her. Because people, those numbers show, don't like her. So it's going to be everything you just said, Chris, plus more. The problem is what happens afterwards. And that's where Hillary Clinton's going to have to continue .

CHUCK TODD:

Here's an out question for all of you. Besides Hillary Clinton's speech, what will be the other buzziest speech or speaker when we walk away from this convention?

RACHEL MADDOW:

We're going to have a huge one on night one. Bernie is a big deal.

MICHAEL STEELE:

Bernie.

RACHEL MADDOW:

The Democratic Party is going through a transformation. Liberals are having their moment. And this convention has to reflect it.

CHRIS MATTHEWS:

Every Democratic convention I can remember, going back to, God, '64, the best speech was never given by the nominee, whether it's Bobby Kennedy or it's Jesse Jackson, or it's Mario Cuomo.

MICHAEL STEELE:

Right.

CHRIS MATTHEWS:

The candidates never have been able to deliver the best speech. So I would bet on Bernie.

RACHEL MADDOW:

It was Trump Jr. last week.

CHRIS MATTHEWS:

Bernie or President Obama.

ANDREA MITCHELL:

Michelle Obama and Barack Obama on day two.

CHUCK TODD:

I think it's Barack Obama on Wednesday night. I think it's going to be to Hillary Clinton what Bill Clinton was to Barack Obama four years ago. All right. That's all for this Sunday morning.

CHRIS MATTHEWS:

We agree.

CHUCK TODD:

I'll be hosting a special edition of Meet the Press Daily tonight at 5:00 Eastern on MSNBC. I know that's what everybody on this table will be watching. And then, throughout the week, I'll be joined by my colleagues Lester Holt and Savannah Guthrie right here at The Wells Fargo Center for convention coverage on the network beginning at 10:00 Eastern, 7:00 Pacific. If you missed it last week, you should be regretting it. Watch us this week. And of course we'll be back next Sunday. Because if it is Sunday, Meet the Press.

\*\* \*END OF TRANSCRIPT\* \*\*

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# **Exhibit Y**

DONALD TRUMP

## Donald Trump on Proposed Muslim Ban: 'You Know My Plans'

Katie Reilly  
Dec 21, 2016



President-elect Donald Trump on Wednesday called the recent attacks in **Germany** and **Turkey** "terrible" and suggested that he does not intend to reevaluate his **plans to ban Muslims** from immigrating to the United States, boasting that he had been "proven to be right."

"You know my plans. All along, I've been proven to be right. 100% correct. What's happening is disgraceful," Trump told reporters Wednesday when asked whether the recent violence has influenced his **proposed Muslim ban**.

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Trump described the **attack at a Berlin Christmas market** as an "attack on humanity."

"That's what it is: an attack on humanity," he said. "And it's got to be stopped."

Trump said he had not spoken with President Obama since the attacks.

"Innocent civilians were murdered in the streets as they prepared to celebrate the Christmas holiday," Trump said in an initial statement about the attack on Monday. "ISIS and other Islamist terrorists continually slaughter Christians in their communities and places of worship as part of their global jihad."

*Zeke Miller contributed to this report.*

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# **Exhibit Z**

1/29/17 WashingtonPost.com (Pg. Unavail. Online)  
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January 29, 2017

Section: the-fix

Trump asked for a 'Muslim ban,' Giuliani says — and ordered a commission to do it 'legally'  
Giuliani claims Trump asked him how to create a Muslim ban: "He called me  
up. He said, 'Put a commission together. Show me the right way to do it l...

Amy B Wang

Giuliani claims Trump asked him how to create a Muslim ban: "He called me up. He said, 'Put a commission together. Show me the right way to do it legally.'"

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.

Read more:

Fact Checker: What you need to know about terror threat from foreigners and Trump's executive order

'I am heartbroken': Malala criticizes Trump for 'closing the door on children' fleeing violence

A ship full of refugees fleeing the Nazis once begged the U.S. for entry. They were turned back.

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

--- **Index References** ---

News Subject: (Civil Rights Law (1CI34); Government (1GO80); Immigration & Naturalization (1IM88); Intellectual Freedoms & Civil Liberties (1IN08); Legal (1LE33); Legislation (1LE97); Social Issues (1SO05); U.S. Legislation (1US12))

Industry: (Homeland Security (1HO11); Security (1SE29))

Region: (Africa (1AF90); Americas (1AM92); Arab States (1AR46); Mediterranean (1ME20); Middle East (1MI23); New York (1NE72); North America (1NO39); Syria (1SY20); U.S. Mid-Atlantic Region (1MI18); USA (1US73))

Language: EN

Other Indexing: (Donald Trump; Ann Donnelly had; Jeanine Pirro; Rex Tillerson; Christian refugees; Anthony Romero; Ann Donnelly; Mike McCaul; Matthew Kolken; Kellyanne Conway; Rudolph Giuliani; Rudy Giuliani; Peter King; Michael Mukasey; John Dickerson; Reince Priebus; Charles Schumer; Keith Ellison)

Word Count: 1325

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End of Document

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**NewsRoom**

# **Exhibit AA**

12/8/15 WashingtonPost.com (Pg. Unavail. Online)  
2015 WLNR 36291622

WashingtonPost.com  
Copyright (c) 2015 The Washington Post

December 8, 2015

Section: post-politics

Donald Trump says he is not bothered by comparisons to Hitler

Jenna Johnson

The comparison between Donald Trump and Hitler is being made more and more frequently -- including on the cover of Tuesday's Philadelphia Daily News -- but the Republican front-runner said Tuesday that the comparison doesn't bother him.

"You're increasingly being compared to Hitler," ABC News' George Stephanopoulos said during an interview with Trump on "Good Morning America" Tuesday. "Does that give you any pause at all?"

"No," Trump responded, "because what I am doing is no different than what FDR -- FDR's solution for Germans, Italians, Japanese, you know, many years ago."

Stephanopoulos jumped in as Trump kept talking: "So you're for internment camps?"

"This is a president who is highly respected by all," Trump said of Franklin Delano Roosevelt. "He did the same thing -- if you look at what he was doing, it was far worse."

[ Donald Trump calls for 'total' ban on Muslims entering United States ]

Trump's answer was confusing and meandering but he seemed to be making the point that during times of war, more extreme measures must be used.

"We are now at war," Trump said. "We have a president that doesn't want to say that, but we are now at war."

"I've got to press you on that, sir," Stephanopoulos said. "So you're praising FDR there, I take it you're praising the setting up of internment camps for Japanese during World War II?"

"No, I'm not," Trump responded. "No, I'm not. No, I'm not."

Trump then rattled off the numbers of some of the presidential proclamations Roosevelt issued "having to do with alien Germans, alien Italians, alien Japanese."

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"They went through a whole list of things -- they couldn't go five miles from their homes, they weren't allowed to use radios, flashlights," Trump said. "Take a look at what FDR did many years ago, and he's one of the most highly respected presidents... They named highways after him."

Stephanopoulos responded: "You want to bring back policies like that?"

After a pause, Trump responded: "No, I don't to bring it back, George. At all. I don't like doing it at all. It's a temporary measure until our representatives, many of whom are grossly incompetent, until our representatives can figure out what's going on."

**---- Index References ----**

News Subject: (Islam (1IS02); Judaism (1JU93); Minority & Ethnic Groups (1MI43); Race Relations (1RA49); Religion (1RE60); Social Issues (1SO05))

Industry: (Celebrities (1CE65); Entertainment (1EN08))

Language: EN

Other Indexing: (Donald Trump; Franklin Delano Roosevelt; George Stephanopoulos; Hitler)

Word Count: 371

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**NewsRoom**

# **Exhibit BB**



## Donald Trump: 'I think Islam hates us'



By **Theodore Schleifer**, CNN

🕒 Updated 5:56 PM ET, Thu March 10, 2016

### Story highlights

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"I think Islam hates us," Trump told CNN's Anderson Cooper, deploring the "tremendous hatred" that he said partly defined the religion

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Asked if the hatred was "in Islam itself," Trump would only say that was for the media to figure out

**Washington (CNN)** — Donald Trump said Wednesday that he thinks "Islam hates us," drawing little distinction between the religion and radical Islamic terrorism.

"I think Islam hates us," [Trump told CNN's Anderson Cooper](#), deploring the "tremendous hatred" that he said partly defined the religion. He maintained the war was against radical Islam, but said, "it's very hard to define. It's very hard to separate. Because you don't know who's who."



### Donald Trump CNN interview (part 1) 10:15

READ: [Donald Trump: 'It's over' if I win Ohio and Florida](#)

Asked if the hate was "in Islam itself," Trump would only say that was for the media to figure out.

"You're gonna have to figure that out, OK?" he told Cooper. "We have to be very vigilant. We have to be very careful. And we can't allow people coming into this country who have this hatred of the United States."





### Donald Trump CNN interview (part 2) 10:59

Trump made headlines in December [when he called for a temporary ban on Muslims entering the U.S.](#), "until our country's representatives can figure out what is going on." Despite widespread condemnation of the remarks, Trump has stood by the proposal.

Speaking to CNN's Wolf Blitzer on "The Situation Room" Thursday, Trump spokeswoman Katrina Pierson said the real-estate magnate stood by the sentiment that many Muslims worldwide sympathize with ISIS, but said Trump should've used "radical Islam."

"It is radical Islamic extremists that do participate in these types of things," Pierson said, calling for a "broader perspective" of Muslims' ties to terror. "We've allowed this propaganda to spread all through the country that this is a religion of peace."

In speaking with Cooper, Trump added that "there can be no doctrine" when asked to outline how he would project power overseas.

Trump also tried to clarify his position on how far he would go in targeting the families of terrorists. He has said in the past that he is in favor of "expanding the laws" that govern how the U.S. can combat and deter terrorism, and Trump has called to bring back waterboarding, even vowing the U.S. ["should go a lot further than waterboarding."](#)



### Donald Trump talks about working with Democrats 00:51

[READ: Trump: My Muslim friends don't support my immigration ban](#)

But Trump on Wednesday declined to say what specific measures he would support.

"I'll work on it with the generals," he told Cooper. He added, "We have to play the game at a much tougher level than we're playing it now."



Obama photographer shades Trump over secure discussions



Pence's sphere of influence questioned in wake of Flynn fallout



Trump shows his true hand on LGBTQ rights



Feinstein, Grassley seek full briefing, transcripts of Flynn calls



# **Exhibit CC**

3/22/16 Mediaite (Blog) (Pg. Unavail. Online)  
2016 WLNR 8849615

Mediaite (Blog)  
Copyright (c) 2016 Mediaite

March 22, 2016

Trump Responds to Brussels Attacks: 'We're Having Problems With the Muslims'  
- Trump on Brussels Attacks: 'We're Having Problems With the Muslims'

Alex Griswold

Mar 22, 2016

Republican presidential candidate Donald Trump reacted to the Brussels terror attack Tuesday morning, saying bluntly on Fox Business that "we're having problems with the Muslims."

"You called after the Paris attacks for a pause to stop Muslims from coming into the United States. That got a lot of criticism, as you know," noted Wall Street Journal editor-in-chief Jerry Baker

"And a lot of support, Jerry. It got tremendous support," Trump pushed back.

Please enable Javascript to watch.

"Frankly, look, we're having problems with the Muslims, and we're having problems with Muslims coming into the country," he said, citing the San Bernardino shooters, one of whom entered the country on a fiance visa.

"You need surveillance, you have to deal with the mosques whether you like it or not," Trump said. "These attacks aren't done by Swedish people, that I can tell you."

Watch above, via Fox Business.

[Image via screengrab] —>> Follow Alex Griswold (@HashtagGriswold) on Twitter

---- **Index References** ----

News Subject: (International Terrorism (1IN37); Islam (1IS02); Religion (1RE60); Social Issues (1SO05); Top World News (1WO62))

Region: (Belgium (1BE51); Europe (1EU83); Eurozone Countries (1EU86); Western Europe (1WE41))

Language: EN

Other Indexing: (Jerry Baker; Donald Trumpreacted)

Keywords: (brussels attacks); (iowac); (TV); (Jerry Baker); (Donald Trump); (Election 2016); (Fox Business); (Belgium)

Word Count: 162

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**NewsRoom**

# **Exhibit DD**

Honorable James L. Robart

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UNITED STATES DISTRICT COURT  
FOR THE WESTERN DISTRICT OF WASHINGTON  
AT SEATTLE

Juweiya Abdiaziz ALI; A.F.A., a minor; Reema  
Khaled DAHMAN; G.E., a minor; Ahmed  
Mohammed Ahmed ALI; E.A., a minor; on  
behalf of themselves as individuals and on  
behalf of others similarly situated,

Plaintiffs,

v.

Donald TRUMP, President of the United States  
of America; U.S. DEPARTMENT OF STATE;  
Tom SHANNON, Acting Secretary of State;  
U.S. DEPARTMENT OF HOMELAND  
SECURITY; John F. KELLY, Secretary of  
Homeland Security; U.S. CITIZENSHIP AND  
IMMIGRATION SERVICES; Lori  
SCIALABBA, Acting Director of USCIS;  
OFFICE OF THE DIRECTOR OF NATIONAL  
INTELLIGENCE; Michael DEMPSEY, Acting  
Director of National Intelligence,

Defendants.

Case No.: 2:17-cv-00135-JLR

**DECLARATION OF REEMA KHALED  
DAHMAN IN SUPPORT OF PLAINTIFFS**



1 I, Reema Khaled Dahman, declare under penalty of perjury as follows:  
2

3  
4 1. I am over the age of eighteen, am competent to testify to the matters below, and make  
5 this declaration based on personal knowledge.

6 2. I am a lawful permanent resident. I live in Seattle, Washington. I work as a caregiver.

7 3. I came to the United States with an immigrant visa on September 18, 2012. I am from  
8 Syria.

9 4. My son G.E. was born on May 14, 2000 in Daara, Syria. I got separated from G.E.'s  
10 biological father when I was two months pregnant with G.E. He was an abusive person. After I  
11 got separated from G.E.'s father, I started living with my parents. After G.E. was born, we  
12 continued living with them. At the time, I was working as an agricultural engineer and I was able  
13 to provide for my family.

14 5. I got married to my second husband on January 6, 2007 in Daara, Syria. He is a U.S.  
15 citizen. We had two sons together while we were living in Syria, one born in October 2007 and  
16 the other in October 2008.

17 6. After the Syrian conflict started in 2011, my husband wanted to come back to the United  
18 States. He filed a petition for me and for our two sons, but he did not file one for my son G.E. In  
19 our culture, it is not customary for a man to raise another man's son, even in circumstances like  
20 ours. Although I did not want to leave G.E., I was sure that I could figure out a way to bring him  
21 with me soon enough.

22 7. In January 2012, while the petitions were pending, my parents and G.E. moved to  
23 Damascus, Syria because conflict was getting worse and worse in Daraa. I had to stay in Daara  
24 with my husband and our two sons. Between January 2012 until June 2012, my son G.E. would  
25 come to visit his paternal grandparents and I would see him, too. On June 2012 I saw my son  
26 G.E. for the last time. I did not know then that I would not see him again. On August 9, 2012, I  
27 received my immigrant visa from the U.S. Consulate in Amman, Jordan.  
28

1 8. After we came to the United States, we lived in very poor conditions at my brother-in-  
2 law's house for one year. When we finally rented our apartment in August 2013, I was the only  
3 one working and supporting my family. I kept wanting to bring my son G.E. here as well. I  
4 remember very well one day my husband said "I feel like you want to bring your son here."  
5 When I answered "yes", he said "I didn't bring you here so that you can bring your son." I felt  
6 stuck. I did not know the immigration laws of the United States, I did not know that I could  
7 petition for my son G.E. as a lawful permanent resident. I thought I had to be a U.S. citizen.

9 9. In October 2015, through the help of Refugee Women's Alliance and Northwest  
10 Immigrant Rights Project, I found out that as a lawful permanent resident I could petition for my  
11 son G.E.. I filed the Form I-130, family petition, on October 19, 2015 with U.S. Citizenship and  
12 Immigration Services ("USCIS").

13 10. Given the terrible situation in Syria, I also submitted a request for Humanitarian Parole  
14 on November 30, 2015 with USCIS asking for a favorable exercise of parole so that my son G.E.  
15 could travel to the United States based on urgent humanitarian reasons and we can be reunited  
16 after so many years. No child should face the situation my son or any other child has been  
17 experiencing in Syria. My son has no future there; he has not been able to attend school for the  
18 last three years. Schools are no longer functioning; so many teachers have fled the country. My  
19 heart broke into pieces during one of our rare conversations with him when he told me "Mom, I  
20 feel like I am forgetting how to write." That is not the future I dreamt for him.

21 11. The family petition I-130 was approved by USCIS on June 1, 2016. Towards the end of  
22 July 2016, I received immigrant visa and affidavit of support fee bills from the National Visa  
23 Center ("NVC") to continue with the consular process. I started gathering the civil and financial  
24 documents. Meanwhile, the Humanitarian Parole request I filed was still pending.

25 12. On September 23, 2016, ten months after I filed for humanitarian parole, I received a  
26 Request for Evidence notice from USCIS asking for a detailed explanation of why my son G.E.  
27 cannot live with his biological father in Syria while waiting for the adjudication of his immigrant  
28

1 visa. The request for evidence also asked me to provide a DNA test result to establish the  
2 claimed biological relationship between my son and me. I prepared a detailed explanation why  
3 my son could not live with his biological father and I was ready to do the DNA test. Upon  
4 researching for the laboratories accredited by the American Association of Blood Banks  
5 (“AABB”), I learned that there is no AABB accredited laboratory where a DNA test could be  
6 conducted in Syria. My son had to travel to Jordan or another neighboring country in order to do  
7 the DNA test. This was impossible—he is only 16 years old. He cannot travel safely from Syria  
8 to Jordan and back on his own, and he had no other family to take him. Unfortunately, we could  
9 not provide the DNA test for these reasons. I explained this to USCIS.

10  
11 13. Meanwhile, I electronically submitted his online immigrant visa application (Form DS-  
12 260) on December 2, 2016 to NVC to continue with his immigrant visa process.

13 14. On December 8, 2016, I received a notice from NVC asking for a Syria Police Clearance  
14 Certificate (Judicial Record Extract) for my son G.E. as part of the consular process so that his  
15 immigrant visa interview could be scheduled.

16 15. The day before the Executive Order was announced, on January 26, 2017, I received a  
17 denial notice of the Humanitarian Parole I had requested. The denial notice indicated “Use of the  
18 Secretary’s parole authority is discretionary, justified on a case-by-case basis, and limited by law  
19 to include only to those requests that are based upon ‘urgent humanitarian reasons,’ or  
20 ‘significant public benefit.’” I thought that being a teenager in a war-torn country was an urgent  
21 humanitarian reason. I was crushed that the parole was denied. I had explained to USCIS the  
22 danger my son is in. The situation in Syria is so unstable that my son has even been kidnapped  
23 once. I am afraid for his safety the longer we wait.

24 16. The day after the denial notice, on January 27, 2017, when I heard the Executive Order of  
25 the President, I was shocked. My heart sank. I felt that all the doors are closing on me. I waited  
26 so long to be with my son and now I was left with nothing. I haven’t seen my son for almost five  
27 years. We were so close to being reunited. This executive order took my dream away. I know  
28

1 they say it will only cause delay for a few months, but there is no guarantee of that. Besides, a  
2 few months is a long time in a country as dangerous as Syria. Do you know how it feels to live  
3 everyday not knowing if you will ever see your child again? I do.

4  
5 17. I want to be reunited with my son like any other mother would want in this situation. The  
6 war in Syria is getting worse and worse. My mother is elderly and sick, she cannot take care of  
7 G.E. like she used to. My father passed away. My siblings fled Syria. I cannot leave my two sons  
8 in the United States and go back to Syria. But I also cannot take my sons to live in the midst of a  
9 war that never seems to come to an end. It is an impossible situation.

10 18. I hope I can see my son soon.

11  
12 I declare under penalty of perjury under the laws of the United States that the foregoing is  
13 true and correct to the best of my information, knowledge, and belief.

14  
15 Executed on this 6th day of February, 2017, in Seattle, Washington.

16  
17 

18 Reema Khaled Dahman

# **Exhibit EE**

N.Y. / REGION

# Disorder at Airports as Travelers Are Detained Without Lawyers

By BENJAMIN MUELLER and MATTHEW ROSENBERG JAN. 29, 2017

Drab airport screening areas and waiting rooms were transformed into chaotic scenes on Sunday, with lawyers saying that border agents had put pressure on detainees and created an information blackout that left many struggling to discern how President Trump's immigration order was being applied.

In New York, a lawyer said detainees were being moved from one terminal to another in handcuffs. In Los Angeles, an Iranian graduate student was pushed by border agents to sign documents allowing them to send her out of the country, her lawyers said. And in the Washington area, agents told lawyers that officials had barred detainees from getting legal help, despite a federal judge's order that legal permanent residents be given access to lawyers.

Panic gave way to euphoria in some cases as travelers who had been detained for many hours were released and reunited with relatives. But well into Sunday, two days after Mr. Trump signed an executive order keeping many foreigners from entering the country, lawyers were still sweeping airport arrival sections in search of waiting relatives, often their only source of information about who was being held.

Some detainees said they had slept on office chairs. In Los Angeles, lawyers said Customs and Border Protection agents had told them there were cots but had declined to say how many there were, or how many people were being held.

Detainees were told their phones would be disruptive and had to be taken. Lawyers and relatives were growing increasingly concerned about older detainees with medical problems.

Among those with ailments were an Iranian couple who had arrived in Los Angeles on visitors' visas. The man, in his late 60s, had been through two open-heart operations, and he and his wife, in her late 50s, were both diabetic. After arriving at the airport on Saturday afternoon, they were allowed to call their daughter in the United States only once, around 1 a.m. on Sunday, said Patricia Corrales, a private lawyer working on detainees' cases there. Relatives and lawyers repeatedly asked whether the couple were receiving proper medical care but learned nothing further from border agents.

Ms. Corrales, who was an Immigration and Customs Enforcement lawyer for 17 years, said, "I think they don't necessarily have the resources, the staff and experience to deal with these large numbers."

In a statement, the Department of Homeland Security said, "We are committed to ensuring that all individuals affected by the executive orders, including those affected by the court orders, are being provided all rights afforded under the law."

Some detainees were reportedly pressured to sign documents they hardly understood and then put on flights out of the country. When two brothers from Yemen, Tareq Aqel Mohammed Aziz, 21, and Ammar, 19, landed on Saturday morning at Dulles International Airport near Washington with immigrant visas, they planned to board a connecting flight to Flint, Mich., to join their father. Instead, they were taken off the plane, put into handcuffs and told they needed to sign a form or face being barred from the country for five years, said their lawyer, Simon Y. Sandoval-Moshenberg, of the Legal Aid Justice Center in Virginia. They signed the form and were quickly put on a plane to Ethiopia.

A 24-year-old Iranian woman who is a graduate student in the United States told relatives of a similar problem at Los Angeles International Airport, where she

arrived on Saturday after a trip visiting family members in Europe. Border agents told the woman that her student visa was no longer valid, which lawyers said was not true, and that if she did not sign a document saying she was leaving voluntarily, she would be forcibly deported and barred from entry for five years.

The Iranian student signed. She had not been allowed to consult a lawyer and was permitted only three calls to relatives before her phone was confiscated and searched, said Ms. Corrales and Judy London, the directing attorney of the nonprofit Public Counsel's Immigrants' Rights Project, both of whom spoke with the woman's relatives. On Saturday night, after a federal judge in Brooklyn ruled the government could not remove travelers who had arrived with valid visas, she was put on a plane back to Europe, her lawyers said. They declined to share her name out of concern for her safety.

On Sunday morning, Ms. Corrales spoke to a supervisor from the customs agency who suggested that the Iranian student was still at the Los Angeles airport. The supervisor told Ms. Corrales that "they were waiting for orders from higher-ups in terms of how to enforce the injunction," Ms. Corrales said, referring to the Brooklyn judge's ruling.

Some detainees dealt with the whiplash of plans changing by the hour. A group of five Iranians detained in New York told family members on Sunday morning that the government planned to put them on a 1:30 p.m. flight back to Turkey, said Melanie Zuch, a staff lawyer at the Urban Justice Center. Several hours later, some of them were told they would be allowed to stay.

Vahideh Rasekhi, a graduate student at Stony Brook University on Long Island who was also detained at Kennedy Airport, said she and other detainees were also told they would be put on flights back out of the country, with agents promising only that if they held out a little longer, they might work out a way to keep them in the United States. Eventually they did, and shortly after 2:30 p.m., Ms. Rasekhi walked into Terminal 4 and was immediately surrounded by loved ones, lawyers and journalists.



“I’m just so exhausted,” she said.

She said that detainees had been given meals and water and that agents had even satisfied one person’s request for a lemon. Others gave accounts of more difficult conditions; one lawyer, Justin Orr, said some detainees had been given nothing but chocolate to eat.

Mousa Ahmadi, 30, an Iranian graduate student at the New Jersey Institute of Technology, gave a long hug to his sister, Dr. Fahimeh Ahmadi, 40, after she was released from additional screening at Kennedy. The siblings had not seen each other for over three years.

Dr. Ahmadi, a general practitioner in the Australian city of Gold Coast and a dual citizen of Australia and Iran, arrived for a long-planned visit without the siblings’ parents, who hold only Iranian passports and canceled their flights on Saturday.

“My Mom said, ‘If they don’t let me in the country do you think I can see him even for a half hour?’” Dr. Ahmadi recalled. “She said, ‘Is there a window where I can see him?’”

Lawyers at J.F.K. said that about half a dozen detainees were still in custody by late Sunday afternoon. The Los Angeles Police Department told lawyers there earlier on Sunday that about 40 people were being held.

A federal judge in Alexandria, Va., on Saturday ordered government officials to give lawyers access to all legal permanent residents being detained at Dulles. But when lawyers showed border agents there the court order and requested access to detainees, a supervisor replied, “That’s not going to happen.”

Matt Zeller, who runs No One Left Behind, a group that helps bring over Iraqis and Afghans who worked for the military, said he was told that there were 40 to 55 people who had been pulled aside by customs officers at Dulles on Sunday evening, and that at least some were Iraqis, although it was not clear if any had worked for the military. Detainees who had been released overnight — many of whom had

green cards — spoke of hours of uncertainty as they waited to find out if they would be allowed into a country that they called home but that no longer seemed to want them.

“This is not the America that I have lived in,” said one man who had been released, Seifollah Moradi, 34, a student from Columbia, Md., who has a green card. “We used to be treated with respect. This is the land of freedom.”

Mr. Moradi had been held for six hours after returning from Tehran, where he was visiting his sick father.

Protesters, who were lined up just past the set of one-way doors that separate the public areas of the Dulles arrival hall from the immigration and baggage claim areas for international flights, cheered loudly as Mr. Moradi came through the doors. They chanted, “Welcome to the U.S.A.,” and, “No hate, no fear, refugees are welcome here.”

Mr. Moradi, his face drawn, hardly seemed to notice.

Reporting was contributed by Ruth Bashinsky, Sheri Fink, Sean Piccoli and Liz Robbins.

A version of this article appears in print on January 30, 2017, on Page A13 of the New York edition with the headline: Confusion and Disorder at Airports as Travelers Are Detained Without Lawyers.

# **Exhibit FF**

# Trump delays new travel ban after well-reviewed speech

By [Laura Jarrett](#), [Ariane de Vogue](#) and [Jeremy Diamond](#), CNN

🕒 Updated 6:01 AM ET, Wed March 1, 2017



Immigration violations: The one thing to know 01:15

## Story highlights

The new travel ban will exclude legal permanent residents and existing visa holders

Two sources also expect that the President will formally revoke the previous executive order

ban announcement.

"We want the (executive order) to have its own 'moment,'" the official said.

**Washington (CNN)** — President [Donald Trump](#) has delayed plans to sign a reworked travel ban in the wake of positive reaction to his first address to Congress, a senior administration official told CNN.

The decision came late Tuesday night as [positive reviews flooded in for Trump's speech](#), which struck a largely optimistic and unifying tone.

Signing the executive order Wednesday, as originally indicated by the White House, would have undercut the favorable coverage. The official didn't deny the positive reception was part of the administration's calculus in pushing back the travel

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Trump's original executive order, signed a week after he took office, banned citizens of seven Muslim-majority countries from entering the US and temporarily suspended the entry of all refugees. A federal court issued a temporary stay that halted implementation of the travel ban earlier this month, a decision that was later upheld by a federal appeals court.

The new travel ban will exclude legal permanent residents and existing visa holders from the ban entirely, sources familiar with the plans told CNN earlier Tuesday.

While sources caution that the document has not yet been finalized and is still subject to change, there will be major changes:

- The new executive order will make clear that legal permanent residents (otherwise known as green card holders) are excluded from any travel ban.
- Those with validly issued visas will also be exempt from the ban.
- The new order is expected to revise or exclude language prioritizing the refugee claims of certain religious minorities.

Speaking in Munich, Germany, earlier this month, Department of Homeland Secretary John Kelly promised a "phased-in" approach to minimize disruption this time around.

But what remains to be seen are the other key aspects of the new executive order, especially in terms of refugees, including:

- What happens to the suspension of the refugee program for 120 days?
- Will Syrian nationals still be barred indefinitely?
- Will the cap on the number of refugees change? The first version of the executive order caps it at 50,000 for fiscal year 2017.

Two sources also expect that the President will formally revoke the earlier executive order, despite repeated statements from White House press secretary Sean Spicer that the two orders would co-exist on a "dual track."

The administration could potentially argue that the existing challenges to the original executive order are moot, but the challengers tell CNN the legal battles will likely continue even after the new order is signed.

"Exempting lawful permanent residents and current visa holders will not cure the core legal problem -- that the ban was motivated by religious discrimination, as evidenced by the President's repeated statements calling for a Muslim ban," ACLU attorney Lee Gelernt explained. "That discriminatory taint cannot be removed simply by eliminating a few words or clever tinkering by lawyers."



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# **Exhibit GG**

**POLITICS**

# H.R. McMaster Breaks With Administration on Views of Islam

By MARK LANDLER and ERIC SCHMITT FEB. 24, 2017

WASHINGTON — President Trump’s newly appointed national security adviser has told his staff that Muslims who commit terrorist acts are perverting their religion, rejecting a key ideological view of other senior Trump advisers and signaling a potentially more moderate approach to the Islamic world.

The adviser, Lt. Gen. H. R. McMaster, told the staff of the National Security Council on Thursday, in his first “all hands” staff meeting, that the label “radical Islamic terrorism” was not helpful because terrorists are “un-Islamic,” according to people who were in the meeting.

That is a repudiation of the language regularly used by both the president and General McMaster’s predecessor, Michael T. Flynn, who resigned last week after admitting that he had misled Vice President Mike Pence and other officials about a phone call with a Russian diplomat.

It is also a sign that General McMaster, a veteran of the Iraq war known for his sense of history and independent streak, might move the council away from the



ideologically charged views of Mr. Flynn, who was also a three-star Army general before retiring.

Wearing his Army uniform, General McMaster spoke to a group that has been rattled and deeply demoralized after weeks of upheaval, following a haphazard transition from the Obama administration and amid the questions about links to Russia, which swiftly engulfed Mr. Flynn.

General McMaster, several officials said, has been vocal about his views on dealing with Islamic militancy, including with Mr. Trump, who on Monday described him as “a man of tremendous talent, tremendous experience.” General McMaster got the job after Mr. Trump’s first choice, Robert S. Harward, a retired Navy vice admiral, turned it down.

Within a day of his appointment on Monday, General McMaster was popping into offices to introduce himself to the council’s professional staff members. The staff members, many of them holdovers from the Obama administration, felt viewed with suspicion by Mr. Trump’s team and shut out of the policy-making process, according to current and former officials.

In his language, General McMaster is closer to the positions of former Presidents Barack Obama and George W. Bush. Both took pains to separate acts of terrorism from Islamic teaching, in part because they argued that the United States needed the help of Muslim allies to hunt down terrorists.

“This is very much a repudiation of his new boss’s lexicon and worldview,” said William McCants, a senior fellow at the Brookings Institution and the author of “The ISIS Apocalypse.”

“McMaster, like Obama, is someone who was in positions of leadership and thought the United States should not play into the jihadist propaganda that this is a religious war,” Mr. McCants said.

“There is a deep hunger for McMaster’s view in the interagency,” he added, referring to the process by which the State Department, Pentagon and other agencies funnel recommendations through the National Security Council. “The fact that he

has made himself the champion of this view makes people realize they have an advocate to express dissenting opinions.”

But Mr. McCants and others cautioned that General McMaster’s views would not necessarily be the final word in a White House where Mr. Trump and several of his top advisers view Islam in deeply xenophobic terms. Some aides, including the president’s chief strategist, Stephen K. Bannon, have warned of a looming existential clash between Islam and the Judeo-Christian world.

Mr. Bannon and Stephen Miller, another senior adviser with anti-Islamic views, have close ties to Mr. Trump and walk-in privileges in the Oval Office. General McMaster, 54, has neither.

Known for challenging his superiors, General McMaster was nearly passed over for the rank of brigadier general in 2007, until Gen. David H. Petraeus, who used his counterinsurgency strategy in Iraq, and Robert M. Gates, then the defense secretary, rallied support for him.

The schisms within the administration could be aired publicly if the Senate Armed Services Committee exercises a right to hold a confirmation hearing for General McMaster. Although the post of national security adviser does not require Senate confirmation, senators must approve his retention of his three-star rank in a new position.

Senator [John McCain](#), the committee’s chairman and a strong supporter of General McMaster, has not said whether he wants to hold a hearing.

To outside observers, the administration’s approach to the world appears increasingly schizophrenic. Mr. Pence, Defense Secretary Jim Mattis and other senior cabinet officers have reaffirmed American support for alliances with NATO and in East Asia. Mr. Bannon and other White House officials continue to suggest there will be radical shifts in American policy. These mixed messages extend beyond the Muslim world. This week, Mr. Pence traveled to Brussels to declare — on Mr. Trump’s behalf, he said — “the strong commitment of the United States to the continued cooperation and partnership with the European Union.”

But on Thursday, the German ambassador to the United States, Peter Wittig, said his government remains concerned that the White House views the European Union as an ailing, inefficient economic club, rather than a political project that has kept Europe at peace.

Before Mr. Pence's trip, according to Reuters, Mr. Wittig met Mr. Bannon, who told him the White House viewed the European Union as a "flawed construct" and preferred to negotiate with Germany and other European countries one-on-one. Mr. Wittig declined to discuss the meeting, while Mr. Bannon did not respond to a request for comment.

But Mr. Wittig said to reporters, "We will certainly fight for a coherent and resilient European Union."

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# **Exhibit HH**



# The Big (Imaginary) Black Friday Bombing

**TEXT BY:**

Nicolás Medina Mora  
and Mike Hayes

**ILLUSTRATED BY:**

Marc Aspinall

How the case of conflicted teenager Mohamed Mohamud — convinced by the FBI he was bombing a Christmas tree lighting ceremony in Portland, Oregon — could determine whether the American government is allowed to spy wholesale on its citizens.



**Nicolás Medina Mora**  
BuzzFeed News Reporter



**Mike Hayes**  
BuzzFeed News Reporter



Reporting From  
Portland, Oregon

posted on Nov. 15, 2015, at 8:44 p.m.

**On Nov. 4, 2010**, a small cell of al-Qaeda operatives convened at a Starbucks in Corvallis, Oregon, to review the details of their plot to kill 25,000 people in downtown Portland. The cell had three members: Hussein, an explosives expert; Youssef, a businessman turned jihadi recruiter; and Mohamed Osman Mohamud, a 19-year-old Somali-American college student.

The would-be terrorists had met earlier that year, after one of Mohamud's friends from the mosque recommended him to the Council, a secret jihadi organization that scoured the globe for potential operators. Hussein and Youssef flew to Oregon to meet the teen, whom they called "a jewel in the rough." Together, the three conceived a plot to detonate an 1,800-pound bomb during Portland's Christmas tree lighting ceremony, a yearly Black Friday tradition in Pioneer Square, the city's main plaza. Mohamud chose the target. Hussein and Youssef designed and built the bomb.

It was time for a test run. After meeting at the coffee shop, the group drove to a remote spot in the countryside. There, Hussein showed Mohamud a smaller version of the device: a backpack filled with three pounds of explosives. They placed the bomb in a tree and walked away. Hussein handed Mohamud a cell phone and asked him to dial a number. The teenager obeyed — and a small explosion rattled the last yellow leaves on the trees.

Later that day, the cell returned to Mohamud's apartment in Corvallis to record his farewell video. The teenager put on a white robe, a white-and-red headdress, and a camouflage jacket. He began to read his manifesto to the camera. "For as long as you threaten our security, your people will not remain safe," Mohamud said. "As your soldiers target our civilians, we will not fail to do so. Did you think that you could invade a Muslim land and we would not invade you?"

Two weeks later, on Nov. 26, 2010, Youssef picked up Mohamud from a friend's house in Portland. They met with Hussein and headed to a parking spot near the Comcast building, where the operators showed Mohamud a large white van. Hussein opened the side door, revealing six 55-gallon drums filled with fertilizer. On the front seat was the detonation mechanism: a cell phone, a 9-volt battery, and a switch. The whole van smelled of diesel.

"It's beautiful," Mohamud said.

The three headed to a hotel in downtown Portland, where they prayed and ordered a pizza. They turned on the TV and watched the crowds march into Pioneer Square under light rain.

Around sunset, Hussein and Mohamud drove the bomb to the chosen corner. Mohamud flipped the toggle switch attached to the detonator, arming the bomb. Youssef picked up Mohamud and Hussein in a different car and drove them to Union Station. As the three left the scene, Mohamud said he thought he saw his mother heading toward the ceremony.

After dropping off Youssef at the train station, Hussein and Mohamud parked in a nearby garage. The explosives expert handed the teen a cell phone. The teenager dialed the detonator number. Nothing happened.

“Why don’t you get out of the car and try again?” Hussein said.

Mohamud did as he was told. As he pressed the last button, he heard a group of people running at him.

“Don’t move!” someone yelled.

Suddenly, Mohamud was on the ground. He could hear Hussein screaming, “Allahu akbar!” — God is great — over and over again. After the third or fourth time, the 17 arresting officers started to laugh.

The bomb Mohamud had tried to detonate was fake. The test explosion was staged. There was no secret council of militant leaders seeking a gifted Somali-American teenager to wage jihad. Youssef and Hussein were undercover FBI agents.

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**The Black Friday** non-bombing of Portland was a federal government sting, the result of a yearlong operation involving dozens of people, a secret court order, and a massive surveillance apparatus.

Mohamud went to trial three years after his arrest. (Unless otherwise stated, the facts in this article come from the [voluminous public record](#) for his criminal case, including the [2,700-page trial transcript](#), as well as firsthand interviews with 11 people with knowledge of the case. The FBI, the Department of Justice, and Mohamud’s attorneys declined to answer detailed questions. Mohamud did not respond to letters sent to him in prison.)

In court, Mohamud’s lawyers attempted an [entrapment defense](#), arguing that their client never indicated he wanted to attack Portland before the FBI contacted him. The [prosecution](#) said Mohamud’s prior correspondence with two individuals suspected of working for al-Qaeda was evidence he was looking for “the right people” — and that, had the FBI not intervened, he might have found them.



The jury convicted Mohamud. A judge sentenced him to 30 years in prison.

The story could have ended there. But, months after the trial, Mohamud's lawyers received an unexpected [message](#) from the government: At some point in the investigation, the FBI had used the 2008 amendments to the Foreign Intelligence and Surveillance Act, a law known as the FAA, to access Mohamud's communications without a particular warrant.

The notification was bewildering. The government is supposed to inform defendants they have been targeted by FAA spying before they go to trial, not after. More broadly,



Mohamud's mugshot. Multnomah County Sheriff Office via Getty Images

**Mohamud is the very first defendant to potentially challenge the NSA's mass surveillance programs revealed by Edward Snowden before the U.S. Supreme Court.**

the [Fourth Amendment](#) to the Constitution — at least as many legal experts understand it — protects citizens and those living in the U.S. from warrantless surveillance.

Today, Mohamud's lawyers are asking the 9th Circuit of the U.S. Court of Appeals to overturn their client's conviction. Their central argument is that the FBI's use of the FAA against Mohamud violated the Constitution.

Mohamud is the very first criminal defendant to challenge the FAA before a court of appeals, which opens the door for a hearing before the U.S. Supreme Court. The appeal has widespread implications: The controversial law provides the legal framework for the mass surveillance programs

that Edward Snowden revealed in 2013.

“It's not an exaggeration,” [Patrick Toomey](#), an [American Civil Liberties Union](#) attorney, told BuzzFeed News, “to say that the privacy rights of millions of Americans potentially hang in the balance of his case.”



Marc Aspinall for BuzzFeed News

**The chain of events that** led to Mohamud’s appeal began in 1978, when Congress passed the [Foreign Intelligence and Surveillance Act](#), or FISA. In its original version, the law forbade the government from spying within U.S. territory, unless it could convince a special court that the investigation’s targets were “agents of a foreign power.”

The law was far from perfect: The special court met in secret and approved nearly all of the government’s requests. (Of the 35,333 applications for FISA warrants filed between 1979 and 2013, [only 12](#) were rejected outright.) Still, the act required the government to name the individuals it was targeting, specify the kind of communications it wanted to intercept, and give a timeline for the investigation — provisions that generally kept it in line with the Fourth Amendment.

**Instead of targeting individuals already engaged in criminal conduct, the FBI**

All of that changed after Sept. 11, 2001. Instead of treating terrorism as a crime to be solved after it happened, the government began to treat it as a disaster to be prevented. In 2002, President Bush signed a secret executive order authorizing the National Security Agency to monitor every email, telephone call, and text message in which at least one party was believed to be outside the U.S. — even

after Sept. 11, 2001, began focusing on people who it believed could potentially become terrorists.

if everyone else in the conversation was located within the country. The administration said the NSA didn't need any kind of warrant, from the FISA court or otherwise, because such communications counted as "foreign" rather than "domestic," and were therefore not protected by the Fourth Amendment.

The FBI, however, faced a problem: All that monitoring of communications was turning up a lot of terrorist sympathizers, but not a lot of actual criminal activity. The bureau responded by refining

one of its most controversial techniques: the sting operation. Instead of targeting individuals already engaged in criminal conduct, the FBI began focusing on people who it believed could *potentially* become terrorists.

Underlying many of these sting operations was a psychological doctrine — strongly [challenged](#) by [several studies](#) — known as "radicalization theory," which held that individuals with extreme political opinions tended to look for like-minded people and eventually take violent action.

Many American Muslims believe the government uses sting operations to unfairly target their communities and that radicalization theory contributes to Islamophobia. "When people assume that one of their community members could be an informant for the government, that creates a ripple effect," Kayse Jama, a Somali-American [organizer](#) who works in Portland, told BuzzFeed News. "They can't trust the people at their mosque. They can't trust anyone. They feel they can't speak freely." Studies suggest that at least some of Jama's fears are well-founded.

Federal courts [convict nearly 90%](#) of those of accused of terrorism, most of them through guilty pleas. This means the facts of most homegrown terrorism cases are rarely entered into the public record, which in turn means the FBI is almost never forced to argue the legality of its techniques. Mohamud's case is one of few exceptions.

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**Mohamed Osman Mohamud** was born on Aug. 11, 1991, in Mogadishu, Somalia. Months earlier, rebels had ousted the country's long-standing dictator, unleashing a civil war that rages to this day. On the way to the hospital, Mohamud's parents had to confront armed thugs. They were lucky to find a doctor who helped with the baby's breech birth.

The family fled to America. Mohamud's father, Osman Mohamud Barre, went first, quitting his engineering professorship at Somali National University. Mohamud stayed behind, spending a year in a Kenyan refugee camp with his mother, Mariam Hassan.

The U.S. granted Barre refugee status. He settled in Hillsboro, Oregon, where he worked 13 hours a day at an Intel assembly line. By 1993, he had saved enough money to bring his family to the U.S. “They were malnourished and suffering, but they were happy,” Barre later testified at his son’s trial. “We were grateful to America.”

Barre climbed the ranks at Intel. He and Mariam had two more children. They moved to Beaverton, a prosperous suburb in southwest Portland. Mohamud devoured the *Harry Potter* series and became an NBA fan. He did well in school and made friends easily. “You would never see him alone,” Joshua Alinger, who befriended Mohamud in elementary school, told BuzzFeed News.

Early in high school, Mohamud became interested in religion, even as his parents became less observant. Several of his friends said many Muslim families in Beaverton felt that Mohamud exerted a positive influence. “Whenever we tried to do something that went against our religion, like date a girl, [Mohamud] was like a stopping point,” Mohamud’s best friend, who is not identified in the public record and who spoke on condition of anonymity, told BuzzFeed News. “He would just give us that look.”

Mohamud also joined in the hijinks of American adolescence. By junior year, he began skipping school. His best friend said the two of them would sneak out to a nearby community college to play pool. They made friends with an older student, who bought them alcohol and let them hang at his house. “I think he wanted to be a normal suburban teenager,” said James Duncan, an English teacher at Westville High School who oversaw Mohamud’s study hall.

Like many refugee children, Mohamud had to deal with cultural barriers that separated him from his parents, his American friends, and his mostly white classmates. There is little question he felt different. For an issue of the class magazine, for example, Duncan asked his students to draw cartoons of themselves and caption them. Under his portrait, Mohamud wrote, “I’m *the* black one.”

Around the same time, Mariam and Barre began to go through a breakup, Mohamud’s best friend said. “Home was kind of a hostile environment for him,” the friend said. “He tried to spend as much time as possible out of the house.”

(Reached at her home in suburban Portland, Mohamud’s mother declined to comment, saying her son’s attorneys had instructed her not to speak to reporters. “But one day,” she said, “I’ll be able to speak out about his case, *inshallah*” — God willing. Mohamud’s father did not respond to requests for comment.)

Mariam Barre at her son's trial. *Rick Bowmer / AP Photo*

As his parents' relationship deteriorated, Mohamud began spending more and more time at the Masjed As-Saber, a local mosque led by a Somali imam named Mohamed Kariye. The cleric had a complicated history. According to an [immigration complaint](#), he spent part of his youth fighting with the Afghan mujahideen, a jihadi organization that counted Osama bin Laden among its supporters. (At the time, however, the U.S. supported the group in its fight against the Soviet Union.) In 2003, the FBI's counterterrorism unit arrested him and charged him with Social Security fraud. (The imam pleaded guilty and paid roughly \$5,000 in fines.) Today, the government is trying to take away the imam's American citizenship.

Kariye's teaching — Wahhabism, a traditionalist Sunni practice — proved too restrictive for some members of Portland's Muslim community. The family of Mohamud's best friend, for example, used to attend Friday prayers at the Masjed As-Saber, but eventually switched to another congregation. Mohamud's parents, too, were "totally against the mosque," his best friend said. For the teenager, frequenting the masjid became a form of rebellion.

At Kariye's mosque, Mohamud met Amro al-Ali, an 18-year-old exchange student from Saudi Arabia. According to Marc Sageman, a former CIA officer who testified on "open source information" at Mohamud's trial, the Saudi was "a wannabe" who liked to talk big about jihad but was, at least at that point, "not a terrorist."

After meeting al-Ali, Mohamud began frequenting extremist websites, where he answered a call for submissions to an English-language webzine called *Jihadi Recollections*. The publication was the brainchild of Samir Khan, a Pakistani-American editor based in North Carolina. Khan commissioned him to write an article on fitness training, marking the beginning of a six-month-long collaboration.

But then, on Aug. 15, 2009, four days after his 18th birthday, Mohamud cut off contact with Khan. He wrote to Khan saying he was "going through a lot of things."

(Shortly after Mohamud's last email, Khan traveled to Yemen, where he became the editor of *Inspire*, the English-language outlet of al-Qaeda in the Arabian Peninsula. The U.S. government killed him in 2011, in the same drone strike that killed Anwar al-Awlaki, a top al-Qaeda figure and a U.S. citizen.)

Mohamud was indeed going through a lot — his parents had finally divorced. "You could see his discontent, sadness, and unhappiness," the teen's grandmother told his defense team. "He wouldn't listen to either one of them because there was no union. He definitely tried to talk them into staying together many, many times."

It was in that context that Mohamud received the email that sealed his fate. On Aug. 31, 2009, al-Ali sent him information about a religious school in Yemen. The thought of escaping to a distant land, away from his parents, appears to have seduced the teen. He stormed out of his mother's house and called his father to say he was moving to the Middle East. Barre tried to convince him to wait, but Mohamud said he already had a ticket and a visa. Barre called Mariam and asked her to look for their son's passport. It was missing.

Barre panicked. He had heard stories about kids from Minnesota's Somali-American community who'd been "brainwashed" into joining the civil war. He remembered one news report of a teen who fled — the parents later found a photo of him on the internet "shot in the head, dead, in Somalia."

Not knowing who to call, Barre contacted the FBI. "Can you guys help me to stop my son and make him not leave the country?" he asked the agent who picked up the phone. The

agent took down Mohamud's full name, date of birth, and address and told Barre to meet one of his colleagues at the parking lot of a local high school.

Meanwhile, Mariam found her son. He was in a playground not far from her house. She took his passport and drove him back home.

Mohamed Mohamud is seen in this undated handout photo. *Obtained by BuzzFeed News*

That afternoon, Barre met with FBI Special Agent Isaac DeLong, of the Joint Terrorism Task Force. "Why terrorism?" Barre asked. "Are you alluding that we are Muslim and my son's name is Mohamed? There's no terrorism here. We're citizens."

Barre explained that he wanted to keep his son from returning to Somalia. DeLong replied that there was nothing the bureau could do, because Mohamud was an adult.

That evening, the father and son had a difficult conversation. "I left my country because of violence," Barre told Mohamud. "I brought you here to give you a life of prosperity." Mohamud told his father had nothing to hide: al-Ali, a friend from the mosque, had recommended a school in Yemen. "You can learn Arabic and Islam once you finish school here and become mature enough to know wrong or right," Barre replied.

Barre forwarded al-Ali's email to the FBI, with a note saying he had spoken to Mohamud and the situation was under control. Unbeknownst to him, DeLong ran Mohamud's email address through what he described at trial as "an FBI database." The search, according to court records, turned out an interesting result: Mohamud had been in touch with the subject of another investigation — Samir Khan.

"I took this information to my superior," DeLong testified. "We decided to open a case."

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**The Bush administration's** warrantless surveillance operations remained secret until December 2005, when the *New York Times* published an exposé. The article unleashed outrage that pushed the president to seek retroactive legislative approval for the program. In July 2008, the Senate approved the [FISA Amendments Act](#), or FAA.

The new law overwrote many of FISA's provisions, empowering the attorney general and the director of national intelligence to authorize surveillance of people "reasonably believed to be located outside the United States." Those offices no longer had to get warrants, as the original law mandated. Instead, they simply had to present the FISA court with a set of general procedures meant to "minimize" the "incidental" surveillance of people in the U.S.

On the same day President Bush signed the FAA, the ACLU filed a suit saying the law violated the First and Fourth Amendments. "The act does not require the government to demonstrate that its surveillance targets are foreign agents," the ACLU wrote in its [complaint](#). "The statute does not require the government to identify its surveillance targets at all."

The suit, *Amnesty v. Clapper*, reached the Supreme Court. In February 2013, however, Justice Samuel Alito delivered an [opinion](#) declining to hear the case. He said the only people with standing to challenge the act were criminal defendants who, unlike the ACLU, knew for certain that their communications had been intercepted. (At that time, the government had not informed a single defendant of its use of the FAA.)

Then, in May 2013, Edward Snowden handed a group of journalists a [cache of classified documents](#). The leaks detailed how the NSA invokes the FAA to intercept, store, and in some cases review the telephone and internet communications of hundreds of millions of people — many of them citizens and residents of the U.S.

It's unclear to what extent domestic law enforcement agencies have access to the immense databases of information obtained through warrantless surveillance. In the past, the government has said FBI agents assigned to criminal investigations cannot see the data.



*Marc Aspinall for BuzzFeed News*

**Early in September 2009, Mohamud** moved to Corvallis, a small city a few hours south of Portland, to attend classes at Oregon State University. It was too late to enroll officially, so he couldn't live in the dorms. His parents agreed to give him \$300 a month for rent. Mohamud's best friend, however, had just started at OSU, where he shared a large dorm room with two other students. Since they had an extra bed, they invited Mohamud to live with them for free. In exchange, "we called his rent budget our booze budget," the friend said.

The group soon expanded to include two young men, Raed and Mohamed. Two of Mohamud's roommates were dating a pair of best friends, and the dorm became the center

## FBI documents described Mohamud as a “confused college kid that talks mildly radical jihad out one ear, and drugs, sex, drinking out the other.”

of a tight-knit social scene. (The other roommates and the women declined requests for comment.) “Our freshman year was a drunken mess,” Mohamud’s best friend said. “It was a blast.”

Mohamud’s friends from that time acknowledged he was easy to influence. “He’d say, ‘I don’t want to drink anymore,’ but he could be persuaded to do it,” said Raed. “Like, a friend of mine would be like, ‘No, come on, let’s just drink for one more week,’ and he’d say, ‘OK, let’s go.’”

The FBI, which trial testimony shows was already reading Mohamud’s communications and had agents physically following him, agreed with Raed’s assessment. (The bureau refuses to disclose when,

exactly, the surveillance began.) In emails sent to other FBI agents in the fall of 2009, Special Agent DeLong wrote that the “manipulable” and “conflicted” teen appeared to have “left behind his radical thinking.” Christopher Henderson, the special agent who took over the case when Mohamud moved to Corvallis, described the teen in internal emails as “a confused college kid that talks mildly radical jihad out one ear, and typical 18-year-old college kid (drugs, sex, drinking) out the other.”

Then, on Halloween, Mohamud and his crew headed to a fraternity party. Mohamud “was drinking like a normal person, dancing with girls,” and brought a woman home, Raed said. At the dorm, Raed said, they began having sex “in front of everybody, on the top bunk.” The friends eventually left the room.

The following morning, two Oregon State Police officers were in the dorm. The cops said that a young woman had filed a crime report accusing Mohamud of drugging and raping her.

Mohamud met with Detective Eli Chambers at the campus police office for a polygraph test. He denied having drugged the woman, but admitted that she was very drunk — “more drunk than I thought,” Mohamud said, according to Chambers’ [report](#).

Mohamed Mohamud is seen in this undated handout photo. *Obtained by BuzzFeed News*

Chambers closed his investigation without pressing charges against Mohamud. Still, the incident rattled the student. After the polygraph, he wrote a long post in one of the forums

he frequented:

I swear by Allah I have become so lost. And I want so badly to be in a muslim land. I keep telling myself that if I lived in a muslim land I would become so pious. [...] Being in University and living on campus hasn't helped me too much either. I have fallen into so many things (i.e. alcohol and women). [...] All I need is some soft words to help my heart and supporting advice.

Instead of soft words, Mohamud began receiving emails from Bill Smith, a recent convert to Islam who lived in eastern Idaho and wanted to “get more involved in the fight” against enemies of the Prophet. Smith, however, was a fictional character created by FBI Special Agent Jason Dodd of the Portland field office.

(There were a number of oddities in Dodd's decision to begin an operation against Mohamud. At trial, the agent testified that Special Agent DeLong authorized the “Bill Smith” emails, but DeLong could not recall such thing. Special Agent Elvis Chan, who would eventually run the operation that resulted in Mohamud's conviction, testified that he did not know about the “Bill Smith” emails until after the arrest.)

On Nov. 12, 2009, just days after a Muslim U.S. Army major killed 13 people at the military base in Fort Hood, Bill Smith told Mohamud that he had seen news reports of “brothers trying to fight.” “I want to, as well,” Smith wrote in one of about two dozen emails. “What can I do? Do you know who I can talk to? Can you help?” Mohamud did not engage him, cautioning him instead to be careful about what he said on the internet.

But then, on Dec. 3, 2009, someone familiar reached out to Mohamud. “Salamz bro,” the message read. “It's me, Amro.” Al-Ali said he was making a pilgrimage to the holy city of Mecca, in Saudi Arabia. If Mohamud wanted to join, he said, a “bro” would contact him “about the proper paperwork.”

The FBI agents traced al-Ali's computer not to Mecca, but to the northwestern border of Pakistan, one of the centers of violent jihad. The agents became convinced that al-Ali was writing in code, trying to recruit Mohamud as a fighter. Two months earlier, Interpol had issued an Arabic-language “red notice” — a sort of international “wanted” poster — saying al-Ali was “known to be connected to a fugitive wanted by Saudi Arabian authorities who is an expert in manufacturing explosives and in facilitating the movement of extremists inside Saudi Arabia,” according to a translation included in a defense brief. “He also helped al-Qaeda division in Yemen and other countries by providing them with foreign fighters to carry out terrorist attacks against western and tourist interests.”

(Later, the defense and the prosecution had heated arguments about the notice, which was ambiguous in Arabic and became vaguer in translation. Was al-Ali a member of al-Qaeda, or merely associated with a member? The matter was further complicated when the Saudis captured al-Ali, holding him without charges and subjecting him to repeated

interrogations. A former intelligence officer told BuzzFeed News that classified reports detailing those interrogations show that al-Ali didn't remember Mohamud.)

Mohamud responded that joining the pilgrimage would be "wonderful." Al-Ali sent him a Gmail username and password, with instructions to log in to the account and draft, but not send, a message for a brother called Abdul Hadi. The FBI went on high alert, but Mohamud couldn't figure out the system. No messages were exchanged.

Toward the end of spring semester, one of Mohamud's roommates invited him to spend the summer working on a fishing boat in Alaska. Mohamud's parents thought it would help discipline their son. They bought him a plane ticket and, on June 14, 2010, drove him to Portland International Airport.

The family made it only to the security checkpoint, where an airline employee told Mohamud he couldn't board. As the family stood at the concourse, a man in a dark suit introduced himself as Special Agent Bradford Petrie. "I understand Mohamed was not allowed to fly today," Petrie told the family. "We'd like to talk about that if we could."

*Marc Aspinall for BuzzFeed News*

**A week earlier**, the FBI had decided to launch a full-scale undercover operation against Mohamud. Miltiadis Trousas, an agent based in the FBI office in Eugene, Oregon, wrote to Special Agent Chan, a sting specialist based in San Francisco, to suggest targeting the teen “using everything we have on him,” including the fact that he was “shy around authority figures.” When the agents learned of Mohamud’s plans to travel to Alaska, they worried he might try to continue to Pakistan or Yemen. They placed him on the no-fly list.

At the Portland airport, Petrie brought Mohamud and his parents to a conference room. Barre asked whether his call to the FBI a year earlier had anything to do with his son’s placement on the no-fly list. Mohamud denied visiting extremist websites. Petrie

concluded the interview promising the family he'd try to "help" the teenager. He said nothing about the operation.

A few days after the interview at the airport, Chan contacted an FBI agent in California and asked him to fly to Portland to play an "al-Qaeda spotter" in a sting against a suspected teenage radical. The agent, who had been born and raised in an Arabic country, assumed the name Youssef.

Youssef got in touch with Mohamud nine days after the airport incident. The goal was to set up an in-person meeting, purportedly to assess whether the teen was serious about wanting to join a militant organization. The agent wrote in the voice of the "brother" whom al-Ali had earlier told Mohamud to contact, and whom the teenager never reached out to. "Salamz, bro," the message began. "Go to hushmail.com and set up an account." Mohamud replied with an innocuous greeting from an encrypted account. Two days later, Youssef wrote back: "Are you still able to help the brothers?"

Mohamud wrote back something noncommittal. Youssef's next email suggested that God's plan for Mohamud was in Portland: "Allah I'm sure has good reason for you to stay where you are," the undercover agent wrote. He said he was traveling to Oregon and asked the teen to meet him in person.

Mohamud ignored the message. Worried about losing their target, the agents sent another. A week later, Mohamud responded by inviting Youssef to Friday services at the Masjed As-Saber. The FBI, however, did not want to send an undercover agent to a place of worship. Instead, the agent suggested meeting in downtown Portland. Mohamud grew suspicious. "How did you get my email?" the teen wrote. "And if Amro did give you my email, then how do you know him? And describe him to me if you really do know him."

The FBI did not know what al-Ali looked like. To avoid blowing Youssef's cover, the agents invented a fictional organization, which they called the "Ihata," or Council. They told Mohamud that "a brother from Oregon" told the Council about him, prompting the group to send Youssef to interview him. Flattered, Mohamud agreed to meet on July 30, 2010.

For the first meeting, Youssef wore a suit to match his cover: a business traveler with connections across many countries. He met Mohamud on a street corner and walked with him to the Embassy Suites, a hotel blocks away from Pioneer Square.

The public record of that meeting is incomplete. In what the FBI claimed was an honest mistake, Youssef's tape recorder had dead batteries. Apart from the anonymous agent's testimony, the only source for what Mohamud said that day is a summarized report prepared by Chan. At trial, Chan said he had destroyed his original notes.

(The defense took great issue with this at trial. Entrapment law requires prosecutors to show that a defendant was predisposed to commit the crime before the first contact with

government agents. The nuances of Mohamud's behavior and language during the first meeting, the defense argued, were vital.)

In the FBI's account of the meeting, Youssef and Mohamud sat at a table in a corner of the hotel lobby. The agent said the Council wanted to interview seven possible candidates in the U.S. and Canada.

"So, what have you been doing to be a good Muslim?" Youssef asked.

Mohamud said he'd written religious poems and a couple of articles for *Jihadi Recollections*.

"Well, you know, it's pretty obvious that you can't go overseas," Youssef said. "So, what can you do for the cause? What do you want to do for the cause right now?"

Instead of answering with a concrete proposition, Mohamud told him about a dream in which he went to the mountains of Yemen, received training, and led a Muslim army against the infidels in Afghanistan. The undercover agent then repeated his question — what could the teen do for the cause? Mohamud said he could do "anything."

"I gave him five examples of how you could be a good Muslim," Youssef testified at trial. Mohamud, the agent said, could pray five times a day, train as a doctor and go overseas, donate money to the cause, become "operational," or become "a martyr."

Mohamud replied he wanted to become operational. Youssef asked what he meant. According to the FBI agent, the teen said he wanted to "get a car, fill it with explosives, park it near a target location, and detonate the vehicle." Youssef told Mohamud he "had a brother that could help him with explosives" and instructed him "to research possible places within the Portland area as possible targets." The two then parted ways.

The FBI brought a second undercover agent into the operation: a detective from a suburban police department in California assigned to his city's Joint Terrorism Task Force. Like Youssef, the second agent was born and raised in an Arabic-speaking country. For the sake of the operation, he assumed the name Hussein. He prepared to play the role of a mature and deeply religious explosives expert.

Two weeks later, Mohamud met again with Youssef. The script for that meeting, the agent testified, was to "sell" the teen to Hussein, who was supposed to be initially skeptical. Youssef and Mohamud went to a room at the Embassy Suites, where Hussein was waiting — and where the FBI had installed several hidden cameras. They shared a meal to break the Ramadan fast.

"What can I do for you?" Hussein asked, according to his testimony.

Mohamud responded he wanted "a truck or a car and explosives."