



COUNCIL FOR NATIONAL POLICY

RESTORE AMERICA, RESTORE LIBERTY The Honorable R. Ted Cruz



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Well, thank you, thank you very much. I spent all week in Washington D.C. so it is great to be back in America. You know, we all just had a wonderful dinner, fantastic, the desert in particular which Tony advised you to turn your chair against was delicious. You know, I'll tell you in Washington actually there is a diet that is all the rage in Washington right now. It's called the Obama diet. It works very well. You just let Putin eat your lunch every day.

There are aspects of politics that are unusual, it can be a curious journey. I'm guessing there are not a lot of people in this room who watched the HBO vampire show *True Blood* and those of you who do are keeping quiet. Well, just a few weeks ago, much to my astonishment, the vampires on *True Blood* went to a Ted Cruz fundraiser. I am not making this up. Is that better? So the first part of the speech had all the substance. It was profound, it was powerful and it was meaningful so I hope you heard every word. So, now anyway, this HBO vampire show *True Blood* had the vampires going to a Ted Cruz fundraiser that was at, of all places, the George W. Bush Presidential Library. And they end up, I don't mean to be a plot spoiler here, but they end up killing a whole bunch of Texas Republicans. This is HBO. So we decided we were going to have a little bit of fun with it. So we put something up on Facebook about it. And we said you know if I sat down and made a list of all the places I never imagined my name would be mentioned, HBO's vampire show *True Blood* would be really near the top. And I went on to say that I'm really very sorry to have apparently lost the vampire vote. But I find myself astonished and a bit amused that HBO seems to be suggesting that hard-core leftists are bloodsucking fiends. So I posted that on Facebook and a lot of people began commenting. They enjoyed that and they were laughing. The best comment came from one fellow on Facebook and he said Ted, I'm sorry to tell you, you never had the vampire vote because vampires are dead and everybody knows the dead vote 100% Democrat. So it has been a strange, strange journey.

I am so happy to be back with so many friends here at CNP. This is a room filled with patriots. It is a room filled with fighters. This is, I think, the seventh or eighth time I've been to CNP. There are so many men and women here who have been supporters of mine back from when you had to be off your rocker nuts to be backing this guy. And there are a lot of people in this room who have been fighting for conservative principles over the decades at times over and over again when we were told you've got to be off your rocker nuts to believe that we can win.

What I want to talk to you all tonight about is a word of hope and optimism. If you remember the movie the *Usual Suspects*, there is a line in that movie that says the greatest trick the devil ever played was to convince the world he doesn't exist. There is a principle like that when it comes to conservatives. Which is that the greatest trick the media has ever played was to convince conservatives we cannot win. Was to convince so many conservatives that the American people are not with us. And what I want to tell you is the values in this country they are and they remain fundamentally center-right Judeo-Christian individual responsibility. That's who we are. If you look at the pillars that are up here: economic freedom, Judeo-Christian values, strong national defense, those are not 51% issues, those are 60%, 70%, 75% issues across our nation. And I want to talk to you in particular about seven victories -- seven victories from conservatives in the last couple of years. Five that are complete and two, that as we say in Texas, are fixin' to be complete.

Number one, you all will remember last year the incredible fight we had over guns following the horrible tragedy that happened in Newtown, Connecticut and anyone who was a parent was horrified at the site of those children murdered by that madman. The President didn't come out as he could have done and said let's target violent criminals. I think we ought to take violent criminals and come down on them like a ton of bricks. But he didn't do that. Instead he decided to use that tragedy to go after the Second Amendment right to keep and bear arms of law-abiding citizens. And in Washington, the conventional wisdom was this is unstoppable, nothing we can do about it. All of the media said okay this agenda is going through. I'll tell you in the Republican lunches every Tuesday, Wednesday and Thursday all the Republican senators sit around and have lunch. The virtual consensus in the room was this cannot be stopped. Get out of the way of this train. And I will tell you, I was proud to stand with my friends Sen. Mike Lee and Sen. Rand Paul in writing a very short and simple letter to Harry Reid where we said we will filibuster any legislation that undermines the second amendment, the right to keep and bear arms. Now, we sent that letter on a Friday before a two-week recess where all the Senators went back to their home states and what that did is it slowed things down and it shined a light. And as a result the American people began to speak up as Senator after Senator would go home to his or her state, would go to townhalls and their constituents would say those guys are fighting for the Second Amendment, why aren't you? And the phones began to light up, they began to hear over and over again from their constituents.

In Texas, as in a lot of your states, we define gun-control as hitting what you aim at. But the American people spoke up with overwhelming numbers and when it came time for a vote on the floor, every single proposal of President Obama's that would have undermined the Second Amendment was voted down on the Senate floor. Now that was your victory. That was the power of the American people speaking up and it is important to remember when this happened. This happened right in the beginning of his second term. Right after the president was reelected, right after everyone said Republicans, conservatives have been crushed, get out of the way because our agenda is moving. I'll tell you, on the Senate floor, the look of astonishment of senior Democrats who didn't know what had hit them. And what had hit them was the American people.

Now let me give you a second example of a major victory this year. The incredible victory for Hobby Lobby for religious liberty. Hobby Lobby was an incredible case and we saw believers come together and we saw conservatives come together. I was very pleased to file an amicus brief on behalf of several senators defending religious liberty and Hobby Lobby. I remember being outside the court on the day that

the oral argument happened. There was actually a blizzard outside. It was unusual in Washington, D.C. to see snow coming down. There was an incredible blizzard. My career has been, prior to the Senate, litigating inside the court. It was the first argument, I was outside the court in the snow and we had believers there rallying for religious liberty and I'll tell you what, Speaker after speaker said, it may be winter but summer is coming. And the Supreme Court ruled five to four that the federal government cannot force a Christian company to violate its religious beliefs and to be forced to pay for abortion inducing drugs. Now, that was a victory. But it is worth underscoring, that was five to four. One vote different and the ruling of the Supreme Court is yes the federal government can force you to violate your religious beliefs. We are one vote away from that.

If you want to understand what Hobby Lobby was about, there is another case that I would like to point to. It is the Little Sisters of the Poor. The Little Sisters of the Poor as most of the men and women in this room know are a Catholic convent of nuns who have taken a vow of poverty. And they devote their lives to caring for the poor and elderly, giving healthcare. Right now, today, the Obama administration is litigating against the Little Sisters of the Poor; trying to impose millions of dollars of fines under Obamacare on the Little Sisters of the Poor in order to force them to pay for abortion inducing drugs. Now, let me give you a very simple rule of thumb. If you're litigating against nuns, you have probably done something wrong. I will tell you, in the wake of Hobby Lobby something incredible happened. The Democrats went to the Senate floor and introduced legislation to repeal, to gut, the Religious Freedom Restoration Act. Now there was a time not too long ago when there was a bipartisan consensus in favor of religious liberty. The Religious Freedom Restoration Act passed in the 1990s passed 97 to 3. It was signed into law by Bill Clinton and yet in response to Hobby Lobby, Democratic Senators introduced legislation that would repeal much of the Religious Freedom Restoration Act and that would result in Hobby Lobby being forced to shut its doors or violate the Christian faith of the owners of that company. And that would result in the Little Sisters of the Poor facing the choice of either shutting down their ministry or being complicit and paying for abortion inducing drugs for others.

There are 55 Democrats in the United States Senate. Do you know how many Democratic Senators voted to preserve religious liberty? Zero. It was heartbreaking. I gave a long speech on the Senate floor saying what has become of this country when we are now imposing faith fines; when the federal government is fining believers for standing up and following their faith. And it is not a good thing in our country when one of the two major political parties goes so far off the deep end. I gave that speech quoting Bill Clinton with a picture of John F. Kennedy behind me. Scared the living daylights out of my dad. He turned on C-SPAN and said, "What are you doing with JFK?" But there was a time when JFK and when Democrats actually defended religious liberty. How far have we come? But it is worth underscoring Hobby Lobby as the second major victory.

A third victory, some months ago you will remember when the nation of Iran named as their ambassador to the United Nations Hamid Abutalebi. Now Abutalebi was a known terrorist. He participated in holding Americans hostage in 1979 and 1980. And that was intended to be and it was in fact a slap in the face of the United States. For them to send as their ambassador to the UN a known terrorist who had held Americans hostage. The conventional wisdom in Washington was that there is nothing that could be done about this. This is terrible but we can't do anything. Well, in my office we drafted legislation barring Abutalebi and other known terrorists for being admitted to the United States of America. That legislation earned support on the floor of the Senate from senators as varied as Lindsey Graham and Chuck Schumer. In fact, I came up to Chuck on the Senate floor and I said, "Chuck, be careful lightning is going to strike you." Our legislation passed the United States Senate 100 – 0. It went to the House of Representatives where it passed 435 – 0. And then President Obama signed it into law. Two weeks later at The White House correspondent's dinner, you know one of these black-tie dinners in Washington where politicians get up and pretend to be comedians? The president brought this up. He said, "Just a couple weeks ago Ted Cruz introduced legislation that I signed into law. He said, "Here's a picture of the signing ceremony." And he put up a picture of him, a picture of me and the devil and hell freezing over. But it was an

example where in standing for principal and shining the light on what was happening we were able to bring people together and change the law so that known terrorists cannot get visas to live in Manhattan with diplomatic immunity.

A fourth example, we all remember just a few months ago when Israel was experiencing rockets from Hamas. Massive numbers on a daily basis. When Israel was having terror tunnels come from below and in the midst of all of that the Obama administration launched a ban on civilian air flights to Israel. Now when that happened I put out a public statement asking a few questions. The central question was, did the Obama administration just launch an economic boycott on the nation of Israel? And I pointed out a few salient facts: number one, the FAA's ban is unprecedented in the history of Israel, the FAA has never previously banned flights into Israel. We do not ban flights today into Pakistan, into Yemen or into Afghanistan. We don't even ban flights into much of Ukraine. And Ukraine, just a couple of months ago separatists shot down a passenger airliner with a Russian missile. So I asked why is it that the administration would shut down every American flight into and out of Israel. And I asked also, why was this announced to precisely coincide with John Kerry arriving in the Middle East with \$47 million to give to Gaza that would end up in the hands of Hamas terrorists? At the same time the administration is pressuring Prime Minister Netanyahu to stop trying to take out the Hamas rockets and the terror tunnels. Within an hour of asking the question, the State Department spokesperson was being asked at her press conference is this an economic boycott on the nation of Israel? And what happened as a result of shining the light, the pressure began to get greater and greater and greater and within 36 hours the Obama administration lifted its ban on flights into and out of the nation of Israel.

A fifth example, is the incredible story of Miriam Ibrahim. Miriam Ibrahim, as many of you know, was a young wife and a young mother. She has two children, her son Martin is just under two years of age. And her daughter Maya is a newborn baby girl, a beautiful baby girl. Maya was born with her mother's legs in leg irons. She was in a prison in Sudan and the government of Sudan had sentenced Miriam to receive 100 lashes and then hanged by the neck until dead. What was Miriam's crime? Being a Christian. And the government of Sudan went to Miriam Ibrahim and they said Miriam, if you will simply renounce Christ we will spare you this horrible sentence. And Miriam looked at her captors and she said, "I cannot and I will not renounce Jesus." How many of us have ever had our faith tested like that? How many of us have ever had the question put to us where it is literally life and death? And yet the injustice of Miriam's sentence was such that Miriam was lifted up in the prayers of millions of believers across America and across the world. And millions of us spoke out, spoke out as loudly as we could. Now I will say sadly, among those millions was not President Obama. Not even once could the President bring himself to say on the largest bully pulpit in the world, Sudan free Miriam Ibrahim now. But the voices and prayers of the believers were so much. The international condemnation on the government of Sudan was so much that Sudan could not stand it. They released her, she is back now in America free, free at last. So those are five completed victories.

The last two, as I said, are victories that we are "fixin to win."

Number six is immigration. I represent the great state of Texas and in Texas we are seeing every day the crisis that is playing out on our southern border. President Obama is right in one regard, this is a humanitarian crisis. But it is a crisis of his own creation. It is the direct consequence of his own lawlessness. A simple examination of the numbers reveals that. Three years ago, in 2011, there were roughly 6,000 unaccompanied children coming into the country illegally. Then in the summer of 2012 President Obama unilaterally granted amnesty to some 800,000 people who had entered the country illegally as children. Now the direct and foreseeable consequences, the predicted consequence if you grant amnesty to people that enter as kids you create an enormous incentive for more and more kids to come illegally. And as a result it went from 6,000 children just three years ago to this year 90,000 unaccompanied children and next year it is expected to be 145,000 unaccompanied children. And it's

worth underscoring, look these kids are not being brought in by well-meaning social workers with beards and Birkenstocks. They are being brought in by hardened drug cartels and coyotes and these children are being physically assaulted, they are being sexually assaulted, they are being brutalized. The only way to stop what is happening and the only way to solve the crisis at the border is to stop President Obama's amnesty. Now this summer, in July, I introduced legislation in the United States Senate to make absolutely clear in law that the President of the United States has no authority whatsoever to grant amnesty to anyone here illegally. And I'm proud to tell you the House of Representatives stood up and led. The House took the legislation that I had introduced in the Senate, they brought it up for a vote and the House of Representatives passed that legislation. But then in the United States Senate, Harry Reid and the do-nothing Senate refused even to allow a vote on legislation to end President Obama's amnesty. And instead Harry Reid sent the Senators home for August doing nothing about this crisis. Now listen in the short term things do not look encouraging. President Obama has said he intends to illegally grant amnesty to some five or six million more people this year. But he helpfully said just a couple weeks ago he is going to wait until after the election to do it. Now listen, that reveals something. How many of us have heard from the D.C. consultants, from the press, from everyone else that immigration is a terrible issue for Republicans? We just have to give up, we've got to give in, we have to surrender and accept amnesty. It's the only way Republicans can win. The funny thing is people saying that it's almost like they've never actually met real-life voters in the United States of America. Because the President was very explicit that he would delay it until after the election because Senate Democrats said for Pete's sake please don't do this before the election. We are losing. Think of the cynicism it says when the president says as I recognize the American people do not support amnesty by a rate of 70, 75 or 80%. The American people believe in the rule of law and they think amnesty only makes the problem worse. But think of the cynicism when the president says I'm going to do it but I'm going to wait until after the election because I don't think the people are paying attention enough to recognize what is happening. This is an issue that I think is energizing the American people. I think this next election is going to be a referendum on amnesty and that is going to be a big part of the reason why I believe we are fixin to win and to adopt common sense legislation that actually secures the borders and that welcomes and celebrates legal immigrants who are coming here to seek the American dream.

The seventh and final victory that is fixin to happen is the fight on Obamacare. Now you all may remember the fight we had last summer and fall to stop the disaster that was Obamacare. If you listen to the mainstream media, if you listen to the Democrats, although I repeat myself, they will tell you that fight last fall did not succeed. I'm going to suggest the proof is in the pudding. Right now today we are living with the fruits of that fight last fall. As a result of that fight we elevated the national debate. Millions of Americans focusing on the train wreck, on the disaster that is Obama care. Millions of Americans who have lost their jobs or who have been forced into part-time work who have lost their healthcare, who have lost their doctors and as a result of elevating that debate today, President Obama's approval rating is at the lowest level it has ever been in six years in office. Today Obamacare is at its lowest approval rating it has ever been since the day it was signed into law. It has plummeted in approval with young people. It has plummeted with Hispanics. It has plummeted with independents. Heck, it has plummeted with Democrats. There are two consequences of that fight. Number one, the reason why Republicans are poised to have a fantastic election year in 2014 is that every Democratic senator is wearing Obamacare like an albatross around his or her neck. It is a great ad that is running up in New Hampshire, if you like your senator you can keep your senator. But the second consequence is Obamacare is right now at 37% approval rating. I believe we have set the foundation with the American people that come 2017 with a Republican President in The White House, we will sign legislation repealing every word of Obamacare. So I'm guessing Obamacare is not that popular in this room.

Seven victories, seven major victories on domestic policy, on foreign policy, on religious liberty that run the gamut. I mentioned at the outset that I'm optimistic, I am convinced that November 2014, just a few weeks from today, that Republicans are going to retake the Senate and we are going to retire Harry Reid

as the majority leader. And the reason that I'm optimistic is because of each of you. The Book of Ecclesiastes tells us there is nothing new under the sun. I think where we are today is strikingly like the late 1970s. You know, when Richard Viguerie was standing up here talking about the dark days of the 1970s, double digit unemployment, 22% interest rates, stagflation, gas lines, and our hostages in Iran for 444 days. I think the parallels between Jimmy Carter and Barack Obama are uncanny. In fact the only person in America who is happy at the job that Barack Obama is doing is Jimmy Carter. In the 1970s we had the same failed economic policies, out-of-control spending and taxes and regulation producing the same misery and malaise and we had the same feckless and naïve foreign-policy, making the world much more dangerous. Leading nations like Iran and Russia to openly laugh at and mock the President of the United States. But the men and women in this room will remember what happened in the late 1970s. We saw a grass roots movement begin to sweep this country- millions of men and women who came together and became the Reagan Revolution. And it didn't come from Washington. Washington despised Ronald Reagan. By the way, if you see a candidate who Washington embraces run and hide. It came from the American people. It came from millions of men and women, many of whom had never been involved in politics before but who looked up and said what on earth are we doing? And we stood up and turned this country around. We went from stagnation, from misery, from four years of less than 1% growth a year to by 1984, the fourth year of Reagan's presidency, an economy booming at 7.2% a year. And we went from our hostages in Iran to the hostages being released that day Ronald Reagan was sworn into office and to within a decade winning the Cold War and tearing the Berlin wall to the ground.

I am optimistic for the very simple reason that the same thing is happening all over again. One of the greatest blessings of serving in the Senate, representing 26 million Texans, is that I have the opportunity to travel the country and everywhere I go all over the country millions of Americans are waking up and saying this path isn't working. And I want to say something in particular about how we win. You get a lot of analysts in Washington who talk about winning and inevitably their solution to win is to move to the mushy middle, to stand for nothing and set aside principles for a second. How utterly unprincipled that is. Just ask a simple question. Does it work? The most amazing thing about politics is there is this small cabal of consultants in Washington who keep running national campaigns. They keep losing. And then they keep coming back to the donors and saying support us again so that we can go make the same mistakes again and lose all over again. How do we win? We follow the pattern of the seven victories. We stand for truth. We speak not in pale pastels but in bold colors. We energize and bring back people of faith, Christians across this country, Reagan Democrats, working men and women, teenagers, people who are being left out right now. We stand for life. We stand for marriage. We stand up and abolish the IRS. We repeal Obamacare. We repeal common core. Elections are won when men and women across this country recognize what we are doing isn't working. We want a different path. They aren't won in the mushy middle. They are won with an optimistic hopeful vision that draws a line in the sand and says the path we are on leads to destruction and death and there is a better path getting back to the free market principles, to the constitutional liberties that are the foundation of this nation. That is what the men and women in this room understand and you bear the stripes from standing and fighting for those principles and I will tell you I am humbled and I am honored to have the chance to stand with you as we fight together to preserve the last best hope of mankind. To restore that shining city on a hill that is the United States of America. Thank you and God bless.

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