American Bridge
Trump Policy Brief: Trump’s Foreign Policy of Insults & Instability

5.18.17
TRUMP'S FOREIGN POLICY OF INSULTS & INSTABILITY

Trump announced his first foreign trip as President would include stops in Saudi Arabia, Israel, Sicily, and the Vatican, plus stop in Belgium to attend a NATO meeting. Trump said the purpose of the trip was to “build a coalition of friends and partners” in the fight against terrorism.

If his goal is to make friends and gain partners, Trump has some serious ground to make up. Just 120 days into his presidency, Trump has managed to insult and weaken relations with almost all of the countries on his itinerary. He has referred to the U.S. alliance with Saudi Arabia as “unfair” and useless, demonized Muslims, and ordered a ban on travel from seven Muslim-majority countries. He has referred to the U.S. alliance with Saudi Arabia as “unfair” and useless, demonized Muslims, and ordered a ban on travel from seven Muslim-majority countries. He shared classified Israeli intelligence with Russian officials, has disseminated anti-Semitic rhetoric on Twitter, and counts a known Nazi among his advisors. He has also openly squabbled with the Pope over his controversial immigration policies.

Trump has also worried NATO allies with his inconsistent support for the organization. He wavers between believing NATO is and is not “obsolete,” and has repeatedly complained about member nations not paying their fair share in exchange for military protection.

Trump Announced He Would Take A Foreign Trip To “Build A Coalition Of Friends And Partners” Against Middle East Terrorism

TRUMP CHOSE TO VISIT SAUDI ARABIA, ISRAEL, SICILY, AND THE VATICAN ON HIS FIRST FOREIGN TRIP AS PRESIDENT

The Atlantic: President Trump Planned To Visit “The Symbolic Homes Of The Three Abrahamic Faiths” On His First Foreign Trip In Attempts To “Plea For Global Unity.” According to The Atlantic, “President Trump is going big on his first foreign trip, planning to visit the symbolic homes of the three Abrahamic faiths as he makes a plea for global unity. Trump will visit Saudi Arabia, Israel, and the Vatican, where he plans to meet Pope Francis, later this month. He’d already announced plans to visit NATO and G7 summits in France and Italy respectively, and will complete those visits afterwards.” [The Atlantic, 5/4/17]

- Trump's Trip Was Scheduled To Include Stops In Saudi Arabia, Israel, Sicily, The Vatican, And Belgium. According to Politico, “President Donald Trump departs Friday for his first foreign trip, a nine-day voyage that will take him across the Middle East and Western Europe. Although the trip will be shadowed by Trump’s growing problems at home, it could shape his foreign policy in important and lasting ways. Trump will encounter a slew of thorny foreign policy issues on his trip, which features stops in Saudi Arabia, Israel, a G7 meeting in Sicily, a NATO summit in Brussels and a visit to the Vatican.” [Politico, 5/19/17]

Trump Presented His First Foreign Trip As An Opportunity To Rally A Global Coalition Against Intolerance. According to The New York Times, “When President Trump announced Thursday that he would visit the centers of three great religions on his first foreign trip, his advisers presented it as a sign that the United States planned to marshal a powerful coalition against the forces of intolerance. […] ‘Tolerance is the cornerstone of peace,’ Mr. Trump said at a ceremony at the White House, in which he said he would go to ‘Saudi Arabia, then Israel, and then to a place that my cardinals love very much, Rome.’” [New York Times, 5/4/17]
Trump: “Our Task Is Not To Dictate To Others How To Live, But To Build A Coalition Of Friends And Partners Who Share The Goal Of Fighting Terrorism And Bringing Safety, Opportunity, And Stability To The War-Ravaged Middle East.” According to The Atlantic, “Our task is not to dictate to others how to live, but to build a coalition of friends and partners who share the goal of fighting terrorism and bringing safety, opportunity, and stability to the war-ravaged Middle East,” Trump said in announcing the trip on Thursday.” [The Atlantic, 5/4/17]

TRUMP ANNOUNCED HE WOULD ALSO ATTEND A NATO MEETING IN BRUSSELS WHILE ABROAD

Trump Announced He Would Visit Brussels, Belgium For A NATO Meeting On His First Foreign Trip. According to CNBC, “The White House has announced what is expected to be President Donald Trump's first foreign trip. Press Secretary Sean Spicer says the president will travel to Brussels, Belgium, on May 25 for a meeting with the North Atlantic Treaty Organization heads of state.” [CNBC, 3/22/17]

Trump Has Needlessly Insulted And Weakened Relations With The Nations On His Itinerary

TRUMP DEGRADED THE U.S. ALLIANCE WITH SAUDI ARABIA AND ATTACKED ISLAM

Trump Referred To The U.S. Alliance With Saudi Arabia As “Unfair” And Useless

Trump Complained That The U.S. Has Backed Saudi Arabia “At Tremendous Expense” And “We Get Nothing For It.” According to The New Yorker, “Saudi Arabia is an unusual choice for Trump’s first stop as President, given his attitude toward the country during the Presidential campaign. He complained that the U.S. backs the kingdom ‘at tremendous expense,’ and ‘we get nothing for it’; he tied the kingdom to the 9/11 attacks; and he wrote on his Facebook page, ‘Saudi Arabia and many of the countries that gave vast amounts of money to the Clinton Foundation want women as slaves and to kill gays.’” [New Yorker, 5/16/17]

Trump: “Frankly, Saudi Arabia Has Not Treated Us Fairly, Because We Are Losing A Tremendous Amount Of Money In Defending Saudi Arabia.” According to The New Yorker, “Saudi Arabia is an unusual choice for Trump’s first stop as President, given his attitude toward the country during the Presidential campaign. He complained that the U.S. backs the kingdom ‘at tremendous expense,’ and ‘we get nothing for it’; he tied the kingdom to the 9/11 attacks; and he wrote on his Facebook page, ‘Saudi Arabia and many of the countries that gave vast amounts of money to the Clinton Foundation want women as slaves and to kill gays. Hillary must return all money from such countries!’ Just last month, Trump told Reuters, ‘Frankly, Saudi Arabia has not treated us fairly, because we are losing a tremendous amount of money in defending Saudi Arabia.’” [New Yorker, 5/16/17]

Trump Has Demonized Muslims And Said “Islam Hates Us”

Trump, March 2016: “I Think Islam Hates Us.” According to The Atlantic, “It’s notable that the president’s first stop will be Saudi Arabia, home to the Muslim holy cities of Mecca and Medina, and somewhat confusing that he is couching the tour as combating ‘intolerance.’ Trump has stridently criticized Islam and Muslims—‘I think Islam hates us,’ he said in March 2016—and hired anti-Muslim advisers, and his two attempts at curtailing Muslim immigration to the United States have stalled out in federal courts. (In fact,
Trump announced his trip in the Rose Garden, at ceremony marking the National Day of Prayer attended by the outspoken anti-Muslim evangelist Franklin Graham.)” [The Atlantic, 5/4/17]

Trump, December 2015: “There Is Great Hatred Towards Americans By Large Segments Of The Muslim Population [...] It Is Obvious To Anybody The Hatred Is Beyond Comprehension.” According to USA Today, “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. [...] 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.’” [USA Today, 5/8/17]

Trump December 2015: After 9/11 “There Were People That Were Cheering On The Other Side Of New Jersey, Where You Have Large Arab Populations. They Were Cheering As The World Trade Center Came Down.” According to CBS, “Republican presidential candidate Donald Trump says he saw people cheering the Sept. 11 attacks across the river in New Jersey - a claim officials strongly deny. Trump first told the story Saturday at a rally in Birmingham, Alabama, as he pressed the need for greater surveillance, including monitoring certain mosques, in the wake of the Paris attacks. ‘I watched when the World Trade Center came tumbling down. And I watched in Jersey City, New Jersey, where thousands and thousands of people were cheering as that building was coming down. Thousands of people were cheering,’ Trump said Saturday at a rally in Birmingham, Alabama. [...] ‘There were people that were cheering on the other side of New Jersey, where you have large Arab populations. They were cheering as the World Trade Center came down,’ he said.” [CBS, 11/22/15]

Trump Attacked Muslim Gold Star Mother Ghazala Khan, Implied She Wasn't Allowed To Speak At The DNC Because Of Her Religion. According to USA Today, “The Khans appeared in an interview with MSNBC’s The Last Word. Ghazala Khan said that being on stage was very hard ‘because I cannot see my son’s picture, I cannot even come in the room where his pictures are.’ [...] Trump also went after Ghazala Khan, who stood beside her husband during his speech but did not speak. Trump implied that she may not have been allowed to speak because of her religion. Ghazala Khan has since fired back, saying that she had been invited to speak but was too upset to do so.” [USA Today, 8/1/16]

One Of Trump’s First Actions As President Was A Ban On Travel From Seven Muslim-Majority Countries

Trump, December 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 USA Today, “On Monday morning, President Trump’s campaign website featured his December 2015 statement about ‘preventing Muslim immigration.’ [...] 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.” [USA Today, 5/8/17]

Trump Signed An Executive Order Banning The Nationals Of Seven Muslim-Majority Countries From Entering The United States. According to CNN, “President Donald Trump on Friday banned nationals of seven Muslim-majority countries from entering the United States for at least the next 90 days by executive order. The order bars all people hailing from Iraq, Syria, Iran, Libya, Somalia, Sudan and Yemen. Those countries were named in a 2016 law concerning immigration visas as ‘countries of concern.’ The executive order also bans entry of those fleeing from war-torn Syria indefinitely. Trump also has stopped the admission of all refugees to the United States for four months. The order also calls for a review into
suspending the Visa Interview Waiver Program, which allows travelers from 38 countries -- including close allies -- to renew travel authorizations without an in-person interview.” [CNN, 1/28/17]

**Trump Tasked Muslim Ban Author Stephen Miller With Writing His Speech To Give In Saudi Arabia**

Trump Announced He Would Give A Speech In Saudi Arabia Addressing 50 Leaders From Muslim-Majority Countries On The Need To Confront Radical Ideology. According to Newsweek, “Donald Trump will give a speech on confronting radical Islam this month during his visit to Saudi Arabia. National security adviser H.R. McMaster said on Tuesday the president would address 50 leaders from Muslim-majority countries during his time in Saudi Arabia in an ‘inspiring but direct speech on the need to confront radical ideology.’” [Newsweek, 5/16/17]

The White House Tasked Senior Adviser Stephen Miller With Writing President Trump’s Speech On Islam. According to The Hill, “White House senior adviser Stephen Miller, who was thrust into the spotlight for his role creating the controversial travel ban, will write President Trump’s upcoming speech on Islam, CNN reported. Miller is drafting speeches Trump will give in Saudi Arabia and Israel. In Saudi Arabia, Trump will ‘deliver an inspiring yet direct speech on the need to confront radical ideology and the president’s hopes for a peaceful vision of Islam to dominate across the world,’ national security adviser H.R. McMaster said. ‘The speech is intended to unite the broader Muslim world against common enemies of all civilization and to demonstrate America’s commitment to our Muslim partners,’ McMaster said. Miller played a key role creating the administration’s initial travel ban on citizens from seven majority-Muslim countries, which was denounced by critics as a fulfillment of Trump’s promise for a ‘Muslim ban.’” [The Hill, 5/17/17]

- **White House Senior Adviser Stephen Miller Helped Create Trump’s Controversial Muslim Country Travel Ban.** According to The Hill, “White House senior adviser Stephen Miller, who was thrust into the spotlight for his role creating the controversial travel ban, will write President Trump’s upcoming speech on Islam, CNN reported. Miller is drafting speeches Trump will give in Saudi Arabia and Israel. In Saudi Arabia, Trump will ‘deliver an inspiring yet direct speech on the need to confront radical ideology and the president’s hopes for a peaceful vision of Islam to dominate across the world,’ national security adviser H.R. McMaster said. ‘The speech is intended to unite the broader Muslim world against common enemies of all civilization and to demonstrate America’s commitment to our Muslim partners,’ McMaster said. Miller played a key role creating the administration’s initial travel ban on citizens from seven majority-Muslim countries, which was denounced by critics as a fulfillment of Trump’s promise for a ‘Muslim ban.’” [The Hill, 5/17/17]


**TRUMP SHARED CLASSIFIED ISRAELI INTELLIGENCE WITH RUSSIAN OFFICIALS AND TAKES COUNSEL FROM ANTI-SEMITES**

**Trump Confirmed Israel’s “Worst Fears” By Sharing Intelligence With The Russians**

Trump Disclosed Classified Israeli Intelligence With Russian Officials. According to The New York Times, “The classified intelligence that President Trump disclosed in a meeting last week with Russian officials at the White House was provided by Israel, according to a current and a former American official familiar with how the United States obtained the information. The revelation adds a potential diplomatic complication to an episode that has renewed questions about how the White House handles sensitive intelligence.” [New York Times, 5/16/17]
- **Trump Discussed Details About An Islamic State Plot, Including The City In Syria Where Israel Learned The Information.** According to The New York Times, “In the meeting last week, Mr. Trump told Sergey V. Lavrov, the Russian foreign minister, and Sergey I. Kislyak, the Russian ambassador, details about the Islamic State plot, including the city in Syria where the ally learned the information, the current official said. At least some of the details that the United States has about the Islamic State plot came from the Israelis, said the officials, who were not authorized to discuss the matter and spoke on the condition of anonymity.” [New York Times, 5/16/17]

- **New York Times: Trump’ Revelation Was A “Serious Breach Of Espionage Etiquette.”**
According to The New York Times, “Now, the Americans and Israelis will have to contend with the serious breach of espionage etiquette. Israel had previously urged the United States to be careful about the handling of the intelligence that Mr. Trump discussed, the officials said.” [New York Times, 5/16/17]

New York Times: “Trump's Boasting About Some Of Israel's Most Sensitive Information To The Russians Could Damage The Relationship Between The Two Countries And Raises The Possibility That The Information Could Be Passed To Iran.” According to The New York Times, “Israel is one of the United States’ most important allies and runs one of the most active espionage networks in the Middle East. Mr. Trump's boasting about some of Israel's most sensitive information to the Russians could damage the relationship between the two countries and raises the possibility that the information could be passed to Iran, Russia’s close ally and Israel’s main threat in the region.” [New York Times, 5/16/17]

An Israeli Intelligence Official Said Trump's Sharing Their Intelligence With Russian Officials Was Israel's “Worst Fears Confirmed.” According to BuzzFeed, “Two Israeli intelligence officials confirmed to BuzzFeed News Tuesday that Israel had shared specific intelligence with the US regarding ISIS plots to smuggle explosive laptops onto planes, and that it appeared that that intelligence had been shared with Russia without prior coordination. The revelation that Trump had shared that intelligence with Russian officials was Israel’s ‘worst fears confirmed,’ said one of the intelligence officers.” [BuzzFeed, 5/16/17]

**Trump Has Disseminated Anti-Semitic Rhetoric And Appointed Known Anti-Semites To Serve In His White House**

*Trump Has Disseminated Anti-Semitic Rhetoric On Twitter*

2016: Trump Retweeted Neo-Nazi Twitter Account Called “@WhiteGenocideTM.” According to NBC News, “Donald Trump on Friday retweeted what appears to be a neo-Nazi Twitter account that posted a photoshopped picture mocking rival Jeb Bush. The tweet by user ‘@WhiteGenocideTM’ featured an image of Bush dressed as a panhandler outside Trump Tower with a ‘Vote Trump’ sign.” [NBC News, 1/22/16]

- **WhiteGenocideTM’s Profile Picture Was Image Of American Nazi Party Founder.** According to NBC News, “WhiteGenocideTM’s profile picture is an image of George Lincoln Rockwell, the infamous founder of the American Nazi Party, with the caption ‘The Man Who Wants To Be Hitler.’ His listed location is ‘Jewmerica.’” [NBC News, 1/22/16]

- **WhiteGenocideTM’s Location Was Listed As “Jewmerica.”** According to NBC News, “WhiteGenocideTM’s profile picture is an image of George Lincoln Rockwell, the infamous founder of the American Nazi Party, with the caption ‘The Man Who Wants To Be Hitler.’ His listed location is ‘Jewmerica.’” [NBC News, 1/22/16]

Trump Shared An Image Critical Of Hillary Clinton On Twitter That Had Been Shared On A White Supremacist Message Board Days Earlier And Featured Anti-Semitic Imagery, Including The Star
Of David, A Pile Of Cash, And The Words, “Most Corrupt Candidate Ever.” According to CNN, “Donald Trump set off his latest firestorm this weekend when he tweeted a graphic critical of Hillary Clinton that featured a six-pointed star, a pile of cash and the words ‘most corrupt candidate ever.’ Critics erupted with complaints that the graphic evoked anti-Semitic imagery and the Trump campaign refused to answer questions about the tweet even as reports emerged that the image had been posted to an anti-Semitic, white supremacist message board 10 days earlier.” [CNN, 7/4/16]

Trump’s Top Terrorism Advisor Sebastian Gorka Is A Known Nazi

Trump’s Top Terrorism Advisor Sebastian Gorka Was Reported To Be A Member Of The Nazi-Hungarian Nationalist Group Vitézi Rend. According to The Atlantic, “Gorka is a top terrorism adviser to Trump; like Flynn, he has a long record of militant attitudes toward Islam, and like Flynn, his foreign ties are now coming under serious scrutiny. The Forward reports Thursday that officers of Vitézi Rend, an anti-Semitic, quasi-Nazi Hungarian nationalist group, say Gorka is a sworn member. Gorka wore a medal typically worn by Vitézi Rend members to a January 20 inauguration ball, but said at the time that it was a gesture honoring his late father. He has also at times referred to himself as Sebastian L. v. Gorka, using a “v.” initial employed by Vitézi Rend members.” [The Atlantic, 3/16/17]

- **Gorka Wore A Vitézi Rend Medal During The Inauguration And At Times Has Referred To Himself As “Sebastian L. V. Gorka, Using A ‘V.’ Initial Employed By Vitézi Rend Members.”** According to The Atlantic, “Gorka is a top terrorism adviser to Trump; like Flynn, he has a long record of militant attitudes toward Islam, and like Flynn, his foreign ties are now coming under serious scrutiny. The Forward reports Thursday that officers of Vitézi Rend, an anti-Semitic, quasi-Nazi Hungarian nationalist group, say Gorka is a sworn member. Gorka wore a medal typically worn by Vitézi Rend members to a January 20 inauguration ball, but said at the time that it was a gesture honoring his late father. He has also at times referred to himself as Sebastian L. v. Gorka, using a ‘v.’ initial employed by Vitézi Rend members.” [The Atlantic, 3/16/17]

2006: Gorka Worked With László Toroczkai Who Was Editor Of A Paper Which In 2004 Called Jews “Galician Upstarts” And Advocated For “[Taking] Back Our Country From Them, [Taking] Back Our Stolen Fortunes.” According to Forward, “During large-scale anti-government demonstrations in Hungary in 2006, Gorka took on an active role, becoming closely involved with a protest group called the Hungarian National Committee (Magyar Nemzeti Bizottság). Gorka took on the roles of translator, press coordinator and adviser for the group. Among the four Committee members named as the group’s political representatives was László Toroczkai, then head of the 64 Counties Youth Movement. Toroczkai founded that group in 2001 to advocate for the return of parts of modern-day Serbia, Slovakia, Romania and Ukraine to form a Greater Hungary, restoring the country’s pre-World War I borders. In 2004, two years before the Movement’s involvement in the 2006 protests, Hungarian authorities opened an investigation into the Movement’s newspaper, Magyar Jelen, when an article referred to Jews as ‘Galician upstarts’ and went on to argue: ‘We should get them out. In fact, we need to take back our country from them, take back our stolen fortunes. After all, these upstarts are sucking on our blood, getting rich off our blood.’ At the time of the article’s publication, Toroczkai was both an editor at the paper and the Movement’s official leader. Toroczkai currently serves as vice president of Jobbik and is the mayor of a village near the border Hungary shares with Serbia. Last year, he gained notoriety in the West for declaring a goal of banning Muslims and gays from his town.” [Forward, 2/24/17]

2007: Gorka Established A New Political Party In Hungary With Two Members Who Were Members Of Jobbik, A Political Party With A Long History Of Anti-Semitism. According to Forward, “Gorka co-founded his political party with three other politicians. Two of his co-founders, Tamás Molnár and Attila Bégány, were former members of Jobbik. Molnár, a senior Jobbik politician, served as the party’s vice president until shortly before joining Gorka’s new initiative, and was also a member of the Hungarian National Committee during the 2006 protests, issuing statements together with extremist militant figures such
as Toroczkai. Jobbik has a long history of anti-Semitism. In 2006, when Gorka’s political allies were still members of Jobbik, articles in the party’s official online blog included headlines such as ‘The Roots of Jewish Terrorism’ and ‘Where Were the Jews in 1956?’, a reference to the country’s revolution against Soviet rule. In one speech in 2010, Jobbik leader Gabor Vona said that ‘under communism we licked Moscow’s boots, now we lick Brussels’ and Washington’s and Tel Aviv’s.” [Forward, 2/24/17]

2007: Gorka Said He Supported The Move By Jobbik To Establish A Militia Which Was Later Condemned By The European Court Of Human Rights. According to Forward, “In a video obtained by the Forward of an August 2007 television appearance by Gorka, the future White House senior aide explicitly affirms his party’s and his support for the black-vested Hungarian Guard (Magyar Gárda) — a group later condemned by the European Court of Human Rights for attempting to promote an ‘essentially racist’ legal order. Asked directly on the TV interview program if he supports the move by Jobbik, a far-right anti-Semitic party, to establish the militia, Gorka, appearing as a leader of his own newly formed party, replies immediately, ‘That is so.’ The Guard, Gorka explains, is a response to ‘a big societal need.”’ [Forward, 2/24/17]

White House Advisor Stephen Bannon Has Expressed Anti-Semitic Sentiments

Bannon’s Ex-Wife Accused Him In A Court Statement Of Not Wanting Their Children To Attend A Private School Because It Had Too Many Jewish Students. According to the Washington Post, “Direct evidence of racist or anti-Semitic statements by Bannon is harder to find. According to a 2007 court statement, Bannon’s ex-wife accused him of not wanting their twin daughters attending a California private school because its student body included too many Jews.” [Washington Post, 11/14/16]

Bannon’s Breitbart Published An Article Titled “Bill Kristol: Republican Spoiler, Renegade Jew.” According to CNN, “Here’s a sampling of Breitbart's most incendiary headlines: […] ‘Bill Kristol: Republican spoiler, renegade Jew’ […] A post in May described a ‘third party effort to block Trump's path to the White House’ that Breitbart claimed was orchestrated by the prominent conservative and Trump critic Bill Kristol. The headline is one of the site's most infamous, and was featured this fall in a Democratic political ad.” [CNN, 11/15/16]

TRUMP HAS OPENLY SQUABBLED WITH THE POPE

During The U.S. Presidential Campaign, The Pope Tweeted: “A Person Who Thinks Only About Building Walls, Wherever They May Be, And Not Building Bridges, Is Not Christian.” According to The New Yorker, “During the U.S. Presidential campaign, the Holy Father tweeted, ‘A person who thinks only about building walls, wherever they may be, and not building bridges, is not Christian.’ Trump called the comment ‘disgraceful.”’ [New Yorker, 5/16/17]

- Responding To The Pope, Trump Said “For A Religious Leader To Question A Person's Faith Is Disgraceful.” According to The Washington Post, “POPE FRANCIS: After finishing his trip to the Mexican border, Francis told journalists: ‘A person who thinks only about building walls — wherever they may be — and not building bridges, is not Christian. This is not in the Gospel.’ ‘As far as what you said about whether I would advise to vote or not to vote, I am not going to get involved in that. I say only that this man is not Christian if he said things like that. We must see if he said things in that way and in this I give the benefit of the doubt.’ DONALD TRUMP: Responding to the pope’s comments, Trump released a statement saying: ‘For a religious leader to question a person’s faith is disgraceful. I am proud to be a Christian and as President I will not allow Christianity to be consistently attacked and weakened, unlike what is happening now, with our current President.”’ [Washington Post, 2/17/16]
• Responding To The Pope, Trump Said “If And When The Vatican Is Attacked The Pope Would Only Wish And Have Prayed That Donald Trump Would Have Been Elected President.” According to The New York Times, “Mr. Trump responded immediately at a campaign rally in Kiawah Island, S.C. Discussing the Islamic State, ‘their primary goal is to get to the Vatican.’ ‘If and when the Vatican is attacked,’ he said, ‘the pope would only wish and have prayed that Donald Trump would have been elected president.’” [New York Times, 2/19/16]

Trump Criticized Pope Francis's Visit To The Mexican Border, Calling The Pontiff A Political Person And Accusing Him Of Acting On Behalf Of The Mexican Government. According to The New York Times, “In the days before Francis arrived at the border, Mr. Trump criticized the visit, calling the pope a political person and accusing him of acting at the behest of the Mexican government. ‘I think that the pope is a very political person,’ he said.” [New York Times, 2/19/16]

• Trump: “I Don't Think [The Pope] Understands The Danger Of The Open Border That We Have With Mexico.” According to The New York Times, “Mr. Trump, in an interview with Fox Business Network, said: ‘I don’t think he understands the danger of the open border that we have with Mexico. I think Mexico got him to do it because they want to keep the border just the way it is. They’re making a fortune, and we’re losing.’” [New York Times, 2/19/16]

• Trump: I think Mexico Got The Pope To Go To The Border “Because They Want To Keep The [It] Just The Way It Is.” According to The New York Times, “Mr. Trump, in an interview with Fox Business Network, said: ‘I don’t think he understands the danger of the open border that we have with Mexico. I think Mexico got him to do it because they want to keep the border just the way it is. They're making a fortune, and we're losing.’” [New York Times, 2/19/16]

New York Times: “After Trump Signed An Executive Order Banning Immigrants From Seven Muslim-Majority Countries, The Pope Tweeted, “How Often In The Bible The Lord Asks Us To Welcome Migrants And Foreigners, Reminding Us That We Too Are Foreigners!”” According to The New York Times, “The Pontiff has been discreet, implying but not naming the new American President. In February, after Trump signed an executive order banning immigrants from seven Muslim countries, the Pope tweeted, ‘How often in the Bible the Lord asks us to welcome migrants and foreigners, reminding us that we too are foreigners!’” [New Yorker, 5/16/17]

**Trump Has Worried NATO Allies With His Inconsistent Support**

**TRUMP HAS GONE BACK AND FORTH ON HIS SUPPORT FOR NATO AS AN ORGANIZATION**

BuzzFeed: NATO Allies Have Been “Uncertain About Which Version Of Donald Trump Will Show Up In Belgium’s Capital: The One That Believes NATO Is ‘No Longer Obsolete’ Or The One That Thinks The 28-Member Military Alliance Is A Relic Of The Past.” According to BuzzFeed, “The prospect of a speech penned by the 31-year-old anti-globalist adds a new layer of anxiety for NATO allies uncertain about which version of Donald Trump will show up in Belgium’s capital: The one that believes NATO is ‘no longer obsolete’ or the one that thinks the 28-member military alliance is a relic of the past.” [BuzzFeed, 5/18/17]

**Trump, January 2017: NATO Is “Obsolete.”** According to The New York Times, “In comments that are likely to create fresh tensions with the United States’ closest European allies, President-elect Donald J. Trump described NATO as “obsolete” in an interview published on Sunday and said other European nations would probably follow Britain’s lead by leaving the European Union.” [New York Times, 1/15/17]
• Trump, April 2017: “I Said [NATO] Was Obsolete […] It's No Longer Obsolete.” According to CNN, “Washington (CNN)President Donald Trump took credit Wednesday for steering NATO’s focus toward terrorism, declaring the military alliance is no longer outdated after castigating its focus and financing on the campaign trail last year. ‘I said it was obsolete,’ Trump declared at the White House. ‘It’s no longer obsolete.’” [CNN, 4/12/17]

• April 2017: Trump Said His Opinion On NATO Changed Because NATO Leaders Agreed To Begin Fighting Terrorism. According to CNN, “Trump said Wednesday he’d changed views after NATO’s leaders assured him the group would turn its attention to combating groups like ISIS going forward. ‘The secretary general and I had a productive discussion about what more NATO can do in the fight against terrorism,’ Trump said. ‘I complained about that a long time ago, and they made a change and now they do fight terrorism.’” [CNN, 4/12/17]

- NATO Had Been Involved In Fighting Terrorism For Over A Decade. According to CNN, “Trump's allegation that NATO just recently began combating terror isn't accurate; the alliance has played a central role in Afghanistan for more than a decade. Its involvement in that war came after the United States invoked NATO's Article 5, the provision calling for collective defense, after the September 11, 2001 terror attacks. Since then, NATO troops have deployed to Afghanistan by the thousands in a bid to stabilize the country and combat terror groups based there.” [CNN, 4/12/17]

TRUMP HAS REPEATEDLY COMPLAINED ABOUT NATO COUNTRIES NOT PAYING THEIR FAIR SHARE

The Atlantic: During The Campaign, Trump “Appeared To Make U.S. Military Support For NATO Member States Conditional On Whether Those States Have Met Their Financial Obligations.” According to The Atlantic, “Donald Trump, the GOP presidential nominee, appeared to make U.S. military support for NATO member states conditional on whether those states have met their financial obligations to the bloc, which has served as the cornerstone of global security after World War II. The comments, in an interview with The New York Times, represent a marked departure from the security policy of every presidential nominee from either of the two major parties since NATO’s founding in 1949.” [The Atlantic, 7/21/16]

Trump January 2017: “I Said A Long Time Ago That NATO Had Problems […] Number One It Was Obsolete, Because It Was Designed Many, Many Years Ago. Number Two The Countries Weren’t Paying What They’re Supposed To Be Paying.” According to CNN, “Trump used the interview to restate his doubts about NATO. ‘I said a long time ago that NATO had problems,’ he said in the interview. ‘Number one it was obsolete, because it was designed many, many years ago. ‘Number two the countries weren’t paying what they’re supposed to be paying,’ adding that this was unfair to the United States.” [CNN, 1/16/17]

Trump, January 2017: “A Lot Of These [NATO] Countries Aren’t Paying What They’re Supposed To Be Paying, Which I Think Is Very Unfair To The United States.” According to Reuters, “Trump added that many NATO members were not paying their fair share for U.S. protection. ‘A lot of these countries aren’t paying what they’re supposed to be paying, which I think is very unfair to the United States,’ Trump said. ‘With that being said, NATO is very important to me. There’s five countries that are paying what they’re supposed to. Five. It’s not much.’” [Reuters, 1/16/17]

“Donald J. Trump, on the eve of accepting the Republican nomination for president, explicitly raised new questions on Wednesday about his commitment to automatically defending NATO allies if they are attacked, saying he would first look at their contributions to the alliance. Asked about Russia’s threatening activities, which have unnerved the small Baltic States that are among the more recent entrants into NATO, Mr. Trump said that if Russia attacked them, he would decide whether to come to their aid only after reviewing if those nations have ‘fulfilled their obligations to us.’ If they fulfill their obligations to us,’ he added, ‘the answer is yes.’ Mr. Trump’s statement appeared to be the first time that a major candidate for president had suggested conditioning the United States’ defense of its major allies. It was consistent, however, with his previous threat to withdraw American forces from Europe and Asia if those allies fail to pay more for American protection.” [New York Times, 7/21/16]

ANTI-NATO STEPHEN MILLER WAS DRAFTING TRUMP’S NATO ADDRESS

Outspoken NATO Skeptic Stephen Miller Was Drafting Trump’s Address To NATO. According to The Hill, “White House senior adviser Stephen Miller, an outspoken skeptic of the United States’ North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) alliance, will write President Trump’s upcoming address to NATO.” [The Hill, 5/18/17]

- SMiller, March 2016: “NATO Is An Organization Made Many Decades Ago That Is Incongruent With Our Current Foreign Policy Challenge.” According to The Hill, “Trump cast the international body as ‘obsolete’ during his presidential campaign, comments that Miller has echoed in his own interviews. ‘NATO is an organization made many decades ago that is incongruent with our current foreign policy challenges,’ Miller told Fox News in March of 2016.” [The Hill, 5/18/17]

- Miller Has Been Known To Be “Anti-Globalist.” According to BuzzFeed, “The prospect of a speech penned by the 31-year-old anti-globalist adds a new layer of anxiety for NATO allies uncertain about which version of Donald Trump will show up in Belgium’s capital: The one that believes NATO is ‘no longer obsolete’ or the one that thinks the 28-member military alliance is a relic of the past.” [BuzzFeed, 5/18/17]